PEGASUS

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PEGASUS

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

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Contributions of any sort-articles, reviews, or other items of a 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

S. HAYES AD LECTOREM STUDIOSUM SAL.

Welcome to Issue 57 of *Pegasus*, which marks the 50th anniversary year of the journal of the Department of Classics and Ancient History in the University of Exeter! I must confess my own bemusement when I was initially told that the number 57 added up to 50 years of publishing, but our most experienced readers will no doubt recall that up until 1973 (Issues 15-16) *Pegasus* was published two or (once) three times per year. The shift to annual publication is one of the many changes that have occurred over the last 50 years, along with the management of the journal moving to postgraduate hands, but it is rewarding to see that this journal has stood the test of time. I very much look forward to reading the centenary special in 2064!

This year is one of celebration for *Pegasus*, and as such the editorial team has decided to include more content in the journal (hence the *mega biblion* - *pace* Callimachus). Inside you will discover articles by two new members of staff - Dr Gaëlle Coqueugniot & Dr David Leith; two postgraduate articles - by Christian Djurslev & Andrew Worley; and of course the winning entry for this year's *Lawrence Shenfield Prize*. Of note too is the fact that one of the runners-up for this year's *Lawrence Shenfield Prize* (Tom McConnell) has been printed in The Undergraduate, a journal run by undergraduates for undergraduates. More information can be found on their website (www.theundergraduateexeter.com).

This past year, however, has also proven to be one of sadness with the deaths of two former members of departmental staff. The three obituaries within this year's news section (one a compilation of tributes for Ann Wiley (née Ridgwell), the other two are independent memorials for Hugh Stubbs) stand as a testament to the truly powerful effect that the department's academic staff can have upon their students, friends, family, and colleagues. Please spend some time remembering them; both Ann Wiley and Hugh Stubbs are sorely missed.

2014 is also proving to be a year of change. The department has gained many new faces in the postgraduate and staff community, and Professor Christopher Gill has retired to become Emeritus Professor of Ancient Thought. Although he won't be disappearing any time soon (as he has reassured me in person) Christopher Gill has offered some reflections on his time here at Exeter. As you will see when reading the research and conference news in the following sections, the year so far has been a busy one, and with the announcement of more conferences on the way the department can look forward to an equally industrious future.

In this edition we have continued the practice of including a Creative Corner to showcase the artistic talents of our department. Readers from last year will enjoy the return of S. Duff and N. Oncents who, unfortunately(?), still remain anonymous in their submissions. This dynamic duo is joined by Scott Carless, one of our MA students, who provides a translation of the somewhat rude (you have been warned!) Roman satirist Persius as well as his own contemplative poem on the Argo. Special credit must also go to Jessica Smart and her mother for the wonderful piece of front cover art, and to Phillip Diaz-Lewis for his "Hoplite" on the back cover, which takes its inspiration from the engravings of Dürer and Goltzius. I also offer thanks to David Hayes for his art that forms a part of the Creative Corner's cover page.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my fellow editors, who have proven themselves to be indispensable over the past few months, *sine quibus non*: Paul Dean and Maria Kneafsey have been my co-editors, and have significantly lightened the burden on my shoulders; Alex Tindall and Sasha Gibbins have proven to be astute judges and organisers of the Creative Corner; and Katrina-Kay Alaimo has poured countless hours into LaTeX giving *Pegasus* a major face-lift in its formatting.

So read on, *lector studiose*, and enjoy the rest of this 50-year-anniversary edition of *Pegasus*!

Department News 2014

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. Indeed, we have increased our undergraduate intake this year by c.20%, and expect to continue to grow at this level in the coming year.

We started the academic year in September with a departmental Away Day (the second one after the success of last year's event) involving a collegial day-long hike along the South Devon coast, in glorious weather (despite the odd shower) and culminating in a well-earned supper. This again 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 fortunate to have been able to appoint three excellent young scholars in the department. Dr Gabriele Galluzzo has replaced Prof. Christopher Gill, who retired at the end of 2013. Dr Galluzzo works on various aspects of ancient philosophy and its reception, and has published, among other things, two monographs on Aristotle's *Metaphysics (The Medieval Reception of Book Zeta of Aristotle's Metaphysics*, vols. 1-2. Leiden: Brill 2012). Dr Sara Chiarini has replaced Prof. Eleanor Dickey on a fixed-term basis, Prof. Dickey having been appointed to a chair at Reading University. Sara works on Greek texts and images; her first monograph discussed the fictional description of the shield of Heracles (*L'Archeologia dello Scutum Herculis*. Roma: Aracne Editrice 2012), and she is now working on 'nonsense'. Her conference "Ancient Nonsense. Did the Greeks and the Romans have their own 'Jabberwockies'?" is coming up in July 2014.

Dr David Leith has joined us as a Postdoctoral Fellow in Medical Humanities, funded through the interdisciplinary Humanities and Social Sciences Fellowship Scheme; he works on Greek and Roman medicine, especially of the Hellenistic period, and will offer strong support to our ongoing projects and impact activities in the Medical Humanities. Dr Saskia Hin has been a further fillip to the Medical Humanities strand in the department. We hosted her as a Visiting Research Fellow for eight months, funded through the Max Planck Institute, Germany. She has been working on the intersection of demography, health and the environment in the Roman world. Unfortunately for us she has left us to join an exciting project with the Family and Population Studies Group (FaPoS) at the Centre for Sociological Research at the University of Leuven, Belgium.

We have also this year made an appointment under the externally funded Leventis Initiative *The Impact of Greek on Non-Greek cultures*. Dr Gaëlle Coqueugniot has replaced Dr Boris Chrubasik for one year as Leventis Associate Research Fellow after Boris had left the department for a tenure track-position at the University of Toronto at Mississauga. Gaëlle's research focuses on the agora of Dura-Europus (Syria) with special reference to its cross-cultural significance in the Hellenistic and later periods.

We are absolutely delighted that, thanks to the continued efforts of Prof. Christopher Gill and the generosity of the Leventis Foundation, we have been able to renew the Leventis Initiative for another four years. The grant of £203,020 will allow Dr Daniel King to continue in his position as Leventis Lecturer in the Impact of Greek Culture, and provide funding for a two-year Leventis Associate Research Fellow in the Impact of Greek on Roman culture, a three-year PhD studentship, a conference, and activities connected with Prof. Gill's *Stoicism Today* project.

In addition, Dr Sara Chiarini has won some substantial grants from the British Academy and the Classical Association to run a conference on "Ancient Nonsense". Dr Richard Flower received support from the HASS strategy fund for a workshop for the Late Antiquity Network.

The Department has hosted a number of conferences and workshops, including *Dialogues between Greece and the East*, an international conference based on and funded by the Leventis Initiative on the Impact of Greek Culture, organized by Dr Daniel King and Dr Boris Chrubasik in September; *On the Psyche*, an international conference held to celebrate the work of Professor

Christopher Gill building on the psyche and the self in the ancient world; and, this April, *Sexual Futures: Versions of the Sexual Past, Visions of the Sexual Future*, organized by Dr Rebecca Langlands and Prof. Kate Fisher, who have also curated an exhibition *Sex and History: Talking sex with objects from the past*, which is on show at Exeter's Royal Albert Memorial Museum. In February the department organized 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.

Since last year's report, four postgraduates have been awarded their doctorates: Jennifer Grove for "The collection and reception of sexual antiquities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century," Hoyoung Yang for "Cicero's Philosophical Position in *Academica* and *De Finibus*", Robert Leigh for "Galen's *Theriac* to *Piso*", and Earl Banner for "The Power of the Unsaid: Philosophic Silence in Plotinus".

The undergraduate-run Classics Society continues to go from strength to strength. Among many activities, the committee members organized the annual Classics Society Ball in March: a splendid dinner in The Thistle Hotel was followed by students, postgrads and staff dancing together to the fantastic Exeter University Jazz Orchestra. They are currently organizing a student-led trip to Greece. The annual student Classics play this year was an excellent production of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, which added another spin to the gender-based, anti-war comedy by having the men playing the women and (in stark contrast with ancient tradition) the women playing the men.

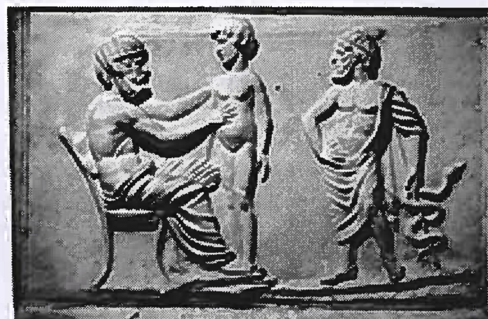
We are particularly proud of our Classics undergraduates' work for the Latin Club. This year, under the leadership of Prof. Lynette Mitchell and Dr Sharon Marshall, they have been running a pilot Latin Club at Queen Elizabeth's, Crediton, for year 9 - year 13 students, funded by the Friends of Classics, the Classical Association and the University Link Fund. The aim of the Club was, first, to introduce Latin into a state school and to test whether there was interest and, secondly, to provide work experience for our undergraduates, especially for potential PGCE applicants. Both aims have been fulfilled to an astonishing degree: between 25 and 30 schoolchildren participated consistently across the life of the pilot; and our undergraduate teachers displayed some amazing leadership skills and some remarkable developments in their teaching skills. Prof. Mitchell has also secured funding for the continuation of the project from our university's College of Humanities, the Classical Association and the Roman Society.

Barbara Borg

ON THE PSYCHE: STUDIES IN LITERATURE, HEALTH, AND PSYCHOLOGY

University of Exeter, 4-7 July 2013.

Report written by Dr Gabriele Galluzzo.



Supported by the Department of Classics and Ancient History and by the Centre of Medical History at the University of Exeter, the international conference *On the Psyche: Studies in Literature, Health and Psychology* was the occasion to celebrate Christopher Gill's career and scientific achievements. The conference was hosted by the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies from 4th to

7th July 2013 and has seen an impressive line-up
of internationally recognized scholars, from both leading UK universities and important overseas institutions.

In line with Chris Gill's multi-focused and interdisciplinary approach the conference has been a stimulating and unprecedented exploration of a vast range of topics, texts and literary genres: the notion of the *psyche* from Homer to Late Antiquity and the progressive emergence of *the self*; the concepts of happiness, good life and freedom; the connection between medicine and psychology in Antiquity with special reference to the Stoics and Galen; the attempt to explore the relevance of ancient ethics and psychology for today's discussions about the moral implications of the notions of wellbeing and health care. The result has been a vivid and exciting picture of the ancient world, in which specifically philosophical issues (such as the discovery of the self, personal identity, happiness, freedom etc.) have been effectively put into dialogue with a number of neighbouring areas, including literary production, ancient science and psychology. The conference has thus contributed to reinforce the view that the ancient world is a complex and organic whole in which different disciplines and historical periods cannot be studied in complete isolation but rather need integrating with one another. This integrated method has been distinctive of Chris Gill's activity as an ancient philosophy scholar.

The event therefore has been not only a (well-deserved) celebration conference but also the indication of an approach that should be pursued in the future as well. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the attempt to build a bridge between ancient notions of wellbeing and good life, and contemporary ones. The assumption here is that the ancient world, far from being a dead civilization belonging to an irretrievable past, has still something to offer to our world in terms of ideas and concepts. This does not mean to overlook the amount of negotiation that is required by the application of ancient ideas to the contemporary world and the other way round; the point is rather to put emphasis on the fruitful aspects of the negotiation process itself. With their deep knowledge of texts, historical events and philosophical ideas, participants in the conference have given a tangible illustration of how the ancient world remains as actual as ever.

ANNUAL MEETING OF POSTGRADUATES IN THE RECEPTION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

University of Exeter, 5-6 December 2013.

Report written by Shaun Mudd.

On the 5th to 6th of December 2013, the University of Exeter hosted the third Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in the Reception of the Ancient World (AMPRAW). This conference brought together an international and interdisciplinary community of postgraduate students with the primary aim of promoting postgraduate research within the growing and thriving classical reception academic community. The two days provided delegates with the opportunity to present their research, experience the work of others, and facilitate networking with other students and lecturers.

In addition to ten coordinated panels of postgraduate papers, highlights of this year's conference included:

- A rare film screening of the 1913 Italian-made Spartacus accompanied by Stephen Horne an internationally renowned silent film accompanist and composer

- 'Visions of the Ancient World': an exhibition on the history of classical reception in cinema hosted by the Bill Douglas Cinema Museum
- Parallel workshops on translation (Dr Sharon Marshall, Exeter) and on developing classical reception teaching materials (Dr Joanna Paul, CRSN)
- Keynote speeches upon this conference's main themes by three prominent scholars: Prof. Maria Wyke (UCL) on Film, Prof. Edith Hall (Kings College London) on Theatre and Dr Christopher Stray (Swansea) on Translation
- A guest speech by Dr Aaron Irvin (Murray State, Kentucky) on his work as a historical advisor for the recent Spartacus TV franchise
- A performance evening featuring a production of Aristophanes' Lysistrata, a string quartet and a wine reception

This conference successfully promoted interdisciplinarity and internationalisation by attracting over sixty delegates and an unprecedented number of thirty-four postgraduate speakers, from a record number of disciplines, institutions and countries (including Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland and the USA).

AMPRAW 2013 also effectively engaged with the wider public. The Spartacus silent film screening was widely advertised throughout the local community as an open, free event. It managed to attract a large number of members of the public, and near-filled our 125 seat venue. The 'Visions of the Ancient World' exhibition continued to be hosted by the Bill Douglas Cinema Museum (a popular free-entry museum which is open to the public) for several months, and thus served as a legacy which continued to engage the wider public well into 2014.

Through both the facilitation of academic dialogue and public engagement, AMPRAW 2013 raised awareness of classical reception as a fast growing field of research within both the academic and wider community, underlining its impact in the modern world.

Future Conferences

Exeter's Academics are organising a series of conferences over the coming year. Below are included some summaries, and more information can be found on the departmental website, at http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/classics/research/conferences/.

Sexual Futures: Versions of the Sexual Past, Visions of the Sexual Future (University of Exeter, 24th-25th April)

[Editor's note - this conference will have already happened as *Pegasus* goes to press, but without enough time for the team to provide a full report]

The future offers a critical space to negotiate sexual possibilities. It can serve as a doomsday warning, provide utopian fantasies or aspirational goals for real reform. Such visions of the sexual future are often achieved through an imaginative reworking of motifs and elements from the past. This colloquium investigates how and why sexual knowledge, articulated in science, literature, art, politics, law and religion, turns to the past to envision the future.

When it comes to imagining the future, the past can be cast in manifold ways. It can appear as mythical, traditional, ancestral, atavistic, hereditary, primitive, classical, or historical. It can also serve a number of purposes. It can lend weight or authority; it can provide a rhetoric of objectivity,

neutrality and empiricism to support visions of the future. It can galvanise calls for reform by appearing to offer visions of realistic possibility, alternative social worlds that have existed in the past and are therefore more than idle fantasy. The past can also be deployed in narratives about progress and decline, civilization and evolution, which lead towards a utopian or dystopian future. It can be marshalled as evidence to articulate universalising claims about humanity, provide evidence of variability across time, illustrate future possibilities or legitimise change. In addition, the past can offer a space of forgetting and loss and therefore a means of rejecting or engaging critically with the very concept of the future. It is the aim of the colloquium to examine how such uses of the past in the service of the future intersect with sexual knowledge and experience.

Forming part of the *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual History* project, this colloquium invites scholars from a range of disciplines to examine any aspect of the nexus between past, future and sex.

The Origins of the Self: India and Greece (Brunei Building, SOAS, 21st June 2014)

This conference aims to explore the origins of ideas about the self, with a particular focus on ancient India and ancient Greece, with view to exploring the striking similarities, as well as the differences, in the ways in which conceptions of the Self emerged in the two civilisations. The conference is intended to be accessible to an audience with wide-ranging interests. It should be of particular interest to students of history, anthropology, religion, sociology and psychology. Time will be allocated to open debate to enable those attending to discuss the issues raised by the key speakers.

This conference is part of the AHRC-funded project 'Ātman and Psyche. Cosmology and the Self in Ancient India and Ancient Greece', conducted by Dr. Richard Fynes of de Montfort University and Professor Richard Seaford of the University of Exeter.

Cosmology and the Self in Ancient India and Ancient Greece (University of Exeter, 9th-12th July 2014)

The theme of the conference is the striking similarities (and reasons for the similarities) in philosophical thought between India and Greece in the period before Alexander crossed the Indus in 326 BCE.

This is part of the AHRC-funded project 'Ātman and Psyche. Cosmology and the Self in Ancient India and Ancient Greece', conducted by Dr. Richard Fynes of de Montfort University and Professor Richard Seaford of the University of Exeter.

Ancient Nonsense: Did the Greeks have their own 'Jabberwockies'? (University of Exeter, 22-24 July 2014)

The idea of a conference on Nonsense in Antiquity is the result of intense exchanges with international scholars over the last two years. Now is the moment to organize an event that gathers these and other interested people, enabling us to discuss whether 'nonsense' (and its concomitant 'sense') is a modern construct or an essential aspect of the functioning of language. To address this question, scholars of literary studies and philosophy, interested in nonsense either for aesthetic or analytic reasons, join together. This will be the first conference about ancient ideas of nonsense and their comparison with modern theories on nonsense. The key issues are:

- Does nonsense exist in any objective way? If so, how is it determined?
- Is nonsense a cross-cultural concept, or is the polarity sense vs. nonsense a recent development?
- What is the relationship between nonsense which denotes 'no meaning' and nonsense which denotes 'absurdity'?

- How is nonsense informed by categories of useful/useless, serious/non-serious, true/false?

This conference is funded by the *British Academy* and the *Classical Association*, and forms part of a research project with its own blog (http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/ancientnonsense).

Classics Department Inspires with Courageous Creativity...

This article was originally posted on 17th February 2014 by Caroline Cook on the university's Humanities Accreditation Website (http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/progdev/2014/02/17/classics-department-inspires-with-courageous-creativity/). Caroline discusses new and exciting modules that will soon be on offer to students in the department...

With swashbuckling heroes, dastardly pirates, conniving femme fatales and (wait for it) goats all being promised by a new module we approved last term, it seemed only right to find out more. Karen Ní Mheallaigh, the academic behind the imaginative and alluring descriptions hopes that 'The Ancient Greek Novel' and 'Tales of the Unexpected' will get students as excited as she is about ancient literature. Certainly, our Humanities programme approval committee didn't need much persuading and we were enticed by the rather unconventional module prerequisites. 'Imagination, intrepid curiosity and a commitment to the transformative power of fiction (and love) are a must', says Karen! Both modules ask students to think about why literature matters and how their connection with texts might differ from the readers of the ancient world. 'The Ancient Greek Novel' and 'Tales of the Unexpected' will be offered to level three students from next September. It was great to see such creativity and enthusiasm in Karen's descriptions - but that wasn't the only thing which caught our attention.

Although on research leave, Karen has been supported and encouraged by the Classics and Ancient History department to be adventurous and original with her proposals. The 'Lunar Module', which will be presented to the approval committee in the near future, is one of the resultantly intrepid creations. Students will explore the role of the moon in ancient thought and literature and, quite uniquely, will benefit from the input of the Astrophysics group within Exeter's Physics and Astronomy department! It's part of an exciting new menu of Classics modules in ancient science offered by David Leith and Gabriele Galluzzo, which should appeal to a wide variety of students.

Another exciting idea is Karen's 'Plus' module initiative. With debate in the College about the pros and cons of 15 or 30 credit modules, the cunning 'Plus' option for 'Ancient modernism: Hellenistic culture and society' feels like a timely move. Here, in the term one 15-credit module, students gain a literary, thematic overview of an ancient text. Then, students can draw on this knowledge in the term two 'Plus' module, (also 15 credits), which explores the same texts but in their original Greek language. By opting for the 'Plus' add-on in term two, students benefit from and build on the literary knowledge they've gained in term one. Typically, Karen suggests, students have favoured the literary components of her modules and in uniting literature and language Karen hopes this 'Plus' adjunct will enrich the students' experiences of both. In terms of the Classics curriculum, this set-up is an attractive one, allowing some students to delve deeper but not at the expense of those who seek greater breadth in their studies. Indeed, with the College's commitment to delivering degrees which can boast both depth of understanding and variety, the

'Plus' model could be worth pondering in other departments.

Finally, some hot off the press news for the avid programme development hawk (of which I'm sure there are many!) - we have just approved another module which Karen conjured up with the help of Elena Isayev and Sharon Marshall. The team-taught 'Dialogues with the Past: Creative Interpretative Project' is pioneering and bold, asking students to engage creatively and critically with ancient art forms. Specialist workshops will introduce students to primary material which they will be required to respond to imaginatively in their interpretive projects. Students will be assessed for how well their projects stimulate and engage an audience and demonstrate an awareness of the relevant scholarly landscape. Appealingly, this module will allow students an escape from the College's more familiar types of assessment. This has really excited the Classics department who are wondering just how brave their students will be with the projects they propose. A dance or play? A piece of sculpture or textiles? Perhaps a poem or a song? Why not an animated film? The hope is that the project, along with the written critical interpretation, will prompt students to think about art, its value to society and how its interpretation is shaped by contemporary climates. Sounds good to us...where's the module registration form?

The reviewing of this recent splurge of splendid module specifications has really added some colour and excitement to the latest programme approval committee meetings. As well as the enticing and at times whimsical descriptions, we were excited by the courageous content which we think students would be foolish to miss!

Reflections on Exeter

Christopher Gill, now Emeritus Professor of Ancient Thought, offers his reflections on his past 24 years in the Department of Classics and Ancient History, and its development over this period.

I was on the academic staff of the Department of Classics and Ancient History in the University of Exeter for over twenty-four years (Sept 1989-Dec 2013). What changed and what stayed the same during that period - and what will I remember most?

The most obvious change has been the expansion in scale and diversity of the Department's membership and activities, partly reflecting the same change in the University. In raw numbers, the staff grew from 9 in 1989 (4 of us coming by 'relocation' from other universities as part of a national reorganisation of Classics) to the current 20, including postdoctoral fellows - a category unknown to us in 1989. In 1989 most of us were male, British, and in the middle or later part of our academic career; in 2014, including visiting fellow Saskia Hin, the gender balance is exactly even, there are representatives of eight countries, and staff-members at all career stages. Similarly, the undergraduate intake has doubled (from about 45 in 1989 to over 100 now) and it includes more EU and a few international students. Gradually during the period we developed an MA programme, attracting 15-20 students on average in recent years, and a body of PhD students (about 20 here at any one time); and the PhD students have become closely integrated into the research culture and undergraduate teaching of the Department. Other major changes include the emergence of material culture or art history as a substantial strand (main interest of three staff members) and, more recently, ancient medicine (main interest of two staff). The Department has always been highly research-active; but in the latter half of the period, this helped to generate significant amounts

of funding, some of which has brought new staff-members here. A generous £1.25 million from the Leverhulme Trust brought two staff from 2001 onwards, and this has continued with further support from Wellcome, Research Councils UK, and the A. G. Leventis Trust (currently two fixed-term posts); the University has also provided an Anniversary Chair and a post-doctoral fellow as well as replacing posts falling vacant. In recent years, research has extended to include activities directed at public benefit or 'impact', and three imaginative programmes have emerged out of longstanding staff interests, in identity and migration, sex and history, ancient healthcare and modern wellbeing and Stoicism today. Research has also become more interdisciplinary, not just within the discipline but across disciplines (extending as far as the Medical School). Undergraduate programmes have evolved rather than changed radically. It is good to record that we now have as many students entering for Classics (with A-level Latin), about 20, as we have ever had, but many more students taking early stage Latin or Greek. The programmes have become broader in Classical Studies and Ancient History, with a splendid diversity of third-year options. Personally, I am pleased that ancient philosophy has occupied a firm place in the curriculum and in research and is set to continue to do so.

With all these changes, what has stayed the same - or improved in the same vein? The Department has a strong collective identity, in some ways even stronger than in the 1990s, though it was strong then too. Although the University has become progressively more managerial and 'top-down' in the period, we still prefer to make our own decisions as far as possible through open discussion in departmental meetings, with votes if needed. A cornerstone of our shared life throughout the whole period has been the (well-attended) weekly department research seminar (along with Classical Association lectures); also important has been our readiness to read and comment on each other's research writings. There have been many innovative, international conferences held here since 1991 (some of the most memorable Exeter events for me), and this dimension has diversified in recent years, with workshops, colloquia, and public events organised by many staff-members. A positive development is that this collective research activity has spread into student life, with PhD students organising national or international conferences as well as their own reading groups, and MA and BA dissertation conferences. Student support contributed greatly to the stunning success of the 2012 Classical Association national conference. The undergraduate Classics Society and the staff-student liaison committee are vastly more dynamic and supportive than at any previous time that I have known. You really feel that people here at every stage of their lives are passionate about the subject and want to share this with others. During the period we moved from Queens to Amory Building; this gave us our own collective space, even though (like most people nowadays) we spend less time talking to each other in the Common Room, and more gazing at screens.

My own memories of all the features I have outlined are largely good ones - and I have a special fondness for our beautiful campus, especially in Spring and Autumn, where I have often found peaceful interludes, and will continue to do, as I live on the edge of the campus. It is difficult and invidious to single out individuals, as virtually all the staff-members and many of the postgraduates I have worked with I regard not just as colleagues but also good friends and hope to do so in the future. But I would like to mention three colleagues who have been of special importance to me throughout the whole period: Peter Wiseman for encouraging me to come to Exeter in the first place and for his exemplary commitment to the Department, Exeter, and research; Richard Seaford for his endlessly fertile intellectual energy; and John Wilkins for our highly simpatico research collaboration on healthcare. I feel privileged to have been a part of a wonderful enterprise for nearly 25 years.

Hugh Stubbs, 1917-2014

T.P. Wiseman

Hugh William Stubbs, who died on 25 February at the age of 96, taught at the University College of the South-West and then the University of Exeter from 1942 to 1983. He was the last survivor of a remarkable triumvirate of classicists: Jackson Knight taught at Exeter from 1936 to 1961, F.W. Clayton from 1948 to 1976.[1] All three, in their different ways, were characterised by wide-ranging erudition, benign eccentricity, and a deep conviction of the educational value of their subject.

Hugh's grandfather was the great constitutional historian William Stubbs, Bishop of Chester and Oxford and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. His father was a clergyman, and on his mother's side he was related to the Scottish baronial family Rose, at whose castle at Kilravock he was born in 1917. Educated at Charterhouse and Oxford (Christ Church), he won the Hertford and Craven Scholarships in 1938. In the war he served in the Royal Artillery; demobbed early, he found himself in June 1942 being interviewed by Jackson Knight for a temporary Assistant Lectureship. Just a few weeks earlier, JK had been on fire-watching duty during the first night of the Exeter blitz;[2] now the two of them walked through the ruins, 'discussing the disintegration of one world and the possible emergence of another'.[3]

Both men were optimists; both believed, 'in those apocalyptic days',[4] that their classical education would have something to offer to whatever new world might emerge when Hitler was beaten.[5] This was how Hugh put it years later:[6]

> Antiquity has always been, to me, a radiant world, to be visited on a kind of time-machine, mainly on the wings of poetry; a world of brightness, vigour, wisdom, heroism, yes; a world, too, in which there is laughter. Plenty of hard work, certainly; whether it is a matter of learning what is already written, or going out and discovering more; or criticizing; or applying one's knowledge to the strange world in which, as in Plato's cave, we are compelled to live our daily lives. In Oxford it has been, I believe, generally accepted that the path of study was a hard one, but that the world that it showed us was a delightful and an inspiring one. That did not prevent us accepting the fact... that myth, and history, provided bathos as well as pathos, villainy as well as virtue; that the ancients, like ourselves, were all too human, and that their feelings, and their experiences, were not so very unlike ours.

When peace came, the new books that excited him were Gomme's Thucydides commentary (1945), which 'outshone everything produced by the Old Pedantry and exposed him in the brilliant light of the twentieth century', and A.R. Burn on Alexander (1947) and Pericles (1948), 'which effectively brought those great men, and others, out of the schoolroom and into the news-columns'.[7]

[1] For Jackson Knight, see G. Wilson Knight, *Jackson Knight: A Biography* (Oxford 1975). For Fred Clayton, see HWS, in *Pegasus* 19 (1976) 2-10, and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, 'Frederick William Clayton: The Man and his Work', in FWC, *The Comedies of Terence* (Exeter 2006) 283-6.

[2] Todd Gray, *Exeter Remembers the War* (Exeter 2005) 218: 'Captain Knight of the Home Guard' remembered by a young man whose home had just been bombed and his parents killed, 25 April 1942.

[3] HWS, in *Pegasus* 46 (2003) 22.

[4] HWS, in Wilson Knight (n. 1) 186.

[5] I never heard Hugh utter Hitler's name. The phrase he used was 'the common enemy of mankind'.

[6] HWS, in *Pegasus* 5 (1966) 11.

[7] HWS, 'Exeter in the Forties', a typescript memoir transcribed by Wilson Knight (n. 1 above) 286-94, who however did not use this passage.

Hugh wanted to be part of all that. He evidently planned a history of Sparta and a Life of Cimon, but publishers weren't interested. What he would have done with Cimon may be seen from a passage in a later piece on Sophocles in a Sicilian journal:[8]

> Sophocles depicts the anachronistic Ajax very skilfully. A democratic writer portraying a survivor from an obsolescent social system may make a malevolent caricature, and show us a Major Bagstock or a Sir Mulberry Hawk, but he is more likely to sentimentalize him and show us a Sir Leicester Dedlock, or a figure like the hero of Powell and Pressburger's *Life and Death of Colonel Blimp*. Sophocles does neither. We can feel for Ajax, and I have heard a brilliant teacher describe him as 'the only gentleman on the Greek side'; he is certainly not the choleric bully caricatured by Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida*, but he can hardly open his mouth without making us understand why his colleagues found his company difficult. (I remember an Austrian lady of whom it was once said 'Every time she gives that patronizing smile, I can understand what made the French want to cut Marie Antoinette's head off'.)

What did they make of *that* in Catania? Characteristically, Hugh took for granted readers familiar both with Dickens and with modern English films. No doubt it was that quirky, personal, allusive style - familiar to all friends, relatives and colleagues from his long, closely-typed missives (always signed with a quill pen in red ink) - that prevented him from making his mark in the way he wanted. A more austere, professional style was increasingly required:[9]

> The New Pedantry, a canker spreading from Germany and infesting the United States, was not perhaps as new as all that; its characteristics were a total lack of humour or spiritual insight, an attitude of supercilious venom (shared, indeed, with the Old Pedantry) towards anything that is modern and lively, and, perhaps above all, even beyond its concentration on tedious and trivial minutiae, a tendency to despise the written word and overvalue the artefact.

That was written by a disappointed man. Jackson Knight and Hugh had been commissioned to compile a *Penguin Classical Dictionary*, and it was well under way by 1964, when Jackson Knight died and the leading role was taken over by Ernst Badian, then at Durham, who quickly abandoned the project.[10]

Hugh was a devoted family man. His marriage to Ljubica lasted 52 years (1954-2007), and his role as a father was movingly recalled by his daughter Kitty Allan in her funeral tribute. One item in particular caused some affectionate smiles:

> He was a father who was interested in our friends - who showed them hospitality and talked to them all as if they were all as well-informed and knowledgeable about a range of subjects as he was, when most of the time they didn't have the foggiest notion of what he was talking about but remained fascinated all the same.

Some students had a similar experience. The classic account is by Patricia Avery, a mature student in the 1980s;[11] and her contemporary J.K. Rowling, who found his lectures

[8] HWS, in *Siculorum Gymnasium* 29 (1976) 446.

[9] See n. 7 above.

[10] HWS, 'Troubles of a Lexicographer', *Pegasus* 5 (1966) 10-15; Wilson Knight (n. 1 above) 414-5.

[11] In *Pegasus* 26 (1983) 32-3; ibid. 29-31 for the view of a colleague in English ('Anon.' was Richard Parkinson) and a collection of assorted Hugh-isms.

an 'unforgettable experience', even turned him into one of the staff at Hogwarts.[12]

Part of the trouble was Hugh's 'unique manner of speech, imitated frequently and usually very inaccurately', which a college contemporary explained as the result of his effort to overcome a youthful stammer.[13] Hugh had a regular selection of conversational opening gambits, of increasing length depending on how long he needed to construct the sentence he was about to deliver ('by - the - way', 'inci - dental - ly', 'interest - ing - to - note', 'has it - ever - oc - curred - to - you...'), and once the sentence got going it could be as complex as a Ciceronian period.

All that made it easy not to take Hugh seriously, just as people didn't take Jackson Knight and Fred Clayton seriously. But that was a superficial judgement. I have no room here for a list of Hugh's publications (perhaps in next year's *Pegasus*?), but it is extensive, ranging from a superb translation of Horace *Odes* 1.5 in Ronald Storr's *Ad Pyrrham* collection, via a Latin text of P.G. Wodehouse's 'The Great Sermon Handicap', to comparative mythology in the manner of Georges Dumézil.[14] To get a sense of what he was like, I recommend *Pegasus* readers to go to the website and consult vol. 22 (1979) 11-13, on Shakespeare's Athens, or vol. 30 (1987) 6-9, on the Royal Albert Museum's painting of 'Marcus Curtius leaping into the gulf'.[15] He was a man of enormous erudition and goodwill, full of ideas, with a lot to say and a fluent style to say it in. If the New Pedants didn't want to hear it, that was their loss.

Two comments to finish with. The first, from about 1946, is a shopkeeper's comment on Hugh and Jackson Knight:[16] 'Blimey, listening to you two going on is better than ITMA.' The second is Richard Seaford's reaction to the news of his death:[17] 'Hugh makes this place seem, by contrast, very monochrome.'

A memorial tribute to Hugh William Stubbs, 1917-2014

Raymond J. Clark

Raymond J. Clark, a former undergraduate and PhD student of Hugh Stubbs, and adjunct professor at the University of Ottawa offers his fond memories of his supervisor to Pegasus.

Hugh was a most extraordinary man. I first met him, as it were, through the reading list for his course on Thucydides for first year students at Exeter University in 1960. The notice board showed that the course was taught by Mr. H.W. Stubbs. The long list of books and articles that were required to be read, in addition to required books of Thucydides in Greek, included many written in foreign languages, some of them in foreign scripts. An asterisk beside the

[12]Joanne Rowling, in *Pegasus* 41 (1998) 26; *Exeter Express and Echo* 5 November 2001 pp. 1 and 7. Cf. Rowling's Harvard Commencement address (June 2008): 'Hardly had my parents' car rounded the corner at the end of the road than I ditched German and scuttled off down the Classics corridor' – and knocked on Hugh's office door. In the same address she thanks those of her friends 'who have been kind enough not to sue me for giving their names to Death Eaters' - like Avery, introduced in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2000), ch. 33.

[13]David Harvey, email 4 March 2014, citing R.W.B. Burton.

[14]Hugh admitted to 'a sneaking self-satisfaction in one about, & entitled, "Satan, Loki & Prometheus" [*Orpheus* 3 (1956) 152-6]': HWS to TPW, 19 January 2002.

[15]Visual evidence at *Pegasus* 43 (2000) 27 (group photo, 1947), 53 (2010) 32 (group photo, 1980), 46 (2003) 21 (retirement presentation, 1983).

[16]HWS, in Wilson Knight (n. 1 above) 288.

[17]RAS to TPW, email 27 February 2014.

latter met up with one at the bottom of the list which read: "Students unfamiliar with the Slavic languages should ensure that they read all works in the European languages." I must have turned pale because an older student arrived at the Notice Board and asked, "Are you alright?" When I pointed to the booklist, she saw the name and said, "Oh, that's for Hugh Stubbs' course. Don't worry, he's a sweety. Just make sure you go to all his lectures and read all the articles and books he lists there in English and you'll be fine."

The first class arrived, the door flew open, and in strode the impressive figure of Mr. Stubbs, bespectacled and begowned. He surveyed each of us over his glasses while leaning over the podium and suddenly began. For an hour the words flew out overwhelmingly at us, albeit grouped in stops and starts as he struggled to get the words out at high speed. A whole hour from a historical perspective on the different ways to pronounce ancient Greek according to competing systems worldwide. The lecture culminated in the words: "Nevertheless we shall pronounce Greek the English way!" Hugh spoke these final words as he strode away from the podium towards the door, turning as he spoke them to give us a sort of knowing look, and we were relieved to spot that beneath the learning he had a great sense of humour.

In those days the university had something like a total of 1900 students, and it was the custom for all first year students to attend a service in Exeter Cathedral on a particular Saturday afternoon. The academic staff paraded in their academic hats and gowns from Queen's Building through the streets into the cathedral. The Cathedral was packed and the sermon was given by Professor Lampe of Patristic Greek Lexicon renown. The following Monday morning Hugh opened his lecture with: "Those of you who have received a Christian upbringing and who attended divine service at the Cathedral on Saturday last will recall the exhortation in the sermon eloquently delivered by Professor Lampe to dedicate all work to Our Lord and prefix lectures by prayers. I have no particular objection to these aforementioned prayers that any student may elect to hold - provided of course that they be conducted in utter silence - but I do have one piece of advice. (Pause) I should make them short and snappy or you may miss something of importance."

He imparted a wealth of knowledge, lecturing in the same non-stop style as his opening lecture, as he offered his own views on practically every comment made in Gomme's three volume commentary on Thucydides and on every comment made subsequently by other scholars affecting Gomme. He had a habit of introducing the same kind of knowing look that I have already alluded to while raising his hand with a jab of his finger to mark the exact point of a punchline that sent us into laughter. But laughter was self-controlled because he was already onto the next point, which we didn't want to miss. One such instance: "If we compare this overlong and elliptical sentence by Thucydides - complicated as it is by confusing anacolouthons - with Gomme's even longer paragraph elucidating the matter, I think that on balance you'll agree that, in terms of clarity, Thucycides just has the edge over Gomme." On one memorable occasion, a bulldozer outside the classroom in Queen's Building prevented him from being heard. His reaction was to exit the classroom with a "Follow me!" and with gown flowing he continued lecturing along the corridor as he strode ahead of us until he found an empty quieter classroom. He had covered many lines of the text before we found seats.

He saw me in the library one day near the end of my final undergraduate year and asked if I would like to pursue graduate studies on Thucydides. I replied that JK (W.F. Jackson Knight, his esteemed colleague) had already been in touch with me concerning a doctorate on Vergil but upon enquiry I had found out that he was prevented from supervising by mandatory retirement age. Hugh's response was immediate and generous: "Oh do it with me officially and with JK unofficially!" For various reasons I took up a place in Exeter's education department and returned to Exeter in 1966 after two years teaching. By that time JK had passed away but Hugh, despite being

the Department's specialist in ancient history, was no less brilliant in matters Vergilian and proved to be a fantastic supervisor of my doctoral thesis on Vergil. He agreed to see me each Wednesday afternoon "for as long as was mutually convenient," which turned out to mean that I could ask him whatever questions I had each week. There was never a question for which he was at a loss or seemed to need even a moment to think over. After three years I left Exeter with a PhD and took up a lectureship in the Classics Department in Memorial University of Newfoundland.

When in 1996-8 I became editor of *Vergilius*, the journal devoted to Vergil published by the Vergilian Society of America, I asked Hugh if he would consider submitting material, subject of course to peer review. In my three years of editorship he published three articles and two book reviews. The first review was on Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay. What better person to review a book on latent allusions in Greek and Latin etymologizing than Hugh Stubbs? The book's renowned author, James J. O'Hara, whom I met for the first time later, commented on how learned the review was and how quickly written - it was the first review of the book to appear. The three articles on "Vergil's Harpies: A Study in *Aeneid* III (with an addendum on Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1250-2)," "In Defence of the Troughs: A Study in *Aeneid* III and V," and "Laocoon Again," breathed fresh life into Vergilian studies. They contain many of what may be termed "Hugoniana." On the change of the monstrous Harpies from stern but graceful wind-nymphs into repulsive and incontinent hags, Hugh comments:

> Here, if I may adapt Gibbon, the bombardier of the Royal Artillery may be of some assistance to the analyst of post-Homeric legend. In 1941, the present writer was listening to a young sergeant describing pre-War service in Egypt. "When we were carrying our dinners from the cookhouse in our mess-tins, the kite-hawks used to swoop down and snatch them away before we could get them back to our barrack-rooms. And what's more, *foedissima ventris proluvie omnem epularum apparatum taeterrime inquinabant*." (I cannot remember the precise words of a frankly speaking *vir militaris*, but I feel that in any case they had best be confided to the decent obscurity of a learned language.) "We used to call them Shite-hawks."

Hugh's prodigious memory was remarkable. This was obvious to all who knew him. It was very apparent to me and all fellow students when we were undergraduates, who universally admired him both for his scholarship and humour and for the delightful person he was, and to me also at the graduate level when I posed all those questions to him. By the time I was editor of *Vergilius*, he had retired, moved to Sidmouth, and sold his library to Blackwell's. He had access to a very limited local library but produced not only some of his footnotes but also some quotations by memory. When sending me his Laocoon article, for instance, he apologized for not having access to the Greek text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and he asked that I check carefully the six lines of the Greek text which he had recalled from memory. On one occasion when we visited England from Canada, Hugh and his wife Ljubica invited my wife Vivien and myself to stay with them, and during our stay they took us to Sidmouth. On the journey down, with Ljubica driving, Hugh treated us to a running history of iron age settlements as we passed by various hills and knolls. He had in his youth walked from John O'Groats to Land's End, and from his early travels in Greece and Italy likewise he was able to recall many ancient sites in remarkable topographical detail. His detailed recollection of various parts of France dated from 1935, "after leaving school and having 4 months to find out what French culture was about." I once asked him whether he did a lot of exercise and he replied, "O goodness me, no. I did enough walking in my youth to last a lifetime." We spent a memorable and very pleasant afternoon

on the beach, and while walking in Sidmouth I was introduced to a tamarisk tree as cited by Vergil in *Eclogue* 4 as a symbol of pastoral poetry. We also exchanged updates on family news - he was a devoted family man and kept me informed in letters of their growing up: I first met his daughter Kitty at the moment they were discussing on what day of the week King Henry VIII was born - and we mentioned that our daughter Suzie was now attending school in Exeter. He very kindly offered to show her around and subsequently with Ljubica took her to Torquay. Suzie had often heard me talking of Hugh and when he took her to a museum, she was prepared - or so she thought. There was a whole gallery with rows of paintings and Suzie felt sure that she would be asked for her impressions. So she picked five that especially appealed to her and tried to remember every detail. Upon exiting, sure enough, Hugh asked her which painting she liked best. Proud of her foresight to be ready with remarks, she mentioned one and they discussed it in detail. And then Hugh asked, "And what did you think of the one immediately above it?" Unfortunately for Suzie, it wasn't one of the five.

Hugh was excited by learning and loved to share every aspect of it. He was beloved by every student I know that was taught by him. Both Hugh and his wife of 52 years Ljubica were wonderful to both me and my wife Vivien. I cannot adequately express in words how blessed I feel to have known them both. Never will their memory fade from my heart.

Ann Ridgwell, later Whiley

An Obituary, compiled by David Harvey

Readers of Pegasus *will be saddened to hear that Ann Whiley, or Ann Ridgwell as she was during her Exeter days, died early in November this year. She taught in the Department of Classics from 1961 to 1963;* ***David Harvey*** *remembers her as one of three people who helped him find his feet when he arrived in Exeter in 1962. One was Jim Fitton, whose death at an early age was such a loss to the department; another was Ann; the third was Hazel van Rest of the German department - I wonder what happened to her?*[1] *Below we print appreciations from three of the students that she taught during those years, followed by a narrative of the fifty years that followed her time at Exeter kindly supplied by her daughter* ***Siân Bolton***.

Tony Collinssplatt writes:
In October 1961 Ann Ridgwell came to Exeter as lecturer in Classics. I was repeating the Part One year, after months of sick-leave. What struck us students was her enthusiasm and her availability: she made the study of Classics a shared and pleasant task.

In Part Two she offered Philology as a Special Subject, enlivening the technical parts; whereas the general linguistics that she imparted served me well in a career as a teacher, at a modest level, of English language and the humanities. In the mid-1980s I was doing a summer job at a country house in Wales, where European business managers learnt English in one-to-one sessions. I found colleague Ann in the cubby-hole for preparing lessons - what a joy and surprise! Her husband Tony Whiley was head of a school in Brecon, where they had a large house, with antique dressers handed down from her Welsh forebears.

Ann was a positive person, always seeking and seeing (as St. Paul admonishes) the best in contact with persons. Dante calls Virgil *anima naturaliter Christiana*. That could serve as Ann's epitaph.

Carolyn Noble (née Jarvis) writes:
I can picture her still, in academic gown, standing at the blackboard erected in her room for

[1] Reader, I married her.

our final year sessions in her special subject, Philology, explaining the features of the Indo-European paradigm which she had written out ahead of our coming. Under her clear teaching, we saw Greek forms hitherto mysterious and apparently unrelated gaining a correspondence and patterns emerging - even the notorious '-mi' verbs made a little more sense - and she expanded our Classical world in distance and time, from Sanskrit in Asia to the modern languages of Europe. Her thoughtful planning and organisation made each hour full and absorbing and we came away enlivened, inspired and eager to master what she had given us. This thoughtfulness was reflected too in her care for our well-being and many a kindness she extended to each of us.

Our association continued after we both left Exeter, meeting while she lived in Tonbridge and later, with my family visiting her in Brecon where we all experienced her friendship and enjoyed her hospitality, while I never failed to admire her latest enterprise in teaching or music or activity in the community there.

The insight into language she first gave to me continues to hold a fascination, and recently I attended two very different talks: the first discussed phonological changes in Classical Greek, the second included video clips recording native speakers of modern Aramaic dialects in their villages in the Middle East.

I could picture her listening, listening and loving them both.

John Mair writes:

After her arrival in Exeter in the Autumn term of 1961, Miss Ridgwell (as she was known to most students, the indiscriminate use of Christian names then still lying in the future) quickly gained golden opinions. It was known that she had obtained an excellent degree at the University of London, and it soon became apparent that she was also a gifted teacher.

I think that Ann may initially have been a little puzzled by the Exeter student body, which, I surmise, was markedly different from that of a London college. Many of the students, myself included, were largely lacking in Metropolitan, or indeed any, forms of sophistication, and she perhaps found it necessary to adapt her style to suit the needs of a more innocent, or at least inexperienced, set of pupils. She was invariably gracious in doing so, but she also occasionally expressed surprise at our general lack of awareness; and, on seeing us interested but otherwise inactive during a lecture, would pause to say "I do advise you to write this down. You will not remember it otherwise".

Ann had a wonderful command of the subjects which she taught and could present her material with a lucidity which was enlivened by feeling. Her specialities included Classical philology, and ancient drama. The latter subject area replaced epic, which had previously been the literary form for study in the third year of the B.A. course, and which, until his retirement in 1961, had been the domain of W. F. Jackson Knight (the renowned "J. K."). In opening this (for us new) subject area Ann really wished to bring to life for us both the genre itself and the plays - "acknowledged masterpieces". She set out with great clarity the various theories about the complex origins of tragedy and comedy and then added her own well reasoned conclusions, before helping us to appreciate the works, skills and achievements of the ancient dramatists themselves.

Ann's sphere of influence extended beyond the lecture room. She did, for example, do much to encourage the Exeter Branch of the Student Christian Movement, a non-denominational and generally liberal and eirenic group which sought (*inter alia*) to build bridges between the different church traditions, which were then more sharply delineated than they are now, and, although only a few years older than most of the students, Ann would contribute much wisdom and experience to meetings.

In manner, Ann was both calm and lively - a pleasing combination not very often encountered. She was also very kind. I recall that on one summer's evening she took the trouble to walk over to Mardon Hall (my hall of residence) to let me know the outcome of my final examinations. Some of my detailed memories

have no doubt faded over a period of some fifty years, but I retain my clear impression that Ann was, in every sense, *bright;* and that is the recollection which I shall gladly cherish.

Siân Bolton (Ann's Daughter) writes:
Ann married Tony Whiley in 1963, and they moved to Corby for their first home: Tony taught in Corby Grammar School and Ann in Kettering. From there they moved to Tonbridge, where Tony taught in the Judd School and where Ann had her children Siân and Gareth.

In 1968 they moved to Merthyr Tydfil, where Tony taught at Cyfarthfa High School and Ann (when the children were slightly older), commuted to Brecon, where she taught at the Convent school, for many happy years. She continued to teach the piano during this period. In 1976 they moved to Brecon, where Tony became first Deputy Head of the High School and eventually Head. Ann continued to work in the Convent until the mid-1980s when she taught English in a local language school.

Wherever they lived they were active members of the Methodist Church and Ann was involved in as many musical activities as she could manage. In 1994 they officially retired to Whitchurch, Cardiff, where they immediately became members of the local Methodist Church. Ann organized many musical activities, as well as plays that were performed most Christmasses. She also loved languages and learnt Italian and Dutch during her time in Whitchurch; and she regularly attended dancing classes (circle dances and Israeli dances). They both loved spending time with their grandchildren Jacob, Isaac, Solomon, Emma, Daniel and Hannah.

Tony died in February, a few months before Ann.

Research 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* has come out in October 2013 (OUP), and I am now working on a monograph on second-century Roman tombs (*The Art of Commemoration in Second-Century AD Rome*) that will also inform a series of four Carl Newell Jackson Lectures, which I have been invited to deliver in April 2015. I have presented various aspects of this work at conferences in Munich, Rome, Kiel, Berlin, Birmingham, and at the Ernest Crake Lectures funded by the Crake Foundation and the Department of Classics at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada. I have also submitted a Blackwell Companion to Roman Art, which will hopefully be out later this year. 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.

David Braund (D.C.Braund@exeter.ac.uk): DB has almost completed a book on Greek goddesses of the north Black Sea (*From Artemis to Aphrodite: Greek Goddesses in the Bosporan Kingdom*). His next task will be to revise an overlong typescript of a book on the significance of Scythians in Greek culture.

Sara Chiarini (S.Chiarini@exeter.ac.uk): In this academic year I am holding several fellowships. I am fellow of the *Venice International University*, where I am spending two periods of study (one in November 2013 and one in September/October 2014). There I am working with Dirk Obbink on a comparative linguistic analysis of nonsense writing on Greek vases and magical papyri. Moreover, I have been awarded a grant from the *Fondation Hardt pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique* in Geneva to spend a research stay at this institution in June 2014. Finally, I am carrying an academic

exchange with Brown University thanks to an *International Mobility Fellowship* awarded by Exeter and Brown Universities and taking place between March and May 2014. This year I have also started a project on 'nonsense' as both cultural phenomenon and concept in antiquity, founded by the *British Academy* and the *Classical Association*. The main event related to it is the conference *Ancient Nonsense. Did the Greeks and the Romans have their own Jabberwockies?*, to be held in Exeter from 22 to 24 July 2014. The results of the conference will merge into a volume that I will be editing.

Split between all these research activities and the teaching load, I am still hoping to complete my second monograph on the so called 'nonsense' inscriptions of ancient Greek vase painting. They are a very intriguing material for a linguist and have kept me busy over the last two years.

Gaelle Coqueugniot (C.Coqueugniot@exeter.ac.uk): Following the publication last summer of my book on Greek archives and libraries (*Archives et bibliothèques du monde grec. Edifices et organisation.* British Archaeological Reports - International Series 2536. Archeopress, Oxford 2013), I am this year writing a book on the Greco-Roman *agora* of Europos-Doura/Dura-Europos (Syria). This project is part of the Leventis initiative in the department, and I focus mainly on the new archaeological study I led in the field and the different influences (Greek, Oriental and Roman) that shaped this public district. I have also presented (or will present) papers on this project, on Roman libraries and on the administration of the Hellenistic and Roman East in international conferences in Paris (December 2013), Chicago (January 2014), Durham (April 2014), Basel (June 2014) and Bordeaux (August 2014).

Richard Flower (R.Flower@exeter.ac.uk): In my second year here at Exeter, I've felt more settled into the rhythm of the department and have been enjoying my teaching, especially the third-year course on *The World of Late Antiquity*. Since the publication of my first monograph in May 2013, I've been turning my attention to a new project on late-antique heresiology, including starting to plan a book on this subject. A few months ago, an edited volume called *Theodosius II: Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity* (CUP, 2013) was published, based on the last conference that I organised (in 2011). This book contains a chapter in which I've compared the growth of heresiological catalogues with other systematising projects from the period, most notably the *Theodosian Code*. With Morwenna Ludlow in Theology and Religion, I've been working to revive the South West Late Antiquity Network, which brings together scholars from Exeter, Bristol, Cardiff and Swansea. We've been awarded a generous grant from the university's Humanities and Social Sciences Strategy Fund, which will allow us to hold a major conference in spring 2015 on the subject of religion and identity in late antiquity. During the last year I've also continued to pursue other, smaller avenues of research, including writing pieces on fifth-century biblical hermeneutics and the trope of theatricality and pretence in Ammianus Marcellinus.

Gabriele Galluzzo (G.Galluzzo@exeter.ac.uk): I am carrying on with my analysis of Aristotle's metaphysical thought with particular reference to the notions of matter and form (hylomorphism). Two collective books of which I am the co-editor just came out: R. Chiaradonna & G. Galluzzo (ed.s), *Universals in Ancient Philosophy* (Pisa 2013); F. Amerini-G. Galluzzo (ed.s), *A Companion to the Latin Medieval Commentaries on Aristotle's Metaphysics* (Leiden 2014). I am also about to finish an article on the connections between hylomorphism and Aristotle's philosophy of mathematics, while in another paper I shall explore links between the matter-form distinction and Aristotle's views on essence in the logical works. As a second line of research, I am investigating late ancient theories of truth and knowledge with particular reference to Plotinus and Augustine.

Christopher Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk): I retired from university teaching during the course of this academic year (end of 2013) and a

retrospective view of my time at Exeter appears elsewhere in this issue. Stoicism has been the main focus of my year so far: I published *Marcus Aurelius Meditations Books 1-6*, translated with introduction and commentary (Oxford University Press, 2013) and supplied the introduction and notes for a new and complete Oxford World's Classics translation (by Robin Hard) of Epictetus (2014). During the autumn I led a public engagement project on putting Stoicism into practice in the modern world (an article on this also figures in this issue). I plan to continue research on Galenic psychology and psychotherapy, and will be working on this during a visit to the 'Topoi' research centre in Berlin and giving a number of papers on this topic.

David Harvey (F.D.Harvey@exeter.ac.uk): The Clarendon edition of David Hume's Essays has been moving to its close. D. has continued to contribute his half-obol's-worth to the annotations by his 18th-c. colleagues. (In case you don't remember, Echenike and Kleonika of Phlious each contributed one and a half obols, about a quarter of a day's pay, to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi in 361/0 - and it was solemnly recorded in stone.) Now that the commentary has been written, it only remains to compile the Index, a mammoth task, and unfortunately we've been unable to find a mammoth to tackle it; and then there are the proofs – we look forward to checking scores of line-references and section-references. But there will (D. hopes) be six of us working on that.

D. has been working on several articles this year, most of them quite short. Taking his cue from John Betjeman, he has thought of publishing them as a collection under the title 'A Few Late Dandelions', though seriously he can't imagine that anyone would want to read one, let alone a whole book of his thoughts on these or any other subjects. The topics he has been looking at this year have been Eupolis, Dorieus, Herodotos, ancient libraries, Magnes, Menander and Militiades

Claire Holleran (C.Holleran@exeter.ac.uk): Over the course of this year, I have been developing a new project on labour in the Roman world, focusing particularly on the structure and organisation of labour in the city of Rome. This will eventually lead to the production of a new monograph on the urban economy of Rome, but the first results of the research have been delivered this year at conferences in Ghent, Odense, Rome, and London. I have completed a paper on the hiring of free labour in Rome, which will appear in K. Verboven, C. Laes, and P. van Nuffelen (eds.), *Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World* (Oxford, forthcoming), and am currently working on a paper on the mobility of miners in Roman Spain, to be published in L. Tacoma and M. Groen-Vallinga (eds.), *Moving Romans: Migration in the Roman Principate* (Leiden, forthcoming). I am also continuing to work on the forthcoming *Companion to the City of Rome* (Malden, MA, forthcoming), and have recently been commissioned to produce a volume with Paul Erdkamp, *Diet and Nutrition in the Ancient World* (Farnham, forthcoming).

Elena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk): A year mainly of *endings* of a book on Migration and Mobility in Ancient Italy; the Future Memory in Red Road project; observing the finalising of dissertations by PhD students, Anto Montesanti on borders, Charlie Young on visual literacy and photography, Massimiliano Fusari on the visual meta-image and the Hawza; the completion of an MA on Migration and the Migrant, the teaching of Age of Cicero and Roman Religion; AND also some *beginnings* of a project on Roman Citizenship with Catherine Steel; another on Migration Through the Lifecycle of Empires with Andrew Thompson; and continuing work with Future Memory and artist Catrin Webster but this time further afield through Berlin and the Middle East with Sandi Hillal and Alessandro Petti; AND the *terminus* - the department with its tremendous group of students and new staff with bright ideas for courses on being and the moon.

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@exeter.ac.uk): My exhibition *Inti-*

mate Worlds: Exploring Sexuality through the Wellcome Collection opened at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum on 5th April and runs until 29th June. I have been co-curating this with my colleague Kate Fisher, our recent PhD student Jen Grove, and Tony Eccles, curator at the RAMM. This exhibition is part of our *Sex and History* project (now with its own twitter account @SexandHistory and blog http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/sexandhistory/). We are also launching in April a new sex education resource for schools *Sex and History: Talking sex with objects from the past*, which has been developed in collaboration with the Relationships and Sex Education Hub, using of historical artefacts that will be on display in the exhibition.

In other news, I am co-organising an interdisciplinary conference *Sexual Futures* (April 24th-25th 2014) with my colleagues Kate Fisher and Jana Funke. I am still hard at work finishing my book *Exemplary Ethics in Ancient Rome* for CUP, but the edited volume *Sex, Knowledge and Receptions of the Past* which I have coedited with Kate Fisher is due to come out later this year with OUP, along with various articles on the subjects of Roman literature and the history of sexuality. Later this year I will be off to sunny California with my family for a few months when I take up the position of Joan Palevsky Visiting Professor at University of California, Los Angeles.

David Leith (D.B.Leith@exeter.ac.uk): I was extremely happy to join the Department in September, and I've thoroughly enjoyed myself since. I've mostly been working on two early Hellenistic doctors, Herophilus of Chalcedon and Erasistratus of Ceus, and have drafted a couple of articles. I've also been finalising a series of editions of medical papyri for Volume LXXX of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which should appear later in the year. In November, I gave a paper at a conference in Paris on ancient and medieval attitudes to dissection, and I'm looking forward to setting off soon to New York for a conference on Popular Medicine in Antiquity.

Sharon Marshall (Sharon.Marshall@exeter.ac.uk): Work continues on my monograph on Hélisenne de Crenne's 1542 translation of Virgil into French and I hope to have this finished by the end of this summer. I have had enormous fun this year developing a first and second year module, Roman Laughter, which has covered a range of material from epigram to satire to fable and has inspired me to start exploring French receptions of Phaedrus' *Fables*. Working alongside Lynette Mitchell, I have also been involved in an exciting new project to take a group of our students out to teach Latin at a local secondary school - Queen Elizabeth's Community College in Crediton. The project, undertaken under the auspices of the Classical Association, was generously supported by the University's Annual Fund, Friends of Classics, the Classical Association and Peter and Anne Wiseman. Running for six weeks initially, it was a huge success, with other 40 students giving up their lunch hour to come and learn Latin. Our students proved themselves to be fantastic teachers and there are plans afoot to extend the project next year and introduce GCSE Latin to the school's curriculum.

Stephen Mitchell: Since finishing my teaching career at Exeter in September 2011 I have, as they say, been drawing a pension but not retired. My most crucial role is to provide support for my wife who has fulfilled a life-time ambition and opened a business, the Seven Hills Bakery (those of Sheffield, where we now live, rather than Rome), which, in my unbiased opinion, sells the best bread and cakes anywhere north of Birmingham.

I am honorary secretary of the British Institute at Ankara, and ancient Ankara has been one focus of my research, with two volumes relating to its inscriptions and history coming out in 2011 and 2012, and a third due by the end of 2014. Another emphasis has been on early Christianity, leading to four published conference papers, which I see as preparatory work for a planned volume on Christianity, the first two hundred years. A substantially revised second edition of my *History of the Later Roman Empire* should be published by Wiley in August 2014, including a long new chapter

on that old chestnut, the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Invitations and commissions have produced other papers on food (for a companion edited by John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau), horse-breeding by Roman state stud farms, rural settlement in the eastern empire, and the uses of Turkey's ancient past in modern identity politics.

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): This year saw the end of two projects: the completion of a monograph (*The Heroic Rulers of Archaic and Classical Greece, Bloomsbury*) and an edited volume (*Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds*, Brill). It also heralded in the beginnings of two new projects: a monograph on Cyrus the Great of Persia, and a collaborative project on ideas of tyranny and democracy from antiquity to the modern era. In pursuit of the first, I have been trying to teach myself Akkadian, and for the second I have given papers in Jyväskäla, Ghent and Reading on topics including the rhetoric of George W. Bush and Montesquieu's use of Herodotus for his *Lettres Persanes*.

Karen ní Mheallaigh (K.Ni-Mheallaigh@exeter.ac.uk): This year I have been enjoying research leave. My book on Lucian and fiction (*Reading fiction with Lucian: fakes, freaks and hyperreality*) is finished and forthcoming with Cambridge University Press, and I am now working on a new research project which is related to the moon in ancient thought.

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk): 2013 saw the appearance (*enfin*) of my two *megala kaka* on dragons: *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). Also appearing were: 'The Ptolemaic Foundation Legends' (in S. Ager and R. Faber eds. *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World*, University of Toronto Press, 184-98) and 'Medea as a Mistress of Serpents' (in M. Piranomonte and F.M. Simón eds. *Contesti Magici/ Contextos Mágicos*, De Luca Editori d'Arte, Rome, 247-58). I believe that my encyclopedia entries on 'Bastards' and 'Magic' were also published (in H. Roisman ed. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Greek Tragedy*, Blackwell, 2013), but I cannot be sure because, despite pointed and repeated requests, Blackwell have not considered it their duty to send me a copy of my own work: *caveat auctor*. I am currently working on a book, with associated Vorstudien and parerga, on the legend of Seleucus.

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk): This year will see the publication of my edited volume with Miguel John Versluys (Leiden): *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge University Press). This book represents the culmination of a workshop held in Exeter in 2011, and provides the first sustained critical exploration of globalisation theories in Roman archaeology and history. It is written by an international group of scholars who address a broad range of subjects, including Roman imperialism, economics, consumption, urbanism, migration, visual culture and heritage. I also have a major article due in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* later in 2014 that examines the artefactual evidence for Britain's Claudio-Neronian urban communities. This piece controversially presents a new case for unfashionable theories of military origins for Londinium and Verulamium, as well as flagging the continued importance of (pre-conquest) civilian links with Gallia Belgica for communities elsewhere.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk): My full-time research has continued, with my Indologist collaborator, on our AHRC-funded historical comparison of early Indian with early Greek thought. This is the first ever sustained collaboration between specialists in different Axial Age cultures, and is original in another respect too: it does not exclude the economic dimension that is so vital for understanding metaphysics. It has taken time to get to grips with an entirely new and very complex culture. But it has been well worth it, and I have already written a book-length text. We have a one-day

event in SOAS (London) on June 21st, and a conference in Exeter July 9th-12th. Otherwise I have given talks at various conferences and in other contexts.

I also won second prize in the *Ars Longa* competition celebrating the bicentenary of the birth of Richard Wagner (for an essay on Wagner and Greek tragedy).

Richard Stoneman (R.Stoneman@exeter.ac.uk): My introduction, *Pindar*, in my *Understanding Classics* series, was published by I.B. Tauris (along with *Eusebius* and *Latin Love Elegy*) in January 2014. *Xerxes* is in the hands of publishers' readers at Yale.

Otherwise, this has been a year of giving invited conference papers. (1) In July 2013 I spoke on 'How the Hoopoe got his Crest: Reflections on Megasthenes' Stories of India' at a historiography conference in Athens. This will be published in a volume based on the conference, entitled *Greek Historians on War and Kingship: Greece, Persia and the Age of Alexander*, now being edited by Tim Howe, Sabine Müller and myself. (2) In September 2013 I spoke at an Alexander conference in Wrocław, Poland, on 'Alexander's Mirror: Platonic Philosophy and Persian Poetry'. This will be published in the conference volume edited by Krzysztof Nawotka. I shall be co-organiser of the next Wrocław conference, in April 2015. (3) Also in September 2013, I spoke on 'How Many Miles to Babylon? Maps, Guides and Interpreters in the expeditions of Xenophon and Alexander', at a colloquium organised by the Onassis Foundation. (4) I repeated this paper at a conference on 'Routes and Roads in Anatolia' held in Ankara in March 2014. (5) Also in April 2014 I spoke at a conference on Q. Curtius Rufus in Vienna, on 'The Origins of Q. Curtius' concept of *Fortuna*'. At the time of writing I am preparing two further papers: (6) 'The Justice of the Indians: Ctesias F 45.16' for Richard Seaford's 'Ātman and Psyche' conference in Exeter in July 2014, and (7) 'Gods, Ghosts and Monologues: the Alexander plays of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling' for Charlotte Markey's conference on 'The Reception and Performance of Classical Drama in Early Modern England' (June 2014).

I am on the advisory committee for the Fifth International Colloquium on the Ancient Novel, to be held in Houston, Texas, in September 2015, and have been invited to a conference on the Argeads in Innsbruck in June 2015.

Classical scholarship may never, in my case, have led to what Dean Gaisford called 'positions of considerable emolument', but it certainly leads to invitations to some good parties.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@exeter.ac.uk): The text of *The Roman Audience* is at last finished, and if I can get the illustrations sorted out in the next few weeks, OUP are hoping to publish this time next year. I continue to get sidetracked by the Augustan Palatine, which the archaeologists persist in getting wrong; when you're next there, do go and see the splendid site they call "Casa di Augusto", but don't believe for a moment that Augustus ever lived there. My next project is a short book on Julius Caesar - whom the *historians* persist in getting wrong!

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk): For the last twelve months I have mostly been immersed in dramatic fragments, and I have become increasingly interested in exploring the intellectual problems – as well as the peculiar aesthetic appeal – of lost works of literature. My main project at the moment is a book called *The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy*, which means that I have been thinking hard about Agathon, Xenarchus, Ion, Carcinus, Neophron and various other forgotten but fascinating playwrights. I have also been working on the tantalizing remains of fourth-century comedy (last summer I co-organized an Exeter colloquium on so-called 'Middle Comedy', which provided plenty of stimulation and fun for all involved), and I have written several articles on literary, philosophical and erotic themes in comic and tragic fragments.

Postgraduate News

This year's postgraduate community is as vibrant as ever, with regular work-in-progress seminars organized by Chris Siwicki and Matthew Skuse that offer a friendly environment for our postgraduates to discuss their research amongst peers. Our ancient languages reading groups are also carrying on, covering a range of texts from Moschos to Martial, and Suetonius to Sappho. Maria Kneafsey has created a new general discussion group on ancient texts & material culture to encourage a more interdisciplinary approach to the ancient world, and has been attended by other interested PhDs from the College of Humanities. This year has also seen the organisation of the Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in the Reception of the Ancient World (AMPRAW) by Jasmine Hunter-Evans and Shaun Mudd, with papers presented by the organisers and four other Exeter PhD students (Chris Davies, Paul Dean, Christian Djurslev & Matthew Skuse). Two of our MA students (Ali Gennaro & Claire Maloney) are attending the British School at Rome's postgraduate course. At the time of writing they are both in the eternal city pursuing their own research interests.

Sam Hayes, First Year PhD Student.

New PhD Students

Paul Dean (pd292@exeter.ac.uk): My project considers the role played by the Greek genre of *parôidia*, of which the sole surviving example is the *Batrachomyomachia*, in the reception of Homer in antiquity and other parodic Greek literature. While scholarship has of late been very interested in the reception of Homer in antiquity, almost no attention has been paid to a genre that predominantly parodies the Homeric corpus. Given the innovative potential ascribed to parody as a technique by the Russian formalists onwards, there is great potential for *parôidia* to have played an important role in (re)shaping Greek notions of Homer and contributing to perceived humorous elements of imperial Greek epic. At the other end of the literary scale, *parôidia* shares a significant proportion of its tropes with comedy, particularly a penchant for gastronomy. My aim, therefore, is to reconstruct some of the influences on *parôidia* from other sources and its own influence on contemporary and later writers.

Sam Hayes (sah217@exeter.ac.uk): My thesis seeks to consider the *Epigrams* of Martial within their original context, as individual poems that are structured in an order within each individual book. My approach is to take a sequential reading (in the manner of Lorenz and Holzberg) of book 7 of the *Epigrams* and to see what macrostructural devices are at play - programmatic sections, repeated themes/cycles, closural sections, etc. Much of the past scholarship on Martial has anthologised his work into key themes – the poetic art, sexual ethics, invective, and sepulchral poems to name a few. These approaches have produced many novel advances in the study of Martial, but at the risk of removing these poems from their original context for the reader, and at times running the risk of causing hermeneutic misunderstandings. By focussing on book 7 I will retain a sharper focus on Martial's strategies, which I can then expand to the rest of the *Epigrams* and consider what it meant to write a book of poems in early imperial Rome.

Maria Kneafsey (mak222@exeter.ac.uk): My research focuses on late antique urbanism, particularly the development of the city of Rome between the building of the Aurelian Wall (AD 271) and the end of the sixth century. Using an interdisciplinary approach and combining methodologies from ancient history, art history and archaeology, I am using the changing concept of boundaries as a framework for the study of spatial change in late antique Rome. Recently I have been working on: patterns of urbanism in the late western empire; narratives of decline and fall; and differing scholarly approaches to studying cities in late antiquity.

Ioanna Koumi (ik248@exeter.ac.uk): My research focuses on the cult of Parthenos (the Maiden) in Tauric Chersonesos, a mainly Doric colony among a predominately "Ionian world" in the Black Sea region. The goddess Parthenos, whose name no one was to utter, was worshipped by both the local Taurians and the Greeks. One of my aims is to analyse whether she was a local deity whom the Greek colonists adopted and Hellenised, when they arrived in the area or whether she was Artemis or an Artemis-like deity brought over from the mother land in order to understand the ongoing relationships between the Taurians and the Greek colonists. Another one is to analyse the different aspects of this deity so as to come to conclusions about the actual foundation of the city (if possible) as well as about the notions of the Chersonesetans themselves about the foundation of their city over the centuries. The final aim is to include the worship of Parthenos and the foundation of Chersonesos in the broader spectrum of the colonisation in the Black Sea region and the whole of the Greek world.

MA Theses 2012-2013

Margaret Amundson	Social Memory and Resilience in Post-Minoan Crete
Claudia Berger	Reflections of the State in Imperial War Monuments: The Ara Pacis, and Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius
Georgina Broughton-Pipkin	Fictions of Authority in Imperial Greek Literature
Nicholas Byrne	Κλειώ: The Role and Contribution of the Lydian, the Median and the Persian Logos in the Concept of Herodotus' Histories
Priscilla Del Cima	Clitophon and Leucippe: Engendering Myth and Mythologising Gender in Achilles Tatius
Franca Driessen	Blood Libations as a Tool of Communication Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece
Ashley Earnhart	Understanding the Roman Family: A Look at Women and Slaves in the Household
Sam Hayes	Set in Stone? The Nature of the Epitaphic Poems in Martial's *Epigrams*
Christopher Hewitt	History and Identity in Hierapolis
Katherine Hyland	Sanctuaries of the Central Apennine Region: Influences and Motivations for Monumentalisation and Development from the Third to First Centuries BC
Alexander Keene	Discuss Elements of Panegyric and Subversion in Virgil's *Aeneid*, with Particular Reference to Books 4, 6, 8 and 12
Maria Kneafsey	Spolia in Fourth Century Rome
Alexander Mallin	The *Thebaid*, Statius' Homeric Epic? Reflections of Domitian's Rome
Thomas Oberst	The *Rex Nemorensis*: Necessity, Regicide and Anti-Mimesis in Roman Epic
Roseanna Stone	Death and Dinner: A Discourse of Power in Neronian Literature
Samuel Wise	Tensions in the Relationship Between Roman Culture and the Eastern World in the 1st Century BC to the 2nd Century AD, with a Focus on Identity Expressed Through Food.
Theodora Zacharia	Lucian on the Writing of Himself

Classics Society News 2013/14

The academic year 2013/14 has been one the Society's most prosperous yet, in terms of membership numbers and events that we have put on, and it has been an absolute pleasure to see the Society grow over the last 9 months or so. We started the year with a very successful Freshers' Week, putting on a variety of events and signing up a record number of 160 members - with a strong mix of undergraduates and postgraduates.

We have been blessed this year with a very active and engaged first year cohort, who have thrown themselves into all the Society has to offer, including our flagship event of the Autumn term, the Classics Society Debate, organised by our Departmental Liaison Officer, Ellie Jesson. This year's motion was 'This house believes that Open Access is fundamental to the progress of academic research in the digital age', with the 'For' team comprised of Professor Richard Seaford, Elaine Sanderson and Laurence Crumbie and the 'Against' team made up of Professor John Wilkins, Alexander Roberts and Jack West-Sherring. It was a fiercely contested debate, with some scintillating scholarly rivalry between Wilkins and Seaford; overall the debate was convincingly won by the 'for' team.

In addition to the debate, we have had a strong year in our academic 'wing', under the leadership of Ellie Jesson as the DLO and through close links to our SSLC, chaired by Ben Street. The language tutoring scheme has seen the highest numbers of students participating since its inception, as well as being recognised by the University as an exemplary peer-assisted learning scheme; the scheme has resource funding for the next academic year from the College, and students can now use it to contribute towards their Exeter Award. This year has also seen the development of links between the Society and Exeter College; we put on a series of lectures for AS and A level Classical Civilisation students, sharing our love of the ancient world as well as encouraging them to think about taking Classics as an undergraduate degree. This is a wonderful opportunity for Classics students to share their passion for their degree, especially those thinking about going into teaching - I am sure this is the start of an enduring partnership with the College.

Many of our activities are only possible through the very strong relationship that we are lucky to have with the Classics & Ancient History Department; my thanks must go especially to Barbara Borg, Lena Isayev and Sharon Marshall, who in each of their respective roles, have given the Society immense support over the past academic year. The support and commitment of the department is reflected in this year's Teaching Awards, where Classics had some of the highest nominations within the University and we have been shortlisted for 4 awards (results yet to be announced!).

We have maintained our reputation as one of the most active and engaging societies this year through a packed schedule of socials, organised by Calum Page. Reviving some of the iconic events such as the Centurion and creating new socials like the Saturnalia, Calum ensured that we have had some fantastic evenings which will live long in the memory of many Classicists. A highlight of our social calendar was undoubtedly the Classics Society Ball, held in the beautiful ballroom of the Rougemont Hotel. Attended by staff and students alike, featuring entertainment from the University Jazz Orchestra and A Capella legends SemiToned, the evening was a celebration of the

fantastic Classics community that we have here in Exeter; my thanks must go to all who helped make the evening as wonderful as it was.

March 2014 heralded in the return of the Classics Society play - after several years of successful Greek tragedies, the decision was made to put on a comedy - Lysistrata. Produced by Pete Blyth, and under the incredible direction of Caitlin Austin, the play was a roaring success, with hilarious performances from our students; it really exhibited what a diverse range of talents Classicists have. We still have a number of events remaining in the calendar, featuring a number of socials, hopefully some nominations in the upcoming Guild Awards, and of course, the trip abroad. Our annual trip will be heading to Greece in June; Vice President Ben King has arranged a multitude of visits for the lucky 20 Classicists who will be going!

I have been lucky enough to be President in such a fantastic year for the Society – a special thanks must go to all of the committee who have been outstanding in their roles, and who have made my job very easy! I wish all the best to next year's President, Elaine Sanderson; I eagerly anticipate all that 2014/15 brings! The Classics Society will thrive for as long as there are Classicists at Exeter; for we have a passion for our subject, and for our fellow Classicists – this cannot be quantified in membership numbers or events put on, but in the memories made during our time here. Here's to another year, Classics. Vale,

Ronnie Henderson

Classics Society President, 2013-14

Sporting News

Congratulations to Joint Honours Ancient History & History Undergraduate student, Jessica Elkington, who captained the boat that won the European rowing championships in 2013 and is on her way to Team GB!

In her own words Jessica says "this is why my boat is called Bellona...!"

The *Agora* of Europos-Doura (Syria): an Archival and Archaeological Reappraisal

Gaëlle Coqueugniot

The site of Europos-Doura lies on the right bank of the Euphrates River, in modern Syria (fig. 1).[1] While the city was only a regional centre of modest importance, barely mentioned in ancient literary sources,[2] its well-preserved remains have shed exceptional light on the daily life of the Seleukid, Parthian and Roman East. After a short presentation of the site itself and its exploration, this paper presents a reappraisal of the site's public square, the *agora*.[3] My main focus will be the methodology I adopted in my investigation of this area since 2004, combining fieldwork and archival research in the previous expeditions' papers.

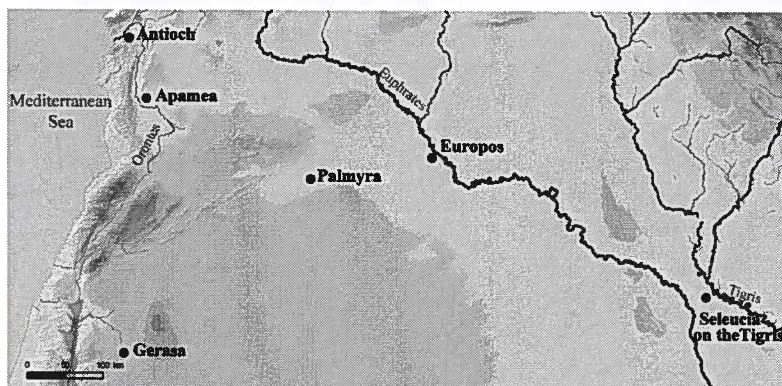


Fig. 1: Map of Greco-Roman Syria and Mesopotamia (G. Coqueugniot on a base Maison de l'Orient).

I. History and discovery of the site

Europos was founded around 303 B.C.E. by one of Seleukos I's generals, Nikanor, on the road between the Mediterranean and Babylonia, the two centres of the new Seleukid kingdom. It lies where the road had to leave the Euphrates plain through a gently sloping ravine (*wadi*) to rejoin the circa forty metres high plateau overlooking the river.[4] This natural stronghold was therefore particularly well-adapted to secure this important communication axis, as evidenced by the local toponym *dawara*, meaning "the fortress", already used in a second millennium B.C.E. clay found in the site.[5] Recent research has been able to reconstruct a small Seleukid military outpost established in the citadel and in the interior *wadi*.[6] The latter was then extensively remodelled in the following

[1]The site was called Dura-Europos in most publications until a few years ago, when the Franco-Syrian Expedition at the site established the present name of Europos-Doura, thought to better reflect the chronology of its official name: Europos in Parapotamia under the Seleukid and Parthian eras, Dura from the early third century C.E.

[2]The main source is Isidorus Charax, *Parthian Stations* 1, a first century C.E. description of the sites along the royal road between Seleucia on the Tigris/Ktesiphon in Babylonia and Antioch in the Seleukis region. A couple centuries earlier, Polybius 5.48.16 already mentions a town of Europos in Parapotamia when he describes the revolt of Molon against Seleukos III in 221-220 B.C.E.

[3]I am currently preparing a monograph based on my work in the *agora*. For a first (partial) presentation of this research, see Coqueugniot (2011) and Coqueugniot (2012).

[4]This passage through the site was still the one used by the Ottoman road Baghdad-Lattaquieh until the second part of the twentieth century.

[5]Stephens (1937).

[6]Leriche and Coqueugniot (2011).

centuries by the opening of extensive quarries from which were extracted most of the gypsum blocks used for the construction of the citadel buildings, the city walls and important public constructions in the plateau, such as the palace of the *strategos* overlooking the *wadi* and the *agora* (fig. 2).

The expansion of the settlement in the plateau, following a systematic orthogonal plan typical from the Hellenistic foundations, only occurred in a second phase of development, when the military foundation developed into a full size community in the middle of the second century B.C.E.[7] The new settlement, protected by massive walls of ashlar gypsum blocks, was still in construction when the region was conquered by the Parthians around 113 B.C.E.[8] It is only under the rule of the Arsacid kings, in the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., that the plateau was progressively built up following the urban scheme established before the town's conquest. The new agglomeration was populated with new indigenous residents along the descendants of the original Macedonian settlers, creating a multicultural environment and an original culture at the crossroad of Greco-Macedonian and Mesopotamian traditions. During this period, Europos seems to have assumed control over a large territory on both banks of the Euphrates. The central power relied mostly on local notables that exerted the administration hereditarily and collected taxes for the King.[9] In 165, the city is conquered by the armies of Lucius Verus and Avidius Cassius and remains under Roman rule until its siege by Shapur I and the following abandonment of the city around 256.

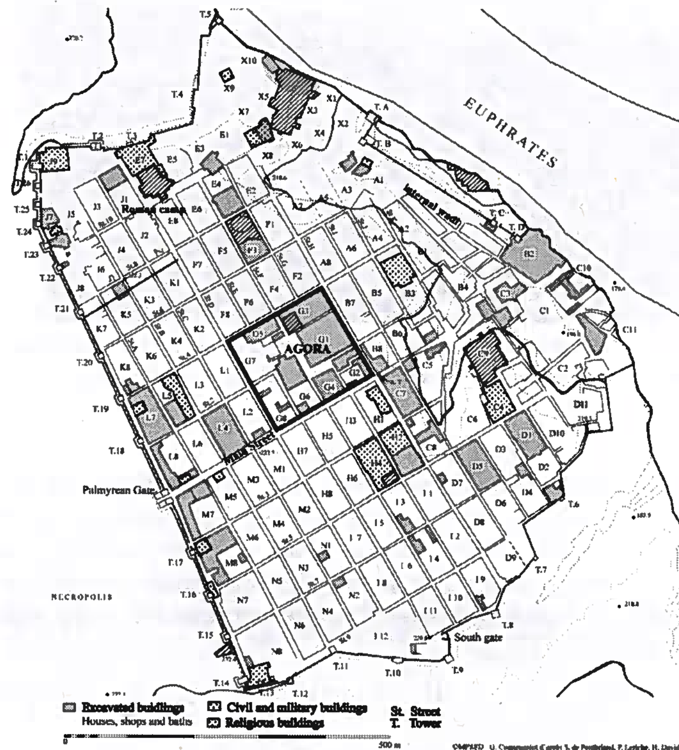


Fig. 2: Plan of Europos-Doura (© Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura).

The ancient site was then forgotten until its rediscovery in 1920, when British soldiers dug a trench along a massive protuberance to protect themselves from revolted tribes, uncovering wall-paintings once adorning the *cella* of a temple to the Palmyrenian god Bel.[10] The main discoveries resulted from a joint expedition from Yale University and the French Academy of Letters under the supervision of M. I. Rostovtzeff, from 1929 to 1937.[11] Working four to six months a year with an average of 400 workers and heavy infrastructure such as Descauville railways to evacuate the dirt to nearby ravines, the team uncovered more than a fourth of the city's surface and thousands of artefacts. The joint expedition of the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and the

[7] Leriche (2003).
[8] Gaslain (2012).
[9] Arnaud (1986).
[10] The so-called "painting of Conon", deposited in the late 1920s and exhibited at the national Museum of Damascus.
[11] The successive field directors were M. Pillet, C. Hopkins and F. Brown. See Hopkins (1979).

Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of Syria, has mainly proceeded to a new thorough study and restoration of the previously excavated buildings and the opening of strategically located new trenches.[12]

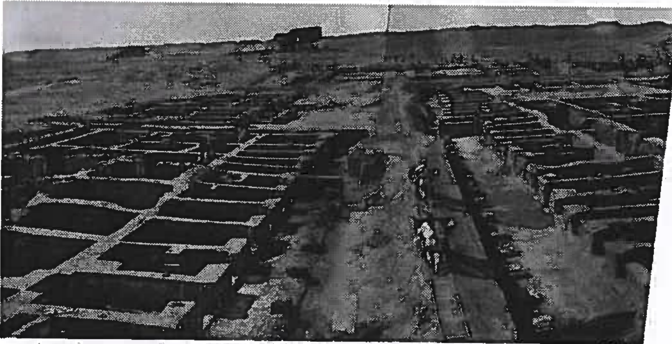


Fig. 3: "Market Street" during the excavation in 1931. View from the East (courtesy Dura-Europos collection, Yale University Art Gallery).

The bulk of data at our disposition for any study on the society of Europos comes from the extensive excavations of the 1930s, though the contextual information is often missing or lacking and the available evidence somewhat biased: only complete or "interesting" artefacts were collected and catalogued.[13] Moreover, these artefacts are mostly coming from the upper occupation levels in the site, the sudden abandonment of the city in the middle of the third century leaving an almost complete assemblage of furniture and equipment. As in many sites, it is also to this last phase that most of the architectural remains belonged; the Parthian and Hellenistic constructions and circulation levels have often been destroyed in later phases, or are still buried deep under the following constructions, except in a few areas where the excavators decided to take methodically apart the last floorings and to dig the buildings down to the virgin soil.[14] The Roman phase, while lasting less than a century, is therefore over-represented in the archaeological record.

II. Investigations in the *agora* of Europos

The *agora* of the city occupied eight city blocks (G1 to G8), immediately North of Main Street. It was a major, centrally located area in the orthogonal colonial urban plan that developed in the plateau during the second century B.C.E. This central area was, however, not among the first sectors excavated in the 1920s, despite the surface irregularities already recognised at that time. Clearing of the area began in fall 1931 and led to the discovery of the colonnaded "Market Street" (fig. 3), the Roman market, and a public registration office in block

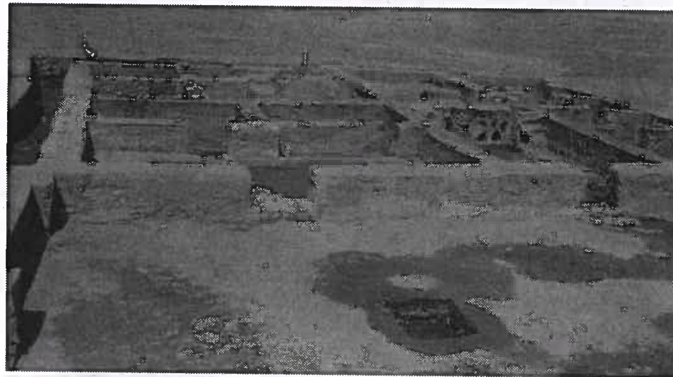


Fig. 4: The *chreophylakeion* in 1931. View from the South (courtesy Dura-Europos collection, Yale University Art Gallery)

[12]From 1986 to 2011, under the direction of P. Leriche and Y. Alabdullah. See Leriche (2012).

[13]See for example the recontextualization of domestic artefacts in Roman housing: Baird (2012), and Baird(forthcoming) chapter 1.

[14]It was the choice made by F.E. Brown in the *agora* during the two last years of the expedition. While it left the Hellenistic and Parthian walls visible, this methodical digging is also at the origin of large holes in the centre of the rooms and the collapse of walls whose foundations had been undermined.

G3 (fig. 4). These discoveries were, however, overshadowed by the simultaneous and more spectacular discovery of the Christian House's paintings and that of dozens of Roman military *papyri*. As a result, the sector's exploration was put on hold for a couple years. Most of the excavation was carried out in 1933 and in 1935-1937 by Frank E. Brown, then a graduate student at Yale University.[15] Overall, the Yale-French Academy Expedition cleared almost two thirds of the eight-block area, uncovering one public office and dozens of shops and dwellings (fig. 5). A first presentation of the remains was published in the preliminary report of the fifth season,[16] and, mostly, in one volume of the preliminary reports of the ninth season.[17] With one complete volume dedicated to its exploration, the *agora* has often been considered one of the best published sectors of the site. This publication remains, however, very superficial. After two chapters presenting the constructions ascribed by F.E. Brown to the earliest phases of the public square, the Roman buildings are described unit per unit. Two additional chapters concern the sculptures and the inscriptions found in the sector. The publication is completed by several architectural plans and reconstructions of the *agora*. The descriptions are often very factual and brief. Rooms are ascribed functions on the basis of their shape and place in the units, following an idealised model of what a Durene house should look like. The overall image is that of a seemingly anarchical appropriation of the open public square by merchants and inhabitants, following an "Oriental" model we can recognise in modern *suqs*.

In 2005, I resumed fieldwork in the *agora* for the Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura. My aim was to clarify and complete F.E. Brown's presentation of the public square, in light of new methods of investigation and recent discoveries in other sites in the Greco-Roman Near East and in Europos itself. The *agora* of Europos is one of the few public squares securely identified and explored in the Hellenized Near East, with the Hellenistic square at Seleucia on the Tigris in Iraq and the Roman squares of Palmyra and Apamea in Syria (fig. 1). It is also the only identified public square in the region whose life span encompassed more than five centuries, and three successive rules: the Seleukids, the Parthians and the Romans. With this renewed study, I consequently aim at a better understanding of the impact of Greek culture in the Greco-Macedonian colonies founded in the East, and how it was perceived by the cosmopolitan

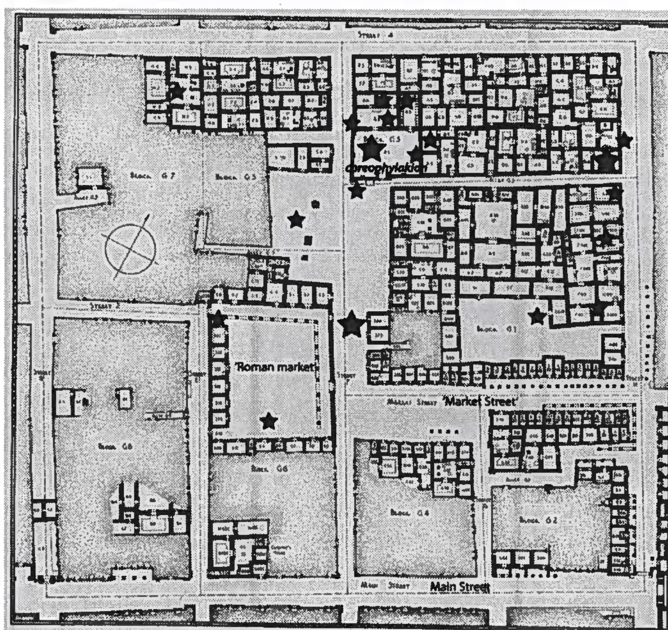


Fig. 5: Plan of the *agora* (courtesy Dura-Europos collection, Yale University Art Gallery). The stars indicate the sectors where I proceeded to further cleaning or opened new trenches in 2005-2010

[15]F.E. Brown became field director of the Durene Expedition in 1936-1937. In 1945, he briefly assumed the position of General Director of the Syrian Antiquities, before moving back to the American School at Rome and Yale University.

[16]Hopkins (1934).

[17]Rostovtzeff and Brown (1944) (mostly written by F.E. Brown).

population of these settlements, both when the area was still under Seleukid rule and during the centuries following the integration of Europos into the Parthian empire.

III. Methodology of the study

My study on the *agora* is based on two complementary sets of data: the actual remains in the field on one hand, the data collected in the 1930s on the other hand.

The archive of the 1930s excavations includes several thousand of photographs, plans and drawings. Some were reproduced in the preliminary reports, but most remained unpublished and are even sometimes unidentified in the archive. Field-books describe day by day the main events and discoveries in the site. There are also many reports and letters sent by the archaeologists to the President of the University of Yale and to the scientific Director of the Expedition, M.I. Rostovtzeff. These documents inform us of the major discoveries and the excavators' hypotheses. Finally, the catalogue of artefacts is also helpful to determine the progression of excavations in the site, as it usually recorded the finding date and the room where the object was found.[18]

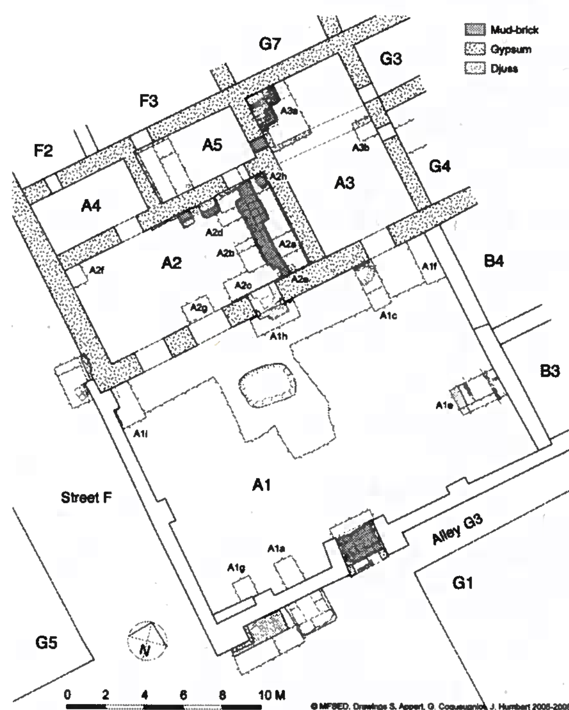


Fig. 6: Plan of the *chreophylakeion* in block G3 (© Mission franco-syrienne d'Europos-Doura)

On the field, our work was twofold. A first part consisted in the cleaning and architectural study of remains that had first been uncovered in the 1930s. In 1937, the Franco-American expedition was suspended when the Rockefeller Foundation suspended its financial support. Archaeological work was only resumed in the site in 1986 by a new Franco-Syrian expedition. During the fifty-years long abandonment, the ruins further deteriorated under the combined action of rain and wind. The climate in the region is semi-arid, with two main seasons: hot and dry summers, and mild winters with heavy rainfalls. During fall and spring, the site is also frequently subjected to violent sand-storms. Consequently, the remains' mud-brick walls slowly melted, and the gypsum foundations were mined by water stagnating in the abandoned trenches. Through careful cleaning, it was often possible to recover some structures - or, at least, their foundations - that had completely disappeared since they were described or photographed in the 1930s (fig. 7, 8 and 9). By recovering these constructions, it was then possible to compare them with the description eventually written by the previous excavators and to complete the architectural study of the buildings by using new methods of investigations and comparison with other buildings from the same period. A second aspect of our fieldwork was the opening of new trenches in selected areas. The aim was to establish stratigraphic relations between the different walls and the open spaces. These trenches were principally opened in block G1 and G3, as my

[18]Baird (2012), and Baird(forthcoming).

study was initially focussed on these two blocks. Additional trenches, especially in the Roman market in block G6 and in Street F, were left unfinished when fieldwork was suspended in 2011.

My investigation of the *agora* has therefore combined the different sources available on the area.[19] While fieldwork has focussed on a detailed study of the architectural structures and the *in situ* stratigraphy, the documentation of the 1930s records constructions and levels that have now completely disappeared and occasionally associates them with artefacts preserved in Yale University Art Gallery or in the National Museum at Damascus.[20]

Fig. 7: North-West corner of the archive room G3A3 in 1935, at the end of the excavation (courtesy Dura-Europos collection, Yale University Art Gallery)

IV. Building A in block G3: a public office in the *agora*

The following part will focus more particularly on one of the main buildings identified in the *agora*: the *chreophylakeion*, a public office registering and archiving land-contracts (fig. 6).[21] The importance of this building is multiple. It is one of the sectors of the *agora* were the first, Hellenistic phase can still be recognised. Moreover, this is the only civic office uncovered in the public square. Finally, this is one of the best preserved (and one of the only) archival offices identified in the Greco-Roman world. This last point is, in fact, at the origin of my interest for Europos-Doura, and it was to see the remains of this building that I originally went to work in the site in 2003.[22] The building consisted of four rooms (A2 to A5) in the south-western corner of the Hellenistic block G3, later preceded by a large courtyard (A1).

While the importance of building A was quickly assessed by the archaeologists, its functions were initially subject to much speculation. The clearing of the area began in blocks G1 and G3, which seemed occupied by a unique construction. In a letter to M. I. Rostovtzeff, Clark Hopkins mentions the beginning of the excavation of block G3, where the court A1 preceded "a building, three sides of which are of cut stone and [Hopkins was] hoping it is a temple + an early one."[23] A dozen days later, this preliminary identification was rejected, and the peculiar columbarium-like structures along the walls of room A3 (fig. 7) lead the archaeologists to suggest "it may have been the library of the record office".[24] More puzzling, between the niches were

Fig. 8: North-West corner of the archive room G3A3 in 2005, before the new study (photo G. Coqueugniot)

[19] I visited the Dura-Europos collection at Yale University Art Gallery in December 2004 and in February 2011. I conducted fieldwork in the *agora* in March-May 2005, March-April 2007, April 2008, March 2009 and April 2010, with a team of two to twelve local workers.

[20] As for many excavations from that time, the agreement between Yale University and the Antiquities of the region (then a French protectorate) had planned for half of the discoveries each year to be shipped to the United States, while the other half remained in Syria. In 1936, a new museum was built in Damascus to exhibit the wall-paintings of the synagogue and other artefacts found in Europos.

[21] Coqueugniot (2012).

[22] I was, at that time, working on the architecture of public archives and libraries in the Hellenic world for my doctoral dissertation.

[23] Letter by C. Hopkins to M.I. Rostovtzeff, Dec. 13, 1931. Dura-Europos collection, Yale University Art Gallery.

[24] Suggestion by H. Pearson in a letter by C. Hopkins to M.I. Rostovtzeff, Dec. 25, 1931. Dura-Europos collection, Yale University Art Gallery.

well-cut *graffiti*, including several of an interlaced χ and ρ, usually considered to be a Christian symbol. This was later identified as the monogram of the *chreophylakes*, who were municipal magistrates responsible for recording and keeping land contracts.[25] The *graffiti* were series of numbers recording the dates of the contracts kept in the niches.[26] The filing system in Europos' *chreophylakeion* is one of the most impressive remains of ancient archives, and it has been used to describe or even reconstruct many other record offices in the Greco-Roman world.[27]

During the following seasons of work in the *agora* (1935-1937), Frank Brown decided to investigate more thoroughly this building, and to try to uncover not only their last phase of occupation but also the Parthian and Hellenistic remains. He consequently dismantled several floors and structures to access the older levels and quite often cleared the rooms down to the rock, digging under the Parthian and Roman foundations. For example, in the archive room A3, most of the bench and pigeonhole filing system were dismounted, except in the north-western corner of the room (fig. 7). It also means that the 1930s notebooks and photographs are essential to reconstruct the evolution of the building and the later constructions.[28]

Fig. 9: North-West corner of the archive room G3A3 in 2007, after cleaning (photo G. Coqueugniot)

Fig. 10: Trench A1e in the courtyard of the *chreophylakeion*. View from the East (photo G. Coqueugniot 2005)

Even for the constructions that were not dismantled, ancient photographs are of great value, as many of them have greatly suffered from the rain and sand storms. Before cleaning, nothing was visible of the two niches left *in situ* (fig. 8). After carefully cleaning the mass of melted mud brick and fragmented *djuss* (a local plaster made of powdered gypsum), only part of the bench and the base of the niches could be recognised (fig. 9). Without the 1930s documentation, nobody would have recognised a record office in this room.

In parallel to the cleaning of already known structures in rooms A3 and A2, I decided to open several trenches in the open courtyard A1 (A1a, c, e, f, g and i; fig. 6) and in the public space outside of block G3. The aim was to supply for the lack of stratigraphic data in the 1930s records. Although the beaten-hearth floors have proved difficult to identify,[29] these new trenches have led to the discovery of several new architectural structures in the courtyard A1 and in the open square south of the *chreophylakeion*. This is the case for example in trench A1e (fig. 10), which we opened along the East wall of the courtyard, in order to determinate the stratigraphy associated with this wall. While the original aim was not reached, the trench was

[25]These magistrates are attested by inscriptions and clay sealings found in several other Seleukid cities, in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Elymais.

[26]Brown in Rostovtzeff and Brown (1944) 169-176. The oldest dates, originally thought to go back to the foundation of the colony in the late fourth century B.C.E., did not predate 129 B.C.E. according to Leriche (1996).

[27]See Coqueugniot (2013) 99-103. Valavanis (2002) explicitly uses this system to reconstruct wooden losangic shelves in the Athenian Metroon.

[28]This is most particularly true in room G3A2, where the plastered floor and statue base of the Roman phase have been completely destroyed to uncover the Hellenistic tables and wall.

[29]Only two levels of circulation have been very clearly recognised in the trench of Street F.

enlarged several times because of the discovery of unsuspected structures at that place. Forty centimetres from the wall, there is a line of mud-bricks, plaster and stones: this is what remains of a mud-bench running along the wall. It was probably built in the late second or in the third century C.E. More puzzling are the line of red and grey mud-bricks one metre West of the wall and the associated rough *djuss* floor. The limits of the trench and the poor state of the remains, which were partially razed by a later floor, do not allow a secure identification for this structure, perhaps a large platform anterior to the mud-bench.

V. Conclusion

To sum up, my study of Europos' *agora* is based on the exploitation of data collected in the 1930s, which are then reappraised in light of the remains in the field. Overall, the result is often not so dissimilar to what has been published in the ninth preliminary report. It has, however, been possible to precise the plans and the function of some buildings, or even to identify structures that had been ignored or misinterpreted in the 1930s.[30] Moreover, strategically located new trenches have helped us precise the chronology of the buildings and led to the discovery of new constructions, thus completing our understanding of the buildings or raising new questions and hypotheses about the development of the public square. An additional part of the study, which I have not presented in this paper, consists in looking for parallels in other buildings from the site and the region, or even from the Greco-Roman and Parthian worlds in their whole. This can sometimes allow for a better understanding of partial structures, and help us determine the various influences in the city.

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[30] This is the case of room G3M2 (in the south-east corner of block G3), studied in 2009-2010.

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Alexandrian Disputes on Dissection and Vivisection

David Leith

In Alexandria in the early third century BC, not long after the city's foundation, two doctors were permitted by the state, apparently for the first and last time in Antiquity, not only to dissect human cadavers, but also to cut up and inspect the bodies of criminals while they were still alive. Writing in the early first century AD, the Roman encyclopaedist A. Cornelius Celsus, tells us that these doctors 'laid open men whilst alive - criminals received out of prison from the kings - and whilst these were still breathing, observed parts which beforehand nature had concealed'.[1] The kings referred to were most likely the first two Ptolemaic monarchs, Ptolemy I Soter, and his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigning 304-246 BC, jointly 289-283). The doctors in question were Herophilus, from Chalcedon near the Black Sea, and Erasistratus, from Iulis on the Greek island of Ceus. The report has been doubted by some, who have thought the barbarism and cruelty it involves inconceivable in a Greek doctor, but there are no clear grounds for rejecting it.[2] And not only does Celsus report that human dissection and vivisection was practised, he also records a number of objections to the practice which were mounted by a rival group, or 'sect', of physicians, called the Empiricists, founded by one of Herophilus' pupils, Philinus of Cos.[3] Together these objections constitute one of the most direct and explicit attacks on dissection to have survived from Antiquity, and they will be the focus of this paper. In particular, I want to think a little more about the context of these arguments, and how influential they were. What was the original purpose of these arguments, and what exactly were their targets? How were they transmitted, and by whom? Given that practises of dissection changed considerably over the centuries, were these Empiricist arguments re-used, repackaged or reformulated to take into account different anatomical practices, or were they tied to a specific context?

Celsus is not the only author who reports these Empiricist arguments. One of them is also described in passing by Cicero in his *Academica*. Galen mentions the existence of Empiricist arguments against dissection in his *De Sectis* and elsewhere, though he does not give any specific details in any surviving treatise. But there is another important source that is considerably less well known. This is a pair of Late Antique Latin commentaries on Galen's *De Sectis*, one attributed to John of Alexandria, the other to Agnellus of Ravenna.[4] There are great similarities in structure, language and content between the two Latin commentaries, and they are obviously based on a lost Greek original. This Greek commentary on the *De Sectis* can be plausibly associated with 6th century AD Alexandria, though there are enormous difficulties in working out the precise details of the tradition.[5]

So what kind of attack did the Empiricists mount against the practice of dissection? There are basically three distinct arguments recorded by our three separate sources. The first two arguments are found in both Celsus and the *De Sectis* commentaries, with the second also referred to by Cicero, while the third is reported by Celsus alone. I shall deal with each in turn.

[1] Celsus, *De Medicina* prooemium 23-24, trans. Spencer (Loeb).
[2] See esp. the excellent discussion in Von Staden (1989) 139-153.
[3] On what exactly it means to belong to the different sects of Hellenistic doctors, distinguished by opposing approaches to medicine, see Von Staden (1982). For the Alexandrian context, see Nutton (2004) ch. 9. A good overview of the various ancient medical sects may be found in the Introduction to Frede (1985).
[4] See Pritchet (1982) and Davies et al. (1982).
[5] See esp. Nutton (1991).

I. Human vivisection is cruel and wrong

The first is what might be called an 'ethical' argument. It maintains that vivisection is a cruel act, tantamount to murder, and therefore to be condemned.

I.1 Celsus pref. 40

atque ea quidem, de quibus est dictum, supervacua esse tantummodo. id vero quod restat etiam crudele, vivorum hominum alvum atque praecordia incidi, et salutis humanae praesidem artem non solum pestem alicui, sed hanc etiam atrocissimam inferre.

But these things [i.e. hidden causes and natural faculties], about which we have just spoken, are merely superfluous, but the remaining [kind of knowledge] is also cruel, namely dissecting the belly and chest of living people, and introducing to an art which is supposed to protect human health, not just the murder of a person, but even so monstrous a murder.

I.2 Cf. Celsus pref. 23, 26 (a Dogmatist defence of human vivisection)

longeque optime fecisse Herophilum et Erasistratum, qui nocentes homines a regibus ex carcere acceptos vivos inciderint. ... neque esse crudele, sicut plerique proponunt, hominum nocentium et horum quoque paucorum suppliciis remedia populis innocentibus saeculorum omnium quaeri.

And they say that Herophilus and Erasistratus acted in the best way by far, when they cut open criminals, whom they received out of prison from the kings, while still alive. ... And it is not cruel, as most people say, to seek remedies for the innocent people of all ages through the execution of criminals, and just a few of them at that.

I.3 John of Alexandria, Comm. on Galen's De Sectis [pp. 57-58 Pritchet]

iterum instant empirici et dicunt quia, dum anatomiam faciunt dogmatici in vivis, homicidium perpetrare dignoscuntur, cum medicina sit ars in humanis corporibus operans sanitatem. "vos autem dogmatici econtra homines vivos incidendo interficitis; nos sic non agimus, sed anatomiam in simiam et ursum facimus quia habent aliqua consimilia hominibus." ad hoc dogmatici, "hos qui digni sunt morte et a iudicibus iudicati ut moriantur, occidimus; sic etenim faciebant Erofilus et alii antiqui."

Next the Empiricists take a stand and say that, since the Dogmatists practise dissection on the living, they are found to be committing murder, since medicine is an art which produces health in human bodies. "But you, Dogmatists, on the contrary murder people by cutting into them while alive. We do not do this, but practise dissection on monkeys and bears because they have some similarity to humans." To this the Dogmatists [reply], "We kill those who deserve to die and who have been sentenced to death by judges. This is what Herophilus and other ancients used to do."

Firstly, it is important to note that it is not dissection in general that is targeted, but *only* vivisection, and specifically *human* vivisection. Both Celsus and the commentators are quite clear that they are talking of the cruelty of cutting up living *people* - Celsus speaks of *vivi homines* and the threat to *humana salus*, while the commentators refer to the practice as *homicidium*. This is also clear from the nature of the Dogmatists' defence, recorded again in both sources - they argue that their practice is not cruel *only* on the grounds that the victims are criminals who have already been condemned to death. There is no question of animal vivisection here - indeed, the Empiricists

are reported by the *De Sectis* commentators as having suggested animal vivisection as a non-cruel *alternative* to the practice they condemn. These Empiricists are made to say that, instead, they 'practise dissection on monkeys and bears because they have some similarity to humans.' This is no doubt a surprising thing for an Empiricist to say, and I shall come back to the point later, but for now it serves to illustrate the fact that this Empiricist argument has a restricted scope - it targets only Herophilus and Erasistratus' practice of dissecting *humans while they were still alive.*

It is also worth noting that both Celsus and the commentators appeal not only to a general sense of the cruelty of cutting open living people, but also to the obligations of the medical art itself. This is undoubtedly rhetorical embellishment, but it may be observed that it is the duties of the *doctor* which are particularly felt to have been transgressed by the Dogmatists. Recalling the stricture of the Hippocratic *Epidemics* 1 that the doctor must 'help, or at least do not harm', the vivisector of humans is convicted not just of cruelty and homicide, but also of deliberately flouting the principles of medicine itself: medicine is supposed to protect human health, not to destroy life, and least of all in such a violent manner.[6]

II. Dissection does not reveal what the Dogmatists claim

The second argument is more comprehensive in its target. Here the Empiricists object that cutting open the body will change it in a way which will render one's observations irrelevant. If one's goal is to understand how the body, fragile as it is, functions in its *normal* condition, then how can one expect to achieve this goal by violently disrupting, indeed by destroying its normal state?

II.1 Celsus pref. 40-43

> *cum praesertim ex his quae tanta violentia quaerantur, alia non possint omnino cognosci, alia possint etiam sine scelere. nam colorem, levorem, mollitiem, duritiem, similiaque omnia non esse talia inciso corpore qualia integro fuerint. ... neque quicquam esse stultius, quam quale quidque vivo homine est, tale existimare esse moriente, immo iam mortuo. ... itaque consequi medicum, ut hominem crudeliter iugulet, non ut sciat, qualia vivi viscera habeamus.*
>
> And [vivisection is cruel] especially because, out of the things which they seek with such violence, some cannot be known at all, while others can be known even without a crime. For when the body is cut open, the colour, smoothness, softness, hardness, and so on [of the parts] are not such as they were when it was intact. ... There is nothing more stupid than to suppose that a part will be in the same condition when a person is alive as when they are dying, and even more so when they are dead. ... Therefore it turns out that the doctor cruelly murders a person, not that he finds out what our organs are like when we are alive.

II.2 John of Alexandria, Comm. on Galen's De Sectis [p. 58 Pritchet]

> *at ratio reddantur, iterum empiricis dicentibus quod nec in mortuis exercenda est anatomia quia iam confusio facta est membrorum et nulla discretio potest inveniri. quibus respondemus quia nos non expectamus donec confusio fiat membrorum, sed mox ut moriuntur incidimus ut inveniamus .vi. illa que in superiori diximus theoria: numerum scema substantiam magnitudinem positionem et alterutrum communitatibus.*

[6]Hp. *Epid.* I 11 [ii 634-636 Littré], ἀσκεῖν περὶ τὰ σώματα δύο, ὠφελεῖν ἢ μὴ βλάπτειν ('As to diseases, make a habit of two things – to help, or at least to do no harm', trans. Jones).

> But another argument is given, since the Empiricists say next that dissection should not even be practised on corpses, since a confusion [i.e. through decomposition] of the parts occurs and a means of distinguishing them cannot be found. To which we respond that we do not wait until a confusion of the parts occurs, but as soon as they die we cut into them so that we can find those six things which we mentioned in the general remarks previously: number, shape, substance, size, position and relations with one another.

II.3 Cicero, Academica 2.122

> *corpora nostra non novimus; qui sint situs partium, quam vim quaeque habeat ignoramus. itaque medici ipsi, quorum intererat ea nosse, aperuerunt ut viderentur, nec eo tamen aiunt empirici notiora esse illa, quia possit fieri ut patefacta et detecta mutentur.*
>
> We do not know our own bodies; we are ignorant of the positions of their parts and what faculty each has. Accordingly those doctors, who are interested in knowing these things, have opened up bodies to be inspected, yet nevertheless the Empiricists insist that they are not better known by this practice, since it is possible that when exposed and uncovered they are altered.

Celsus observes that the states of the soft inner organs might be irretrievably altered even by exposing them to the air. Cicero, too, was aware of this Empiricist argument, and his account brings out clearly the sceptical side of the argument (though this may also have something to do with Cicero's own Scepticism): he has the Empiricists asserting, not that the body *definitely* is significantly altered by dissection, but merely that this is plausible, and especially that there is *no way of telling* whether it has or not. Hence it impossible to be sure whether the resulting observations have any relevance or not.

This argument is certainly directed against human vivisection. But it also applies, and indeed applies *a fortiori*, to post mortem dissection, since the longer the victim is dead, the more the organs will depart from their living state. As Celsus says, 'There is nothing more stupid than to suppose that a part will be in the same condition when a person is alive as when they are dying, and *even more so* when they are dead.' The *De Sectis* commentaries focus on post mortem dissection as the focus of the argument, and foreground the decomposition which the body undergoes after death, but it is clear from Celsus that the Empiricists took the argument to be effective likewise against human vivisection too.

III. Systematic dissection is superfluous

The third argument concedes that, nevertheless, there is useful information to be gleaned about the inner parts of the body. But the Empiricists insist that the doctor does not need to resort to dissection in order to get it. In fact, it is precisely by going about his work that the doctor can gain access to this useful anatomical knowledge, by treating wounded patients.

III.1 Celsus pref. 43-44

> *si quid tamen sit quod adhuc spirante homine conspectu subiciatur, id saepe casum offerre curantibus. interdum enim gladiatorem in harena vel militem in acie vel viatorem a latronibus exceptum sic vulnerari ut eius interior aliqua pars aperiatur, et in alio alia. ... idque per misericordiam discere quod alii dira crudelitate cognorint. ob haec ne mortuorum quidem lacerationem necessarium esse - quae etsi non crudelis, tamen foeda sit.*

> But if there is anything to be observed while a person is still breathing, chance often presents it to the healer. For sometimes a gladiator in the arena, or a soldier in battle, or a traveller captured by robbers, is wounded in such a way that an inner part is exposed, and a different one in some other case. ... [The healer] learns through mercy what others discovered by terrible cruelty. For these reasons [they hold] that even the dissection of corpses is unnecessary - even if it is not cruel, it is still abhorrent.

Celsus offers the examples of gladiators, soldiers or victims of violent crime. By treating any such cases, the Empiricists argue, the doctor can become sufficiently acquainted with the inner parts of the body. And since the Dogmatists' practice of vivisection is cruel, as they have already argued, then it is preferable to use this alternative, non-cruel method.

Again, it may be noted that this seems to be directed against specifically *human* vivisection - the acceptable alternatives are all examples of wounded humans, who are still alive when their inner parts are exposed to the practitioner in the course of his work. And the Dogmatists' practice is cruel specifically because it involves *humans*.

But then Celsus also adds an extra point which makes the argument applicable also to post mortem dissection. He observes briefly that, although post mortem dissection may not be cruel, as vivisection is, it is at least 'abhorrent', *foeda* - presumably, that is, both physically and religiously abhorrent. So, once again, the alternative method of observing the inner organs through the treatment of wounds is preferable. Human vivisection is cruel, while post mortem dissection is abhorrent - therefore, since the treatment of wounds can yield the same information about inner parts, in either case it is better for the doctor to rely on it. Hence systematic human vivisection and dissection are both superfluous.

Now, it should be emphasised that the Empiricists were apparently quite serious about this need for the doctor to have knowledge of the inner parts. They did acknowledge the usefulness of anatomical knowledge; they just rejected the method put forward by the Dogmatists for acquiring it. In its place, they proposed something to which they gave the term 'accidental dissection' (ἡ κατὰ περίπτωσιν ἀνατομή).They also apparently referred to the same method as 'observation through wounds' (τραυματικὴ θέα).This is obviously the same method to which Celsus refers - that is, the knowledge of the human body that the doctor gains simply by treating people who have been wounded (such as gladiators, soldiers, travellers, and so on). Galen refers to this Empiricist method of acquiring anatomical knowledge regularly, and he explicitly says that the Empiricists, although they have written entire books against anatomy, still recognise the importance of knowing, for example, the situation of muscles, nerves, arteries and veins.[7]

In fact, none of the Empiricists' arguments that we have seen rely on the premise that anatomical knowledge is useless *per se*. As we have seen, they point out firstly that human vivisection is so cruel that it cannot be condoned, in part based on assumptions about the inherent aims of the medical art. Then they point out that active dissection is not the only method of gaining knowledge of the inner body - there is also 'accidental dissection', in which the doctor naturally comes across internal anatomy in the course of his clinical experiences. But since (i) human vivisection is cruel, and (ii) post mortem dissection is abhorrent, then this merciful 'accidental dissection' is to be preferred in either case.

However, the Empiricists also concede that their own 'accidental dissection' cannot furnish the doctor with a *detailed, in-depth* knowledge of the inner body. But they also deny that active, systematic dissection can provide such knowledge either, whether vivisection or post mortem dissection, at least not any kind of knowledge that will actually be useful to the doctor. For cutting

[7]See e.g. Gal. *AA* 2.3 [ii 288-289 K.]. Similarly *AA* [ii 224 K.]; *Dign. Puls.* [viii 876 K.]; *MM* [x 100 K.]; *Comp. Med. Gen.* [xiii 604, 609 K.]; and ps.-Gal. *Def. Med.* 34 [xix 357 K.].

into the body must inevitably alter it, such that the information it yields can pertain only to this mangled, distorted state of the body, not to the body in its natural state.

So the Empiricists accept the view that anatomical knowledge is indeed medically useful. In an ideal world, doctors would be able to observe and understand the internal workings of the human body, and improve their medical practice thereby. But as it is, doctors can have only a limited knowledge, one which it is perfectly possible to achieve through ordinary clinical encounters. The cruelty of vivisection and the abhorrent nature of post mortem dissection render them undesirable and unnecessary alternatives. Deeper knowledge of the body is in principle desirable, but in practice impossible to achieve, since physical intervention irretrievably compromises the examined body, rendering it irrelevant. Hence the Dogmatist physicians' distinctive practices of dissection are to be rejected - anatomy is useful up to a point, but there are much better ways of acquiring this knowledge; and beyond that point, not even dissection can provide the anatomical knowledge sought.

Perhaps, then, it is worth taking seriously the question whether the Empiricists themselves might have condoned *animal* dissection, as one means of acquiring the kind of limited anatomical knowledge they thought useful. As we saw with regard to the first argument, the *De Sectis* commentator has his Empiricist spokesman say that he and his colleagues do indeed dissect monkeys and bears, because they are similar to humans, as a viable substitute for the cruelty of *human* vivisection. Now, this is undoubtedly a late source, and one could very plausibly argue that there has been some sort of misunderstanding or confusion here, whereby, for example, the Dogmatists' own attested practice of dissecting and vivisecting animals has been mistakenly ascribed to the Empiricist. But the *De Sectis* commentator's words are unambiguous and forthright, and there are no other obvious misunderstandings of this sort elsewhere in the report on the Empiricists. It seems important to observe, then, that animal dissection is left relatively untouched by the Empiricist arguments as they are preserved in our sources. Given everything that Celsus and the commentators tell us, there appears to be no particularly good reason, beyond a general feeling of revulsion, why animals should *not* be dissected and vivisected, if only in order to provide a general conception of how, for example, the main vessels are distributed throughout the body.

It is also important to observe how this strategy of conceding to the Dogmatists the basic usefulness of anatomy might seem to be a rather dangerous one for the Empiricists to adopt. It would seem to leave them open to a number of objections. For example, if the doctor needs anatomical knowledge in order to treat patients effectively, then what is the Empiricist to do if he has not encountered a sufficient number of wounds, or if he has encountered only a certain type of wound? How could this 'accidental dissection' ever be *relied* upon to educate each Empiricist doctor in the relevant knowledge, concerning the nerves, arteries, and so on? Another problem would seem to be raised by their confidence that 'accidental dissection' or 'wound observation' will provide them with just enough anatomical knowledge. Why should observation of wounds coincidentally furnish just the right amount of anatomical knowledge? If that much knowledge is necessary, how could the Empiricist know that *more* anatomical knowledge will not be similarly useful? Surely that point could only be established by further investigation based on systematic dissections, of just the sort that the Dogmatists espoused. There are doubtless many more possible objections, and presumably the Dogmatists will not have been blind to them.

But focusing on such potential difficulties may be to misunderstand the Empiricists' strategy. Their purpose may have been much less ambitious than a full-scale refutation of the Dogmatists' position. They may have intended merely to *cast doubt* on the usefulness of dissection, rather than to overthrow it completely. This points to what I see as one of the key aspects of these Empiricist arguments against dissection. They are formulated only with the specific practices of Herophilus and Erasistratus in mind. The Empiricists, according to these reports, did not attempt to mount

a comprehensive attack on dissection in general, but only on the vivisection and post mortem dissection of humans that was carried out in early Alexandria. These arguments, therefore, must be seen above all as *ad hominem* attacks. They were not intended to espouse the Empiricists' own positive doctrines about the usefulness of dissection. Rather, they are dialectical moves, designed to undermine and destabilize the claims made by Herophileans and Erasistrateans concerning their own, newly developed methodologies. Herophilus and Erasistratus will have promoted their anatomical discoveries as a central part of the success of their medicine, and they were an obvious target for their opponents.

General moral anxieties over the practice of human dissection and especially vivisection in Alexandria will surely have put Herophilus and Erasistratus in a very delicate position. They will have been under considerable pressure to demonstrate to the authorities that their experiments on humans were genuinely worth it, and in particular that they *continued* to be worth it. It looks as if their dispensation to vivisect condemned criminals was possible only through the direct intervention of Ptolemy I and II, and so it may not have taken much to have this revoked. Hence the Empiricists need not have attempted to invalidate the whole project entirely. It may have been enough for them merely to introduce uncertainties over the value of *continuing* to vivisect humans. They did not have to demonstrate once and for all that anatomy itself was useless; it was enough to plant seeds of doubt, that the inherently controversial practices of human vivisection and dissection may not be as necessary as the Dogmatists claimed. It was easy for them to assume the moral high ground in this debate, and it is little wonder that they focused on the cruelty and brutality of the practice. The Empiricists might have been able to channel public disapproval of the vivisection of these criminals, and revulsion at the thought of human corpses being cut up. Given the Ptolemies' involvement in handing over criminals to the anatomists, there may well have been a political dimension to this debate, with the two sides needing to position themselves in relation to the Ptolemaic Court. This might explain why the Empiricists did not question the general usefulness of anatomy, since the Ptolemies were already convinced enough of its value to patronise human vivisection. So I suggest that the Empiricist arguments can best be seen, not as an attempt to refute the Dogmatists comprehensively (and they scarcely do achieve this), but as a less ambitious effort to sabotage or disrupt the fragile set of conditions which made human dissection and vivisection possible in Alexandria in the first place.

So these arguments should perhaps not be taken at face value as sources for Empiricist doctrine. We needn't believe that the Empiricists really thought it was necessary to go around looking for wounded people in order to learn anatomy. Likewise, I am prepared to believe that at some point an Empiricist did say that cutting open animals could be a viable alternative to cutting up humans - not as part of a positive case for the benefits of animal vivisection, but as an *ad hominem* critique specifically of *human* vivisection. This Empiricist will not have been saying that all doctors really ought to vivisect animals, only that the Dogmatists are wrong to vivisect humans; rather, the Dogmatists themselves should have restricted themselves to animal species which most resemble humans (i.e. the ape and bear, both of which can walk on two feet). They were not really interested in animal vivisection or dissection *per se* because this was not the method that Herophilus and Erasistratus themselves focused on in promoting their own medical expertise.

All this raises the question, then, of what *relevance* these anti-dissection arguments could possibly have had beyond the very short period of time in which Herophilus and Erasistratus were dissecting and vivisecting humans in early Alexandria. As Heinrich von Staden has shown, there is no evidence for any continued dissection or vivisection of humans after these physicians in the early to mid-third century BC.[8] The practice seems to have stopped almost as soon as it started, perhaps in part because of the Empiricists' critique. Yet, as Celsus and especially the Late Antique

[8] Von Staden (1989) 445-446.

commentaries attest, these arguments certainly had a long afterlife. They were transmitted not only to Imperial Rome, but also to Late Antique Alexandria, in an influential commentary on Galen's central text *On the Sects for Beginners*, which was the first treatise to be studied in the Alexandrian Galenic Canon.

So what was the relevance of these arguments when dissection was not actually being practised? Part of their continued relevance is related to the switch of focus that seems to have occurred, moving away from the practice of active dissection towards interest only in *the recorded results of such dissection*. The Empiricists (rightly) saw secondhand, recorded anatomical knowledge as a problem just as much as the *direct* observation of the body through dissection. If the results of systematic dissection and vivisection, now written down in books, were acknowledged to be useful to medical practice, then of course this would only serve to legitimate the original practice as well, which the Empiricists of course wanted to avoid at all costs. There is no sign, for example, that they ever conceded that reading anatomical books could be a good way to acquire anatomical knowledge.

This switch of focus, after systematic dissection ceased to be practised, is nicely illustrated by a debate reported by the Empiricist doctor Apollonius of Citium, author of the only surviving Hellenistic medical treatise, *On Joints*, written in the earlier first century BC. In it the Herophilean physician Hegetor is reported to have criticised the Empiricists for having failed to take into account a basic anatomical fact which straightforwardly and fundamentally affects treatment.[9] For it is pointless, he argues, to try to reset a dislocated hip, because there is inside the hip joint a strong *ligamentum*, the *ligamentum teres*, which binds the joint together. Once this is torn, when the joint dislocates, it cannot be repaired, and the joint will simply continue to slip out. There is little doubt that Hegetor himself knew of this ligament in humans not through his own active dissections, but from the recorded anatomical information handed down from his predecessors, perhaps from the founder of his own sect, Herophilus himself.

But the Empiricists retorted that, no matter what the anatomy of the hip joint might be, it remains the case that doctors have actually observed that it can be successfully reduced. Galen tells us, for example, that the Empiricist Heraclides of Tarentum observed two cases of its being reset without complication in children. The authority of Hippocrates was also invoked by them, who described in *On Joints* how to reset this kind of dislocation, which he would not have done, their argument goes, were it an impossible task.

Again, the Empiricists wanted to show that anatomical knowledge was not useful in the way the Dogmatists thought it was - it could not be used to predetermine how a condition should be treated, and it was not at all clear how it could ever be judged relevant to real-life clinical cases. But the Empiricists were no longer arguing against the practice of dissection itself. It seems to me that the specific arguments we have been considering, recorded by Celsus and others, remain tied to their original context in early Alexandria, when dissection was actually being carried out.

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Dragon Myth and Alexander the Great: The Case of the Serpent Sire and the Dragon in India*

Christian Thrue Djurslev

Two recent studies of the dragon in the Classical, Christian and Islamic worlds place great emphasis on Alexander's association with supernatural serpents.[1] The affinity is indeed a frequent feature in the ancient sources that Daniel Ogden has spoken of 'Alexander's world of serpents.'[2] Two prominent serpents from this world are the subject of the present article: (I) Alexander's serpent sire and (II) a dragon that he supposedly slew.

Part I is a discussion of two mythologising aspects of Alexander's sire. The first section (**I.1**) concerns Zeus' paternity of Alexander. Its argument is that this connection caused a discernible 'mythologisation' that incorporated Alexander into the realm of the Olympian deities. In the second section (**I.2**) three results of the aforementioned tradition are explored: Zeus Ammon as Alexander's serpent sire, the dragon-cult of Alexander and its related epithets.

In Part II, we revisit a well-known episode from the *Alexander Romance* (hereafter *AR*). The Syriac version of the *AR* (circa 7th century AD) tells the tale of Alexander the Dragon-slayer.[3] Ogden has argued that the story has ties to the Alexandrian dragon-slayer narrative of the Greek *AR* in its alpha version (circa 3rd century AD),[4] but there are earlier narratives that feed into the story. These will be examined to suggest another template for the tale.

As is clear the two parts have divergent aims. But the unifying factor is the overarching stratum of dragon myth and general mythology revolving around the figure of Alexander in antiquity. Owing to arcane nature of the subject, this aspect of the 'mythologisation' of Alexander has suffered severe neglect by scholars. The only scholarly contribution is that of Ogden whose recent work has partially been devoted to this. It is hoped that the few following pages will supplement and support the current contentions.

I. The Mythologisation of Alexander

I.1 Zeus as Alexander's Father

A famous tale about Alexander's conception is that he was sired by a supernatural serpent. The tale was thriving in Alexander's own day, perhaps circulated by his mother Olympias.[5] Ogden contends that the best candidate for Alexander's serpent sire was Zeus Meilichios and argues that Zeus Ammon of Libya was later grafted onto the serpent-siring tale to accommodate the story that Ammon's priests at the Siwah Oracle had greeted Alexander as the son of the same god.[6]

*Abbreviations are as follows: *ANF* = Coxe (1885-1996); *FGrH* = F. Jacoby, *Fragmente die griechischen Historiker*; Lampe = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*; Lewis and Short = C. T. Lewis & C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*; LSJ = Liddell and Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*; *PG* = F. Migne, Patrologia Graeca; *SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*; *SH* = H. Lloyd-Jones & P. J. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenistici*; *TLG* = *Thesaurus Lingua Graeca*.

[1] For Alexander lore and the Classical dragon, see Ogden (2013b) 286-98, 330-9. Christian and Islamic dragon at Kuehn (2011) 22; 55; 75; 146; 178; 192.

[2] Ogden (2011) 29-42.

[3] Syriac *AR* 3.7, translation at Budge (1889) 107-8.

[4] Ogden (2012) 279-80. Compare Ogden (2013a) 244-6.

[5] Ogden (2011) 21-2.

[6] Ogden (2013b) 333-4.

We are unable to say with much confidence when this insertion happened. It is clear that Roman authors, such as Pompeius Trogus and Plutarch, identify the serpent with Ammon,[7] but the scant evidence does not support the notion that Zeus Ammon was always conceived as the serpent and vice versa. Indeed, Plutarch records two birth myths for Alexander that do not involve Zeus in serpentine form.[8] Zeus was, however, overwhelmingly considered the father of Alexander, and an important aspect of this will briefly be considered, namely the incorporation of Alexander into the mythological landscape.

A rich vein of myth is found in Latin literature, especially from the early imperial period. The Augustan poet Ovid composed these lines in circa AD 10:

> Let no more cups be mixed for you that are safe to drink, than for him [i.e. Alexander] who was born of horned Jupiter.
>
> Ovid *Ibis* 295-6.[9]

There can be no doubt that 'horned Jupiter' is Zeus in the guise of Ammon. It is striking that the poet can integrate Alexander so effortlessly into the invective alongside other mythological *exempla*. Similarly, the Flavian Silius Italicus addresses Alexander as the 'true-born son of Libyan Ammon,'[10] and his contemporary Statius comfortably acknowledges Alexander as the son of the Ammonian thunder god.[11]

In the Greek tradition Alexander, son of Zeus, was literally written into the landscape. The travel-writer Pausanias reports that he had seen a house in Megalopolis in the Peloponnese that had belonged to Alexander. He recognised the presence of Alexander because there was an image of Ammon with ram's horns outside the house.[12] An Alexandrian inscription on a stone also refers to Alexander as son of Zeus Ammon.[13]

Christians were also witnesses to this tradition, for instance Clement of Alexandria criticised Alexander for projecting himself as Ammon's son by adding a horn to his images.[14] Another particularly poignant passage occurs in the *Recognitions of Clement*, attributed to Clement of Rome (died circa AD 99).[15] In a conversation with St. Peter, Clement discuss the infamous deeds of Zeus. First he lists the names of women with whom Zeus had incestuous relations; then he appends a list of the women with whom Zeus committed 'fruitful adultery.'[16] Surprisingly, Olympias appears on the latter list. The list is striking because of the banality of its tone. By stating the Olympias' name so matter-of-factly, the anonymous Christian author recognises Alexander as a figure of Greek mythology.

In regard to late-antique poetry it is impossible to get an overview of Alexander's afterlife since none of the many poems in which he was the protagonist are still extant.[17] Reminiscences of a poetic tradition remain, however. A fifth-century AD poem is ascribed to the Delphian Pythia:

> 'Honour Zeus, highest of gods, and Athene Trito-born! And Alexander the King, divine lord in human form; he who Zeus sowed with the best seeds as befitting, so that he'd be defender of law among the living.'

[7]Plutarch *Alexander* 3.1-2. Trogus' text at Justin *Philippic History* 11.11.2-5. See Ogden (2013b) 33, n. 135.
[8]Plutarch *Alexander* 2-3. Exegesis at Ogden (2011) 7-14.
[9]Translation by Kline (2003). Translations are otherwise my own unless other indication is given.
[10]Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.767-8.
[11]Statius *Silvae* 2.7.93
[12]Pausanias *Description of Hellas* 8.32.1.
[13]*SEG* 8.372.
[14]Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation to the Heathen* 4.54, translation at *ANF* ii.187.
[15]According to Quasten (1950) i, 62, it was probably composed in early third century Syria.
[16]Pseudo-Clement *Recognitions of Clement* 10.20-1, translation at *ANF* viii.198.
[17]For some of these, see Ma (2007).

Socrates of Constantinople *Church History* 3.23.

We find another vivid vestige in the magnum opus of Pisander of Laranda, the *Heroic Marriages of the Gods*. This is a lost epic of which we know little except that it was the longest poem of antiquity (60 books). But it has been suggested that the poem reshaped the landscape of Greek mythology by, *inter alia*, incorporating the marriage of Olympias and Zeus.[18] This is significant because Pisander seems to have rewritten the traditional epic cycle by making the child of Olympias a genuine member of the Olympian pantheon.

A mention of the marriage also occurs in the *Dionysiaca* by the Christian poet Nonnus of Panopolis. Describing the quiver of Eros, the poet writes that his twelfth arrow is meant to wound Olympias with love for her husband-to-be.[19] What we have here is significant help for the modern mind in trying to understand the connection between Nonnus' passing remark and the epic cycle already established by Pisander: to Nonnus, Eros' arrow makes Olympias Zeus' last bride, just as Pisander ended the mythological age with their marriage. Further, Nonnus comments that Olympias' husband is 'thrice-encircling' an adjective usually used for describing serpents.[20] This brings us full circle to where we began, namely with the serpent sire.

I.2 Aspects of the Serpent Sire: Ammon, Cult and Epithets

Ogden maintains that the serpent sire was not prevalently known as Zeus Ammon at least until the age of Plutarch.[21] The sophists of Plutarch's day were indeed well-aware of the serpent-siring tale and of Ammon. One of them drew a close parallel in a fictional dialogue set in the Underworld:

> ALEXANDER: Whence did the notion of me being supposititious (*hypobolimaios*) come?
>
> DIOGENES: From the things I heard you mother say about you. Or didn't Olympias say that you are not sprung from Philip but from a dragon or Ammon or I don't know which god, man or beast? In that case you would surely be supposititious.

Dio of Prusa *Oration* 4.19.[22]

Remarks of this kind became a literary *topos* that authors would continue to revisit, for instance the satirist Lucian jests in the exact same way as Dio.[23] More pertinent is, however, Lucian's connection between serpent sire and Ammon: he states explicitly that Alexander was worshipped as the son of a dragon and simultaneously recognises the father as Ammon.[24]

Lucian's note on the dragon-cult for Alexander is vital. Not only does the statement confirm the existence of dragon-cult for Alexander, but it also provides us with a firm *terminus ante quem* for its existence. No scholar has pointed out that Lucian's passage gives us ample evidence for a cult without having to rely on a corrupt and lacunose passage in the *AR*.[25] It is wise to consider the two tantalizing references as parts of the same story in that we have no evidence for Alexander's dragon-cults anywhere else in the Greek and Roman worlds.[26]

[18] Keydell (1935) 308.
[19] Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 7.128
[20] LSJ, s.v. τριέλικτος.
[21] Ogden (2013b) 333.
[22] Compare Dio of Prusa *Oration* 1.7, 32.95, 64.19-21; Plutarch *Moralia* 339, 342; Maximus of Tyre *lecture* 41.1. The *topos* of Diogenes instructing Alexander was extremely common, see for instance Epictetus *Discourses* 2.13.24. See also Stoneman (2003) 329-34 and in general Bosman (2007).
[23] Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.1. Compare Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 12.1 and 12.6.5.
[24] Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 13.2. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς προστιθέντες καὶ οἰκοδομοῦντές σοι νεὼς καὶ θύοντες ὡς δράκοντος υἱῷ. (N.B. θύοντες ὡς δράκοντος υἱῷ).
[25] *AR* 1.32.11.
[26] N.B. Ogden (2013b) 330.

The *AR* contains a unique sobriquet in Alexander's tradition: 'snake-born', *ophiogenēs*. It signifies Alexander's positive relationship with the 'good demons,' *agathoi daimones*, the household guardians of Alexandria that could repel venomous snakes. Ogden has shown in great detail how Alexander became associated with them; Alexander even learned their spell to repel pestilential creatures by conjuring magic circles.[27] In projecting Alexander in this role, the anonymous author of the *AR* considers it a most positive trait that Alexander is master of dragons.

Ophiogenēs was not the only sobriquet that voiced Alexander's association with serpents. Ogden directs us to the writings of the Cappadocian Church Father, Gregory Nazianzen.[28] He uses the intriguing word, 'serpent-son', *drakontiadēs*:

> 'You Alexander, invincible and serpent-son, wine destroyed, when you laid the whole world void.'
>
> Gregory Nazianzen *Poems on Morality* 15.91-2, *PG* 37.773.

The word adds positive contrast to the fact that wine killed him. For all that Alexander was mighty and son of a serpent, he was still liable to be killed by his addiction to wine. This is not a Christian idea; it is also expressed by other authors, for instance by the Latin grammarian Solinus, who was also familiar with Alexander's serpent sire.[29]

The sobriquet is a wondrous thing because it articulates the whole stratum of dragon myth discussed above. No less wondrous for the philologist is the fact that it is a unique word in patristic literature, a *hapax legomenon*. It is not included in Lampe's dictionary of patristic Greek nor does it appear anywhere else in the *TLG* database, except as a personal name in the fragments of Nicander of Colophon and Matron of Pitane.[30] Such a choice of wording is obscure and demands attention.

The facing Latin translation in the Migne-volume offers the term: *anguigena* for *drakontiadēs*. This is helpful. The Latin word consists of 'serpent', *anguis*, and 'beget, produce', *gigno*, which gives us 'serpent-begotten.'[31] In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* it is used by the Theban king Pentheus about the female followers of Dionysus.[32] But in the *Fasti*, we find the alluring *draconigena* that describes the Theban city founded after Cadmus slew the dragon.[33] This word is more attractive because Sidonius Apollinaris, a fifth century Gallic bishop, refers to Alexander by this epithet.[34]

The choice of sobriquet in the writings of the bishops Gregory and Sidonius is esoteric and recondite. Not even the celebrated Alexander-scholar Friedrich Pfister included it in his otherwise meticulous study of Alexander's sobriquets.[35] But the testimony of Gregory and of Sidonius also evinces a much larger trend in the way in which Alexander was thought to be associated with dragons in Late Antiquity: his siring by dragon was a positive feature to two Christian bishops in the east and the west of the Roman empire.[36]

This makes Alexander the first character that educated men would think of when describing a birth-by-dragon context. It is therefore no surprise that the Roman biographer Aurelius Victor makes Alexander's serpent sire the model for that of the Roman emperor Galerius (reigned

[27] Ogden (2013b) 293-7. Also known to Pfister (1976): 93-5. Alexander learned the repel spell so well that he, in the Persian tradition, was able to use it against faeries and giants, see e.g. Southgate (1978) 163.

[28] Ogden (2011) 20.

[29] Solinus *On the Wonders of the World* 9.19-20.

[30] Nicander *SH* 73.1 *apud* Athenaeus *Sophists at Supper* 9 (Kaibel §51). Compare Matron *SH* 543.75.

[31] Lewis and Short, s.v. *anguigena*.

[32] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.531.

[33] Ovid *Fasti* 3.865.

[34] Sidonius *Panegyric to Anthemius* 2.80-1. See also 2.121-4. Text and translation at Anderson (1963) 12-3, 16-7.

[35] Instead he focuses upon the prevalent notion of the lion-like Alexander, see Pfister (1964) 70-2.

[36] Compare Matianus Capella *On the Marriage of Philologia and Mercury* 6.655, Servius Grammaticus *Commentary on Vergil* 6.322.

AD 305-11).[37] Galerius was waging war against Persia, which might be why the parallel with Alexander is preferred to that of Augustus.

Towards the end of the fifth century and the Byzantine production of the beta-version of the *AR* (circa AD 500), these positive aspects of Alexander's affinity with dragons begin to vanish. The cult is not mentioned in beta at all. For that reason the following epigram is extraordinary and unique; it is a brilliant highlight in the Byzantine corpus that affirms and displays the tradition that has been investigated on the preceding pages:

> The Lord of all mortals and gods did not weep for Sarpedon nor lament, nor for Alexander, king of the Macedonians, whom Ammon sired in the form of a serpent.

Epigram 217 from the sepulchral poems in the appendix of the *Anthologia Graeca*.

II. The Dragon in India

We turn now from Zeus and serpent sires to a more distant dragon. It lived in India. According to the Syriac *AR*, Alexander's men slew it on his command.[38] Ogden has argued that this dragon-slayer tale refracts a similar narrative about a dragon at Alexandria.[39] The similarity is apparent in that Alexander orders both dragons to be killed by his men rather than taking the field himself, and both dragons live close to a river. Ogden's argument is compelling in this regard. Were the Alexandrian dragon-slayer narrative in the archaeology of the Indian one, it would anchor the tale more than 300 years earlier than the Syriac narrative because the Alexandrian tale is extant in the earliest version of the *AR*, alpha, from circa the 3rd century AD.[40]

Two passages from the Greek corpus are, however, crucial to the reconstruction of the earliest templates of the story. The first instance occurs in the writings of the orator and essayist Maximus of Tyre:

> Taxiles [an Indian king] showed Alexander the marvels of the land of India, huge rivers and many coloured birds and fragrant plants and other marvels new to Greek eyes. And among all this he showed him an immense creature, the sacred image of Dionysus, to which the Indians used to make sacrifice. This was a snake five hundred feet long, living in a hollow place, in a deep chasm, surrounded by a high wall surmounting the cliffs; the Indians supplied it with sheep and oxen from their flocks and herds to eat, and it devoured them greedily, more like a tyrant than a god.

Maximus of Tyre *Lecture* 2.6.[41]

Maximus' contemporary Claudius Aelian(us) reports a variant tale, but surely about a similar serpent:

> Alexander encountered a dragon which lived in a cavern and was regarded sacred by the Indians who paid it great and superstitious reverence. The Indians went to all lengths imploring Alexander to permit nobody to attack the serpent. And he assented to their wish. Now as the passed by the cavern and caused a noise, the serpent noticed it. And it hissed and snorted so violently that all were terrified and confounded. It was

[37] Ogden (2013b) 341.
[38] Syriac *AR* 3.7, translation at Budge (1889) 107-8.
[39] Ogden (2012) 279-80.
[40] *AR* 1.32. Compare Armenian *AR* §§86-8, translation at Wolohojian (1969) 51.
[41] Translation Trapp (1997) 20-1 (following the edition of Trapp (1994)).

reported to measure 70 cubits although it was not visible in all its length, for it only put its head out. At any rate its eyes are said to have been the size of a large, round Macedonian shield.[42]

Aelian *On the Characteristics of Animals* 15.21.[43]

These stories must be in the archaeology of the Syriac *AR* narrative for the following reasons: (1) the dragon already lives in India, not Alexandria; (2) its gargantuan size is also emphasised in the Syriac *AR*; (3) it is worshipped by the Indians; (4) it is in fact not a god, although the Indians believe it to be in all three texts; (5) the description of its habitat is similar (cave, chasm, mountain cave by a river); (6) it is fed with oxen and sheep by the Indians.

The astonishing difference between the Syriac *AR* and the Greek texts is that the dragon is not slain in the latter. Alexander simply looks at it and marvels. The Aelian passage stands out because Alexander is asked specifically not to slay it. Is Aelian attempting to explain the reason why Alexander did *not* slay it, an action which we would normally expect from a Greek hero? Possibly, although one should bear in mind that Maximus has already laid out a variant version in which such an explanation was not required.

Ancient marvel stories were malleable by nature. The tales in question have something in common, but are clearly not the same. Maximus' narrative may be considered a template for the other narratives, although he is more an influence than a direct source. It is clear that in all three cases the narratives end abruptly which is why we get no sense of closure nor any further explanation. Equally clear is the fact the monster was not killed by Alexander in its late second-century context. Here, the tale was conceived as a marvel-story of the fabulous and fantastic, not about dragon-slaying.[44]

III. Conclusions

In the first part we observed that (a) Zeus' paternity of Alexander had a mythologising effect that engendered Alexander's integration into the epic cycle in antique literature, and (b) Alexander was worshipped as the son of a dragon, often recognised as Zeus Ammon, and there are epithets to corroborate this vigorous mythologisation.

The argument of second part was that the dragon-slayer tale recounted in the Syriac *AR* was not based primarily on the Alexandrian dragon-slayer story, but rather on already existing Greek tales, circulating circa a century prior to what has been suggested.

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It must be remembered that we have zoomed in on obscure lore about Alexander the Great. Within this extremely arcane realm of myth, the emerging pattern is that Alexander was widely and overwhelmingly recognised as the son and associate of dragons. This positive trait is an analogue to that of Dionysus who was also sired by a serpentine Zeus. In this regard, it significantly separates

[42]The same delightful detail is recorded by a Byzantine grammarian from the 12th century, see Tzetzes *Books of Histories* 3.940-9. In this folkloric context I cannot help but mention the wide-eyed dogs in Hans Christian Andersen's fairy-tale *The Tinder-Box* from 1835 (Danish title Fyrtøjet). The eyes of the three dogs are, in sequence, as big as teacups, mill-wheels and towers.

[43]Translation Scholfield (1972).

[44]*Pace* Ogden (2012) 279-80 who fails to mention Maximus and Aelian. To my knowledge there is-outside the *AR* tradition-only one instance in Greek literature in which Alexander slays what we may consider a divine serpent. This is recorded by the stoic philosopher Epictetus (via his erudite student Arrian of Nicomedia), see Epictetus *Discourses* 2.22.17. He simply states that Alexander burned Asclepius' temple to the ground. It is, however, important to observe that Arrian dismisses the tale as a fiction, see his *Alexander's Anabasis*, 7.14.5-6.

Alexander from his fellow dragon-slayers Hercules, Perseus and Bellerophon on the Pegasus horse. It is hoped that further studies in late-antique traditions revolving around Alexander and Dionysus may shed light on this, but for now we draw this to a close with Gregory's emblematic word: Alexander was *drakontiadēs*.

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The Curio Incident: Of the Camp in the Night-Time

*A Problematic Acclamation in Caesar's Bellum Civile ii**

Andrew Worley

Caesar *B.Civ.* ii.25ff has had its fair share of scholarly ink spilt, detailing the untimely demise of the Caesarean legate Curio following an unexpected *imperator* acclamation. Some debate has been voiced as to whether Caesar intended the extended narrative of Curio's week in Africa as a memorial tribute or a sideswipe at a failed subordinate.[1] Whilst some useful work has been done on setting the passage into a framework either of the Caesar's literary style or political bent, the mechanics of the acclamation have been largely ignored.[2] However, a closer reading reveals a tension between the facts as portrayed and Caesar's narration. This problem of facts is best reconciled by Caesar wishing to distort the narrative in order to offer himself and the deceased Curio the better version of the debacle which occurred. Caesar's motives are twofold - namely to present the actions of the legions under Curio in the best possible light in the eyes of Caesar's readers and to scotch the idea of a lack of support for Caesar in an instance where such support seems to be lacking.

The first and most obvious problem with Curio's *imperator* acclamation is that the troops who acclaim him were raised in support of the Pompeians.[3] This is undoubtedly odd. More intriguingly, the Pompeians under Varus attempt to tamper with their loyalty, with curious results. Why would troops waver in loyalty for a leader for whom they have just publicly demonstrated support? Let us consider the passage in summary:

ii.23	Curio arrives in Africa; joins with L. Caesar and his fleet of ten elderly warships & Marcius Rufus (*quaestor*) and his captured Pompeian ship.
§24	Marcius Rufus sent to Utica with the fleet.
§25	Curio, outside Utica, deploys his cavalry to carry of property being moved into Utica, they defeat a detachment of Numidians & successfully compels the merchantmen at anchor to come over to his camp from Utica (thereby securing provisions and supply lines).
§26	Curio hailed *imperator*.
§27	two Marsic centurions defect to Varus, claiming Curio lacks support from his troops.
§28	Varus attempts to woo Curio's forces; Curio's men remain silent.
§29	Curio's troops discuss their loyalties.
§30	Curio's council of war: advised either to attack now (waiting risks defections) or to retreat (and restore loyalty by distance).
§31	Curio prefers to do nothing (foresees desertions in either policy).
§32	Curio addresses troops: highlights their potential to desert and advises against such action.
§33	The troops interrupt & urge Curio to remain steadfast & attack.
§35	Varus almost killed in his flight by Fabius the Pelignian centurion.

*The text cited is that of the Teubner edition edited by Klotz; translations are my own.

[1] For the timescale of Curio's actions, see Avery (1993) 459. Curio's previous political career (which sees him switch from Pompey to Caesar (c.59BCE)) has not been considered. Although interesting, it is beyond the present scope of enquiry.

[2] The classic work on the dramatic structure is Rowe (1960), informed by the work of Opperman (1933). Henderson (1996) is a bemusing recent *tour de force* on Caesar's political & personal aims in constructing the *Bellum Civile*. Only Damon (1994) in an underdeveloped work actually notices that the acclamation may be problematic, but fails to investigate further.

[3] As Caesar himself has already mentioned (*B.Civ.* i.20ff) and later makes patent (*B.Civ.* ii.28ff). Discussed further below.

§36 Utica advises Varus to withdraw or surrender; change of opinion after Juba's emissary arrives.
§37 Curio withdraws to the Cornelian camp with his men's approval.
§38 Deserters inform a credulous Curio that Juba is not coming but has sent Saburra with a small force only.
§39 Curio ineptly questions the captives from the night attack on Saburra's cavalry; decides to attack on exaggerated reports from his own cavalry & enthusiastic infantry.
§41 Curio is engaged by Juba (his cavalry is inexplicably missing); surrounded, his men lose heart.
§42 Curio, unable to rouse his forces, orders a retreat & is wiped out with his forces.
§43 Marcius Rufus, Curio's *quaestor*, in charge of the camp, is urged by his troops to evacuate for Sicily but evacuate is undisciplined and results in few making Sicily.
§44 Some of Curio's forces escape, the rest surrender to Varus only to be killed by Juba.

Initial observations suggest that this is an important part of Caesar's narrative. Not only does it close the second book of the *Bellum Civile*, it is also half the content.[4] Understandable perhaps since this is not only the first skirmish in Africa, but also the first reverse proper for Caesar and his adherents. The undoubted widespread knowledge of the defeat and annihilation of Curio and his forces requires both acknowledgement and negation.[5] Caesar's management of the narration may suggest this approach. Curio's acclamation comes first, predisposing us as readers to a favourable and more conciliatory interpretation of what follows:

> *his rebus gestis Curio se in castra ad Bagradam recipit atque universi exercitus conclamatione imperator appellatur.*
>
> These matters accomplished [the compliance of the merchantmen, the defeat of a detachment of Numidian cavalry & the capture of some elderly warships] Curio himself returned to the camp at Bagrada and was hailed by the entire army with the title *imperator*.

B.Civ. ii.26

All very edifying. Curio has a *universi exercitus conclamatio* with the suggestion of no exceptions. A reading, but a sham. The acclamation itself deserves more scrutiny. It is introduced with *his rebus gestis*, referring to Curio's heady achievements in the first two chapters of the narration. However, the only fighting which has taken place is a skirmish between his cavalry and the Numidians sent as auxiliaries for Varus. Everything else has merely been raiding and compulsion - in the main using the fleet or the cavalry arm. Even from this questionable start, the acclamation is challenged repeatedly by the voices of the soldiers. For there does appear to be some diminishing of Curio's favour within the narration. The immediate consequence of this acclamation is that two Marsic centurions with some of their men desert to Varus, claiming Curio to be unpopular! Preconditioned by our knowledge of the *universi exercitus conclamatio*, and the momentum of the narrative, the immediate, unquestioning reader response is to dismiss this pair of deserters as imbeciles.

> *proxima nocte centuriones Marsi duo ex castris Curioneis cum manipularibus suis xxii ad Attium Varum perfugiunt. hi, sive vere quam habuerant opinionem ad eum perferunt, sive*

[4] 14 pages of Du Pontet (1992) *OCT* edition are filled with the events of Curio in Africa, against 28 pages for *B.Civ.* ii as a whole. So Avery (1993) 461.

[5] Other prominent late Republican instances of factual discomfiture neutralized can be found in Cic. *Flac.* 15ff (the handling of the Greek decrees), *Pis.* 44ff (Piso's successes in Macedonia).

etiam auribus Vari serviunt... ...confirmant quidem certe totius exercitus animos alienos esse a Curione maximeque opus esse in conspectum exercitus venire et colloquendi dare facultatem.

The next night, two Marsic centurions with twenty-two of their maniple left the camp of Curio and fled to Attius Varus. These men, whether in truth they brought to him their own opinion, or what they thought Varus wanted to hear... ...they confirmed that they were sure the entire army was alienated from Curio and that it was worth Varus' while to come within sight of the army and to attempt an opportunity for discourse.

B.Civ. ii.27

This in itself is hardly a death-knell of Curio's popularity and support. Caesar is trying by his narrative positioning to pass this instance of non-elite vocalization off with as little damage to Curio as possible. Or is he? After all, Caesar introduces the suggestion that the centurions were possibly trying to curry favour with Varus by telling him something pleasing (*sive etiam auribus Vari serviunt*). Varus has, by this point in the narrative, witnessed two defeats of his Numidian auxiliaries at the hands of Curio - the latest being the day before, with a botched attempt on Curio's unfinished camp.[6] Or that these centurions simply believed that it was true (*sive vere quam habuerant opinionem*). Admittedly not demonstrative of a problem with the acclamation. The suggestion here is that the factual basis (Curio's unpopularity) in either option is unfounded - it is either the *opinionem* of the centurions (not facts) or their wishing to flatter. Even their *totius exercitus* is not quite as emphatic as the previous *universi exercitus*. However, the pair's suggestion that Varus should direct his efforts to appearing before the army (*maximeque opus esse in conspectum exercitus venire*) - with the emphatic *maxime* - in order to offer them an opportunity for wholescale desertion, is frankly alarming. Their reasons are revealed in the subsequent narrative – Curio's army consists of the Pompeian legions from Corfinium.[7] The acclamation is becoming worryingly insecure, especially now we are informed that Curio's forces consist of two legions of former Pompeian levies. Pompeian legions, under a Caesarean commander, fighting Pompeian forces under a Pompeian commander. Varus' readiness to accept this report of the mood within Curio's camp by his appeal to Curio's troops (§28) suddenly seems to be not without some intelligence. The actions of our unknown Marsic deserting duo are redeemed within the text by the actions of the named Fabius, the Pelignian centurion, who sacrifices his own life in an attempt to kill Varus (§35). The fact that we have two sets of centurions is surely not coincidence. Caesar is trying to balance the narrative, redress the problematic voices, with the action of Fabius deliberately intended to inform and further negate the actions of the Marsic deserters. For we have a deserting pair, who Caesar cares not to name, against the contrasting singleton, named, who attempts a valiant action. Furthermore, we are informed of their territorial connexions - Paeligni and Marsia, neighbouring regions in central Italy. A Roman audience would be acutely aware of the contrasts in both geography and actions. There is also a literary echo Caesar exploits: Ennius vii.229.[8] Instead of Marsi and Paeligni fighting together in Africa against Carthage for Scipio, now they are at loggerheads in their actions.[9] These are all attempts to weaken the non-elite speech within the narrative which is working against Curio.

Varus' appeal, through the mouthpiece of Sextus Quintilius Varus (who we learn had been with the legions at Corfinium but is now with Attius Varus), as has been noted, fails to receive a response. A cause for worry on both sides. For were the legions truly hostile toward Varus,

[6]Caes. *B.Civ.* ii.26.

[7]For the previous history of these legions, see Caes. *B.Civ.* i.20ff. They seem to have only come over to Caesar through the military incompetence of Domitius.

[8]*Marsa manus, Paeligna cohors, Vestina virum vis.*

[9]The allusion can be deepened further by remembering that Curio is operating out of the *castra Scipionis.*

they would have at least protested, ideally attempted injury; if favourable, shown some inclination toward verbal engagement.[10] Caesar is well aware that Curio is held at the mercy of the opinion of his troops. The aftermath of Varus' attempt (*B. Civ.* ii.29) is a well-illustrated cameo of what happens when soldiers talk. We have everyone formulating their own opinion, embellishing with the fears of others (*unusquisque enim opiniones fingebat et ad id, quod ab alio audierat, sui aliquid timoris addebat*). This suggests discussion amongst the troops as to their responsibilities and position in a dangerously seditious form of Chinese whispers. Loyalty is questioned (*...genus hominum, cui liceret libere facere et sequi, quod vellet...*) - after all, in a civil war, which is the right side to be on? The answer: the side which makes the most profitable offer at the time (*...nam etiam Caesaris beneficium mutaverat consuetudo, qua offerentur*). In this light, Curio's acclamation looks positively mercenary. He is hailed imperator by two legions, (effectively purchased from the Pompeians by Caesar), who, for the most part, have taken no part in any military engagement, but have seen that their immediate needs will be well-met by Curio's actions. The acclamation is effectively bought by Curio having made a profitable offer of supplies and no fighting. In return, Curio has rewarded the acclamation with a donative:

> *equidem me Caesaris militem dici volui vos me imperatoris nomine appellauistis. cuius si vos paenitet vestrum vobis beneficium remitto mihi meum restituite nomen ne ad contumeliam honorem dedisse videamini.*
>
> I was content to be called a soldier of Caesar, it was you who called me by the name of *imperator*. If you regret this, I return your payment [*beneficium*] and you return to me my name, lest it should seem to that the honour was given as a reproach.

B.Civ. ii.32.14

Curio is even made to be explicit in this understanding of how to retain one's troops:

> *at, credo, si Caesarem probatis, in me offenditis. qui de meis in vos meritis praedicaturus non sum, quae sunt adhuc et mea voluntate et vestra exspectatione leviora; sed tamen sui laboris milites semper eventu belli praemia petiverunt...*
>
> On the other hand, I suppose, if you approve of Caesar, you find fault in me. I am not going to foretell my services on your behalf, which are as yet slighter than both my wishes and your expectations; yet soldiers have always sought the rewards for their work by the chances of war...

B.Civ. ii.32.10-11

Continued support is reliant upon the commander's services toward his troops. Curio indicates he is lacking suitable rewards for his men, palliated by his acknowledgement of this fact (*meritis... quae sunt adhuc et mea voluntate et vestra exspectatione leviora*). The prospect of *praemia* ('reward') is held out to the troops. Whilst this is not unusual military practice, in the context of the passage, its positioning within the petitionary phrase renders it suspect.[11] Caesar's Curio is in no doubt that his position is based on military consensus, and that this consensus is lacking. The reaction of the troops to this speech might suggest some support:

> *qua oratione permoti milites crebro etiam dicentem interpellabant, ut magno cum dolore infidelitatis suspicionem sustinere viderentur, discendentem vero ex contione universi cohortantur, magno sit animo, necubi dubitet proelium committere et suam fidem virtutemque experiri.*

[10] For an account where legions do react to overtures made, Caes. *B.Civ.* i.74ff (the troops of the unfortunate Afranius & Petreius).

[11] For Caesar's use of *praemia* within the *commentarii*, McDonnell (1990) 61n30.

> The soldiers, moved by this speech, often interrupted him, even whilst he spoke, so that it seemed they bore with great sorrow the suspicion of treachery; as he departed from the assembly they urged him to be of good heart, ne'er to doubt committing them to battle and to test their loyalty and honour.
>
> *B.Civ.* ii.33.1

They interrupt his speech, particularly when he is suspecting their loyalty (*infidelitatis suspicionem sustinere viderentur*). Their urging for him to test them in battle would seem to indicate loyalty to the Caesarean cause. But the entire speech has arisen because of the failure by Curio's forces to publicly reject the overtures of Varus & their own vacillation. Their *fidem* and *virtutem* are hardly redeemed by the vacuousness of their public vocalization, given their private airing of their thoughts.[12] The ensuing battle against the Pompeians, which sees Varus & his forces turn tail and run, is as Caesar makes clear, a direct result of Curio's deployment of his cavalry yet again, augmented by a general panic within the army of Varus (ii.34).

The debacle which ends the book appears to have the legions redeemed in their loyalty – their being strung out and exhausted on the line of march the failing of Curio and his over-zealous nature. His final attack on the Numidian forces is conceived as a result of his prisoners failing to be honest (§38-39) and even his own cavalry being too keen to magnify their own achievements:

> *haec tamen ab ipsis inflatius commemorabantur, ut de suis homines laudibus libenter praedicant.*
>
> These [reports] however were exaggeratedly retold by these men [the cavalry], with the zeal men are apt to praise their own merits.
>
> *B.Civ.* ii.39.4

Caesar does remark (between relating the information of the prisoners and the cavalry's report) that Curio was a little over-keen to attack (*reliqua studio itineris condiciendi quarerere praetermittit...*).[13] The rashness of youth and a critical underestimation of enemy forces, that is to blame for the defeat.[14] But these are fuelled by other factors - Curio's unguarded willingness to trust in non-elite speech and his obsessive desire for victories. If Caesar's narrative arc is to be trusted, Curio seems to have been too keen to believe the reports from the deserters from Utica (§ii.38) (*perfugis quibusdam oppidanis*), the captured Numidians (§ii.38-9) and the exultant cavalry (§ii.39), and as has been seen, a need to maintain his troops' loyalty through material reward. His desire to score as many successes as possible, to not retire from Africa when prompted by his council and the grasping of any chance of success which offers itself, suggests that Curio's reliance on the favour of his troops, brought about by the acclamation, is to blame. Unlike for Scipio (*B.Civ.* iii.31), where the *imperator* acclamation is used to highlight the lack of support for commander, it is used here by Caesar to try to salvage Curio's reputation.[15] Caesar's highlighting the efforts of the legion in the final battle, accompanied by Curio's rashness, is an attempt to deflect attention from the actions of the troops previously. Curio's wish to never appear before Caesar having lost the army

[12] It is a common enough complaint that those subjected to authority are prone to expressing *expected* sentiments in public, but keeping their *actual* opinions private. One solution is contrived by Germanicus in his *incognito* sounding of his men (Tac. *Ann.* ii.13).

[13] Caes. *B.Civ.* ii.39.2.

[14] This is the general line taken by scholarship. A number of scholars have explored this episode with a reading of Curio the over-zealous commander. Notable efforts include Rowe (1967) & Henderson (1996).

[15] Contra Rowe (1967) who sees the acclamation as having "sinister implications for Curio" and considers the acclamations of Pompey, Scipio and Curio to be alike. Only Caesar's acclamation (*B.Civ.* i.74.2) is held to be different, on the basis of it being awarded by the Pompeians. Yet as has been seen, Curio's own acclamation is from Pompeians. For the undoubted contemporary masterclass in *imperator* acclamation demolition, see now Cicero *Pis.* 44, 47, 54, 92-93.

given him (§ii.42) is telling. Curio has been fighting not only the enemy's weapons, but his army's intemperate speech, to save both them and himself. Caesar's effort has been to use the *imperator* acclamation as a programmatic statement to hide both soldierly speech and action from his reader.

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What Is the Future of Latin?

Pegasus presents Jack West-Sherring's successful submission to the Lawrence Shenfield Prize, originally written for his Latin I class. This prize began in 2009 in honour of Dr Lawrence Shenfield, with an annual award to the best undergraduate submission to Pegasus. More information about the Prize and Dr Shenfield can be found on our website (http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus/the-lawrence-shenfield-prize/), where the runners-up for this year's competition have been published. For the first time ever, Pegasus has agreed to allow The Undergraduate (a student magazine run by students, for students) to print another runner-up from this competition in their journal this year.

Latin is at a crossroads in its history, its role in our education system irreparably reduced by the policies of successive governments. This change has resulted in limited access to Latin, feeding Latin's popular image as an elitist language, arguably the most potent threat to its future. Latin's status within Classics itself also appears insecure, with universities restructuring courses to accommodate students with no experience of the language.[1] Yet Latin has a subconscious presence in so many aspects of the modern world: its perception as an 'elevated' language has assured Latin its place in national symbolism and identity, while Christianity's liturgy continues to preserve Latin around the world.[2] In science, too, Latin is revered as the international language perfectly suited to the globalised 21st Century.[3] Evidence suggests that our government is at last recognising its importance. Latin is slowly being restored to our classrooms with online resources and E-learning to match the general shift in education towards independent, student-centred study. Once this is achieved, Latin's future will undoubtedly be bright.

Latin's survival into modern times owes much to its natural suitability for politics, public consumption and national identity. Caesar's tricolon *veni, vidi, vici* has always proved irresistible for generals, kings and statesmen: exclaimed by King Jan III of Poland after his victory at Vienna in 1683, it is also a favourite march of the American Air Force.[4] The US Marines prefer instead Sousa's tune '*Semper Fidelis*' ('always faithful', their regimental motto). Latin phrases have effortless grandeur and credibility whilst also being concise, sharp and pithy. In three words, *De pluribus unum,* a nation's entire identity has been shaped by the idea that from 'the many' who settle in America comes 'one' nation based on equality, unity and respect. When an unproven Senator Obama addressed the Democratic National Convention in 2004, his impassioned speech on *De pluribus unum* won many hearts and began his rapid ascent to political prominence. The motto, visible on all state insignia, is a guiding force in Obama's policies on Latin American immigration and racial equality, underpinning his appointment of Sonia Sotomayor to the Supreme Court as well as his controversial Dream Act (2012).[5] In Britain, the principle of *Sub judice* (Rule of Law), dating from the *Magna Carta,* is central to all current debates on Parliamentary Sovereignty, notably when EU directives leave Brussels.[6] The Prime Minister is expected to be *primus inter pares* ('first amongst equals') in his Cabinet, and Thatcher's disregard for this convention contributed to her eventual political defeat.[7] Latin continues to influence Western democracy, as a government's whole manifesto can revolve around emotive Latin phrases, woven into our constitutions long ago. Can a language so ingrained in our society and state really have a bleak future?

The rapidly changing role of religion across the world acts as a bellwether for the future significance of Latin. At a time when developed Western countries are becoming ever more

[1] Lister (2008) 2.
[2] Haywood (1963) 46.
[3] Gray (2006) 13.
[4] Gray (2006) 15.
[5] Baker (2012) 41.
[6] McNaughton (2011) 63.
[7] McNaughton (2011) 55.

secularised - only 2 million regular churchgoers in Britain by 2020[8] - the election of the first non-European *Pontifex Maximus* heralds the success of Christianity elsewhere. 92% of Argentineans and 65% of Brazilians counted themselves Catholics in 2010,[9] while Christianity is now the fastest growing religion in China, making up 12% of all believers, or 40 million people.[10] This is the result of globalisation, or colonisation, from the West, and it has huge implications for the future of Latin. Latin is present in most aspects of Christian liturgy, very visible in the carols we sing (*Gloria, Hosannah in Excelsis!*) but often discreet, such as the diocese, descendant of the 101 *dioceses* of Emperor Diocletian.[11] Traditional Latin Mass has declined in Europe but finds a wide international audience, to the extent that Pope Benedict restored the Latin as one of two approved forms of the Mass in an Edict on 7th July 2007.[12] As a 'dead' language, Latin will remain unchanged forever while other, vernacular languages evolve over time. Catholics can therefore travel anywhere in the world and hear exactly the same Mass that has existed in that form for 1,500 years. Catholicism will surely preserve Latin because of this stability it brings, and Pope Pius XI revered Latin as a universal language that is a vital asset to the Church in its mission to "embrace all nations" and encourage peace.[13] The success of Latin is bound up in the global success of Christianity, growing evidence of a bright future ahead.

Ironically, Latin is made all the more valuable for being a 'dead' language: since Latin is no longer the official language of a particular country or empire, it is effectively owned by everyone and is non-vernacular. This means that Latin can be used as an international *lingua franca* for scientists and medics without any political connotations. If newly-discovered species were named in the vernacular languages of English or Chinese, it would be as if 'the West' or 'the East' had found them. But because all plants, animals and diseases are given neutral Latin names, they become the possession (or the problem) of all humanity. I think this is crucial in the heavily globalised 21st Century, when overcoming the world's problems - from food shortages to epidemics and natural disasters - will require unprecedented co-operation between the world's nations and great scientific minds. Linnaeus' 1735 binomial system is universally recognised today, and is indispensable for the pharmaceutical industry when sourcing and identifying medicinal plants. Without it, J. Gray argues, understanding and communication within the scientific community would be greatly impaired and co-operation harder to achieve.[14] In the fields of botany, zoology and medicine Latin's universal nature makes it ideal for the medical and environmental challenges we will face in the future.

Yet despite all its political, spiritual and scientific value, Latin's future ultimately depends on how society perceives it, and nowhere is this clearer than in modern journalism. Bill Deedes, one of the *Daily Telegraph's* celebrated editors (1975-86), always viewed Latin as a way to "widen his options" as a journalist.[15] Latin headlines were once commonplace in his best-selling newspaper, and when Deedes wrote a leading article about misconduct in a police force he used the heading: *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes* ('Who guards the guards?'). In the 1980s *Mens sana in corpore sano* ('a healthy mind in a healthy body') was the perfect choice for his leading article on our loss of school playing fields.[16] The change in public attitudes over the last 30 years has been dramatic. Such Latin headings, however expressive, would today be condemned as elitist, leading to probable loss of circulation. Even mere clichés such as Horace's *nil desperandum* are thought of as conveying

[8]Statistics (2011) Table QS21OEW.
[9]CIA (2010) "Argentina".
[10]News (2007).
[11]Johnson (2007) 33.
[12]Gray (2006) 14.
[13]Haywood (1963) 47.
[14]Gray (2006) 13.
[15]Deedes (2006) 12.
[16]Deedes (2006) 10.

superiority when used in conversation, and are symptomatic of an expensive education that incorporated the classics. It is for these reasons that Latin must be "placed out of bounds" of the public sphere even if, as Deedes argues, it can "express a point more pungently than any other language."[17] Society's perception of Latin as an elitist relic of a bygone Imperialist era is one of the most dangerous threats to its future.

This popular and relatively recent view of Latin lay at the heart of the previous Labour government's decision to abolish Latin in the law courts. On 19th July 2000 Lord Woolf, the Lord Chief Justice, declared in *The Times* that under statute 1033/2004 the terms *Mandamus* and *certiorari*, the Latin names for prerogative orders, would be replaced by the English terms 'mandatory' and 'quashing orders.'[18] Lord Justice May described all traditional Latin terms as incomprehensible to those "for whose benefit they are supposed to exist."[19] *'Certiorari'* and 'quashing order' are equally meaningless to the man in the street, yet the official onslaught against Latin continued regardless and in the future, lawyers will probably never know - or require - the original Latin forms. Of course, lawyers will still encounter Latin terminology when delving into all pre-2000 cases, but crucially they will be unable to use it in the future without being accused of 'elitism'. Outside Britain, however, there is no such obstacle to the continued use of Legal Latin. The US Supreme Court routinely employs the terms *amicus brief* and *sub jura* with no charge of elitism. Two separate reports by the European Court of Human Rights between March 2000 and April 2001 contain the following: *per se, ex officio, a fortiori, ratione loci, lex fori* and *de facto*.[20] The international legal community shows no sign of shunning Latin, yet politicians and senior justices in Britain now insist upon it in their efforts to avoid alienating ordinary people. Already, the study of Roman Law on undergraduate Law courses is confined to an optional 1st-year module, squeezed by newer subjects like EU law.[21] As the relevance of Roman Law declines in Britain, so too will the position of Latin. Latin's future may appear secure in the legal world internationally, but after a barrage of populist government policies Legal Latin has all but disappeared in Britain.

Policies of successive British governments concerning the status and role of Latin in our education system, particularly at primary school level, have been equally damaging to the future of Latin. Since the National Curriculum of the 1980s the emphasis has been on 'modern' foreign languages at state-maintained schools, with French the most commonly taught.[22] Timetables have changed from the older, more flexible 40 or 45-period week to 25 1-hour 'slots' per week, slots quickly filled with the 'core' subjects. Latin teachers have survived, Lister notes, by developing an approach to Latin which encompasses the more obviously exciting features of Roman culture and "avoids undue emphasis on grammar."[23] This approach is now typical for all languages at primary school, since "learning to respect the similarities and differences between other people" was the Labour government's official *raison d'être* for early language learning.[24] No language can convey cultural differences more vividly than one spoken 2,000 years ago, making Latin a useful asset in the globalised 21st century as our children learn to appreciate the culture of China and the East.

While a culture-centred approach may instil "elements of citizenship"[25] in pupils it does not, however, make them good linguists. Barbara Bell writes that a class of 11 year-olds she taught at a state secondary school were strangers to the concept of 'verbs': proof that these changes to language teaching are undermining children's linguistic propensity, never mind their literacy in

[17]Deedes (2006) 10.
[18]Gray (2006) 13.
[19]Gray (2006) 13.
[20]Baker (2012) 53.
[21]Gray (2006) 14.
[22]Lawlor (2010) 2.
[23]Lister (2008) 2.
[24]Lawlor (2010) 3.
[25]Lawlor (2010) 3.

English.[26] Latin's greatest educational value has always been its ability to introduce and equip children with the tools of language learning, from parts of speech to tenses and gender, and Bell writes that starting with Latin is the best way to learn English.[27] American studies have shown that children introduced to Latin grammar have the confidence and interest to take on other languages at a later date.[28] Selective 'Grammar schools' have for centuries offered this, but today only 167 remain in the UK and few still teach Latin.[29] This further exacerbates the popular view of Latin as an elitist language accessible only to those educated at private schools. The loss of grammar schools and the scaling back of grammar-based language teaching in the wake of the National Curriculum are key reasons for the decline of Latin's role in our education system.

Oxford and Cambridge universities abolished Latin as an entry requirement for classical courses in May 1960,[30] and most universities now offer Classics degrees to students with no prior qualifications in the ancient languages. These degrees are proving hugely popular: the intake for beginner's Latin at Exeter University more than doubled between 2012 and 2013. While this change has certainly widened access to the ancient world, it has severely undermined the teaching of Latin in schools. There is little incentive for head teachers to introduce Latin to their schools, D. Tristram argues, when aspiring classicists can simply take up the language at university, or study the ancient texts in translation on non-language-based courses.[31] Entries for GCSE Latin dropped from 16,236 in 1988 to 10,365 in 2001, while the number of students entering A-level Latin fell from 1,645 to 1,264 over the same period.[32] Entries for A-level Classical Civilisation, by contrast, rose dramatically in a three-year period from 1,570 in 1998 to 3,188 in 2001, and they continue to grow steadily. The popularity of Classical Civilization is clear evidence of Latin's changing status within the field of Classics. Classics is no longer viewed as the primarily 'textual' subject that it once was, Tristram writes, since areas such as philosophy, art, drama and history are now given equal weight to Greek and Latin language and literature at university level.[33] Van Houdt, at the University of Leuven, fears that these new courses will not adequately equip the next generation of classicists, since students taking beginner's Latin at university rarely become 'independent readers' of authentic Latin texts, who can read Latin without having to translate it first.[34] In seeking to make Classics accessible to those without the ancient languages, universities are endangering both the character of the subject and the future of Latin.

Fortunately, some recent government initiatives provide hope that the future of Latin may brighten yet. Parliament proposed in 2003 that more state-maintained schools would be encouraged to become 'specialist' schools with their own identities and strengths, even opting out of the National Curriculum.[35] Schools specialising in languages quickly became 'language colleges' following this change. This move is hailed by Gibbs as a "retreat from the National Curriculum monolith,"[36] and the even greater autonomy given to schools under the Academies Bill (2010), combined with the rise of free schools - 179 of which opened in 2012[37] - will create a culture of academic freedom in which Latin may prosper. Another change is that schools are being offered financial incentives to enter able students for GCSE examinations ahead of their age cohort. If

[26] Bell (2003) 63.
[27] Bell (2003) 64.
[28] Pelling and Morgan (2010) 11.
[29] Tristram (2003) 10.
[30] Lister (2008) 2.
[31] Tristram (2003) 10.
[32] Tristram (2003) 14.
[33] Tristram (2003) 19.
[34] Van Houdt (2008) 84.
[35] Gibbs (2003) 36.
[36] Gibbs (2003) 36.
[37] Wilby (2011).

those students have already amassed GCSE certificates in English, Maths, French and ICT they would have the opportunity, Lister argues, to undertake something new like Latin.[38] Under the 'Gifted and Talented' scheme introduced in 2003, the top 10% of pupils at each and every secondary school in particular areas take part in specially funded extension programmes, such as 'enrichment hours' after school days.[39] These provide the perfect environment for learning Latin in joint events involving schools of all levels of achievement, thus helping to remove Latin's 'elitist' label. Such events are increasingly run by university students, with KCL undergraduates teaching Latin at inner-city London schools through the Iris Project.[40] The broader access to Latin offered by these government and university-sponsored initiatives is having a tangible impact on Latin's future. More than 250 schools took up Latin within two years after the Gifted and Talented scheme began,[41] while in 2012 entries for OCR A-level Latin increased for the fourth consecutive year. Latin's role in our Education system is now undergoing a gradual revival.

The teaching of Latin will have to change in the future if this revival is to continue. A grammar-based approach to Latin, supported with online activities, is what I would strongly recommend for schools in the future. The remarkable success of *Gwynne's Grammar* and Radio 5's popular *Grammar Slot* demonstrates the growing public appetite for grammatical knowledge. 600,000 11 year-olds will sit spelling, punctuation and grammar tests in May 2014 as part of Education Secretary Michael Gove's plans to improve literacy in schools.[42] Gove's new curriculum represents a return to grammar-based language learning, with the Oxford classicists Professor Pelling and Dr. Morgan encouraging Gove to reinstate Latin as an option for primary schools due to the invaluable platform Latin grammar provides for learning other languages. Barbara Bell's *Minimus* series for primary schools presents Latin in exactly this light and is, in my view, a model for future Latin teaching. Bell received 1,200 letters, 600 e-mails and 500 phone calls from the public within six weeks of *Minimus*' release in 1999.[43] *Minimus* has grammar sections in every chapter that are cleverly interspersed with Greek myths, stories about Roman food and online instructions for making sandals,[44] thus fulfilling the government's aim of showing pupils "similarities and differences" between cultures. Latin lends itself to online grammar exercises and assessments, transforming study from the acquisition of facts into independent learning and exploration. Websites like the Cambridge Latin Course's E-learning resource have given rise to after-school Latin clubs across the country and should form a major part of future Latin teaching as classrooms become ever more student-centred. It remains to be seen how Latin will fit into Gove's new curriculum when it takes full effect in 2015, but I contend that the more Latin grammar is presented as the foundation for further language learning, the brighter Latin's future will be.

Having considered Latin's usefulness in politics, science, education and the Church it is easy to think of Latin as having a protected status in those fields, yet there is no cause for complacency over the future of Latin. Government policies driven by changes in public opinion can eradicate Latin from areas where it was previously thought secure, a truth so recently testified by Latin's demise in British Law. Latin could have disappeared from our curriculum entirely at any point during the last 50 years, and its role in our education system will continue to evolve as governments change. Yet Latin's convenient universality as a dead language, its foremost asset, lies beyond the control of any government or society and will always remain constant. Latin's effortless ability to engage people of all ages and backgrounds with a culture that existed two millennia ago, without political

[38] Lister (2008) 5.
[39] Gibbs (2003) 37.
[40] Pelling and Morgan (2010) 14.
[41] Gibbs (2003) 40.
[42] Grice (2013).
[43] Bell (2003) 66.
[44] Pelling and Morgan (2010) 14.

baggage or ethnicity, is being noted by Education Secretaries everywhere. Michael Gove's return to grammar-based learning offers a unique opportunity to reinstate Latin at primary level, and public support for such a move, visible in the popularity of the *Minimus* series among parents, teachers and children, has never been greater. If it can return to our classrooms in a form geared towards the 21st century, Latin will endow the world's scientists, orators and classicists with all the benefits this language can bring, and Latin will forge for itself a bright future ahead.

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Barbara Borg, *Crisis & Ambition: Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century CE Rome.*

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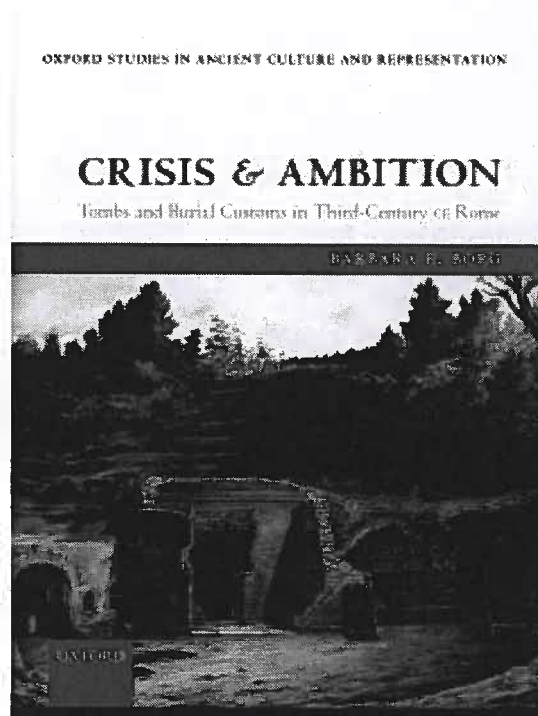
Reviewed by Helen Ackers (Wolfson College, University of Oxford).

In this important new study Borg shows the importance of the much neglected third-century to the study of classical archaeology. By a meticulous examination of the period's tombs and burial customs she throws new light on some of the most fundamental concerns of the study of Roman material culture, from how to analyse sarcophagus iconography to the possible iconographical interpretations of catacomb decoration. This book reminds scholars how much can be achieved through a primarily contextual approach.



In the first chapter, Borg outlines the main challenges to scholarship of this era. One of the third century's most problematic features is the lack of reliable and useful literary sources. This deficit is matched by a decline in epigraphic evidence after the Severan era. Beyond these 'textual' challenges Borg notes how the modern perception of the third-century as a period of 'crisis' has fundamentally distorted readings of the evidence and chronology of the period. The absence of datable brick stamps from the late Severan to Tetrarchic era has led to a presumption that tomb building largely ceased within these years. This assumption has been supported by the use of broad trends in architectural technique to create absolute dates: *opus vittatum* and *opus listatum*, both popular building techniques of late-antiquity, are frequently used to date buildings to the Tetrarchic era and the fourth-century. Borg's critique of these overly precise dating methodologies has significant ramifications, not only in relation to the tombs and burial contexts included in this monograph, but also for other forms of architecture - in particular one wonders what the results of a similar study of villa architecture might be.

Borg outlines her distinctive contextual approach (Chapter 1): considering tomb structures, sarcophagi, interior decoration and epigraphy holistically. This approach is demanding and requires significant range and depth of knowledge. However it is through considering artefacts such as sarcophagi in the full context of their tombs - the painted decoration, their exact display situation, possible epigraphic or inscriptional information - that we build up a picture of the people behind them. Borg's caveat that statues and busts from funerary contexts are beyond the scope of her study is consequently a disappointing omission in an otherwise comprehensive work. In the second chapter, Borg mentions Pensabene's recent publication (in *Epigrafia* 2006 (Rome 2008) 1113-17) of a section of marble from a large monument on the Campus Martius with dedicatory

inscription and indentation indicating that a bust was displayed there. This tantalising case-study draws the reader's attention to the absence of information concerning the display and use of other forms of sculpture in funerary contexts. The defence that such monuments were deployed only to a limited extent in third-century contexts makes their exclusion more frustrating.

A geographic parameter for the study is also drawn: Rome and its environs including the port cities of Ostia and Portus. This decision is sensible and helpful. The result is a full, geographically focused picture, avoiding generalisation about the 'nature' of the third-century, when it is clear that experiences of this era varied considerably according to location.

Chapter 2 deals with traditional tomb types. This section is impressive, full of detailed case-studies accompanied by excellent tomb plans. While detailed case-studies provide much interest at a micro-level, Borg is careful to organise her material so as to draw out the major themes for the reader: presenting a picture of tomb commemoration across time, geographic location and social-class. The important point is made that, after a relative boom in the Severan era, tomb building may have slowed, but at no point came to a halt. Space was at more of a premium but location, exterior and interior design, expensive marble slabs and sarcophagi all indicate the continued desire to impress and commemorate - a theme pursued to great effect throughout this study. Borg also notes the popularity of terrace-tomb structures and proposes the reinstitution of *collegia* systems, such as those found in the Late Republic and Early Empire. This is an argument that is further developed in the discussion of hypogea. It becomes evident that the social elite were still well represented as were the upper echelons of the freedmen milieu. The variety of lesser funerary monuments and tombs for slaves and lower class freedmen, however, are now largely absent.

The next two chapters (3 & 4) deal with new types of burial context that come to prominence in the third century. Chapter 3 deals with the introduction of several impressive tombs types which have largely been viewed as Late Antique innovations: cruciform, apsidal, and circular tombs. By Borg's own admission, the dating of many of these case-studies is controversial and it is difficult to prove that these are indeed third-century monuments. Even in the case of the cruciform Mausoleum XII, situated at the third mile of the Via Labicana, Borg's strongest example, the linear style wall-painting makes a Severan date likely but not irrefutable. Tombs such as these show some of the arbitrary nature of dating methods.

Chapter 4 deals with catacombs, or hypogea, which became the most widespread form of burial of this period. The outdated hypothesis that these catacombs were purely Christian is soundly dealt with by Borg. Instead she suggests that some of the larger catacombs were imperially-owned and filled with large *familiae*, in some cases connected with the Imperial family and organised into groups according to vocation. Some evidence, such as the graffiti reading 'of the cooks' XI/VI/XXX in galleries E17 and E19 of the Praetextatus catacomb, supports this hypothesis. The author's discussion deploys previously neglected evidence and shows how further examination of how these hypogea were organised is warranted.

Chapter 5 deals with the continued use and re-use of older tombs in the third-century. Tombs were heavily re-used in the third-century and this may reflect concern over space for burials. However, most of this re-use appears to have been equable and respectful. Even in cases when new owners took over a tomb there were legal precedents for this and efforts were often made not to compromise the original burial display. The author argues that in the third-century there was a special status ascribed to a 'tomb dignified by tradition'. There are few examples of abusive re-use, and those looking for evidence of anarchic decline, characteristic of a third-century crisis, will be disappointed.

Chapters 6 and 7 are concerned with sarcophagi: the former with their iconography, the latter with their display. The iconography of sarcophagi is an area which has received considerable

scholarly attention. However, the majority of research has focused on detailed iconographical examination and often arranges sarcophagi thematically rather than according to period. Through discussing sarcophagi within their third-century context, Borg brings out divisions and developments over time. Some of these have been observed before, such as the move away from the mythological sarcophagi of the second and early third-century towards garland, strigilated and lion, often embellished by portrait tondi, and *vita humana* sarcophagi. This shift indicates a preoccupation with communicating status in a more explicit manner, focusing on the actual achievements of the deceased and their family. Particularly satisfying is Borg's treatment of the fascinating sarcophagi with mythological narratives in which some heroic figures have portrait features.

However, there is a lacuna in this chapter. Borg includes no discussion of probable Christian sarcophagi: only one paragraph (in the chapter on catacomb decoration) deals with Christian sarcophagi. The author justifies their exclusion on the grounds that they are difficult to date, probably mostly from the fourth-century, and often fragmentary. These are valid reasons. Nevertheless, in a monograph so critical of the dating methodologies which have resulted in the artificial divorce of third-century from fourth-century material, this lack of discussion of Christian sarcophagi is surprising. Borg's own discussion of the catacombs and her concern with interpretations of Christian iconography will necessitate a fuller consideration of this body of material, however fragmentary.

Chapter 8 is concerned with the interior decoration of tombs. A large part deals again with the 'Christian' nature of the hypogea, this time through discussion of the iconography. Borg encourages us to remember that Christians in this era were in the minority and were drawing upon pagan iconographic types. We must consequently be wary of anachronistic interpretations of iconography from this era. However at times the author's desire to categorise tombs according to the religious orientation of their iconography is perhaps taken too far, and a bias towards pagan interpretations can be felt. While we are encouraged to wonder at the possible pagan theological meanings of some paintings, the same scope is not always permitted to those with possible Christian readings. It is of course important not to exaggerate the role of Christianity in this era. However, it is also important not to interpret the evidence in such a way as to reduce the impact of this group entirely. We must be wary of the attitude that Christianity belongs in Late-Antiquity and was a creation of the fourth-century.

This book will be essential reading not only for specialists in the field of Roman archaeology but also for graduates and undergraduates. Borg's discussions of sarcophagi and catacomb iconography are important contributions and have the advantage of concise, clear and thorough analysis. The old 'crisis' thesis is problematized and the mid-third century is no longer categorised as an ill-lit era of turmoil and decline, in which any material of worth is pushed to one side or other of the abyss. If we take the third-century as a distinct cultural period and, as Borg encourages us to, consider it in its totality, we gain a richer and fuller picture of an interesting and important time.

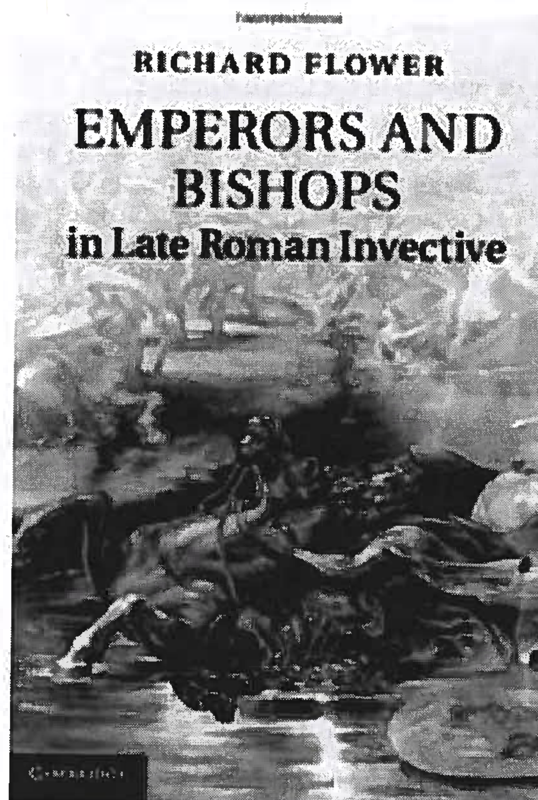
Richard Flower, *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective.*

Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. 308. Hardback, £60.
ISBN: 978-1107031722.

Reviewed by Tim Whitmarsh, Professor of Ancient Literatures (Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford).

Scandal as full extent of abuse by bishops is revealed!

Richard Flower's sharp, provocative and learned new book is about the manipulation of verbal abuse in the early Church. Drawing on recent advances in the handling of ancient oratory and self-presentation, he shows how Christian bishops, saturated in the same rhetorical culture as their non-Christian peers like Libanius, Julian and Themistius, made use of the full repertoire of devices to create identities for themselves. Flower's book deals with three such rhetoricians, who also happened to be bishops: Athanasius of Alexandria, Hilary of Poitiers and Lucifer of Cagliari. These three all wrote fearsome denunciations, during his lifetime, of Constantius II (337-61), the son of Constantine I. The invectives were in the traditions of Demosthenes' and Cicero's *Philippics*; but the circumstances and motivations were very different.



In the fourth century, this early stage in the formation of a nascent Christian empire, much remained up for grabs: there was no manual for converting the greatest empire the world had ever known to a cult that was only three hundred years old, that demanded the rejection of all other forms of worship, and insisted on absolute allegiance to a solitary god. Rhetoric helped with that process of concretisation: strong, assertive male leaders gave ideological shape, structure and direction at this crucial moment. In the Roman Empire, rhetoric was ever associated with manly vigour, with the power to bend an audience to your will, to 'enslave' them (as pseudo-Longinus put it). Invective power was not simply an expression of hostility; each was manipulating the genre, in his different way, in the contest to define the nature of the Church.

The thuggish virility of these attacks is important. Early Christians did tend to go for dominant types, magnetised as they were by uncompromising, vigorous displays of piety. In the second century it had been the veneration of the apostles that had held the fledgling community together at Rome, with stories of Peter and Paul and their bloody deaths at the hands of the state, and spine-chilling tales like the confrontation between Peter and Simon Magus. Next came the fad for martyrdom: lurid tales circulated of brutal persecutions, of mothers thrown to the lions with milk still oozing from their breasts, and so forth. Although persecutions surely did happen, these stories are not historical records; they were there to galvanise the faithful in opposition to the

terrifying, if spectral foe of state power. The challenge faced by bishops in the fourth century - a challenge of the kind that we would call a 'first-world problem' - was that now they *were* the state. The organising principle around which Christian oppositionalism had been constructed had now disappeared.

Invective rhetoric, Flower's book shows, was in part about filling that gap. Much of the vitriol ladled onto Constantius was concocted from the same recipe that had been used to demonise persecuting emperors and *iudices* in previous centuries. Paranoid execration of the other had become so central to Christian self-definition that it demanded an outlet even once it was clear that persecution was no longer much of a possibility. Taking on a current emperor, even though he was a Christian, was a way of keeping the flame alive, while simultaneously styling each of the bishops as a fearless free-speaker - a tradition that played not only to the glorious heritage of Christian martyrs but also to the Greco-Roman philosophical tradition (think of Musonius Rufus, Thrasea Paetus, Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus). Flower digs up a number of instances of what will seem to modern eyes shockingly self-serving links to the persecuted past. In one passage, discussed on pp. 171-3, Lucifer quotes almost verbatim from Cyprian's account of horrors faced by Cornelius during the Decian persecution of the early 250s), as if he himself too were facing the 'savage butchers, more ferocious executioners, who can slaughter with the sword or crucify or scorch with fire or hack at our bowels and limbs through some form of punishment as yet unknown...' Needless, to say, Lucifer was not ritually disembowelled by Constantius, although he was exiled. (In the interests of balance, it should be said that it is far from certain that Cornelius was martyred either, despite what the later tradition claimed.)

Yet there was much more going on than lusting after retro-cool, palmary victimhood. What Flower's book also unpacks with admirable clarity is the complex theological texture of these speeches. They were engaged in a serious project to define the nature of fourth-century belief. For a start, they translated the standard tropes of Greco-Roman tyrannical discourse into biblical terms. Flower has some wonderful moments exploring the 'biblification' of the rhetorical imaginary during this period, evoking brilliantly the combination of literary flair, idealisation and delusion required for Roman bishop of the mid-fourth century to think himself into the world of biblical Palestine. Take, for example, Eusebius of Vercelli adopting, in one of his letters, the roles not only of the Hebrew Bible's Daniel but also of Susanna and Habakkuk from the Greek apocryphal extension of the Daniel narrative. These biblical stories of persecution were varieties of the well-known 'Jew in the foreign court' motif (compare for example Joseph and Esther). 'The readers were therefore invited,' writes Flower, 'to see the actions of Daniel, Susanna and Habakkuk, pious and celebrated opponents of idolatry, violation and mendacity, as being replayed no that God's people were once again suffering under persecution' (pp. 160-1).

If that looks like more of the same victimhood pose, that is only part of the story. The real theological warfare of the mid-fourth century was between not Christian and non-Christian, but Christian and Christian. Since Constantine's reign, the church had been bitterly divided internally over debates as to the true nature of Christ. These debates have, in a sense, never ceased: the famous fifth-century split between the eastern (monophysite) and western (dyophysite) Christian communities was fundamentally a continuation of the same kind of philosophical problem. How can it be that Christ, born from a human mother, is god? Is he human also? If so, does that debase him? If not, does that split god into two (or three, including the Spirit), meaning that Christianity is no longer monotheist? Late-antique theologians had, typically, read far too much Aristotle to allow such complex questions to wash over them; they wanted answers.

Now, if we rewind to the mid-fourth century, one set of answers had been provided by Arius of Alexandria, whose followers - the famous Arians - held that Christ was a created being, and non-eternal. This dogma was gaining some traction at the time that Athanasius, Hilary and Lucifer

wrote, thanks to the ministrations of their imperial foe, Constantius. The three bishops were adherents to the judgement of the Council of Nicaea in 325 (convened by Constantine), which had decreed that Christ was eternal and co-substantial with his Father. The historical Constantius, in fact, seems to have been more of a bridge-builder than an antagonist; perhaps he was seeking to unite Arians and Nicaeans. If he was, this was not a game that Athanasius, Hilary and Lucifer were willing to play. They manufactured polarisation and discord, casting the 'heretical' (from their point of view) Constantius in the same role that Christian memory cast persecuting emperors like Decius and Diocletian. And so - a pattern that we see playing out today with depressing frequency (cf. Catholics and Protestants, Shi'a and Sunni) - minor theological squabbles were stoked so as to become rallying points for political strife and violent opposition.

Richard Flower's important book is accessible and readable, and wears its impressive store of learning very lightly. Flower is a patient guide through this historically, literarily and theologically tricky field, leavening the material with gentle good humour and sophistication. But do not be deceived by this deftness: this is also a weighty study that will be read widely and appreciatively by all in the field. This book is quite some achievement.

Film Review: *300 Rise of an Empire.* Directed by Noam Murro. (UK Classification: 15)

Reviewed by Bradley Libralesso, an MA student within the department.

300: Rise of an Empire is the sequel to the immensely popular film *300* based on the graphic novels of Frank Miller. The story mainly covers the events after the battle of Thermopylae, the battle of Thermopylae having been covered in *300*, but the timeline also jumps around to include the battle of Marathon, the death of Darius and the events that brought Xerxes to be the king leading the Persians to Greece. Of course the plot is highly historically inaccurate, even having King Darius die at the battle of Marathon despite the fact that Darius actually died four years after that battle. There is also the back story of Artemisia and Xerxes' ascension to the throne which is just incredibly far-fetched. However, you cannot go into this movie desiring historical accuracy, you just have to expect it to be inaccurate and go along with it. The overall movie is definitely not a glorious masterpiece. Rather it has a predictable storyline, made even more predictable since it is loosely based on history, and the characterization is pretty flat and straight-forward. While there were a few surprises such as Artemesia's back story and the story of how Xerxes became a king, these plot devices were not really followed up beyond a surface look. Artemesia's backstory was enticing in that she has the most justifiable mo-

tives in the entire movie for wanting to fight in the war, but the plot never really follow this up or explores it past the fact that her backstory makes her the antagonist to Themistocles.

Xerxes' motives for the war are also flat and for the most part just unexplained. The Greeks of course are fighting for their homeland which they often in the movie conflate with modern conceptions of nationhood and democracy triumphing over the tyranny of the East. Even though the Persian wars did build more of a sense of shared heritage between the Greek city-states, it did not create this strong of a unity of nationhood that the movie suggests. Aside from its flat characterisation the movie is just a series of gory battle scenes with some impressive CGI, and some very predictable outcomes. The movie is extremely graphic in both its violence and sexual scenes, which will make some people stray away. The redeeming quality is that it feels like the graphic novels and stuck quite closely to its original medium. It feels like a just-for-fun quick story that will not provide much deep thinking where there is a clear cut good guy and bad guy and the brutal violence is completely deserved. It makes for an easy movie to see to have some fun and a few laughs.

Above there is a mention of how the Greeks' motivations are conflated with contemporary conceptions of nationhood. To run in this direction the whole movie has an overall contemporary theme in that it is a playful retelling of Herodotus. The film often uses the language and structure of Herodotus with the narrative being retold by a third-person narrative, with constant mentions of oracles warnings and prophecies. The historical inaccuracies could also be a playful homage to Herodotus as well. As any classicist who has read Herodotus knows well there are many fantastical elements, such as Arion being saved by dolphins or tales of people eating their dead. *300: Rise of an Empire* is not a movie with historical inaccuracies due to ignorance, but is rather a playful homage to the original subject matter of Herodotus. The myth of Xerxes in the movie going to some sort of mythical pool and coming out a God-king, or Themistocles shooting an arrow across the sea to kill king Darius is very reminiscent of some of the more unbelievable tales in Herodotus. This is one of the reasons you can't go in expecting historical accuracy, because the whole structure of the movie is not designed to provide historical accuracy but rather to provide an interesting tale that follows some actual historical structure. This also shows how the above idea of contemporary nationhood and democracy imposed on the Greek city states fits into the movie. *The Histories* often imparts some moral stories or ideologies through prophets and advisors warning people not to overstep their boundaries or be too filled with hubris or simple inaccurate portrayals of eastern people. Ultimately this movie provides what it set out to accomplish and a little bit more. It is a really fun movie to watch, with a lot of action and fighting scenes that provides the viewer with the gratification that the antagonist loses in the end.

Intimate Worlds: Exploring Sexuality through the Wellcome Collection (Royal Albert Memorial Museum & Art Gallery, RAMM), 5th April to 29th June 2014

As part of the 'Sex and History' project with Professor Kate Fisher of the Centre for Medical History, Dr Rebecca Langlands has organised an exhibition in partnership with RAMM. This exhibition is the first to put many of the Wellcome Collection's items on display together, and explores how sex has been treated across various cultures. One of the principle aims is to ask its "audiences to open up their minds and to reflect on the value and significance of sex to us today." Interested readers can find out more at the Sex and History project's website (http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/sexandhistory). MA student Eleanor Stevens went along to investigate further...

INTIMATE WORLDS

Exploring Sexuality through the Wellcome Collection

Anyone who works or studies in an academic field with a focus on the past will be used to the scrutiny of the usefulness or relevance of their subject. The question of how we relate our knowledge of the past to the modern world and use the former to help us understand the latter is an area of study in its own right. Those who have studied in this area would probably argue that it is only through crossing culture and time that we can really understand the temporary nature of our own culture and belief systems.

The *Intimate Worlds* Exhibition tackles these questions of relevance and usefulness directly with a collection of sexually related objects from a wide variety of different cultures and time periods. These objects are accompanied by information and displays that go further than straightforward descriptions in encouraging the viewer to consider the interpretations of these artefacts. A large wall display featuring a list of sexual relationships considered taboo in various societies across the globe sets the tone for a confronting exhibition that asks the viewer to consider and question their assumptions about sex through objects from the past.

One of the first artefacts visitors encounter is a set of colourfully, erotically decorated playing cards used in 'Ganjifa', a card game popular in 16th Century India. This is an astute choice of artefact to get the viewer thinking about cultural perceptions of the sexual as the cards are particularly relatable to the modern world; many of us will have come across a set of modern 'erotic' playing cards. Viewers might find the Ganjifa cards 'beautiful' but would they use this adjective to describe the modern equivalent, or would 'pornographic' or 'humorous' be more likely descriptors? These are the kinds of questions that it is impossible to avoid asking throughout most of the exhibition.

Perhaps even more confronting to the modern viewer are Roman representations of the phallus, including a bronze tintinnabulum (a phallic wind-chime) and a small phallic amulet for use in a child's necklace. As the accompanying text points us, associations of children and sexual imagery are not usual in our society. In the Roman world, however, a phallic amulet would have been considered lucky; images of the phallus were commonplace and viewable by all. Artefacts like this one challenge the viewer to think about how our society perceives sexual organs and highlights the subjective nature of these cultural perceptions.

One of the exhibition's great assets is the sheer variety of time periods and cultures explored. Each artefact seems carefully chosen to offer a window into a past society. A disturbing 'anti-masturbation' device from early 20th century London offers insight into the stigma associated with sex at the time, whilst an erotic Roman lamp demonstrates a society in which sexual imagery was

Exhibition lead and RAMM's Curator of Ethnography Tony Eccles looking at the porcelain figure of Guanyin, the Chinese Bhodisattva of compassion, with Professor of History Kate Fisher and Classicist Dr Rebecca Langlands.

used in every-day objects. Through not dividing the artefacts along chronological or geographical lines or overloading the viewer with too much material, each object is allowed to speak for itself. This arrangement perfectly emphasises the point that each society has its own sexual attitudes and norms, including our own, and, hopefully, this is something that *Intimate Worlds* will encourage visitors to talk about.

Stoicism Today - and Tomorrow?

Christopher Gill (University of Exeter)

This is a slightly revised version of an article that originally appeared in Ad Familiares 46 (pp.6-7), the journal of the Friends of Classics; it is reproduced with the permission of the editor, Dr Peter Jones.

For a week in November 2013 (Nov 26-Dec 1), Stoic philosophy was suddenly hot news. There were 16 articles in the press across the world, including the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and *Las Vegas Guardian Express*, not forgetting our own *Spectator, Telegraph, Financial Times, Times Literary Supplement* and, the *Plymouth Herald*. There were a series of radio interviews, including the 'Today' programme on BBC Radio 4 and an animated debate on 'Nightwaves' on Radio 3. Why all this fuss about a philosophical movement that was highly influential for about five centuries in antiquity (3rd century BC to 2nd century AD), but which one might have thought belonged firmly to the past?

What had caused the fuss, in the first instance at least, was a public engagement project based at the University of Exeter (funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council) stemming from a book I had written on Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*. This project was (is) a collaboration between scholars and psychotherapists, exploring the value of trying to put Stoic principles into practice under modern conditions and examining ways of doing this. The main members of the group are myself and Exeter PhD student Patrick Ussher, John Sellars (Philosophy, Birkbeck), and Jules

Evans, a philosophical author linked with Queen Mary University of London; also three CBT psychotherapists, Gill Garratt, Tim Lebon and Donald Robertson. This group has produced a very active blog ('Stoicism Today'), and two versions of an on-line programme in applied Stoic ethics, 'Live like a Stoic Week', put out in late November 2012 and 2013. We also organised a public event, on Nov 30 2013 in Birkbeck College, University of London, with presentations and workshops on using Stoic principles in everyday life, and a roundtable debate about the value (or not) of trying to live the Stoic life today. Fortunately for us, the organising group includes people who are pretty adept at using social media and generating publicity. So the blog so far has received over 270,000 hits; over 2000 people registered for the 2013 on-line Stoic week; and over 200 participants attended the Birkbeck event. Hence, too the interest of the world press and radio stations noted earlier during the 2013 'Live like a Stoic' week.

However, this raises a broader question: why, exactly, should Stoic principles - and the attempt to apply these - be of special interest now? In thinking about this, let's start with the core ideas that we were disseminating in this project. One key Stoic belief is that all human beings as such are able to work towards gaining happiness. This is because happiness does not derive from having lots of money, social success or celebrity but from developing the qualities that are most essential to a human life, that is, virtues such as justice, self-control, courage and wisdom, and making these fundamental for our character, actions, and relationships with other people. Also crucial is the recognition that other things - even health and the wellbeing of our loved ones - are relatively unimportant in generating our happiness compared with developing the virtues, even though it is also natural for us to prefer to have such things rather than not. Another key idea is that human beings function as cohesive psychological units, so that our emotions and desires are decisively shaped by our beliefs. Hence, ethical development - coming to acquire the virtues - brings about a profound psychological change so that we are no longer emotionally aroused or disturbed by things that would have aroused us before, for instance, loss of money, success or celebrity. (This is the basis for the stereotypical idea that Stoics have no emotions or that they adopt a 'stiff upper lip' at moments of distress.) A further belief is that it is in-built in human nature to be able to develop towards recognising the truth of these ideas and making them integral to our lives, and also to develop towards seeing all other people as our brothers or sisters in so far as they too have this capacity. Finally, Stoicism holds that we live in the kind of universe in which such human capacities are in-built in us, so that it is natural for us to develop towards locating our happiness in virtue and only that.

Does this - rather bare - outline of Stoic ideas help to explain why they might appeal especially in the modern world? If they have an appeal, one might say, it is a universal one, not limited to a particular time or socio-cultural context. This is a fair response; but I think there are specific factors that may help to give these ideas special force today. In the modern world, especially the West, the social contexts and sets of ideas that people have previously used to give a grounding framework for their lives (family, neighbourhood, church, and political party) are relatively weak. There is a kind of vacuum in public discourse, which Stoic ideas, if explained in a way that makes sense, can help to fill. Of course, the same point might be made about other ancient philosophical ideas; but Stoicism has distinctive features that are perhaps especially valuable in this respect. For instance, Stoicism offers a strong, rigorous basis for ethics, but not one that depends on religion (at least not religion in the modern sense). Also the appeal to see ourselves as part of a brotherhood of humankind, but also as autonomous moral agents, not dependent on a given social context, is one that may have special resonance in the modern, 'globalised' world, where we cannot count on having strong local communities. The view that emotions depend on beliefs and that change of beliefs can bring about freedom from emotional disturbance is one that has quite wide currency today. It is shared, for instance, by the Positive Psychology movement and also by CBT (Cognitive

and Behavioural Therapy), the most widely used form of psychotherapy today. Indeed, the Stoic view of emotions had a decisive influence on the early development of CBT. Although the Stoic (providential) view of nature is challenging for us today, the idea that we should see human beings as fundamentally part of the natural world is one that resonates with much modern thought. So there are a number of factors that may make people today in principle open to Stoicism, although of course the question how much Stoicism we can accept remains a substantial one.

Where do we go from here in this attempt to make Stoic ideas part of modern discourse? The collaboration between members of the 'Stoicism Today' group remains strong and we are actively discussing future plans - time and funding permitting. On the more practical side of the project, we are considering developing the seven-day Stoic week into a more fully developed eight-week on-line course in self-guided Stoic-informed psychotherapy or life-guidance. So far, we have used both versions of the Stoic week as a basis for assessing, through questionnaires, the value of Stoic guidance, with a view to establishing an 'evidence base' for Stoicism; and this is something we want to take further and in a more robust and rigorous way. Another sphere to which Stoicism may be able to contribute is ethical education in schools, for instance through the 'virtue ethics' topic in Religious Education.

On the more academic side there are several plans we would like to develop in tandem with these practical projects. One is to produce a Reader, 'Stoic Advice on Everyday Life', with a selection of translated passages from ancient Stoic writings on practical ethics, with commentary explaining how the advice follows from core Stoic ideas. Another is an edited volume of essays debating the pros and cons, opportunities and problems of trying to put into practice an ancient philosophy such as Stoicism under modern conditions. Personally, I aim to write a book, 'Learning to be Good: Stoic Ethics and its Modern Challenge', exploring from a philosophical standpoint what Stoicism can contribute to modern thought and where it goes in directions we cannot now accept. The topics on which I plan to focus are ethics, the relationship between ethics and psychology and - most problematic for moderns - the relationship between ethics and the study of nature (or, for us, 'science').

So do look out for a 2014 Stoic week or fortnight and another London event. Even if this may not generate such remarkable publicity as last time, we hope to show that Stoicism can be for tomorrow as well today.

For more about Stoicism Today, see the blog (http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/stoicismtoday/).

This year saw 3 successful entries to the *Pegasus* Creative Corner prize, which you can enjoy over the next few pages. You can also find a runner-up to the competition on our website (http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus/creative-corner/).

Over the next few pages you will find the following competition winners:

Poetry - *The Wreck of the Argo* by Scott Carless.

Translation - Persius *Satire* 3.1-38 also by Scott Carless.

Prose - *A Recent Discovery* by S. Duff & N. Oncents.

Readers from last year will remember that Duff & Oncents anonymously submitted *An Alternative Dictionary of the Classical World* to the journal. This year their entry is purportedly a 3-page excerpt from another journal that has been allowed to be printed in *Pegasus*. Should any copyright be infringed by this duo [who have shown themselves to be rather obsessed with financial remuneration through their email correspondence - Ed.] *Pegasus* would like to apologise, and will seek to hunt down both of the conspiratorial rogues to face justice. They are rather entertaining to read, however.

The Wreck of the Argo

Scott Carless

Journey's outset and we were both,
fresh and full of hope.
Fear too, for what quest worth making,
doesn't send a tremble through
bone and timber alike?

Chosen young men we were,
how those Lemnian girls flashed
their eyes and felt
a shudder of desire long denied,
raises a smile, quickly dashed.
Gods where did that go?
Free rolling with excited hands,
tussled hair and lover's laugh.
Shipping out by order
and leaving you calm upon the shore.
Perhaps I could be forgiven
for thinking a break could be so clean.

No, no I should have known
that there were more dangerous things
in the world than tail-shearing rocks,
or the rawhide fists of Amycas.
A better man than I might have seen her eyes
and taken this ship far off to outer ocean,
and there striven briefly
and we would have sunk together, dear Argo
rather than let the years rot out our hull.

Trace fingers on salt softened keel,
stoop beneath the mast head,
once high and proud now lain low.
A broken oar brings back
the smell of the sea.
"What adventures we had, lads!"
Address the air and silent ship,
answering voices only a memory.
Yes what adventures,
but what a grievous error I made
but there it is, done now,
the simplest slip of the heart
and what was once love
is now the blackest pall of hate
that brings me here to this shore
no wife, no son, no future.
Just the rotten bulk of past success,
throwing a broken menace of shadows,
in which I can lurk and dwell
on thoughts of shattered promise,
and futures cut from loom,
of love once cherished sundered,
of friends that fell too soon.
Now come the Argo that skipped and swam,
through crashing rocks and spray,
be my craft just one more time,
and join me in decay.

'Pull Yourself Together' A Translation of Persius 3.1-38

Scott Carless

"Well I can see for myself you've been hard at work. Bright daylight floods,
through the window and pushes through the narrow chinks in your curtains
and yet here you are still.
Snoring are we? But then I suppose there's no better cure for a skin-full of overpriced,
corner shop piss than sleeping it off until the shadows creep well into the late afternoon.
Well? Just what the hell do you think you're playing at?" Our little lord's lackey pokes some fun
"The belting sun is high in the sky melting the glistening blacktop beneath it
and we're closer to clocking off for the day than we are lunch.

"What, is it really? So it is. Where did the day go?
Is anyone about? Fine, fine I guess not." your queasy stomach lurches
and you throw up sour wine, such a din you'd think all the bilge pumps
down at the dock were splashing out.
With a shaky hand you reach for a book and some two tone paper stripped of its wrapper
some little notepads too and along with it a sturdy fountain pen.
First complaint of your late morning is the fat glob of ink hanging from the nib,
but once you've diluted the black ink with a little water *then* you bemoan the fact
that your now worthless pen leaves a series of splotches on the paper.
"Fuck this" you flounce huffily "each day is worse than the last" Is this really the state
I've got myself into?"

For Pete's sake why don't you just go all out and be like some pampered petulant,
or, like some rich man's brat eat mashed up baby food with a plastic spoon before
throwing a petty tantrum and refusing to let your mum sing you to sleep.

"But how can I be expected to study with a pen like this" you sulk.
Who do you think has time for your bleating excuses? Save us all your pointless, prevaricating
procrastinations, it's your responsibility. Your worthless brains leak out of your skull
and you're of little worth to anyone. When jerry-rigged tat is tapped it sounds its fault,
shoddy workmanship gives out a poxy hollow clonk letting you know its weak design.
You, you're naught but soft hands and wet ears, you're not even close to being finished,
so get yourself back on the production line quick smart so we can toughen you up.

Then again you've sufficient bed and board from Daddy's bank,
a clean credit score with no hint of an overdraft,
what have you got to worry about? You've plenty with which to grease the wheels.
Is this enough for you? Or might your overweening chest swell up,
because you're the thousandth monkey in a long line of kings,
or because you roll out to press the flesh in family crested blazer?
For the most part people know you for your peacocking, but I know
what you're like in private, I know the real you.
Aren't you ashamed to live in exactly the same manner as the rich slob,
whose vices have not only rendered him thick as pig shit, but a fat and podgy sod too.
He's quite free from any sense of guilt, and he wouldn't know loss if you shoved it up his nose and
set fire to it, no that wreck of a man has sunk so deep you can't even see the bubbles.
If there's any justice in this world whatsoever, you'd hope it'd take one course of action:
to pay back in kind those devious snot rags, when their petulant self-interest
with its backstabbing ways moves them to duplicity, just let them recognise decency
for what it is and then spend their lives tortured by the knowledge that they abandoned it.

remained shewing. Not so Frugi. Isolated but not alone, Dio says, he outlived his accuser. Insistence on "dignitas" comes close to "superbia" when at the limit of arrogance. Piso's insistence on his position left him at the mercy of Fortune. That fickle mistress had already found another to bestow her favours upon.[1]

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A RECENT DISCOVERY

THE ELEVENTH BOOK OF PLINY MINOR'S LETTERS

S. DUFF & N. ONCENTS

The late Bishop Duff and I are pleased to offer the first translation of the recently discovered Cod. Lond. Peg. 57. The manuscript was found by Duff in the British Library amongst papers on an unattended desk.[2] The text - the eleventh book of Pliny's *Letters* – is in a poor state, reflective of the manuscript as a whole. The Latin text has not been included, since it is anticipated both Mrs. Radish's Loeb & Prof. Elaksis' Teubner editions will appear shortly.

C. PLINII CAECILII SECUNDI EPISTULARUM

LIBER UNDECIMUS

I

To Trajan,

Dear Sir,

I am all in a quandary with regard to an offering made by the people of Nicomedia. For my birthday, they wish to present me with a gift of socks. This is all fine and well, but they desire of me a choice as to the colour. Might I trouble you to send a hosier from Rome in order that the colour is chosen correctly and not fail to be in keeping with the brilliance of our new age?

II

Trajan to Pliny

My dearest Pliny,

It is quite fitting that the people of Nicomedia elect to gift you socks for your birthday. Your feet are not your most attractive features, especially the bunions of which you used to ask my medical opinion. I am quite afraid that there is a dearth of hosiers here, and the few which exist are engaged on other projects.[3] I am certain you can trust your inconsiderable judgement.

[1] [Note from the editors: this excerpt from "Some Arval Pisones in Tacitus" originally proceeded Duff & Oncents].

[2] Duff also happened upon monies, a return railway ticket to Oxford and a bank book belonging to one A.N. Sherwin-White. They are returnable on receipt of reward of 5/- .

[3] Such as the construction of Trajan's Portus and Column, both to an Argyle pattern.

III

To Trajan

Dear Sir,

As you know, I count myself grateful that I may count on your friendship and wisdom in helping me decide matters of the utmost difficulty. Today, when I was surveying the route for a new aqueduct in the north of the province, one of the surveyors asked a troubling question. He asked: what was my preference for breakfast? He himself stated a preference for a salted gruel, which alarmingly, was a favoured dish of that tyrant and murderer of us all.[4] I must confess myself flummoxed and wary of replying, lest I betray the hopes of our new age and find myself out of keeping with your wishes. I await your response. (Incidentally, I chose purple for the socks since I know this this to be your favourite colour).

IV

Trajan to Pliny

Pliny,

As you fail to understand why I sent you to Bithynia of all places, I am going to be perfectly clear, you †chin†.[5] I had been hopeful that the postal service would fail to bring me your incessant whining, you †hill†.[6] But no, still your letters come. I go to fight the Dacians, I form the battle-line and lo! a messenger loudly announces "Imperator! A letter from Pliny!" And the cowardly barbarians flee crying "Aiee Plineeee! Aiee Plineeee!"[7] If I have to read one more of your... [*text here corrupt*] ... letters ... [*text here breaks off*]

V

Tacitus to Pliny

Pliny,

Your recent letter filled Tacitus with horror.[8] Someone confusing yourself and He. Evidently the intelligence of his readership is much less than that Tacitus had hoped for. He fears He may have to start using the verb [to be].

VI

Suetonius to Pliny

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[4] Nerva.

[5] This letter is riddled with spelling errors. Duff here corrected *mentula* to *mentum*.

[6] Duff: *collum* for *coleus*.

[7] This must be Dacian. Duff notes that the Greek ᾆιεεε Πλινεεεεε is quite unattested in his LSJ.

[8] This must undoubtedly be the pairing with VII.20.

Pliny,

You ask if your reading voice is inexpressive.[9] I honestly cannot answer. I find that as soon as you start to talk, I am blessed with such a sleep as even Morpheus could not provide.

VII

To Herrenius Secundus,

I was in conversation with Priscus earlier today, that fellow who made a habit of living dangerously in those dark days when we lived in fear for our very lives. Whilst dining with Domitian, he told me, that foul monster who was base in all things expressed praise of my talents: he didn't need to kill any senator, he just had to let Pliny speak. It goes to show that evil is not wholly without appreciation of talent.

VIII

To the poet Martial

When will you and our friend Charon return to Rome? We left here are bereft of your humour and general *bon viveur*. All I can content myself with is that poetic line of yours about our beloved mutual friend - if they were here, there would be strawberries.

IX

To Fabricus

You asked why Tacitus requested information regarding that fatal day when those cities vanished forever.[10] He asked because I was there. I remember the mountain exploding and the fire raining down. My mother, anxiously awaiting the return of my uncle, pleaded with me not to don my cape and fly to the rescue of those unfortunate souls. But as you know, I have always been filled with the urge to help my fellow man and record my name for posterity. The feats I accomplished that day – halting the flow of molten rock with merely a glance... [*both the text & manuscript here breaks off*]

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REVIEW: THE EASTERN GREEKS - DUNROAMIN (OXFORD)

M.I. 5INLEY

The publication of Dunroamin's last work was delayed due to the fact that it so happened that he was not yet dead. The editors of the Oxford University Press, having gained the permission of his family, finalized the work with as little bloodshed as possible. The problem with this work, as with all works by Dunroamin, is not only the lack of any critical apparatus which might help scholar or student alike, but his decision to write the work in cuneiform. This may seem an unusual approach

[9] This must unquestionably and surely happen to be the pairing with IX.34.
[10] Pompey and Heraclitus, both in the Bay of Naples.