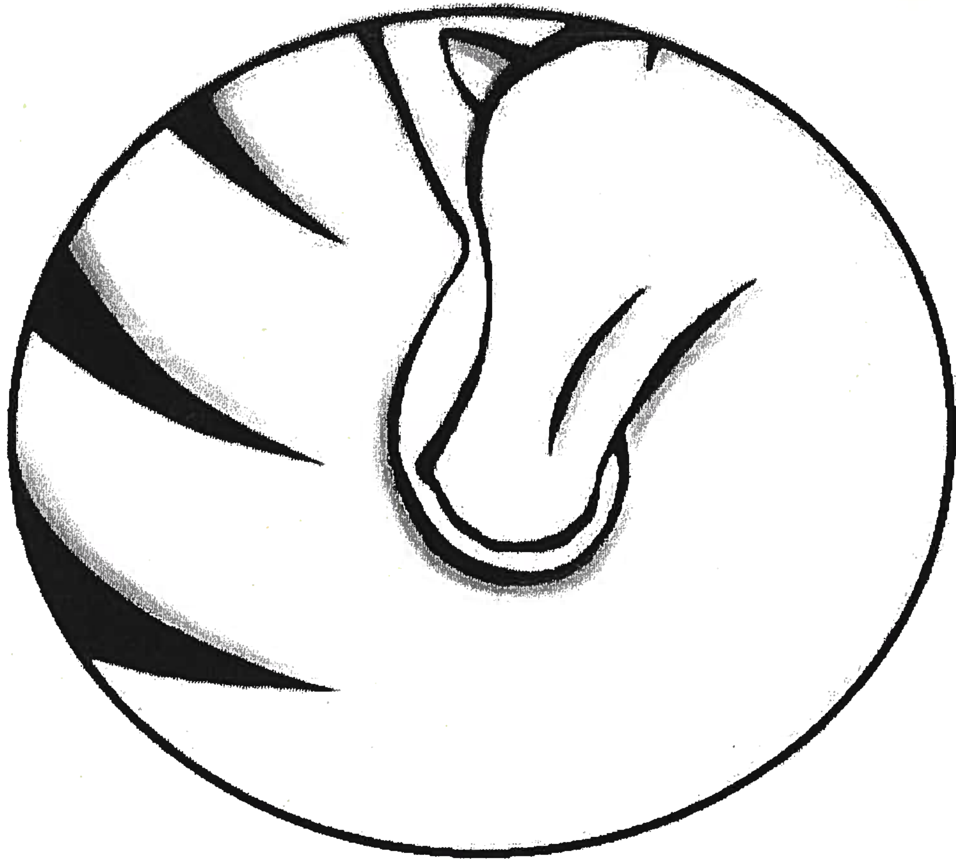

PEGASUS

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PEGASUS, ISSUE 58

JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS AND ANCIENT HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

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EDITORIAL

I am pleased, and in truth a little intimidated, to write the editorial for the 58th issue of Pegasus. As has seemingly become tradition, the editorial staff this year was largely drawn from new PhD students. Thus, for many of us on the board, this year has been one of new beginnings and of meeting new members of the department—staff, postgraduates, and undergraduates alike. A full year has passed now, and as you can see from this issue, it has been a busy one.

In his departmental news on the following page, Professor Matthew Wright comments on the change the department has seen recently. I, however, have been struck by the continuity. It can be seen, for example, in the list of the Jackson Knight Memorial Lectures, kindly compiled by Professor Emeritus T. P. Wiseman, which have been ongoing for 50 years (and ended with a wonderful lecture from Prof. Wiseman himself), and in the wonderful snapshots of reunions and old classes. It is also seen in the continued readership of *Pegasus* over the years by those who still think fondly upon the department here at Exeter. To all, but to these long-time readers especially , the editorial board offers sincere apologies for the delay in publishing this year's issue. We hope the 59th issue will be out in the spring as usual! We would like to thank all those graduates and friends who continue to support the department in all its endeavours.

On a related note, The University of Exeter has recently been proclaimed to be one of the top 100 universities in the world, according to the Times Higher Education tables. It is both our past and our present that has brought us to this achievement. Both are featured in this issue. As to our present, one only has to look to the staff research news and the news from the Classics Society to see that the department is flourishing—not to mention the reviews of two recent books by members of the department, Professor Lynette Mitchell and Dr. Karen ní Mheallaigh. Additionally, we are delighted to offer articles by Dr. Antonio Marín, who was a visiting scholar at Exeter in 2013-2014; by Sam Hayes, a second-year PhD this past year and Chief Editor of Pegasus' 50th anniversary issue (#57); and by Tom McConnell, who has graduated this summer. As to the creative corner, we offer two translations into Latin by Sasha Gibbons, who has translated excerpts from two very different fixtures of English literature (*Hamlet* and *The Lord of the Rings*); a poem on Achilles and Penthesilea by Laurence Crumbie; and the return of the ever enigmatic S. Duff and N. Oncents (whose identities I have sadly not yet discovered).

The editorial board would like to thank the many members of staff and fellow postgraduates who helped with this issue, especially: Charlie Rushforth, who, as always, has helped with numerous matters; Professor Daniel Ogden, whose assistance with the article by Antonio Marín was invaluable; Dr. Sharon Marshall, for her advice; and Sam Hayes, who provided a greatly appreciated guiding hand and font of wisdom for us this year. I would especially like to thank my co-editors, Marcelina Gilka and Maria Gisella Giannone, and our editorial assistants, MAs Caitlin Austin and Ellie Jesson, without whom this endeavour would have been nigh impossible.

Taylor FitzGerald
Editor of Pegasus, 2014-2015

From the Head of the Department

As I contemplate life in the Classics Department over the last few years, I am reminded of P.G. Wodehouse's typewriter. Wodehouse wrote all of his novels, stories and scripts on his trusty Monarch typewriter, which he bought second-hand upon his arrival in America in 1909; by the time he died in 1975, several million words later, every single component of this machine had worn out and been replaced, so that no part of the original typewriter remained. Perhaps I am being fanciful, but it does seem to me that a similar process of change and renewal has taken place in the Department recently. Somehow we remain more or less the same as ever, and indeed we seem to retain a pleasing sense of identity and consistency, but there have been enormous changes in personnel since my own arrival in Exeter. Since the last issue of *Pegasus*, three long-serving and much-loved members of the Department – David Braund, Richard Seaford and John Wilkins – have taken early retirement, while several newer colleagues – Sebastian Matzner, Sam Beckelheymer, Eftychia Bathrellou, and Bobby Xinyue – have also departed for positions in London, Munich, Lisbon, and Warwick. We will miss them all dreadfully, and we hope that they will visit us from time to time. Meanwhile in their place we welcome Christopher Siwicki, Paola Bassino, Nicolo D'Alconzo, Michael Hanaghan, and (from January 2016) Katharine Earnshaw; further appointments are to follow in the coming months.

Not just the people but also our physical surroundings have been changing. If any former students from before 2000 pay a visit to Exeter, they will find the campus all but unrecognizable. At the centre of it all stands the impressive Forum and the constantly evolving library, while in the background new halls of residence and new academic buildings, such as the Living Systems Institute, are being erected all the time. My own suggestions for a brand-new, purpose-built Classics Centre, modelled on the Pantheon (or perhaps Nero's Domus Aurea), have so far fallen on deaf ears, but I live in hope.

Thus it seems that everything is in constant flux. Come to think of it, perhaps I should have started with a reference to Heraclitus rather than Wodehouse, but you get the general idea. These are exciting times to be an Exeter Classicist.

Despite all this change, business continues much as normal. Books are read (and written – see the 'Research News' section); Greek and Latin texts are pored over; holes are dug, and their contents carefully inspected; interesting thoughts and ideas emerge; education is provided; degrees are awarded; meaningful interactions take place; progress is made (for the most part). Perhaps one of the most remarkable and encouraging things about the times in which we live is that there are still lots of bright, well-qualified young people eager to spend several years studying the ancient world. In 2014-15 we admitted our largest ever intake of students – well over a hundred first-year undergraduates, reading a mixture of Greek, Latin, Classical Studies, Ancient History and various combined subjects. Similar numbers of second- and third-years, together with a large group of M.A. and Ph.D. students, combine to make our Department a visibly thriving, lively, busy community within the wider University.

In April the Department was very well represented in the Students' Guild Teaching Awards. This ceremony, widely known as the University's equivalent of the Oscars, was established in 2010 as a way of formally recognizing outstanding achievements in teaching and student

support throughout the University. Amory Building resounded to the popping of champagne corks as Sharon Marshall was named 'Best Lecturer'. We were also shortlisted in several other categories, and Sebastian Matzner was runner-up for the 'Research-Inspired Teaching' prize.

Our students continue to pursue their classical interests beyond the curriculum, not only through the popular and dynamic Classics Society and the annual classical play (which this year was a lively version of Sophocles' *Ajax*), but also through new initiatives such as 'Isca Latina'. This exciting project, led by Lynette Mitchell and Sharon Marshall with the help of talented student volunteers, was created to offer children the chance to learn Latin in a state school setting. Queen Elizabeth's Academy in Crediton took part in the pilot scheme (supported by the Department, the Classical Association, the Staff-Student Liaison Committee and the Students' Guild). Since the launch of the first lunchtime sessions last year, participation has quickly grown, resulting in the creation this year of a twenty-week programme leading towards an elementary certificate in Latin; the project has now expanded to include local primary schools as well. The scheme is proving to have great benefits not only for the local community but also for the students who volunteer their time. Two of these students were even inspired to undertake P.G.C.E. training as a result of their experiences.

In February, as part of our ongoing relationship with the Leventis Foundation, several members of the Department organized a special event at the Hellenic Centre in London on the theme of 'The Impact of Greek Culture'. This event, attended by members of the Leventis family as well as over a hundred Exeter alumni and members of the public, was enormously enjoyable: the audience enjoyed several interesting talks and discussions, and once again the air resounded with the popping of champagne corks. In April one of our undergraduates, Tom McConnell, presented a paper on Homer at the fifth British Conference of Undergraduate Research in Winchester. Other special events during the year have included conferences on 'Rhetoric and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity', 'Classics and the Far East', and 'Greek Diet, Health and Medicine in the Roman World'.

It is a pleasure to contribute this foreword to *Pegasus* – now (remarkably) in its fifty-first year and fifty-eighth volume – and to reflect on the continuing vigour and variety of Classics & Ancient History at Exeter as another academic year gets under way.

Matthew Wright
Head of Department, 2015

Classics Society News

This academic year, the Classics Society have built on the success of previous years, welcoming over 180 members, hosting an even greater number and range of events, forging and strengthening relationships with other student groups on campus, and developing a commanding online presence to promote our activities to Classicists both across the country, and around the world.

The regular socials organised by Toby Gladwin, which included classics such as Masters and Slaves and the 12 Labours of Hercules, as well as new events including the Gladiator film screening and the first black tie Christmas formal, allowed new and old members alike to bond and renew existing friendships. Without the strong sense of community established by these events, the society would not have enjoyed the success of organising larger events, such as the annual Classics Ball, the academic debates, or the annual play. The hard work of sports secretaries Olivia Conroy and Phil Smith throughout this year has also helped strengthen the sense of camaraderie amongst society members. We put on valiant displays of sportsmanship during intramural football, and dominated League 1 of intramural netball during both terms. We hope to continue our sporting success later this term.

We were keen to strengthen the academic 'wing' of the society this year, and we achieved this through greater emphasis on the language tutoring scheme, run by Department Liaison Officer Jack West-Sherring, the addition of a second Classics Society Debate in Term 2, and a trip to the Heffers Classics Forum in Cambridge. The first Society Debate, run in November, was inspired by the Students' Guild anti sexual harassment campaign, #NeverOk, and featured the motion 'This house believes that Classical literature should be exempt from modern views on sexual harassment'. We were delighted to have so much competition amongst students to participate on each panel, with Dr Sebastian Matzner, Alexander Roberts, Emily Lawry, and Polly Bowden making up the proposition team, and Dr Sharon Marshall, Helena Leslie, Alice Woods, and Julius Guthrie as the opposition team. The event also allowed us to collaborate with Debating Society, and we welcomed Lewis Saffin to chair the debate. The debate inspired passionate and insightful arguments from both sides, and prompted extensive and powerful questions from the audience. It was clear that Classics as a discipline raises many crucial questions which relate to key issues of the modern world, and it was wonderful to see so many students engaging with their course material in a new and stimulating way.

Our second debate took place in February, and allowed us not only to reaffirm our commitment to the university academic experience, but also allowed us to reach out the Classical Civilisation students at Exeter College. We chose a motion that would complement, but also extend, their studies: 'This house believes that Thucydides came closer than Herodotus in the search for Historical truth.' We once again welcomed two wonderful panels, the proposition panel consisting of Dr Lynette Mitchell, Alexander Roberts, and Julius Guthrie, and the opposition panel make up of Dr Chris Farrell, Jack West-Sherring, and Davide Scarpignato. Aside from the cleverly formulated arguments from both sides, the most rewarding part of the event was the overwhelmingly positive response from the Exeter College students in attendance. We look forward to inviting Exeter College to more events in future, and continuing to build upon this promising relationship.

The annual Classics Society play is always a highlight of our calendar. This year, we took the Exeter theatre world by storm with a moving and compelling staging of Sophocles' Ajax, directed by former Society Vice President Sam Ward, produced by Molly Jehan, and publicised by Rob Cross. This production, with stunning performances from Aldert White (Ajax), and Charlotte O'Halloran (Tecmessa), demonstrated the fantastic talents of our members. The

standard of our annual plays continues to grow as our directors become more and more ambitious, and we look forward to an even more outstanding production next year. Like our well attended debates, the annual play offers us a chance to make the study of Classics more accessible to a wider university audience, through the engaging and relatable medium of theatre.

The Classics Society have collaborated with many other student groups this year, and we hope to continue this in future, to establish a more prominent name for the Classics Society on the university campus. We worked alongside the SSLC subject chairs George Flower and Hershil Kotak, and 3rd Year Rep Tom McConnell, to organise the 'Exonian Mysteries', an event showcasing the extra-curricular academic activities and opportunities available to Classics and Ancient History students at Exeter. We invited representatives from The Undergraduate Journal, Pegasus Journal, the South-West Classical Association, and the Archaeology Department, to talk about what they could offer to students. The creation of our new website, www.exeterclassics.wordpress.com, will hopefully allow us to forge relationships with other UK universities, and organise larger scale collaborative events in the future. The site also provides a platform for prospective students to engage with the activities of a vibrant Classics and Ancient History department, and, thanks to Tom McConnell, features detailed accounts of both our debates this year.

As a society, we are proud to offer our members the opportunity to travel with us to Classical sites and events. This year, we offered a prelude to our summer trip, a Sicilian adventure envisaged by Kirsty Harrod, with a trip to the Heffers Classics Forum in Cambridge. With the help of Francesca Wyllie in the organisation and budgeting of the trip, a small group of students were able to attend talks from leading Classical scholars, including the lovely Dr Michael Scott. Thanks to the help of Molly Jehan, Toby Gladwin, and Francesca Wyllie in organising this year's summer trip, a group of 25 students are looking forward to exploring the legacy of Greek colonisation in Sicily.

The annual Classics Ball allowed us to celebrate everything we achieved this year. However, since the ball, we have continued to enjoy success, particularly at the Teaching Awards, where Dr Sebastian Matzner was named runner up for 'Research Inspired Teaching', and Dr Sharon Marshall was honoured with the title 'Best Lecturer'. The overwhelming number of nominations for the Teaching Awards, painstakingly sorted by SSLC chairs George Flower and Hershil Kotak, are a testimony to the strong and fruitful relationship we are fortunate enough to have with our department, and represent the loyalty and love felt by students for their academic staff. Without this support, we would not have been able to offer such an exciting and vibrant year to our members. The efforts of the Classics Society in maintaining this relationship and staying true to our role as an academic society have been recognised, and we are delighted to have been shortlisted for a Guild Award for 'Exceptional Contribution to the Academic Experience'.

I would like to thank all of our members, this year's committee, and all of the departmental staff, for helping to make this year so enjoyable. I would like to wish your incoming President, Toby Gladwin, every success in the coming year. I have every confidence he will do a fantastic job, and, by building on everything we have achieved this year, continue to take the Society on to even bigger and better things. For me, the dedication and enthusiasm of our members shows that Classics is very much alive in the 21st century. It has been a privilege to work alongside wonderful students with such a passion for their subject, and a desire to share this passion with their friends. The experience of Classics and Ancient History students at Exeter University is something truly special, and has left me with fond memories to cherish for the rest of my life.

Elaine Sanderson,
Classics Society President 2014-15

CONFERENCE REPORTS

Ancient Nonsense: did the Greeks and the Romans have their own "Jabberwockies"?

University of Exeter, 22-24 July 2014.

Report written by Paul Martin, *University of Exeter*

Does the concept of nonsense exist in an objective, quantifiable way, or is it a culturally specific concept? Does nonsense always mean "no sense" or does it possess its own rhetorical baggage? These were just some of the questions at the core of a conference that covered a diverse range of approaches to ancient piffle. These divergent perspectives a consistently stimulating discussion that ranged from gibberish to gobbledygook.

The conference itself formed a part of a larger project into ancient nonsense, supported by the Classical Association and the British Academy, and brought together scholars from Europe and the US. It also built on a shorter session earlier in the year led by one of the conference organizers, Dr. Stephen Kidd. These sessions have demonstrated beyond doubt the wide-ranging significance of studies into concept of nonsense in the ancient world.

At the basis of this concept, however, is terminology. The range of terms often translated with the English "nonsense" simultaneously reflects the absence of an overarching term for nonsense in the ancient world (while English has a multitude of mumbo jumbo) and the awareness that language can fail to achieve meaning. Throughout the conference, it became increasingly clear how this consciousness of the limitations of language's efficacy seeps into a wide range of texts.

The papers during the conference were a testament to the flexibility of the concept of nonsense in the Greek and Roman worlds: from bunkum on vases and in graffiti to the hogwash of comedy and parody, from the philosophically (il)logical to the quackery in medical writing, nonsense between phenomenon and concept acquired increasing sense. Tommyrot and tripe triumphed throughout.

This conference proved to be a meaningful addition to the meaningless, and demonstrated beyond doubt that ancient "Jabberwockies" are an area in which much work remains to be done. It certainly could not be said that, during this conference, colourless green ideas slept anything but furiously.

Rhetoric and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity

University of Exeter, 23-25 April 2015

Supported by the Arts & Humanities Research Council.

Report written by Ulriika Vihervalli, *Cardiff University*

This spring the University of Exeter hosted an exciting three-day international conference on rhetoric in late antique discourses on religious identities. The gathering had an impressive list of speakers, including notable historians from around the UK as well as from abroad, the scope stretching from New York and St. Louis to Ghent and Helsinki – to name a few. The conference organisers, Morwenna Ludlow and Richard Flower, had put together eight challenging panels that amounted to sixteen excellent papers.

Historians have increasingly begun to appreciate the plurality of Christianities and the plethora of religious expression in the past, not only in the early centuries of the Christian faith but also well into the centuries after the church had begun to form. The terminology used by historians for religious groups may not be the most useful when addressing the complex web of late antique religion, nor are what we perceive to be the markers for various groups necessarily the correct identifiers. The conference examined how we might better understand the people studied on their own terms.

The papers covered examples from the third to fifth centuries, examining both self-imposed and projected upon identities. The interplay of rhetoric in this discussion, so often seen as a defining feature of classical figures, is crucial for our understanding of the late antique period likewise as authors continued to thrive on the use of rhetoric in their works. One of the great advantages of the conference was its appreciation of rhetoric beyond the page: temples and sarcophagi were also included. Indeed, visual rhetoric is often overlooked, and the papers focused on experiencing spaces and monuments added depth to the discussion taking place. Many of the key figures of the fourth and fifth centuries, such as Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, were topics of papers that studied Christian self-definition and exclusion. Though these figures have been examined before, we must be more critical of what is meant by rhetoric when studying their works.

The conference offered a platform for an informed discussion on a topic that is in need of further inquiry and study. The conference is also to publish its proceedings in an edited volume, which will undoubtedly be highly anticipated. The volume will provide a much-needed addition to scholarship on religious identity and its constructions, as well as of the extent to which rhetoric was employed in this discussion. These contributions will display the myriad of ways in which late antique figures moulded identities for themselves and others, demonstrating a conscious use of unity and alterity. Perhaps most importantly, it will challenge our understanding of religious identity in late antiquity, demonstrating a richness and fluidity that should be appreciated further.

Other Conferences

While we do not have reports written for all the conferences organized by members of the Classics Department at Exeter, we have included the titles here to provide a more complete view of the wide-ranging research interests and engagement of the department as a whole.

- **The Origins of the Self: India and Greece** (21 June, 2014), organised by Richard Seaford.
- **Cosmology and the Self in Ancient India and Ancient Greece** (9-12 July, 2014), organized by Richard Seaford.
- **Classics and the Far East** (29 June 2015), organised by Bobby Xinyue and Sebastian Matzner.
- **Greek Diet, Health, and Medicine in the Roman World** (9-11 September, 2015), organised by Erica Rowan and Daniel King.

Future conferences are normally advertised on the Department's website, at http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/classics/research/conferences/, as well as on the Liverpool classicists' mailing list at listserv.liv.ac.uk/archives/classicists.html.

STAFF RESEARCH NEWS

Filippo Carlà (F.F.Carla@exeter.ac.uk):
My research is currently focussing mostly on the reception of the ancient world in modern popular culture. In particular, I concentrate on the one side on the use of Antiquity in creating national identities in the 19th – 21st century and in political discourse, on the other side on the presence of the Greek and Roman world in modern (and postmodern) entertainment industry. I recently edited a collective volume on "Ancient Magic and the Supernatural in the Visual and Performing Arts", and I wrote on the role of the Late Roman Emperor Galerius in Serbian cultural memory, as well as on movies on the Late Antique period (for the Wiley Blackwell Companion on Greek and Roman History on Film), on the representations of ancient Greece in theme parks (on this topic I am writing a book, which I will hopefully publish in 2017), on the uses of the past in re-enactments and in themed environments. I am starting to work on the presence of classical Antiquity in advertising, too. In parallel, I did not abandon my more "traditional" research in the field of ancient history and I submitted articles and book chapters on ancient Roman space concepts, on the financial wealth of the Christian churches in Late Antiquity, and I am currently writing on the concept of citizenship in Cicero.

Richard Flower (R.Flower@exeter.ac.uk):
This year I've been very lucky to be awarded an AHRC Early Career Fellowship, which has enabled me to pursue a new research project entitled *Cataloguing Damnation: The Birth of Scientific Heresiology in Late Antiquity*. This involves examining a variety of different catalogues of heresies, written by Christian authors between the fourth and seventh centuries AD. Most earlier studies of these texts have focused on extracting historical information on different religious groups and their beliefs, but my main concern is with their continuity with existing classical methods for the creation and presentation of knowledge. I've been looking at medical authors, especially Galen, as well as writers of encyclopaedic works, such as Pliny the Elder, in order to examine how they presented their works as reliable guides to clearly defined areas of study. In addition, I've also been thinking about ways in which authors of ancient technical treatises sought to depict themselves as authorities in their chosen subjects. These ideas are particularly important for writers of heresiologies, since they were trying to take a range of different speculative theological opinions and transform them into a new and stable branch of knowledge, thereby allowing them to claim for themselves the status of authoritative experts and orthodox Christians.

Claire Holleran (C.Holleran@exeter.ac.uk):
Over the course of this year, I have been continuing to work on a major new monograph on the urban economy of ancient Rome, focusing in particular on the structure and organisation of labour in the city. After learning the techniques of GIS mapping, I also completed a paper exploring the migration of labour to mining regions in Roman Iberia, which will be published in L. DeLigt and L. Tacoma (eds.), *Moving Romans: Migration in the Roman Principate* (Brill: Leiden, forthcoming). I have delivered papers relating to this research in London, Canterbury, Newcastle, and Bristol. I am hoping to extend this project further, and to use the epigraphic evidence to explore migration within Roman Iberia more fully, eventually resulting in an open access searchable online map of migration within the peninsula. I am also working on two edited collections, one with Amanda Claridge, *A Companion to the City of Rome* (Malden, MA, forthcoming) and one with Paul Erdkamp, *Diet and Nutrition in the Ancient World* (Farnham, forthcoming).

Elena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk):
Highlights have been Anto Montesanti completing his PhD on *Fines in Livy,* and exchanging ideas in the 'Brave New Rome of Augustus' course with enthusiastic students, and numerous other subjects with the postgraduates and our colourful new and 'old' staff. Otherwise along with the publication of chapters in Pitts and Versluys' volume on *Globalisation and the Roman World,* and another in Aberson et al. *E Pluribus Unum? revisiting ancient Lucania,* it has been a year spent finishing the book on *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy.* I have also been continuing new work on Diaspora – which I was fortunate to test out in the vibrant Exeter Research Seminar, the interdisciplinary conference in Cardiff: Moving people, changing culture; and in quite a unique forum of philosophers, artists and curators in Oslo as one of the guest speakers at the Centre for Contemporary Art, for the project: *Of Love, Summers and Countering Defeats in Choleric Times. Three Stagings.* Other things bubbling away are collaborative projects: with Catherine Steel (Glasgow) on *Roman Citizenship;* with Guido Bonsaver (Oxford) on *Cultures on the Move: the Italian Case;* and with Andrew Thompson, Rob Fletcher and Paul Young (Exeter), on *Routeways through the Lifecycle of Empires.*

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@exeter.ac.uk):
I have had the great pleasure of spending most of this year in Los Angeles, as Joan Palevsky Visiting Professor of Classics at UCLA. In addition to California sunshine, beaches and abundant farmers markets, I have enjoyed teaching a graduate course on Roman exempla, a Latin language course on Livy, and a lecture course on sex in the ancient world, to a lively and diverse body of US students. I have spent time building new relationships with colleagues at UCLA that I hope will be the basis for continued collaboration and friendship. I've had the opportunity to travel around California giving papers and discussing my current research on Roman exempla with US colleagues in many different Classics departments, which has been most stimulating.

I am still working on my big book on Roman exempla (*Exemplary Ethics*) but in the meantime several other publications have emerged: a chapter on Suetonius' *Augustus* has been published in *Suetonius the Biographer: Thirteen Studies* (edited by Roy Gibson and Tristan Power); an article on Pliny's female role models came out in December in the online journal *EuGeSta;* an article on Valerius Maximus in the *Literary Encyclopedia,* and an article on the marriage of Livia and Augustus in the latest edition of *Omnibus,* to celebrate the bimillenium of Augustus' death. This year will also see the publication of an article on exempla and philosophy in *Between Exemplarity and Singularity: Literature, Philosophy, Law* (a volume edited for the *Routledge Law and Literature* series by Michèle Lowrie and Susanne Lüdemann) and an article co-authored (with Jana Funke) on Rome and sexology (in Jennifer Ingleheart's Classical Presences volume on *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities.*)

In addition to my regular six-monthly *Latin literature* subject review in the journal *Greece and Rome* I have also published a featured review in the *American Historical Review* of Kyle Harper's book *From Shame to Sin,* about sex and the coming of Christianity, as well as reviews in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* and the *Times Literary Supplement.*

When *Pegasus* went to press last year the major exhibition *Intimate Worlds* was just opening at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter (it ran April-June 2014); the exhibition and the simultaneous launch of a new *Sex and History* sex education resource were a tremendous success, attracting considerable media attention at the national and even international level; the trial and development of the resource continues in collaboration with sexual health and sex education professionals, and our next plan is to collaborate with museums abroad on further exhibitions related to sex and history.

In May I'll be back in California again, running an interdisciplinary workshop at Berkeley on *Sexual Therapies* with my colleagues in the *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual History* project, with the aim of establishing new international networks in this research field; a UK-based workshop will follow in the next year, probably to coincide with the publication of our new edited volume *Sex, Knowledge, and Receptions of the Past.*

Sebastian Matzner (S.Matzner@exeter.ac.uk): What a busy term this has been! While teaching has taken up most of my time over the past couple of months, I had the pleasure to present some of my ongoing research projects at the two lectures I gave here at Exeter. Both were related to forthcoming publications: in a book chapter entitled 'Literary Criticism and/as Gender Reassignment: Reading the Classics with Karl Heinrich Ulrichs', I examine how Ulrichs (an influential 19th-century theorist of sexuality and gay right campaigner) developed his theories of gender categorization by reading ancient texts, and then in turn used that same ancient literature as evidence for the transhistorical nature of these categories. By exploring the dialectics in which Ulrichs uses literature to theorize sexuality and simultaneously interprets literature through the prism of his own sexological theory, my chapter seeks to offer a critical framing of the 'dialogue' between past and present concerns that is one of the key insights generated by work in the fields of both Classical Reception and queer history. In a further forthcoming book chapter, entitled '"Of that I know many examples". On the Relationship of Greek Theory and Roman Practice in Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' Writings on the Third Sex', I take a closer look at the different ways in which Ulrichs engages with Greek and Roman texts. A third publication in this field (in German) was commissioned for a book in honour of the 230th birthday of Heinrich Hössli, the author of the first modern apologia of same-sex love (published in 1836); my birthday gift consisted in an examination of the role German philhellenism played both in the composition of Hössli's work and in making it effective in its historical context. Alongside this work on the history of sexualities, I have given talks at the 'Deep Classics' conference in Bristol (on 'Queer Unhistoricism') and at the Institute of Classical Studies' Greek and Latin Literature Seminar in London, this year run under the theme 'Theory and Ancient Literature' (my paper was on 'Roman('s) Trouble With Metonymy: On Contiguity and Its (Dis-)Contents'). I have also laid the ground for a forthcoming conference volume on the topic of Complex Inferiorities: The Poetics of the Weaker Voice in Latin Literature (based on the papers delivered at the conference of the same name, I organised and held at Oxford on 4-5 September 2014) of which I am the editor, and I am about to resume work on the book manuscript of my forthcoming monograph Rethinking Metonymy: Literary Theory and Poetic Practice from Pindar to Jakobson. I could conclude by telling you a little more about the international conference I am currently organising on 'Breaking and Entering: Metalepsis in Classical Literature' (to be held at Oxford, 3-5 September 2015)... but you will have to wait until the next issue of Pegasus for that! (Oh, alright then... go on, have a look at https://metalepsis2015.wordpress.com/ if you really can't wait that long!)

Karen ní Mheallaigh (K.Ni-Mheallaigh@exeter.ac.uk): I'm at the Aarhus Institute of Advanced Studies on a Marie-Curie research fellowship this year, so sending my greetings to Pegasus from Denmark. We are a group of about 35 fellows at the Institute, from all different disciplines (Arctic ecology, pharmacy, astrophysics, political science, to name but a few...). I is tremendously exciting to get an insight into what colleagues do, and how our subjects might talk to each other. At the moment, I am writing a book on the Moon in ancient thought, which is part of my project on the ancient scientific imagination. This will examine both ancient philosophical and scientific speculation about the nature of the

Moon (including the question of life beyond the Earth), and the role played by the Moon in ancient imaginative literature as well.

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk):
Over the last year I have mainly been working on a book on Seleucus. I have belatedly begun work on a biography of Philip II contracted to Routledge, but I fear it will be many years indeed before that appears, if it ever does. A number of shorter pieces have appeared during the period: I returned to ghosts for 'How "western" were the ancient oracles of the dead?' and 'Roman ghosts' (in Spanish), to Alexander for 'Alexander in Africa' and 'Alexander, Agathos Daimon and Ptolemy: foundation myths in dialogue' and to magic for 'The sorcerers of Lucian's Philopseudes' (in Japanese) and 'Animal Magic.' The last piece was indeed, as older readers may suspect, named in tribute to Johnny Morris; it deals chiefly with the practical uses of the hyena. All of these, with the exception of the Japanese piece, are available on the university's Open Access system, or will be so in due course.

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk):
A particular focus this year is developing new theoretical and methodological approaches to Roman material culture. In May I am co-organising the Laurence seminar in Cambridge with Astrid Van Oyen (Cambridge Faculty of Classics) on the subject of 'Re-thinking artefacts in Roman archaeology: beyond representation'. This meeting examines the much lamented gap between detailed artefact studies and synthetic interpretive arguments in Roman archaeology. I have also secured AHRC funding for a research network with Penelope Allison (Archaeology, University of Leicester) titled 'Big Data on the Roman table'. The aim of this network is to develop fresh approaches to the wealth of Roman artefactual evidence for eating and drinking (especially pottery) so that these data can be used more effectively and more specifically to investigate social practices and cultural networks in the Roman world. Aside from these collaborative projects, I have been awarded research leave in 2015 to develop a new project on 'Commodities in the Roman imagination: circulation and context in northwest Europe', which builds on the conceptual foundations of my recent co-edited book on Roman globalisation, as well as a long article in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* on the artefactual signatures of early Roman cities in Britain and beyond (both late 2014).

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk):
My work in food and medicine has continued, with an article (with Siam Bhayro in Theology) in Galenos on the Syriac and Greek MS tradition of Galen's *de alimentorum facultatibus*; an article on food, medicine and taste in *The Journal of Ethnopharmacology*; a chapter on Galen's patients in the forthcoming *Homo Patiens* volume, co-edited by the former Exeter postgrad Georgia Petridou (de Gruyter); and an article on cereals in [Aristotle's] *Problemata* in a Brill volume (ed. Robert Mayhew) on that work. I am preparing a big project with David Leith and Dan King on Galen's diagnosis, a project of the greatest interest for all working on the history of medicine and of ancient thought, I think.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk):
This year I have been thinking some more about Neophron, Diogenes, Ion, Achaeus and other 'lost' tragedians of the fifth century, and in the gaps in between meetings I have even found time to add a few more pages to my book *The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy*, which I hope to finish before the end of the year (or, at any rate, before any of these lost plays are rediscovered). I have also been adding the finishing touches to a couple of other books: *On the Psyche* (a collection of essays based on our conference in honour of Chris Gill), and my introduction and notes to a new translation of Euripides by Diane Arnson Svarlien.

POSTGRADUATE NEWS

This year the Exeter Classics Department on the one hand welcomed six new research postgraduates, a number quite above average (see relevant section below to find out about their projects). On the other hand we congratulate four on their successful viva voce examinations: Dr Shaun Mudd, Dr Chris Siwicki (who will stay with us as lecturer from the 2015/16 academic year), Dr Jasmine Hunter-Evans, and Dr Matthew Skuse.

The postgraduate Work-in-Progress seminar (to be renamed 'ExeWiP' from next year) saw many stimulating talks by research students from our circle. Three postgraduate presentations were even held at the departmental seminar series: by Christian Djurslev, Sam Hayes and Andrew Worley. Three Classics PGRs also contributed to the conference of the College of Humanities, with Paul Martin's paper being judged the best within the subject. Moreover, many of us branched out to both attend and speak at conferences at other Universities in the UK and abroad. Notably, Exeter was represented at major events such as AMPAL, TRAC, the CA Annual conference (with individual papers as well as an organised panel) and the London postgraduate research seminar at the Institute of Classical Studies.

Two fellow students won funding for research trips: Christian Djurslev went to the Danish Institute at Athens and the prestigious Fondation Hardt in Geneva, while Sam Hayes spent a term at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich.

Marcelina Gilka
Pegasus Editor 2014-2015

New PhD Students and Projects

Andrea Argenti (aa582@exeter.ac.uk):
My Ph.D. project is a re-examination and a discussion of the main questions of Aristotle's doctrine of substance in Book VII of Metaphysics. Z is the first of three Books (H and Θ) in which Aristotle sets out an investigation on the nature and the structure of sensible objects (from artefacts to living beings); in this context, he expounds his most important metaphysical notions, such as subject, essence and substance as compound of form and matter. Despite being object of an extensive scholarly debate, Aristotle's views are still puzzling for interpreters and challenging for philosophers. In taking on such a challenge, the project is thus characterized by a distinctive feature: it employs Aristotle's remarks on definition, which are particularly prominent in Z, as the main perspective of inquiry. This interpretative choice is suggested by Aristotle's tendency in metaphysics to set out problems, arguments and reasoning by drawing a correspondence between the primary being of objects (i.e. substance) and the formula accounting for what the object is (i.e. its definition). Accordingly, his philosophical views on the former are likely to reflect his philosophical views on the latter. For this reason, an inquiry focused on the theory of definition may contribute to re-examine Aristotle's discussion of sensible substances.

Taylor FitzGerald (tgf203@exeter.ac.uk):
My research is on the representations of imperial dynastic legitimacy from AD 284-366, tracing the creation and manipulation of a 'dynasty' stretching from the Tetrarchic emperor Diocletian to the short-lived usurper Procopius. The political arrangement of the Tetrarchy, bound together by marriage and adoption, provided a structure and an ideology which later members of the

family—such as Constantine and Maxentius—were able to exploit. This project will also include minor emperors and 'usurpers' and will look at the continuity of strategies for legitimation throughout this period. I hope to provide a clearer idea of both the methods employed in claiming imperial legitimacy and the roles that these constructions played in establishing the political structure and stability of the Tetrarchic and Constantinian eras. These legitimizing techniques were created and disseminated on coinage and through other imperial messages, and the perception and reception of these constructions can be seen in ancient literature, in which authors were able to manipulate these ideas to suit their own rhetoric.

Maria Gisella Giannone (mg446@exeter.ac.uk):
My PhD thesis (working title: *Democracy and Democratic Language in Isocrates*) focuses on the analysis of political language in the Attic orator Isocrates (436-338 BC), an author who has often been underestimated as a political thinker and dismissed as an oligarch. More specifically, taking inspiration from my MA thesis in which I examined the origin of the word *dēmokratia* and of the idea of democracy in Ancient Greece, I intend to devote particular attention to the occurrences of *dēmokratia* and democratic language in the whole Isocratean *corpus*, combining both an historical and a philological approach. As such, I am interested in examining how Isocrates depicts contemporary as well as previous democracy. Furthermore, I will analyse how he employs some key-words which are closely related to democratic language, such as *isonomia* and *isotēs* (considering also the fact that, as far as we know, Isocrates is the only fourth-century orator who mentions these two terms), but also *isēgoria, parrhēsia* and *eleutheria*. My research thus aims to highlight Isocrates' complex use of political language and deepen our understanding of his political thought.

Marcelina Gilka (mg334@exeter.ac.uk):
My PhD undertaking is a study of the mythological tradition of *antehomerica* (i.e. the events that have led to the Trojan War) from the archaic period up to Late Antiquity. The research aims at tracing the different stages in the development of the myth, marking changes and tracking innovations, as well as finding explanations for them. I explore the influence on versions of the narrative by previous versions, and if possible indicate why an author may have chosen to follow or reject a particular tradition. The texts covered span every period and genre from the Epic Cycle through to late antique Christian chronicles (and occasionally beyond), in both Latin and Greek. Within this, I especially focus on two epyllia which are both entitled *The Abduction of Helen*, but are otherwise quite unlike each other in their treatment of the myth. Both were composed around 500 AD, but in different parts of the world; one was written in Greek by Colluthus of Lycopolis in Egypt and the other by Dracontius from Carthage, Africa.

Giulia Zulian (gz224@exeter.ac.uk):
In the last forty years, our knowledge and understanding of many institutional, political and cultural aspects of the first two centuries of the Roman Empire made substantial advances thanks to a broadening in the scope and methods of historical research. Nonetheless, we are still in want of a fully cross-disciplinary and diachronic assessment of the symbolic, ceremonial and visual features that connoted the authority of the imperial persona and of the ways such features were propagated and received in Rome. Equally lacking is an analysis of the changes and continuities inherent to these features and to their communication during the first two centuries of the Common Era. The primary goal of the present research project is to start overcoming this gap which hampers our understanding of how the communication and representation of power evolved in High Imperial Rome both

historically and conceptually. Another objective of the proposed work is to offer a first step towards a much needed comparison between first century and second century ideas of Empire. Ideas of rulership will be investigated by assessing the changes in the public organisation of *religio* and the relationship between these changes and the ways emperors represented themselves according to context. The relationship between the emperor and personified Roma and the construction of imperial life course will be analysed to an unprecedented detail.

List of MA Theses, submitted August 2014

Charlie Cox	Roman Basileis: Applying the trends of Hellenistic monarchy to early imperial Rome
Ali Gennaro	The Integration of Greek Medicine and Roman Medicine and the Importance of the 2nd century BC
Maria Gousopoulou	Queen Statonice: Fact and Fiction in Lucian's *On the Syrian Goddess*
Bradley Libralesso	Balance, the Mean, and Symposiums: Symposiums as beneficial ritual for balancing one's health
Claire Maloney	The Grotesque Style in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Lucan *Bellum Civile*
Trevor Martin	Logos and Psyche in Heraclitus
Tom Meade	ὁ γενναῖος Ὀδυσσεύς: Nobility, heroism, and social hierarchy in Sophocles
Jonathan Miller	Plato and the Ethics of Falsehood and Fiction
Jesika Pook	Writing from the Margins of the Ancient Literary Tradition: the depiction of the female voice, perspective, and experience in Ovid's *Heroides*
Eleanor Stevens	The Reception of Sexual Violence in the Works of Ovid
Alexandra Tindall	The significance of the pig in ancient Greek society
Sam Ward	The Psychology of Suicide in Ancient Drama

READER SUBMISSIONS

The Jackson Knight Memorial Lectures

T.P. Wiseman, *University of Exeter*

W. F. Jackson Knight (1895-1964), Virgilian scholar and spiritualist, taught in the Exeter Classics Department from 1935 to 1961. His Penguin translation of the *Aeneid* sold about half a million copies and stayed in print for over forty years. He was a wonderfully inspiring teacher, and when he died the Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture fund was raised jointly by the students in the Department and by his friends and colleagues, to perpetuate the memory of his work and ideas, and to establish lectures 'on topics connected with Latin and Greek literature, its influences on modern literature, classical anthropology, and ancient thought in all its aspects', to be given by persons 'who have achieved distinction in academic or literary work or in public life'.[1]

As the founders intended, over the years the lecturers included not only classical scholars but also poets (one of them later Poet Laureate), novelists, literary critics, and even a sculptor: Michael Ayrton's 'End Maze III' can be seen on the wall next to room MR1 in Queen's Building, where the Classics Department used to be housed. Here is the full list:

1. Sir Basil Blackwell, *Letters in the New Age* (1968)
2. Cecil Day-Lewis, *On Translating Poetry* (1969)
3. Colin Hardie, *The Georgics: a Transitional Poem* (1970)
4. Francis Berry, *Thoughts on Poetic Time* (1971)
5. Gavin Townend, *The Augustan Poets and the Permissive Society* (1972)
6. John Sparrow, *Dido v Aeneas: the Case for the Defence* (1972)
7. Michael Ayrton, *A Meaning to the Maze* (1973)
8. S. Gorley Putt, *'Ginger Hot i' the Mouth': the Realistic Impact of Jacobean Tragedy* (1975)
9. G. Wilson Knight, *Vergil and Shakespeare* (1976)
10. F.W. Clayton, *The Hole in the Wall: a New Look at Shakespeare's Latin Base for 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'* (1977)
11. J.J. Lawlor, *Elysium Revisited* (1978)
12. George Steiner, *Antigones* (1979)
13. Kenneth Quinn, *'But the Queen...': Conceptual Fields in Virgil's Aeneid* (1980)
14. John Pollard, *Virgil and the Sibyl* (1981)
15. Brian Shefton, *The Exeter Vase* (1982)
16. C.H. Sisson, *The Poet and the Translator* (1984)
17. David West, *The Bough and the Gate* (1986)
18. John Gould, *Dionysus and the Hippie Convoy* (1988)
19. Allan Massie, *Ancient Rome and the Historical Novel* (1991)
20. James Zetzel, *Looking Backward: Past and Present in the Roman Republic* (1993)
21. Averil Cameron, *'Struck by the Word': the Voice of Christian Literature* (1995)
22. Richard Brilliant, *Roman History Since Rostovtzeff, With or Without Images* (1997)
23. Marina Warner, *The Enchantments of Circe: Odysseus' Refusal, Gryllus' Choice* (1998)

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[1] For Jackson Knight's life and work, see G. Wilson Knight, *Jackson Knight: A Biography* (Oxford 1975); T.P. Wiseman, *Talking to Virgil: A Miscellany* (Exeter 1992) 171-209.

24. Shadi Bartsch, *The Self as Audience: Paradoxes of Identity in Imperial Rome* (2000)
25. Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: Homogeneity and Diversity* (2002)
26. Mary Beard, *A Captive Audience? Prisoners, Victims and Vassals at the Roman Triumph* (2004)
27. James Davidson, *I, You and Us Two: Same-Sex Pairing, Sexual Approximation and Greek Love* (2006)
28. Edith Hall, *Greek Tragedy, the Sun, and the Unity of Time* (2010)
29. Frederic Raphael, *Squeezing Josephus: Surviving Survival* (2011)
30. T.P. Wiseman, *Divining the Distant Past: W.G. Hoskins and Pre-Roman Exeter* (2014)

All but two (nos. 15 and 27) have been published,[2] nos. 1-14 and 16-17 as pamphlets produced by the University (all now out of print) and no. 30 as a booklet by The Mint Press under the title *How Old is Exeter?* (2015, forthcoming). The others appeared in *Pegasus*, as follows: no. 18, *Pegasus* vol. 43; no. 19, *Pegasus* vol. 40; no. 20, *Pegasus* vol. 37; no. 21, *Pegasus* vol. 38; no. 22, *Pegasus* vol. 41; no. 23, *Pegasus* vol. 42; no. 24, *Pegasus* vol. 44; no. 25, *Pegasus* vol. 46; no. 26, *Pegasus* vol. 48; no. 28, *Pegasus* vol. 54; no. 29, *Pegasus* vol. 55.

A Bibliography of H.W. Stubbs

By T. P. Wiseman, with Ray Clark and David Harvey

Obituaries of Hugh Stubbs (1917-2014) appeared in last year's issue of *Pegasus*. I am very grateful to Ray Clark and David Harvey for help in compiling this list of his published works.

1. Review of E.V. Hansen, The Attalids of Pergamum, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946) 138.
2. 'The Axes Again', *Classical Review* 62 (1948) 12-13.
3. Review of A.R. Burn, Pericles and Athens, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 69 (1949) 108-9.
4. 'Spartan Austerity: A Possible Explanation', *Classical Quarterly* 44 (1950) 32-7.
5. 'Homer, Thebes and Argos', *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 50 (1953) 19.
6. Review of H. Michell, *Sparta*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73 (1953) 170-1.
7. Review of R.F. Willetts, 'The Historical Importance of the Gortyn Laws', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 74 (1954) 210-11.
8. 'The Derivation of πρόφασις', *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 51 (1954) 55-6.
9. 'Who Was Aphrodite?', *Orpheus* 1 (1954) 170-3.
10. 'Satan, Loki and Prometheus', *Orpheus* 3 (1956) 152-6.
11. 'The Speech of Leotychidas in Herodotus VI 86', *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 56 (1959) 27-8.
12. Translation of Horace *Odes* 1.5, in Ronald Storrs (ed.), *Ad Pyrrham: A Polyglot Collection of Translations* (London 1959) 94.
13. 'Troy, Asgard, and Armageddon', *Folklore* 70 (1959) 440-459.
14. 'Book List' and 'Tea and Sympathy', in Richard Usborne (ed.), *A Century of Summer Fields* (London 1964) 29-32 and 211-12.
15. (translator) Björn Landström, *The Quest for India* (London 1964).
16. 'Troubles of a Lexicographer', *Pegasus* 5 (Feb. 1966) 10-15.
17. Review of R. Flacelière, *Daily Life in Greece in the Age of Pericles*, *Pegasus* 5 (Feb. 1966) 49-52.
18. Review of L.J. Pocock, *Odyssean Essays*, *Pegasus* 6 (June 1966) 21-4.
19. (translator) Björn Landström, *Columbus* (London 1966).
20. Review of M.I. Finley, *Aspects of Antiquity*, *Pegasus* 10 (1968) 11-17.
21. 'Virgil and H.G. Wells: Prophets of a New Age', *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 9 (1969-70) 34-53.
22. 'Many Words, Little Wisdom' (review of A. Toynbee, *Some Problems of Greek History*), *Pegasus* 13 (1971) 32-6.

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[2] For the sad story of the non-publication of no. 15, see *Pegasus* 55 (2012) 48.

23. 'Thucydides 1.2.6', *Classical Quarterly* 22 (1972) 74-7.
24. Review of Exeter Classical Society's production of *Hippolytus*, *Pegasus* 16 (1973) 7-12.
25. Review of M. Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status-Symbol in Antiquity, *Journal of Roman Studies* 63 (1973) 267-8.
26. 'Exeter in the Forties', in G. Wilson Knight, *Jackson Knight: A Biography* (Oxford 1975), 286-94.
27. 'Underworld Themes in Modern Fiction', in H.R.E. Davidson (ed), *The Journey to the Other World* (London 1975) 130-149.
28. 'Chair and Chairperson: Memories of Twenty-Eight Years', *Pegasus* 19 (1976) 2-10.
29. 'De Minervae nimia (ut nonnullis videtur) in Ajacem ira', *Siculorum Gymnasium* 29 (1976) 437-48.
30. Review of L. Brisson, *Le mythe de Tirésias*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 98 (1978) 188-9.
31. 'Shakespeare's Athens, or, Fragments of Another Greek Tragedy', *Pegasus* 22 (1979) 11-13.
32. (ed.) Pegasus: Classical Essays from the University of Exeter (Exeter 1981): 'Introduction', vii-x.
33. 'Robin (1951-1981)', *Pegasus* 24 (1981) 1-3.
34. Review of Raymond J. Clark, *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition*, *Folklore* 93 (1982) 234-5.
35. (with J.A.H. Wylie) 'The Plague at Athens 430-428 BC: Epidemic and Epizootic', *Classical Quarterly* 33 (1983) 6-11.
36. 'Going to Greece: How? A Supplement to F.D. Harvey's 1980 Article', *Pegasus* 29 (1986) 13-17.
37. 'A Legend and a Picture: Marcus Curtius and B.R. Haydon', *Pegasus* 30 (1987) 6-9.
38. 'Jaevius et magnum praedicantium certamen', in P.G. Wodehouse, *The Great Sermon Handicap* (multi-lingual edition), vol. 1 (New York 1989) 39-54.
39. 'John Wilkins' *Life of Luxury*' (review), *Pegasus* 38 (1995) 35-7.
40. Review of J.J. O'Hara, True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition, Vergilius 42 (1996) 136-40.
41. 'Laocoon Again', *Vergilius* 43 (1997) 3-18.
42. 'Virgil's Harpies: A Study in *Aeneid* III (with an Addendum on Lycophron, "Alexander" [*sic*] 1250-2', *Vergilius* 44 (1998) 3-12.
43. 'In Defence of the Troughs: A Study of *Aeneid* III and V', *Vergilius* 44 (1998) 66-84.
44. Review of D.W. Tandy and W.C. Neale (trans.), *Hesiod's Works and Days*, *Vergilius* 44 (1998) 128-40.
45. 'Classics at Exeter in the 1940s: Some Comments on Brian Balsom's Article in *Pegasus* 43', *Pegasus* 44 (2001) 26.
46. 'A Historical Fragment', *Pegasus* 46 (2003) 21-2.

There were also two items on Thucydides (let's call them 23a and 46a) that didn't make it into print:

[23a] In a note to me written on 19 January 2002 (he was 84 at the time), Hugh Stubbs recalled that about thirty years earlier the *Classical Quarterly* had declined to publish 'what I considered a uniquely satisfactory, though admittedly verbose, solution to the driving-loaded-carts-over-uncompleted-walls problem [Thucydides 1.93.5] on which Gomme makes such asinine comments'. For the record, Hugh's typescript 'Those Carts Again' concludes as follows:

The carts simply drove up from both sides, at least to this crucial stretch of the Northern Wall, and dropped their loads, while the masons shaped and fitted the stones, from the centre outwards. The description of the building operations came from an eyewitness, though the eyewitness was probably not Thucydides himself; it is barely conceivable that a later copyist should have inserted a piece which, unless it is taken as a rather elliptical explanation based on an eyewitness account, seems irrelevant, obscure, and, on the most commonly accepted interpretation, physically impossible. On the other hand, the ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν clause is best omitted; if so, the logical sequence is clearer. There is no connection, except perhaps on the deepest subconscious levels (and probably not even there) with Babylon or Cloud-Cuckoo-Land [cf. Herodotus 1.179.3, Aristophanes *Birds* 1124-9]. There is one stretch of wall along which carts could have made their way, and passed each other, at least after the building had been completed; but there is no indication that they ever did.

[46a] Hugh's letter went on:

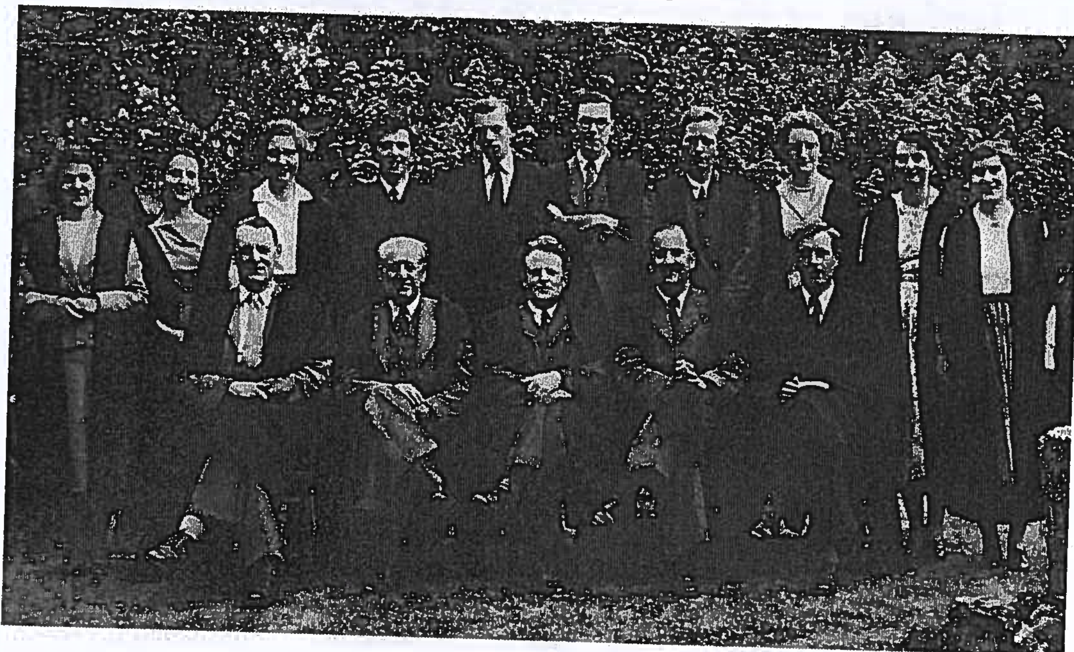
'By the way, another idea on another misunderstood Thucydideum has recently occurred to me: "Anaisthetos thanatos" in the Funeral Oration [Thuc. 2.43.6] doesn't mean, as is commonly suggested, "instantaneous & therefore more or less painless death in battle", as seems to be commonly supposed; Pericles, though not QUITE so completely free of humbug & double-talk as people like Livingston (Gk Genius...) have assumed, couldn't have produced such unrealistic humbug as THAT. Contrariwise, Thanatos denoted THE STATE OF BEING DEAD, and hence UNCONSCIOUS (anaisthetos) & unaware of the 30 Tyrants -- as Lucretius said he would be unaware of the atomic bomb--; hence they were felices opportunitate mortis. This, of course, LOOKS dangerously like the bloody-German theory that IF anyone is ever recorded as making a correct prognostication, this must be a vaticinium post eventum invented by the author; and of course it DOES imply that Thuc. was still alive in 404, & capable of writing, if only in samizdat: Adcock, somewhere, has an interesting suggestion that Thuc. died at sea, leaving Bk.VIII uncompleted. But I think Thuc. would have been quite capable of, perhaps unconsciously, giving an after-the-event slant to some actual generalization made by P ("death is better than dishonour, and the effects of a super-Munich over Potidea or anything else would certainly have been dishonour"). If I could get it on paper, it would involve checking a few translations & commentaries, but not, I think, much more.'

Alas, he never did.

Snapshot of the Past: 'The Class of 1956'.

Submitted by T. P. Wiseman

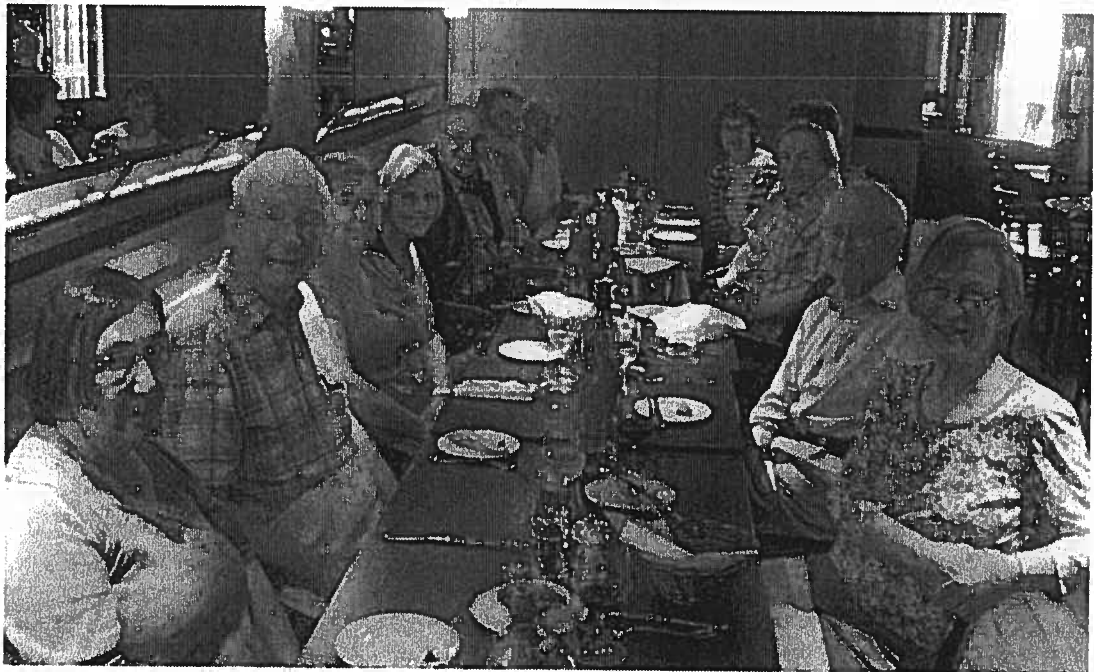
The teaching staff on the front row are (left to right): Robin Mathewson, Jackson Knight, Fred Clayton (Professor and Head of Department), Hugh Stubbs, John Herington.



Snapshots of the Present: Reunions of Exeter Classics Graduates & Friends

Submitted by David Harvey

Left to Right: *Graham Thomas, Ray Clark, Carolyn Noble, Brian Hamill, Viv Clark, Michael Clive, Julia Mair, Carol Wells, John Mair, Diana Spink, Alan Harris, Norman Spink.*



Left to Right: *Miriam Webb, Martin Wells, Viv Clark, Diana Spink, Ray Clark, Brian Hamill, Michael Clive, Carolyn Noble, Julia Mair, John Mair, Malcolm Dale, Carol Wells.*

ARTICLES

Featured Article: 'Caranus and the Introduction of the Phalanx Formation in Macedonia'

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Until recently, scholars have focused all their attention on the greatest personalities of Ancient Macedonia: Philip II and Alexander III. By contrast, the Macedonian foundation myths have been overlooked or at any rate have not received the attention they deserve. This article accepts point of view of some recent studies, whilst considering these sorts of myths to be unhistorical, but nonetheless find in them a valuable source of information for Macedonian studies. Our main aim is to show the strong link between Philip II of Macedonia and the figure of Caranus, one of the Macedonian mythical founders. Likewise, this is the first study, as far we know to consider the Caranus figure in the context of the creation of the famous Macedonian phalanx.

Every people or nation has their own mythical founder. Stringkily, we know of the names of no less than three founders for the Argead dynasty: Perdiccas, Archelaus and Caranus. The first attested founder is Perdiccas, the son of Temenus that Herodotus (8.138) perhaps writing in the third quartile of the fifth century, regarded as the creator of the Macedonian kingdom, and therefore it is the oldest historical reference on a Macedonian king. The second attested founder is Archelaus. In his tragedies, *Archelaus* and *Temenids*, written at the end of the firth century, Euripides projected the contemporary, historical Maccedonian king, Archelaus, back in time to be the first member of the Macedonian dynasty. We do not know whether Euripides acted following the wishes of his patron or whether it was a personal decision to glorify him this way. At any rate, the change was only effective during Archelaus' reign. This fact has led some scholars to think Caranus, the third attested founder of the Argead dynasty, was the original founder, who is first found mentioned in a fragment of Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F393, later fourth-century BC), was in fact the first to be actually developed.[1] However, even in later versions of the foundation myth in which Caranus remains the founder of the kingdom of Macedonia, Perdiccas also plays an important role in events.[2] In other words, we do not know what name was the first-developed of this list of three, there being two alternative for the chronological order: Perdiccas, Archelaus and Caranus or Caranus, Perdiccas and Archelaus.

Considering the fact that the ultimate aim of all these tales was to strengthen the status of a clan (that of the Argeads), we can easily understand why the central figures in them were kings. The king ruled in Macedonia by virtue of his lineage and his right of conquest, given that these qualities were what differentiated him from his subjects. Now, from this point of view the tale of Caranus represented a turning-point in the foundation tales. While the legends of Perdiccas and Archelaus coincide in pointing out that both of them were Argives, descendants from Heracles and the only conquerors of the kingdom of Macedonia, Caranus is signally a member specifically of the family of Pheidon of Argos, and is said to have conquered Macedonia with a vast Greek army. So the question that naturally arises in this situation is: why should Caranus have needed to use a whole army while the others did not? In our opinion, Caranus and Pheidon must be looked at together, if we want to solve this enigma definitively.

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[1] Ogden (2011) 58.

[2] Solinus 9.12: "primus in Macedonia rex nominatus".

Caranus is a real mystery for us. In fact, we do not even know the meaning of his name. Some scholars have related it to the term *koiranos*[3] (king) while others derive it from *karnos*[4] (ram). There is also a lack of consensus among scholars about the moment at which Caranus entered the royal list, but it is usually dated between the rules of Archelaus (413–399 BC) and Amyntas III (i.e. 393-70 BC). According to Hammond the importance of Aigai in Caranus' story (as found at Justin 7.1.7–7.2.1) confirms that this city had not yet been replaced by Pella as capital of the kingdom,[5] but this is far from being a decisive consideration, because Aigai never lost its prominent role for the Argead dynasty. Badian thought that the main aim of this story was to strengthen the links between Greeks and Macedonian.[6] Greenwalt has contended that Caranus was introduced as mythical founder during the reign of Amyntas III to delegitimize other candidates to the throne, who were descendants of a king named Perdiccas, namely Perdiccas II (448-13 BC).[7] We share to a certain degree Greenwalt's theory, given that the revision of the names and identities of the mythical Macedonian founders can be only understood from this sort of political point of view, but we are inclined to claim that the change took place rather during the reign of Philip II. The name of Caranus became popular during Philip's reign, as we know from the cases of a general of Alexander the Great (Arr. *An*. 3.28.2; 4.6.1) and an alleged son of Philip II and Cleopatra (Justin. 11.2.3). In fact, Greenwalt's theory is also valid for the era Philip, because he too faced a pretender to the throne of similar characteristics: his nephew Amyntas, son of Perdiccas III. By changing the name of the mythical founder of the kingdom, Philip was weakening the position of Amyntas as heir, given that his father Perdiccas III suddenly ceased to share his name with the mythical founder. If we take the significance and power of names for the Macedonians into account, we will understand much better the reasons Philip II acted in this way. The fact that the Argeads did not use royal titles ('king', 'queen') led to the bestowal of an uncommon charisma upon certain personal names in their onomasticon:[8] for instance, a large number of Macedonian women were renamed after Eurydice, Philip II's mother, to connect them with the glory and power of her name. If the name was removed from the key position in Argead king list, the legitimacy of the pretender to the throne also was eliminated.

Besides, Theopompus is the first source that mentions Caranus as founder of the Macedonian dynasty, and he was a historian who wrote at the court of Philip.[9] If Greenwalt were right, we would not be able to understand why the name Perdiccas could still be found sported by one of Amyntas' sons, the future Perdiccas III or by Perdiccas, son of Orontes, the famous general of Alexander the Great. The exact moment of the invention of Caranus must have taken place shortly before or after Alexander's birth.

Moreover, no one is able to explain how and why Caranus became a son or brother of Pheidon of Argos.[10] Indeed, Pheidon is more important in these Caranus stories than Temenos, and in our opinion it is this that is the key to establishing when the change was made in the royal list. We argue, accordingly, that the introduction of Caranus should be dated to early in Philip's reign, because Pheidon and Philip have more in common than any other Macedonian king. Pheidon had increased the territorial heritage of his ancestor Temenos, minted new coins and celebrated games at Olympia (Paus. 6.22.2). Similarly, Philip had begun the territorial expansion

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[3] Greenwalt (1985) 45.

[4] Cf. Ogden (2011) 61.

[5] Hammond, II (1979) 11ff.

[6] Badian (1982) 36.

[7] Greenwalt (1985) 48-49.

[8] Carney (1991) 156ff.

[9] Shrimpton (1991) 5.

[10] Theopomp. FGrHist 115 F 393; Syncellus, Chronography 234 and 316 (son); Satyr FGrHist 631 F 1 and POxy 2465 (brother).

of his kingdom, had coined currency on a major scale and won in the Olympic Games (Plut. *Alex.* 3.5).

Pheidon and Philip have one last thing in common. Both of them were related to the introduction in their respective states of a new way of fighting: that of the phalanx formation.

During Philip's reign a transcendental event in the history of Macedonia took place, the creation of Macedonian phalanx. Before that, the Macedonians had had an excellent cavalry, but their infantry had been unable to face even the Thracians.[11] This was partly due to the fact that this military formation had not become integrated into the Macedonian kingdom. During the fourth century Greek poleis had struggled to find enough soldiers to fight as cavalrymen, because the courage of a warrior was associated rather with the hoplite.[12] But in Macedonia, by contrast the *ethos* of Homeric warriors was still alive and linked to cavalryman. The Macedonian king and his *hetairoi* ('companions') were the model of manhood for every soldier in the kingdom, and their way of fighting was always on horseback. We can understand, accordingly, the anger of Hermolaus, a Macedonian royal page, when his horse was taken from him.[13] The hunter-rider emerges as the symbol of masculinity and bravado for the elites.[14] Considering that its elites were and still are the mirror in which every society looks, it is logical to conclude that the lower classes shared this way of thinking. As a result, the change introduced in Macedonia was not just a military matter; it also raised some controversy, because the phalanx formation meant a revolution in the mind of the Macedonians. Indeed, the creation of a phalanx of heavy infantry was certainly a comparatively democratizing factor. Because of this infantry, humble people would be able to rub shoulders with the nobility, since from Philip's reign onwards important members of the aristocracy, even the king himself, fought in its ranks and led its attacks. The struggle between Macedonian cavalrymen and footmen after Alexander's death well demonstrates the point we are making.[15]

The Macedonian concept of courage was also changed by development of the phalanx. Fighting to the death hand-to-hand combat against the enemy ceased to be the only way of the warrior.[16] Macedonian phalangists had to learn to close ranks with the greatest of precision or else make an orderly withdrawal carrying all their weapons.[17] Philip had to bestow dignity upon the phalanx in order to prevail upon the Macedonians to join its rows. For this purpose, he created the *pezhetairoi* (πεζέταιροι) the infantry equivalent of the *hetairoi* cavalry (Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 348). This way, to fight on horseback or on foot became, in theory, equally honorable in the Macedonian army, although the king and his *hetairoi* always preferred to fight as cavalrymen.

An important change in the present was only possible if it is supported by the past. And this is why Philip II turned to it. We know that Epaminondas of Thebes was the true source of inspiration for Philip in his military reforms, but the ancient sources just refer his influence upon Philip as a purely moral one.[18] After all, Epaminondas was a foreigner, while only Homer[19] or a member of royal house of Argos could be suitable models for a Heraclid.

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[11] Th. II 100.5: "οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες πεζῷ μὲν οὐδὲ διενοοῦντο ἀμύνεσθαι".
[12] Lendon (2005) 44.
[13] Arr. *An.* 4.13.2-3. Cf. E. Carney (2002) 59–80.
[14] Ath. I 18A; Cf. Picard (1986) 75; Cohen 2010, 71ff.
[15] Justin 13.3.1; Curt. 10. 7.14-15; 20-21.
[16] Curt. 7.4.34-38 (Erygius); Plut. *Alex.* 63.2 (Alexander); Arr. *An.* IV 24-25 (Ptolemy). Cf. Molina Marín (2014) 96.
[17] This was a recurrent tactic of the Macedonian phalanx. Cf. Antela-Bernárdez (2013) 29-47.
[18] Diod. 16.2.2-4; Justin. 6.9.7.
[19] Diod. 16.3.2: "μιμησάμενος τὸν ἐν Τροίᾳ τῶν ἡρώων συνασπισμόν".

As mentioned previously, Caranus was introduced among the Macedonian founders in order to undermine the legitimacy of Amyntas IV, but we think that it was also done with the intention of associating the Macedonian Phalanx with Pheidon of Argos.

We know that Pheidon was a tyrant, [20] a reformer,[21] and very probably the creator of the hoplite phalanx.[22] Although we do not know exactly the period in which he lived, it is certain that his name was associated to the prosperity of Argos and the defeat of Sparta in the battle of Hysiae (c.669/8 BC).[23] This victory is thought to have been due to his key military reforms: the invention of phalanx.[24] Now, we do not have an ancient source which says that the phalanx was created by Pheidon. Currently it is something more or less assumed among scholars, but we don't know if in antiquity the same was true. Although, Apollodorus (2.2.1) and Pausanias (2.25.7) say that the shield, an essential element of hoplite's weapons, was invented at Argos,[25] that is not enough evidence to decide the matter. Furthermore, nothing is said of the phalanx in any of the versions of Caranus' myth. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note again that we are told that Caranus did not conquer alone Macedonia, but rather did it with the help of a Greek army.[26]

Let us take a different approach of these passages on Caranus: the differential factor between the king and the Macedonians now ceases to exist, given that the descendants of this army shared the benefits of the conquest with the king and so too shared even his origin. The Macedonian king ceases to be a Greek who rules over Macedonians,[27] because his people are also Greek.

The sources make clear that Caranus took these Greek forces from Pheidon.[28] They do not specify what kind of army they were, but traditionally Greek armies were celebrated as infantry, and so it would not be wrong to presume that it was a hoplite army.

At this point, we may conclude that the Caranus tale was elaborated also as a historical pretext in order to legitimate Philip's military reforms. If the king proved that the phalanx had never been alien to Macedonian tradition, then he could overcome prejudice of his soldiers, who might have been reluctant to accept the innovations of their new monarch. It for this reason, Pheidon was deployed to replace Temenos as father of the Macedonian founder, namely that he was associated with the phalanx and was, additionally, recognized as reformer in the Greek World.

Nevertheless some questions remain without satisfactory answer. The lack of mention of Caranus in the context of the Macedonian phalanx raises a question-mark over our theory. Furthermore, Caranus is not always presented as a relative of Pheidon; sometimes he is rather called Poeanthes' son (Euphorion, Justinus, Solinus and Syncellus). According to some interpretations Poeanthes' name signifies "luxuriant in grass."[29] This reminds us that one of the possible meanings of the name Caranus was that of a herbivore animal, a ram. It is very tempting to think that the name Poeanthes was created as an explanation for the role of the animals in the Macedonian foundational myths. For this reason, Pheidon was substituted as the father of Caranus in later authors. This would imply that 'ram' was apparently the true meaning of

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[20] Arist. *Pol.* 1310b.
[21] Hdt. 6.127; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 115 = Str. 8.3.33.
[22] Kinzl (2000) col. 766; Billows (2010) 79-80;Viggiano (2013) 124.
[23] Paus. 2.24.7; 3.7.5, he does not name for the Argive general.
[24] Tomlinson (1972) 180.
[25] Diod. 15.44.3. Cf. Echeverría Rey (2012) 293ff.
[26] Sol. 9.12: "Peloponnesiae multitudinis"; Euph. fr.33 (Groningen): "σύν τισιν Ἕλλησιν ἀποικίαν στειλάμενος"; Justin. 7.1.7: "Cum magna multitudine Graecorum".
[27] Hdt. 5.20.4.
[28] Syncellus, *Chronography* 234: "δύναμιν λαβὼν παρὰ Φείδωνος".
[29] Ogden (2011) 61-62.

Caranus' name. There is no a clear evidence to support this claim, although, curiously, there is a passage in which Philip II identifies himself with this creature. As the Macedonian king was accused by Onomarchus of being a coward for retreating, he claimed: "We do not flee, but retreat like *krioì* (rams or battering rams), to renew the attack with greater power".[30] The ram's unique way of attacking its enemies could have been taken as the model for a similar manoeuvre by the Macedonian phalanx, given that the simulated withdrawal was a very common technique for Philip's army.[31] Unfortunately, Polyaenus did not use the word *karnos*, but a synonymous one, *krios*.[32]

In a word, there is not enough evidence to prove that Caranus was used as an instrument in order to help in the introduction of the phalanx to Macedonia, but, as we have seen Philip II is the likeliest candidate for the creation of Caranus tale.

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[30] Polyaen. 2.38.2.

[31] Polyaen. 4.2.2; 2.13; Plb. 2.69.8-9; App. *Syr*. 36.

[32] Cf. Paus. 3.13.3-6.

Postgraduate Article: 'In(tro)ducing the Reader: Martial's Paratextual Prefaces'

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One of the many curious features of Martial's twelve-book collection of *Epigrams* is the way the poems and their arrangement both encourages and discourages attempts to detect unity within the individual books. On the one hand the juxtaposition of themes and tones is an organisational tool, and the *Epigrams'* "ordered disorder" can reveal an underlying structure.[1] But on the other the sheer medley of themes creates a paradoxical book that cannot be read as a book, because each poem adds new meaning to the larger, constantly shifting, whole.[2] The fact remains, however, that Martial wrote books of epigrams, not random anthologies, and he expresses the identity of the book-as-book most concretely in his prefatory letters.[3] Books 1, 2, 8, 9, and 12 all begin with a letter written to a patron or the emperor, and in each of these cases the author stresses the identity of the individual book. By examining these prefaces in a paratextual context, as letters on the fringe of the text itself, the unity of each book begins to become more apparent. These prefaces not only introduce the reader to the text, but also induce them towards specific approaches to reading the collection.

Before leaping into the main body of my own text, however, the concept of the paratext must be addressed. Originally defined by the French narratologist Gérrard Genette as an "undefined zone" between the main text and its outside world, the paratext essentially consists of everything that composes a text's identity besides the main body of the text itself.[4] Authorial prefaces, headings, the cover page, and reviews of the book can all be defined by this catch-all term, and all affect the way that a reader approaches the text itself. Until recently discussions of these liminal zones had, unfortunately, been pushed to the fringes of classical scholarship, but in 2014 Laura Jansen's edited volume on the *Roman Paratext* began to explore how far paratextual theory can be applied to classical texts, especially in a world before the modern codex book.[5] Even so, Martial and his prefaces have received little but passing mention in such discussions, and as such merit an investigation. Due to spatial constraints I must limit my focus to the prefaces to books 2 and 8, but many of my more general observations could also be applied to books 1, 9, and 12.[6] In this article I explore how these two prefaces encourage questions of the fluidity of the boundaries of Martial's paratexts and how, like the boundaries of his poems, they at once confirm and deny the unity of their individual books.

These prefaces form an essential part of their book's peritext – the paratextual material physically attached to the text itself – and establish key themes that recur later in the book, making the reader cast their mind back to the work's opening.[7] In fact, the prefaces are so

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[1] For the "ordered disorder" of the *Epigrams* cf. Rimell (2008) 140-80 & esp. 156.

[2] Fitzgerald (2007) 197-9 concludes that one cannot read a book of the *Epigrams* as a book due to the reader's desire to read just one more poem, which he terms an addiction to epigram. For the wider discussion of Martial's books as books cf. Fowler (1995) & White (1974).

[3] Martial also makes direct reference to the book number in Mart. 2.93, 5.2, 6.1 & 7.17. For a discussion of Martial's metapoetics in general, and their relationship to the materiality of the text cf. Roman 2001.

[4] Genette (1997) 2.

[5] Cf. Jansen (2014) 9.

[6] Book 1's preface has received of the most scholarly attention due to its principal position at the beginning of the *Epigrams*. Cf. Anderson (2008), Fitzgerald (2007) 69ff.

[7] This footnote is a peritext, as is the title at the top of this article. *Pegasus'* table of contents, title page, and editorial are further examples. In contrast, the epitext is anything not physically attached to the text itself (the

interwoven with their following poems that they almost entirely cease to be paratexts, existing as text and liminal zone at the same time. The exactitude of the books' liminal zones is also up for debate, and as I will show with the preface to book 8, the way that the reader connects poems to the prefaces can provoke radically different concepts of what constitutes a text or a paratext. Martial's prefaces are like the rest of his collection – messy and bound up in questions of shifting boundaries – but by their positioning they also encourage a more unified view of his poetry books.

Book 2's preface serves as a shining example of how Martial interweaves his peritext with the rest of his poetry. Addressed to the patron Decianus, it takes on the amusing role of an anti-preface to engage in a dialogue about how readers approach the *Epigrams*:[8]

> VALERIUS MARTIALIS TO HIS DECIANUS, GREETINGS.
> "What use to me" you say "is a letter? For do we not do enough for you if we read your epigrams? What more will you say here that you could not say in your verses? I see why tragedy or comedy receive a letter, forms which are not allowed to speak for themselves; epigrams however do not need a herald and are content with their own, that is a bad, tongue. They make a letter on whichever page seems best. Therefore don't, if you deem it proper, make the matter ridiculous and introduce the character of a dancer in a toga. In short, consider whether you'd like to go up against a *retiarius* with a twig. I sit among those who protest straightaway." By Hercules, Decianus, I think you speak the truth! What if you knew with what and how long [*quam longa*] a letter you would have had dealings? And so may it be what you demand. If anyone happens upon this book they will owe it to you that they come through to the first page not worn out [*non lassi pervenient*]! (Mart. 2.praef.)

This preface ingeniously questions the very point of the preface, opening with a general question that (but for the titular address) is not associated with Decianus until Martial's own "by Hercules" halfway through. The reader can imagine themselves asking this question of the poet, whose response is a witty deconstruction of the prefatory letter. But more is at stake here than self-serving literary point-scoring. In the last few lines Martial turns the conversation away from the necessity of a preface towards the question of its length (*quam longa*) and weary readers (*lassi*). This theme is immediately picked up again in the following epigram, where the poet directly addresses his book with the concern that his readers will not make it all the way to the end:

> Indeed you could bear three hundred epigrams,
> My book [*liber*], but who would bear and read you through [*perlegeretque*]?
> But now learn what the advantages of a succinct booklet [*libellus*] are.
> This is first, that less of my paper goes to waste;
> Then, that a copyist goes over these poems in one hour,
> And will not occupy himself with just my trifles;
> The third matter is this, that if by chance you are read to someone,
> You, although thoroughly dreadful, will not be hated.
> The dinner guest will read you when five parts of wine are mixed, but
> Before a set down cup begins to have cooled.

Pegasus website, for example, remains an epitext to this article while the edition remains un-digitised). Cf. Genette (1997) 5.

[8] All translations are my own and use the Latin text from Shackleton Bailey (1993).

> You consider yourself safe with so much brevity [*brevitate*]?
> Ah me, how long [*quam longus*] you'll be to many anyway! (Mart. 2.1)

It is hard to argue that the preface and opening poem are unconnected. Martial's use of language and content links the two together, with the *perlegeretque* of line 2 echoing the final *pervenient* of the preface. The repeated focus on how *longus/-a* the book/letter is stresses the concern that Martial has for his audience reading the text – they might not read him all the way through, and could throw down the book when weary (*lassus*). Indeed, this theme returns a short time later at 2.6, where Martial bemoans a reader who encourages the poet but yawns loudly after a couple of columns (*longas trahis oscitationes* 2.6.4).[9] Martial also verbally assaults another reader at 2.77 for accusing him of writing *longa epigrammata*, even though his poems are far shorter than Marsus' and Pedo's. In these cases the preface and opening poem use language and content that reappears later in the book, reminding the reader of its overall thematic unity. Rather than sitting alone and unconnected at the start of book 2, as Peter White once claimed, the preface instead involves itself in a dialogue with one of the book's key themes – writing epigrams.[10] Indeed, the key position of the preface at the start of the text affords greater significance to this theme; by placing this theme in the book's preface Martial announces its importance to the reader before they might have the tendency to skip ahead (something that *perlegeret* and *pervenient* work to deny). Not only does the preface introduce the reader to the content, it also induces them towards a certain mode of reading by shaping their approach to the text from its inception.

The preface of a book is the perfect place for encouraging the reader towards a specific reading style; indeed, Genette comments that it is the key purpose of any authorial preface.[11] Statius and Martial, the first two extant Latin poets who attach prose prefaces to their verse, both work towards this goal, but in different ways.[12] Unlike Statius in the *Silvae,* Martial does not use his prefaces as the opportunity to catalogue each book's poems and explain their nature as a collection, but instead blurs the boundary between prefatory material and poetry by interweaving their themes.[13] His prefaces still serve to instruct the reader in how the book is read, but not overtly. Thus in book 2, by ruminating on the nature of epigram and placing these thoughts in the mouth of Decianus, Martial begins to offer glimpses of how he portrays good and bad readership values – to him epigram is not a major genre and should not be treated as such. The addition of the following poem serves to reinforce and develop his points – this *libellus* is not overly long, and as such should not be considered a hindrance to one who would read it through. Implicitly, the reader is encouraged to *perlegere* the *Epigrams,* as only the foolish, weary reader would not. Indeed, the chief goal of the reader of the preface is to get all the way through without being worn out, and after 2.1 the reader is encouraged to believe that Martial's book should be brief enough (*brevitate*) to aid this.

Yet the preface to book 2 both is and is not a beginning. It stands at the start of the second book, but as one step in the inexorable forward progression of the twelve books of the *Epigrams.* The paratextual role of Martial's prefaces is not firmly set, and there are at least three ways to read this preface: as an individual introduction to book 2; as the second part of Martial's first

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[9] Note also the positioning of this poem towards the start of the book. As if often the case in Martial, epigram placement complements content.

[10] White (1974) 58. This theme repeats at Mart. 2.1, 2.6, 2.8, 2.20, 2.77, 2.86, 2.88 & 2.91-3.

[11] Genette (1997) 197: the original authorial preface "has at its chief function *to ensure that the text is read properly*" (original emphasis).

[12] Cf. Williams (2004) 19.

[13] In book 5 of the *Silvae* Statius moves away from a catalogue of the whole book and only discusses the first poem, which has led some to argue that it is a posthumous edition. Cf. Gibson (2006) xxviii-xxx for a summary of the relevant arguments. For a brief comparison of Martial's prefaces with Statius' cf. Parker (2014) 116-7.

triad of books; and as a smaller piece of the 12 book collection.[14] The preface to book 1, addressed to the reader themselves, should arguably be the most fixed starting point (at the opening of the first book and the collection itself). But the debate over whether or not the extant book 1 is a second edition released later than its following books casts another shade of doubt onto an already dubious picture.[15] Furthermore, as Martial did not attach a preface to all of his books the paratextual role occupied by the preface in books 1, 2, 8, 9, and 12 is immediately passed over to the opening poem(s) of the other books. Epigram 3.1, for instance, sets the time and place for the third book, introducing the reader to the book and its background – it is sent back from Forum Cornelii in northern Italy with the assurances that this book is not too Gallic.[16] At the very least, however, the preface still occupies a key position at the opening of its own book, but the role it holds is not too indistinct from Martial's programmatic poetry. Similarly, epigram 3.1 could be described as constituting prefatorial poetics. Martial's openings are not as straightforward as they might otherwise seem.

Moreover, when considering the broader context of book 2's preface, the ostensibly firm boundaries of the individual books begin to break down. William Fitzgerald hypothesised that Martial's poems infect one another with their themes and thus become more amorphous (indeed, this is one of the core principles to his eventual conclusion that the unity of a single book of the *Epigrams* is hermeneutically impossible).[17] While the physical gap on the page between items remains (a fact I will return to shortly), this 'infection' takes place between epigram 2.1 and the preface (as shown above with the lexical similarities), but also with the previous book. The theme of long epigrams and long books is by no means original to book 2, and as Craig Williams notes, the preface to book 2 continues from book 1's last poem.[18] This final distych of book 1 remarks that the person who enjoys reading one hundred epigrams could never have enough of a bad thing, which is very similar in tone and subject matter to 2.1 and 2.praef. (as well as other poems within book 1).[19] The paratext to book 2, then, stretches across the boundaries between books and forms a continuous chain that denies its own liminality. This new beginning in a sense stands as more of the same, but this breakdown of book boundaries is made more apparent than it would have been in antiquity by modern printing practices.

To the modern reader, especially the modern reader of Shackleton Bailey's Loeb translation, the transition between books takes place at the flick of a page. For ancient readers, however, this transition would have involved the closing of book 1's scroll and the opening of the next (assuming the two were kept side by side and then read in sequence). Whether Martial wrote on codices (the precursor of the modern book form) or the bookroll is still debated, with the latter alternative most recently suggested by Sarah Blake.[20] Whichever side one falls upon, however, it is worth noting that the paratextual impact of Martial's opening prefaces changes radically based on the format his poetry is found in. To the reader of the modern book Martial's prefaces are less

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[14] Holzberg (2002) 135-51 devotes much time to the concept of Martial's "dodecalogue", arguing that the collection's 12 books are subdivided into 4 three-book triads.

[15] Nauta (2002) 114. No strong conclusions can be drawn about collections that may have once existed, however, and pragmatism dictates that analysis must focus on the text that is extant.

[16] The book is a *verna* (homeborn slave, i.e. Roman) and not a Gaul (Mart. 3.1.6). A similar role is played by the twelfth preface, where Martial hopes not to send to Rome a Spanish book, but one from Spain (12.praef.29-31).

[17] Fitzgerald (2007) 80.

[18] Williams (2004) 18.

[19] Mart. 1.118. Other poems in book 1 concerned with the quality of his epigrams include 1.3, 1.16, 1.35, 1.45, 1.110 & 1.117.

[20] Cf. Blake (2014) who argues that firm evidence for the codex does not appear until the third century (69) and that Martial's references to *membranae* are to bookroll covers (78) or as part of a joke involving the erasure of texts in the *Apophoreta* (83ff.). O'Hogan (2015), however, observes that P. Oxy. I 30 represents archaeological evidence for parchment codices in the late first to early second centuries AD, far earlier than usually reconstructed.

individualistic, and more emphatically positioned as a part of his entire corpus; to the reader of a papyrus or parchment scroll, perhaps tucked into their tunic for a party (as depicted at 2.6.7-8), the preface borders the physical edge of the book. The Loeb version of book 2 sits between larger sections of text (books 1 and 3); the individual bookroll version would not. While connections can and should be made between books, the physical constraints of the material bookroll act as the most sure-fire boundary and firmest paratext for Martial's *Epigrams*. It is far easier to separate each book from the overall collection when they are all found on different papyrus rolls, and the duality of the book as an individual item and part of a whole) is more concrete.[21] Thus, Martial's prefaces stand both as paratext in the context of the book itself but as text in the larger setting of the *Epigrams*.

Having considered how modern book format might shape modern conceptions of his paratext, it is also worth exploring how his poems are numbered and how this suggests a break between text and paratext. A good example of such a break is the divide between the preface to book 8 and the following epigram. Both the preface and opening poem discuss the nature of the book, as is natural with the opening to any of Martial's books, but intriguingly the preface refers directly to 8.1:

> TO THE EMPEROR DOMITIAN CAESAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS DACICUS, VALERIUS MARTIALIS SENDS GREETINGS
>
> All my little books, Lord, to which you have given renown (that is, life) supplicate you. And besides this one I think they will be read. However this one, which will be inscribed as the eighth of my work, enjoys the occasion of piety more frequently. And thus it was less necessary to labour with genius, in whose place the subject matter took over: material which now and again I have indeed tried to vary through the mixture of jokes, lest every verse should heap up its own praise for your celestial reverence, which could tire you more easily than it would sate us. But although epigrams have been written by even the most severe men of the greatest fortune in order to appear to adopt the mime's licence for words, I have, however, not allowed these ones to speak as naughtily as they are accustomed. Since the larger and better part of the book has been restricted to the majesty of your sacred name, it will remember that the cleansed ought not to approach the temples by religious purification. So that those about to read me might know what is guarded against, it pleased me to announce it on the very boundary [*limine*] of this little book in the briefest of epigrams [*brevissimo epigrammate*]. (Mart. 8.praef.)

With his preface thus addressed in august reverence to the emperor, Martial moves onto his opening poem. Yet this epigram is more of a continuation of than a break from the preface's subject matter:

> Book, about to enter the laureled household gods of our Master,
> Learn to speak more sacredly [*sanctius*] with a reverent mouth.
> Nude Venus withdraw! This is not your little book:
> You, Caesarian Pallas, you come [*veni*] to me. (Mart. 8.1)

Because the spacing between the first poem and the preface act as a physical boundary between the two items, the reader is encouraged to consider both of these items as separate, the

[21] A larger scale of the same duality can also be observed between each epigram and its book.

latter further from the book's border. Yet it remains that the final line of the preface refers not only to its own paratextuality (*limine*) but also to the following poem (*brevissimo epigrammate*), drawing the two pieces closer together and straining the boundaries of text and paratext. Instead of acting as two separate literary entities the poem and preface both rely on one another to share their overall message – the reverent tone of the book – and encourage the view that these two items should be considered as one text.[22] Such a combination of poem and preface would not be unusual for Martial: the first preface, for example, includes its own epigram and as such 1.1 is not actually the first poem of the book. Similarly, the preface to book 9 ends with an eight-line poem on a bust of Martial at a library. Although the prefaces of books 2, 8, and 12 do not include their opening poem in the preface they do engage with the poems that immediately follow them. 12.1 is addressed to the same addressee (Priscus) as its preface, while the prefaces to books 2 and 8 interact with their following poems either thematically or by explicitly referring to them. Martial's prefaces are thus not as isolated from the main body of poems as the term 'paratext' might suggest. The boundary between the paratext and the text is therefore warped, and becomes even more warped when Martial ends his first preface with the declaration that "I think I might rightly make an end to my letter in verse" (1.praef.19-20). Here Martial alludes to the poem that closes the preface, but with a formula that is remarkably similar to 8.praef.'s "it pleased me to announce it on the very boundary of this little book in the briefest of epigrams" which introduces the following poem, numbered as a separate unit (8.1). Questions of unity and overall book cohesion are thus brought into question by the modern practice of numbering individual items within the books, encouraging an enhanced separation of poem and preface from one another and reinforcing the modern concept of the peritext's (partial) separation from the text.

To close my analysis of these prefaces I will now consider how Martial creates allusions to his initial preface in 8.praef. and 8.1, and how this binds the eighth preface and subsequent epigram more closely together as conceptual units. In his first preface Martial argues for the ability of epigram to speak plainly (i.e. rudely) due to the precedent of Catullus, Gaetulicus, Marsus, and Pedo.[23] His following poem (contained within the preface itself) forbids the prudish Cato Uticensis from entering the theatre of his epigrams. Yet while Martial's poems are accustomed to speak in the manner outlined in the first preface, the preface to book 8 assures Domitian that this book at least will be more restrained. As such 8.praef. and 8.1 work to counter the message of 1.praef. Indeed, Martial mirrors the four lines of poetry in the first preface with the language of 8.1's two couplets, encouraging a reading of the preface and opening poem as a single unit. For this a direct quotation from Martial's first preface will prove illuminating:

> Although you knew the sweet ritual [*sacrum*] of joking Flora
> And her festive games and the licence of the mob,
> Why, severe Cato, did you come [*venisti*] into the theatre?
> Or actually did you only come [*veneras*] to go out? (Mart.1.praef.21-4)

The unwelcome Cato in 1.praef. is doubled by the requested Pallas in 8.praef., acting as a counterweight to Flora's mob and to Venus. The context of Flora's *sacrum* is echoed (and supplanted) by Martial's desire to speak more sacredly (*sanctius* 8.1.2) in book 8, and the language of coming and going (*veni, venisti, veneras*) appears in both these poems. There may

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[22] This topic is also briefly discussed by Schöffel (2002) 78 & 86, who argues that 8.2 could function as the book's opening poem (*Eröffnungsepigram*) instead of 8.1, which is an extension of the initial preface.
[23] Mart. 1.praef.10-3: lascivam verborum veritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam, excusarem, si meum esset exemplum: sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur.

also be wordplay on Venus (seen at 8.praef.) and the synophonous verb *venire*, epitomised by the pluperfect *veneras* in the first preface that aids a crude joke at Cato's expense. The outstanding Roman *exemplum* of probity is here subjected to sexual innuendo: in its vulgar usage the verb *venire* approximates the same variety of meanings as the English "to come" – not only to go somewhere, but to reach sexual climax (for which Venus stands as a metonym).[24] Martial's depiction of Cato takes on a new light: drawn into the seedy world of Flora's games and Martial's *Epigrams* he is made to 'come' before he leaves, failing at his own attempt to bring the audience up to his level (and being brought firmly down to theirs in the process). Similarly in the last line of 8.1 when Martial addresses Pallas Minerva, the virginal goddess of wisdom and Domitian's patron deity, the punchline of the whole poem – *veni* – jars with the *sanctior* tone that preceded it.[25] Even so, Martial does follow through quite ably on his promise to the emperor – the theme of oral sex is much less prevalent in book 8, and overtly obscene language is completely absent.[26] Rather than undermining his preface, the final *veni* leaves room for the general reader to laugh at certain jokes, but with a sideways wink rather than through open profanity. Given the intertextual links between 8.1 and 1.praef.21-4, it follows that the opening poem to book 8 should be considered part of the introduction to the book. It is impossible to reconstruct what the 'original' preface to book 8 looked like, and whether 8.1 formed a part of it, but the separation in present editions of the two items raises intriguing questions about Martial and his paratext. His poems infect one another, and his paratexts are no different; with the first and eighth preface this infection spreads across his books as well. Intratextual allusions that span the corpus lead Martial's reader into a variety of different modes of reading – forwards, backwards, and diagonally whilst also reinforcing a sense of the book's 'bookness.'[27] Martial's poetic boundaries are remarkably fluid, but it is noteworthy that this fluidity is aided by modern conceptions of book layout and numbering practices.

Ultimately the malleability of Martial's prose prefaces is aided by the liminality leant to them by their position on the fringes of the text. On one level, that of the book itself, these prefaces act as gateways to the book, and encourage the reader to pass through the rest of the book, subtly guided by Martial's wordplay and self-referentiality. At another, these prefaces are but a small part of the wider collection, acting out the same themes in slightly varied ways, standing as bridges between the individual books. One might well ask where the paratext ends and the text begins (or where one book ends and another starts), but Martial purposefully complicates the matter by using his prefaces to act out his key themes. In the epigrammatic world of juxtaposed theme and tone, these prefaces exist as text and paratext at the same time – they are only forced into one state, like Schrödinger's cat, when observed in either specific context. Moreover, the modern desire to classify and separate out the epigrams and prefaces into different numbers with prefixed boundaries serves to cement certain readings of the text, but also to ask deeper questions. Is 8.1 directly connected to 8.praef. like the poems in the prefaces to books 1 and 9? Yes and no.[28] No paratext is ever fully divorced from the text it is defined by, but Martial's prefaces are almost subsumed by the poems to which they relate (and vice versa). As ever, Martial frustrates a simple reading and simple definitions, but this brief examination of his peritexts has shown that his prefaces are much like the rest of his *Epigrams* – at once individual,

[24] Adams (1982) 176. Cf. Mart. 11.73.1: *venturum… mihi*.

[25] Mart. 8.1.4: *tu mihi, tu, Pallas Caesariana, veni*. Note too the juxtaposition of *veni* with the austerity of *Caeseriana*.

[26] On the *os impurum* in book 8 cf. Sapsford (2012) 134-5. The only poem to directly bring up the *os impurum* is 8.6.16, which speaks in the euphemism of drinking: *bibes*.

[27] If you can pardon the neologism. For a cogent discussion of how intratextual readings (those within a text) occur, cf. Sharrock (2000) 5ff.

[28] This question can also be inverted. In one sense the poem included within the first preface is both part of the preface and separate to it.

perfect acts of closure while also promising the unity of a larger whole. Martial's prefaces stand as individual microcosms of the paradoxical collection that is the *Epigrams*.

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Lawrence Shenfield Prize: 'To what extent is *Trachiniae* a play about overwhelming natural and psychological forces?'

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In this essay, having established a critical framework and a structuralist-cum-historicist approach, I shall argue that the *Trachiniae* is about overwhelming and natural psychological forces to a great extent. I shall do this by analysing the forces working on Deianeira, Heracles, and lastly the tragic world of the *Trachiniae* generally. First, I shall argue that Deianeira, contrary to common belief, is not overwhelmed by *Ἔρως* ['Love', 'Sexual Desire'] but by a desire for the perfect *οἶκος* ['Household']. Next, I shall show how Heracles is totally controlled by his *Ἔρως*, but also by nature more generally. Lastly, I shall demonstrate how nature more generally pervades the tragic world of the *Trachiniae*, through the natural landscape, cosmic imagery, and destiny. My final conclusion will be that the role of these forces demonstrate the deep structure of the play: that Heracles is a scapegoat, needing to be removed from civilisation for its own sake, the need for which is exemplified by Deianeira.

The question has theoretical complexities. Firstly, from a postmodern perspective, a play can be 'about' many things, the number of which can increase in time, as more critical advances are made. For example, after the rise of feminist studies in the mid-1980s, critics started seeing the plays as 'about' the role of women, and playing the women within the ideological complex of 5th century Athens.[1] Indeed, Hall argues that the play fits a common pattern whereby a woman creates or exacerbates a problem when deprived of sexual relations with her husband.[2] Alternatively, to many critics the play is 'about' late learning.[3] Moreover, Kane has argued from a historicist perspective that the play is 'about' ritual, in that Heracles *must* achieve his ritual deification.[4] What's more, some have suggested that the play is 'about' narrative and its deceptive qualities, a reading well supported by the *agon* between Lichas and the messenger.[5] Schmitz, discussing the legacy of deconstructive criticism, is right to say that '[w]e will never be able to find a stable core meaning, a real presence of significance within the text'.[6] Thus, when there are *so* many themes we could say the play to be about, Davies' assertion that destiny is 'the drama's *overriding* theme', without any argumentation, is unjustified.[7] Therefore, this essay will not discuss the degree to which *Trachiniae* is about 'overwhelming natural and psychological forces' over other themes, in a battle to fill up the available 'about-ness', as such space is infinite. Accordingly, I will assess to what extent the theme in question can reasonably be said to be present in the text, and discuss the interplay between natural and psychological forces.

Even then, however, there are more complexities - the methodology which one applies to the play will yield particular results, as implied above. However, this study will take on a mixed approach, combining structuralist and historicist methods. These have a strong basis in scholarship, especially when applied to Greek tragedy, whereas psychoanalytical approaches, for example, are out of favour.[8] The theme in question lends itself nicely to a structuralist reading, as it requires an analysis of what underlies action and characterisation within the play. Vernant has shown how a structuralist approach can yield great results with *Oedipus Tyrannos*, and so this study will try to apply such thinking to the *Trachiniae*.[9] Furthermore, a historicist element is required in order to appreciate Greek familial norms, with an understanding of the importance of the *οἶκος* and *κύριος* within it. Therefore, one of the often cited criticisms of structuralism, that it is too narrow and does not take account of Greek cultural practices, can be circumvented. Thus, the essay will be written from these methodological standpoints.

Firstly, then, we shall consider the way in which these forces act on Deianeira. Love, or *Ἔρως*, in the Greek mindset is simultaneously natural and psychological, as it is the externalisation of the internal psychological force - thus, erotic desire is seen to affect the Greek psyche as a naturally occurring force. We see this in earlier Greek lyric poetry, as well as some tragic passages; for example, the chorus' ode to *Ἔρως* in *Hippolytus* 525-564.[10] *Ἔρως* is closely associated with Aphrodite, who is arguably very present in the play. The Chorus describe her as 'πράκτωρ' ['accomplisher', 'agent'] (*Tr.* 861), and Rood has shed light on the importance of the reference to

[1] Schmitz (2007) 191-3.

[2] Hall (2009) 87. Cf. Wender (1974) who anticipated this sort of analysis with her feminist critique.

[3] Lawrence (1978); Heiden (1989); cf. Heiden (2012) 130-2. The importance of oracles in this is emphasised by Segal (2000).

[4] Kane (1988).

[5] Kraus (1991); Heiden (2012) 132-4.

[6] Schmitz (2007) 139.

[7] Davies (1991) xx. My italics.

[8] Goldhill (1997) esp. 332-343.

[9] Vernant (1988).

[10] Cf. Parca (1992) 180; Parry (1986) 102. For an external *Ερως* in Greek lyric poetry see Anacreon fr. 394 *PMG*; 396 *PMG*; 413 *PMG*; Ibycus fr. 287; Sappho fr. 47 Voigt; Theognidea 1299-1304 and 1335-6. Cf. Swift (2011).

Aphrodite as 'ἄναυδος' ['speechless'] (*Tr.* 860), as she demonstrates how in other tragedies, the specific verbal reference to the silence of a character emphasises its importance - it is as if Aphrodite is present as a character through this reference.[11] Thus, Ἔρως/Aphrodite is both a psychological *and* a natural force.

With this established, let us turn to Deianeira. There has been much debate in scholarship as to what motivates Deianeira throughout the play. Many scholars, especially ones writing before the 1990s, have ascribed Deianeira's actions to the power of Ἔρως. For example, Easterling, Winnington-Ingram and Segal set the orthodoxy along these lines.[12] More recent critics have followed: for example, March, Papadimitropoulos and Ryzman have all read the play without the need to justify this to any great degree, centring their arguments around lines such as 'πλὴν ἐμοὶ πικρὰς /ὠδῖνας αὐτοῦ προσβαλὼν ἀποίχεται' ['he (Heracles) has gone away from here casting upon me sharp pains'](41-2) to mean that Deianeira was affected by 'love'.[13] Scott has most persuasively argued this line, in an in-depth study of Deianeira's speech; he has found that Deianeira suppresses a real desire to kill Heracles and hides it under language of innocence - thus she, affected by Ἔρως, acts out of sexual jealousy at the young and beautiful Iole.[14]

Recently, scholars such as Conacher, Heiden, Kitzinger and Faraone have moved away from this interpretation, suggesting instead that Deianeira is more concerned with a domestic love and her reputation as a wife.[15] I think this is more in line with the text; the reasons for this will become clear. My own assessment of Deianeira is required, to see whether she is overwhelmed by the natural and psychological force of Ἔρως. The interpretations of Easterling, Segal and Winnington-Ingram were based on where Deianeira shows affection for Heracles; however, it is said explicitly that Ἔρως affects her *only* at 443-4; 'οὗτος γὰρ ἄρχει καὶ θεῶν ὅπως θέλει, / κἀμοῦ γε' ['for he (Eros) rules over even the gods, and especially me']. There are a myriad of lines spoken by Deianeira showing her distress at Heracles' absence; this would be the root cause of her well established fear.[16] However, we can interpret these lines as having a different significance behind them.

I propose that Deianeira is so scared and distressed because the ideal *οἶκος* structure has been overturned by the absence of the *κύριος* ['head/master of the household']. This hypothesis is supported by the later section of Deianeira's part of the play. One such section is 550-1: 'ταῦτ' οὖν φοβοῦμαι, μὴ πόσις μὲν Ἡρακλῆς /ἐμὸς καλῆται, τῆς νεωτέρας δ' ἀνήρ' ['And so I am afraid about these things, lest Heracles might be called a my husband, / but some fresher woman's man']. According to the *LSJ*, 'ἀνήρ' in this passage means a 'paramour', the opposite to 'πόσις', as a refinement of 'ἀνήρ' as a 'husband', synonymous to 'πόσις' (as in, for example, *Il.* 19.291, *Od.* 24.196, Hdt.1.146, etc).[17] The reason for this conclusion is presumably the 'μὲν... δ'', indicating a contrast, which the *LSJ* takes to reverse the meaning of the two terms. I would take the particles less differently, presenting the two options as equal alternatives rather than strict opposites, well within the common function of 'μὲν... δε'. Thus, I see no need to take 'ἀνήρ' as the polar opposite to 'πόσις', when they are clearly very often synonymous. The difference here is marginal, perhaps with slight sexual overtones in the latter. Thus, Deianeira is discussing the possibility of Hercules living with two women, disrupting the *οἶκος*.

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[11] Rood (2010) 345. All references henceforth are to *Trachiniae* unless stated otherwise.
[12] Easterling (1982) 5 argues that Deianeira did what she did 'by her passion for Heracles'; Winnington-Ingram (1980) 75 suggests that 'this is a tragedy of sex'; Segal (1977) esp. 158 and (1981) esp. 77-8. Segal argues that Deianeira through the play matures and comes to understand Ἔρως, but it eventually destroys her.
[13] March (1987) 67; Papadimitropoulos (2008); Ryzman (1991), 386.
[14] Scott (1997).
[15] Conacher (1997) 30; Heiden (2012) 139; Kitzinger (2012) 114; Faraone (1999) 118.
[16] 16; 24; 28; 29; 30; 37; 41-2; 50; 89; 142; 153; 176-7; 295; 306; 460; 542; 547ff.; 549-50; 585; 631-2.
[17] *LSJ* s.v. 'ἀνήρ'.

We see the same ambiguity developed in 459-60: 'οὐχὶ χἀτέρας /πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἷς Ἡρακλῆς ἔγημε δή;' ['has not Heracles alone slept with very many other women?']. Why should Deianeira care, when Heracles has slept with hundreds of women? The difference between Iole and these other women is surely that Heracles has brought Iole home to supplant Deianeira as mother of the *οἶκος*. We see this particularly in Deianeira's striking use of 'ἔγημε', normally meaning 'marry'; she is showing us with the overlap of meanings that now Heracles means to actually *marry* Iole, unlike these other women, and it is *this* with which Deianeira takes issue. Furthermore, Deianeira explicitly laments 'τὸ δ' αὖ ξυνοικεῖν' ['living /co-inhabiting'] with Iole (545) - the emphasis is on sharing the *οἶκος* with another woman. Moreover, this can be supported further through the circumstances of Deianeira's suicide. Firstly, it is not the knowledge of her destruction of Heracles which sends her over the edge, but the realisation that Hyllus no longer has the same relationship with her as before (807-12). Indeed, she then sees Hyllus preparing a couch for Heracles (900-4), a symbolic act of betrayal to Deianeira. Furthermore, immediately before the act, Deianeira goes through the house and touches the household slaves and homely objects (906-8). This act is surely an insight into her motivation, given that it was her last deliberate act before her death. Moreover, the one admission of the power of *Ἔρως* cited earlier can be paralleled by another 'love-word'. Faraone has noted Deianeira's use of the verb 'στέργω' ['I feel affection for'] at line 577; as the *LSJ* says, 'seldom of sexual love'.[18] This form of love, indeed, is more suited to the familial love that I argue pervades Deianeira's psychology.

How, then, do we deal with 443-4? Its authenticity has been doubted before.[19] Easterling however follows Stinton, who argues for keeping it 'because the pain of her own situation is due to the very intensity of her own love for Heracles'.[20] However, this is the *only* place in the text where such a reading could be made, thereby making this argument an instance of begging the question. Thus I would argue that the proposed emendation of the text is therefore justified, although this answer is less preferable to one thematically based. Such an interpretation is indeed possible; 'ἄρχω' can mean 'to begin with/from'; thus I propose a zeugma.[21] This older, Sophoclean Deianeira might well be referencing her mental state in the past. Furthermore, the older Deianeira befits the *οἶκος*-centred psychology which I have outlined.

Lastly, one of the choral odes is suggestive in this regard:

'ἁ δ' εὐῶπις ἁβρὰ
τηλαυγεῖ παρ' ὄχθῳ
ἧστο, τὸν ὃν προσμένουσ' ἀκοίταν.
ἐγὼ δέ θατὴρ μὲν οἷα θράζω:
τὸ δ' ἀμφινείκητον ὄμμα νύμφας
ἐλεινὸν ἀμμένει:
κἀπὸ ματρὸς ἄφαρ βέβακεν,
ὥστε πόρτις ἐρήμα.' (525-30)
['But the fair-eyed delicate maiden
far away on a hill
sat, waiting for the one which would be her husband.
But I tell of such things as a spectator would:
the eagerly wooed eye of the bride
pitiable awaits:

[18] *LSJ* s.v. 'στέργω'. Cf. Faraone (1999) 119.
[19] Easterling (1982) 128.
[20] Stinton (1976) 136.
[21] *LSJ* s.v. 'ἄρχω'.

at once gone away from her mother
like a deserted calf.']

Here, Deianeira is presented far away ('τηλαυγεῖ'), disinterested, and miserable at the prospect of marriage to whoever won the contest (' τὸν ὃν προσμένουσ' ἀκοίταν'). It is notable that she is not supporting Heracles, as one might expect. Instead, the emphasis is on her departure from her mother ('κἀπὸ ματρὸς ... πόρτις ἐρήμα'), through the simile, indicating a further familial rather than erotic interest. This all indicates further that there is no true erotic or amorous feelings from Iole towards Heracles, and that she is more concerned with familial structures.

Therefore, I have argued that Deianeira is *not* overwhelmed by the psychological and natural force of *Ἔρως*, but is instead motivated by a desire to maintain the perfect *οἶκος*, which she can only have with Heracles present and Iole absent. This, not *Ἔρως*, is the cause of her fear.

Next, we shall discuss the relationship between Heracles and the forces in question. Heracles' characterisation and motivation is a lot simpler to understand than Deianeira's, and all scholarship is in agreement: Heracles' characterisation and action is totally dominated by the natural and psychological force that is *Ἔρως*, but also by the natural forces of wildness and beastliness. Indeed, through a complex of images throughout the *Trachiniae*, Heracles, beastliness and *Ἔρως* are all interlinked. Once the truth has been revealed by Lichas, references to the power of *Ἔρως* over Heracles are common.[22] The opening of the first stasimon sums it up: 'μέγα τι σθένος ἁ Κύπρις ἐκφέρεται νίκας ἀεί' ['Cypris always carries away mighty strength of victory'](498); strong enough to overcome the strongest man of all. This much is clear. However, Heracles is also associated to a very great extent with bestial forces, especially Nessus and Achelous. These two monsters are sexually interested in Deaneira; Achelous' desire to be her suitor is emphasised twice (9; 15), and Nessus' attempts to rape her (561-2) - this is equivalent to Heracles' abnormal lusts. When Heracles' character begins to emerge towards the end of the play, we see him making noises like a beast; 'ἀνηυφήμησεν' ['he roared'] (783), 'βοῶν, ἰύζων' ['crying, shouting'] (787) and thrashing around like beast; 'πολλὰ μὲν τάλας χθονὶ / ῥίπτων ἑαυτόν' ['Repeatedly throwing himself on the ground'] (789-90). Heracles himself, with his 'ῥόπαλόν' ['club'] (512), is the image of the primordial man, the a-*πόλις* man.[23] Also significant is the intertextual link to the Homeric Polyphemus; Lichas' death at the hands of Heracles is described in terms reminiscent of *Odyssey* 9.287ff.: 'κόμης δὲ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκραίνει, μέσου / κρατὸς διασπαρέντος αἵματός θ' ὁμοῦ' ['he smashed out his white brain from his scalp, with blood spurting out from the middle of his head'] (781-2).[24] The idea is clear: Heracles is very much like the wild creatures that he destroys. Certain scholars have remarked on this. Swift has shown that in the first stasimon Aphrodite is the neutral umpire in the image of Heracles and Achelous wrestling - the two are painted as equals with no clear difference between the two in any way.[25] Easterling comments thus: 'there is no attempt to distinguish the glorious Heracles from his monstrous opponent'.[26] These comments are confirmed by 517-21.

A third element overlays this standard interpretation; the circle of allusion is completed by the alignment of the poison, the beasts, and Ἔρως itself. Let us start with the poison. The poison is described as the natural offspring of two wild beasts: 'ᾗ μελαγχόλους / ἔβαψεν ἰοὺς θρέμμα Λερναίας ὕδρας' ['into which he dipped the black-biled arrows, the offspring of the Lernaian

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[22] 354-5; 368; 434; 476; 489.

[23] Segal (1981) 61-3.

[24] Easterling (1982) 169; Heiden (2012) 144.

[25] Swift (2011).

[26] Easterling (1982) 134.

Hydra'] (573-4).[27] These lines are obscure, but the natural imagery strongly conveys the idea that the poison is a *natural* compound.[28] These beasts are also emphatically linked with nature. As Segal says, and I am inclined to agree, Achelous is 'not fully differentiated from the forces of nature'.[29] Achelous' beard is richly associated with flowing water, as he is one with the river (12-15); similarly to this, Nessus is described as 'δασυστέρνου' ['shaggy, rough'] (568).[30] Achelous, with his bizarre changing form (11-13), is 'not fully differentiated from the forces of nature'.[31] The hydra is also linked to Nessus, as they are both called 'αἰόλος' ['shimmering'] (11, 834).[32] This, furthermore, is linked to the natural force of night, also called 'αἰόλα' (94). The poison's bestial quality is reflected in its effect; the poison is said to devour him like a wild beast, and the wool that Deianeira uses to apply the poison is described as eating itself from the inside: 'ἐδεστὸν ἐξ αὑτοῦ φθίνει' ['it perished consumed from within itself'] (697), equivalent to the gnawing nature of love.[33] We may compare this to the fact that Ἔρως is referred to as a disease throughout the text; and Ἔρως, as was discussed at the start of the essay, also has natural aspects to its essence. The relationship between Ἔρως and νόσος is established in the text.[34] Thus, there is a web of imagery surrounding Heracles, encompassing Ἔρως, nature, the poison, bestial forces - in this way, his characterisation and action is totally controlled by the overwhelming natural and psychological forces around him, and his own nature, at one with the other beasts of the archaic Greek world.

Lastly, we shall consider how these forces affect the world of the *Trachiniae* more generally. As Segal has shown, Trachis is vaguely defined, and much emphasis is placed on the natural world and landscape, including the rivers Achelous (9-14; 497ff), Evinus (559-60) and the peak of Oeta (200; 436-7; 1191). There is emphasis on uprooted families, with Deianeira's family who are 'ἀνάστατοι' ['uprooted', 'displaced'] (39) and Iole, in a similar situation (298ff.).[35] This sets an undertone of questioning man's place within the natural world. Further to this, there is wider cosmic significance to many of the aspects already discussed. For example, Segal has demonstrated wonderfully the thematic interplay between the parodos and the rest of the text:

'ὃν αἰόλα νὺξ ἐναριζομένα
τίκτει κατευνάζει τε φλογιζόμενον,
Ἅλιον...' (94-6)
['That which shimmering, despoiled night
bears and destroys - ablaze -
the sun...']

Segal argues that, at the very first choral song, 'the most basic movements of time and nature seem pervaded by the violence of sexuality and death. All of human life is then surrounded by this play of elemental forces'.[36] We have already noted the importance of 'αἰόλα' above, but the destructive power of Ἔρως is illustrated in terms of night and day, two basic, primal features of life. We may compare this to the fact that the poison is only activated by heat, and Nessus tells Deianeira to keep it out of the sun: 'ἡλίου' (691). Thus the sun and day, normally friends of man,

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[27] Papadimitropoulos (2008) 134.
[28] Easterling (1982) 144-5.
[29] Segal (1977) 105.
[30] Parca (1992) 188-90.
[31] Segal (1977) 105.
[32] *ibid.*, 110.
[33] 770; 1053-4; 771; 487; 1084; 1026; 1083; 1089; he is wild like savage creatures at 1030; Segal (1977) 114.
[34] Ἔρως = νόσος at 445; 491; 453-4. Heracles is 'θάλλοντα κοὺ νόσῳ βαρύν' at 235. Heracles' condition is called a νόσος at 784; 853; 882; 891. Cf. Segal (1977), 108 and Parry (1986), 108.
[35] Segal (1977) 104.
[36] *ibid.*, 107.

are intrinsically linked with destruction in the *Trachiniae*, and nature itself is pitted against the wellbeing of man. There is a second conclusion that can be drawn here though. Deianeira before the events of the play, molested as she is by Achelous and Nessus, is subject to them as natural forces, and is only saved by Heracles, who is himself a force of nature, being so associated with the rest of the natural world. Thus, while Deianeira is never overwhelmed by these forces, we can reasonably say that she is strongly affected by them.

Another prominent feature of the tragic world of the *Trachiniae* is the emphasis on destiny, particularly through Zeus. From patronymic to invocation, Zeus has a latent presence in the play.[37] Particularly striking are the statements that he, like Aphrodite, is a 'πράκτωρ' (251), and at a prominent place at the play's conclusion, 'κοὐδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεύς' ['there is none of these things which is not Zeus'] (1278). Here, as in other tragedies, the human characters are unable to control their fate, as Zeus has fixed events and set them beyond comprehension and mediation. Heracles tries to change this through sacrificing, but the offerings are rejected; 'προσέδρου λιγνύος' ['with the smoke lingering'] (794). The smoke stays and did not rise to heaven because the gods have rejected it, as only the perverted sacrifice of Heracles will placate them. Winnington-Ingram is right to argue that Heracles at this point has fulfilled his *τέλος* ['end, goal']; he has civilised the world, and now, in accordance with Zeus' plan, must himself be destroyed, as the only personification of monstrosity, wildness, and lack of control over desires, left in the world.[38] Thus, the distant yet immanent Zeus, with a guiding hand in human affairs, represents the human desire to project reason and order on chaotic nature, which comes through particularly strongly in the play. It is well accepted that the gods were an extension of nature to the Greeks.[39] Therefore, there are other natural forces at work in the background of the *Trachiniae*, including the landscape, sun, and Zeus-destiny, all of which certainly do work to overwhelm the players, despite their attempts to control them.

In conclusion, the *Trachiniae* is about overwhelming natural and psychological forces, in that the two, closely linked through *Ἔρως* particularly, overwhelm Heracles totally, and pervade the world with a bleak pessimism, with the natural forces troubling Deianeira through her life. As I have argued, however, Deianeira is not overwhelmed by the natural and psychological force of *Ἔρως* as Heracles is, and as some critics have previously suggested; instead, she is controlled by her civilised desire for the perfect *οἶκος*, with Heracles as *κύριος*, the devotion of Hyllus, and without Iole as a second wife. Thus, the analysis reveals the deep structure of the play; like Vernant's Oedipus, Heracles in *Trachiniae* is a sort of scapegoat - unfit for civilised life, overwhelmed as he is by natural and psychological forces - who must be sacrificed for the sake of the *πόλις* and each *οἶκος* and Deianeira-to-be within it.

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[37] 19; 26; 46; 126; 140; 200; 251; 279; 303; 399; 437; 566; 826-7; 983; 1278.

[38] Winnington-Ingram (1980) 89.

[39] Heiden (2012) 145.

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Reviews

Review of L. Mitchell, *The Heroic Rulers of Archaic and Classical Greece* (London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Reviewed by Christopher Tuplin, *University of Liverpool*

> "Legitimate individual rule.... according to the modern orthodoxy, dwindled with the rise of the *polis*, to be replaced by tyranny, which itself largely disappeared by the end of the archaic period. However .... rule by one man, or a family dominated by one man, had a continuous existence as a legitimate political form from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period, and held a significant place in the Greek political landscape...'[K]ingship' remained an important and legitimate political option in the world of the archaic and classical *polis*....[W]hile heroic pedigree was important, what was more crucial was the heroic stature of the ruler (which itself was a proof of heroic ancestry).... In most cities where one man ruled, ruling was consensual and involved constant negotiation between rulers and those they ruled. One consequence of this study should be the disappearance of an 'an age of tyranny', at least as normally understood.....If there is an 'age of tyranny' at all, then it must belong to the late fifth and fourth centuries when the theoretical stereotype of the illegitimate tyrant outside the law was developed in contrast to the legitimate ruler, who ruled under law".... [Moreover, the book] "will also reject the idea that there were two kinds of 'tyrants', those of the 'archaic' period and those of the 'classical' period (or at least those of the late fifth and fourth centuries), on the grounds that there were trends in the ideologies of ruling which were maintained from the eighth century (and probably before), and continue into the Hellenistic world".

This selection of comments from M.'s introductory chapter will give a picture of the purpose and message of this book. *In nuce*, all so-called *tyrannoi* across the 7th-4th c. time-frame are essentially similar to one another – and are essentially similar to other differently labeled monarchic rulers. As a revisionist thesis it may be contrasted with the argument of G.Anderson *Classical Antiquity* 24 (2005), 173-222 (cited at 61 n.112[1]), for whom archaic *tyrannoi* are not categorically different from other archaic political leaders (though neither group can be confused with kings) but ought not to be assimilated to later tyrants.

The claim that there is a series of ideological postures/types of behaviour that is common to all sorts of sole rulers is in general perfectly fairly made. Indeed they are so strong that they may even survive into the environment of the democratic *polis* -- and help mark out the sort of people who may be suspected of monarchic inclinations: Pericles, Alcibiades, actual or potential ostracism victims. (This is an aspect of the subject that M. does not explore very thoroughly: the final chapter on "Athens, ruling and aretê" is merely an epilogue and is more about theorization of rule than the nature of Athenian politics.)

There are perhaps things that do not travel: Battiad regnal names (if that is what they were) are surely distinctive of kingship; proper kingships might be more resilient in the face of succession crises; when law-giving (Demonax, Lycurgus) occurs within ruler-governed

[1] But wrongly dated to 2000. I noted a few other misprints. 16: something has gone wrong in paragraph 3. 29: Darius III should be Darius I. 34: *baseileiai* should be *basileiai*. 45: *paranama* should be *paranoma*. 93/112: the contents of notes 12 and 13 have been switched.

communities the rulers are, it so happens, kings not tyrants. But perhaps these differences do not matter much; and certainly it is sometimes the case that the identification of repeated tropes casts extra light on a particular episode. Awareness of the joint-rule model is a reminder that Thucydides need not be right about Hippias and Hipparchus. When Dorieus resorts to colony-founding after being ousted from the succession, despite (in his own view) being "best", his behaviour is not just a random piece of sulking. The marital complexities of certain sixth century Spartan kings can be seen in the light of a wider tendency to polygamy. The regent Pausanias is simply an ambitious cousin seeking to oust previous king's son from succession.

So, the general thesis that rulers are rulers whatever they are entitled and whenever and wherever they appear is fair enough. A number of other features prompt comment.

1. The phrase "...legitimate political form" seems to offer more than is actually delivered. What is meant by legitimate? Is it same as the claim about consensual rule? Is the observation that some people approved of rulers whom others detested (e.g. Euphron or Pisistratus) salient? There is a discussion of "constitutional rulers" at pp.126-132 and a (fair) warning against casually importing notions of Absolute Rule into ancient contexts, but I am not sure how much people who were hostile to an autocratic ruler will have been mollified by the proposition that his power was mitigated by the existence of a court/entourage/ family whose views had to be accommodated – or convinced by the proposition that the continued existence of assemblies or other political-administrative mechanisms meant that everything was fine. Anderson (who is also seeking to "normalize" autocracy) says that what differentiated *tyrannoi* from other leading figures in the archaic *polis* was not quality but quantity of power; but quantity of power is the whole problem. If "legitimate political form" just means that autocracy was something that kept happening and that lots of people put up with it, well and good. Anything more requires fuller demonstration than is offered here.

2. Autocracy is often actually the rule of a "...family dominated by one man". That is correct perspective (in terms both of dynasty/succession issues and of the nature of rule at any given time) and one that is probably apt to be under-stressed; the consequential intermittent empowerment of women (but also what modern sentiment might regard as their disempowering involvement in consanguineous or polygamous matrimonial arrangements) is also properly noticed. Perhaps this could have been a cue to compare and contrast autocrat family rule with the phenomenon of *dunasteia*; the Mytileneian *basilike dynasteia* of the Penthilidae is mentioned at 93, but the issue is not taken much further.

3. The phrase "...from the eighth century (and probably before)" raises questions about what we can possibly know about (autocratic) rulers - or much else - in that very early period. There are (at least) two salient issues: were there *basileis*? did *basileis* disappear before *tyrannoi* appeared? M. wants to diminish any sense of the demise of *basileia* at hands of emergent *polis* so she is fairly committed to there being *basileis* in the first place. But it is hard getting a grasp on the supposed pre-tyranical *patrikai basileiai* (Thucydides' phrase: more on this below) because we are short of direct evidence: there is nowhere much to look apart from the Homeric poems or the (perhaps) unusual case of the Spartan dyarchy (most of our real evidence about which relates to the 6th century onwards in any case). To fill the gap we have anthropological theory and archaeology. pp. 24-30 discuss the difficulties historians have in categorizing post-Mycenaean monarchic rulers (king, Big Man, chief?), the character of the societies in which they exercised power (ranked, stratified?) and the nature of the (incipient) *polis*. Some deny there were "kings" in early Greece, which is where talk of Big Men or Chiefs (in a ranked society) or phenomena somewhere in between comes in; others seem to take a quasi-Thucydidean view. Meanwhile the archaeological data in pp.36-45 are presented as showing (i) that there <u>were</u> stand-out individual rulers of some sort (cf. also pp. 65-66, 73-74, 91, 120-122) and (ii) that there was no real discontinuity in this phenomenon as the *polis* emerged more strongly, only changes in the ways

in which rulership expressed itself. In the end (48) M. decides that such issues are of less importance than just trying to figure out roles and responsibilities of rulers. One is certainly inclined to sympathize. One thing that gets lost in the mist hereabouts is the (traditional) question of the causes of archaic tyranny. M. is not nailing her colours to any particular mast here -- unless she is actually suggesting that, since one-man/family rule can occur at any time, no special generic explanation is needed, even if, did we but have any reliable data, we should, of course, discover local explanations in local cases.

4. The "continuous existence" of one-man rule in Greek historical experience is reaffirmed in the book's final paragraph (pp.162-163), mentioning (however) just seven venues. Since M. is battling a perception that the phenomenon actually died out or became marginal a more thoroughly statistical investigation might seem called for. The authors of the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Greek Poleis* have already partially done this, supplying at p.84 (on the basis of information in Appendix 11) the result that in the course of the fourth century we find 39 examples of tyranny, 47 of oligarchy and 59 of democracy. This is slightly puzzling, since the true figures appear to be 44 (tyranny), 64 (oligarchy) and 81 (democracy), but either way the proportions are much the same. If one does similar calculations for earlier periods one gets 31 tyrannies in the fifth century and 43 in the seventh-sixth centuries. This is crude game, of course. But it would add a little to the rhetoric of M.'s concluding paragraph – and it also quantifies (and justifies) the orthodox perception that there was a diminution in the phenomenon in the fifth century, especially given that two thirds of the 31 examples are supplied just by Sicily, Magna Graecia, Aeolis and Caria (the last of which is not a purely Greek environment).

5. There is in any case a mismatch between things we know of and things we know much about. The bulk of M.'s discussion inevitably recurs time and again to a relatively small number of rulers. That said, there seems to me to be less by way of detailed treatment of the Dionysii than one might expect; and the Cypriot rulers are very largely ignored. This latter feature is odd on two grounds.

First, Isocrates' Cypriot works are replete with assertions about the characteristics of a (good) ruler but they are scarcely highlighted. *Nicocles* 14-15 is, it is true, cited on p.157 for justification of one-man rule on grounds of (i) the principle of proportionate equality and (ii) the ruler's capacity to promote good men. This is a not uninteresting text, at least for the point about proportionate equality, the burden of which is that monarchy give most to the best man (the monarch), second most to the next best, and third and fourth (and so on) in the same fashion. Unless the best man is quite exceptional that seems to imagine a rather flat hierarchical pyramid; but, in any case, by thinking in terms of individuals it does invite a picture of autocrat + entourage of a sort that ought to be attractive to M. but receives no comment.

Second, Isocrates' willingness to treat *tyrannos/-is* and *basileus/-eia* as effectively synonymous (albeit while using the latter more frequently) is *prima facie* a remarkable reflection of the continuity between conventionally differentiated categories that is at the heart of M.'s enterprise. There is an increasing willingness to see that Isocrates is not just a dull and conventional reactionary, but this lexical peculiarity cannot be ignored as a simple piece of quirkiness. We have to accept that, while the Academic tradition developed a political pathology in which the tyrant occupied a peculiar and intrinsically unattractive place and the Athenian political environment feared the individual *tyrannos* (while tolerating its own collective imperial *tyrannis*), there were other discursive worlds in which the good or bad quality of a *tyrannos* was determined by his behaviour not his label. That is, of course, why it was also possible for Xenophon to articulate issues about the exercise of power in a thought experiment involving the tyrant Hiero – a thought-experiment that would apparently leave Hiero still an *anêr tyrannos* were he to follow Simonides' prescriptions. One might additionally observe that, since the reputation of the words *basileia/basileus* was presumably damaged by the King of Persia or other

enemies who were *basileis* (e.g. Thracians, Macedonians), things would perhaps not have been much better had Hiero been exhorted to swap *tyrannis* for *basileia*.

6. M. takes issue with two orthodoxies that "[l]egitimate individual rule.... dwindled with the rise of the *polis*, to be replaced by tyranny, which itself largely disappeared by the end of the archaic period" and "....there were two kinds of 'tyrants', those of the 'archaic' period and those of the 'classical' period (or at least those of the late fifth and fourth centuries)". Thucydides played a role in creating the conventional template: that archaic tyrants were a novelty (by contrast with *patrikai basileiai*) is something he explicitly asserts; and the view that there were two sorts of tyrants (archaic and later classical) is partly fuelled by a Thucydides-inspired sense that (outside Sicily) tyranny ended in c. 510. M. duly notes Thucydides' role, and the supposed distinguishing association of *basileiai* with the ancestral principle and tyrannies with wealth is attacked by a demonstration that some tyrants also had dynastic aspirations and that any ruler needs wealth. The first of these is certainly right. But the second does not necessarily address precisely what Thucydides is saying, and this draws attention to the fact that Thucydides' contribution is not discussed at length and in its own right.

Thucydides' contribution actually has two elements. He is the first author who consistently applies the labels "tyrant" and "king" to particular individuals in the way we regard as conventional: in other words, he established the convention ostensively. But he also makes some specific comments about kings and tyrants in 1.13,17-18 as part of his discussion of the failure of earlier Greek history to produce events of the stature of the Peloponnesian War.

In this passage from the *Archaeology* three things are said about tyrants, none of them entirely straightforward to translate/interpret. (1) "As Greece was becoming more powerful and doing even more acquisition of wealth than before, tyrannies were commonly established in the cities as incomes became greater (previously there were ancestral kingships with stated prerogatives) and Greece began to create fleets, and people began to apply themselves more to the sea". (2) "Such tyrants as there were in the Greek cities, paying attention only to their own interest (both their own person and the increase of their private household), made safety the basis on which they governed the cities as far as they possibly could, and nothing remarkable was done by them, except in individual cases of action against immediate neighbours: for those in Sicily advanced to a very great degree of power." (3) "But when the Athenian tyrants and the majority and last of those from the rest of Greece (which was largely ruled by tyrants even before that) - except those in Sicily - had been removed by the Spartans [*there is then a long parenthesis about Sparta's political history, including her not having tyrants*], after the removal of the tyrants from Greece not many years later there occurred the battle at Marathon between the Medes and Athenians."

Four observations.

(i) Thucydides does not imply either that *patrikai basileiai* necessarily ceased to exist when tyrants started to appear or that tyrannies in any particular place necessarily followed directly upon *patrikai basileiai*. All he is saying is that there was a time before which there were no tyrannies. They are a definite novelty; but, just as there *had* been maritime activity before, so tyrannies are a new version of the existing phenomenon of one-man rule (hence the parenthetic reference to *basileiai*). As for what distinguishes them, see below (iii).

(ii) Thucydides does imply that there were no tyrants of the sort he is interested in after the era of Marathon except in Sicily. In view of his late fifth century perspective and of the fact that he is looking for remarkable achievements (and in particular the creation of large power blocks) this judgement seems understandable: we would hardly expect him to see Euarchus of Astacus as a counter-example. If there *was* a counter-example it was of a different nature: see below (iv)

(iii) M. writes (à propos of statement [1]) that "Thucydides does not suggest that 'tyrants' held all the wealth, or that 'tyrants' necessarily used wealth (exclusive of or above other strategies) to

gain power" (41); Thucydides is effectively being co-opted in favour of denying that there is any special link between wealth and tyrants. I do not dissent from the proposition that all rulers have an interest in the acquisition and deployment of wealth. But, going back to 1.13, Hornblower (ad loc.) reckons that the *prosodoi* in that passage are those of tyrants, not cities, because the remark about them sits in constrasting tandem with the remark about *epi rhetois gerasi patrikai basileiai*: characteristically tyrants have (increasing) income, *basileis* have predetermined prerogatives that seems to me quite persuasive, and challenges M'.s assessment. Her remarks might still be strictly true, but it is also true (in Thucydides' estimation) that there was a more-than-merely contingent connection between increasing income and tyranny. What exactly it was he does not, of course, say. But the logic of the passage is that, just as the holders of *basileiai* are empowered by tradition and defined prerogatives, so tyrants are empowered by income.

(iv) The remark about tyrannies and kingships forms part of a larger argument. It comes alongside a reference to the appearance of fleets, and the latter topic is what dominates the chapters between statements (1) and (2). The conclusion of those chapters is that, although fleets are theoretically a source of power, they did not transform the situation in the pre-Persian War era. Statement (2) is in effect another statement of unfulfilled expectations: both of the developments characteristic of the era when Greece was becoming more powerful and paying more heed to wealth failed to make a difference as quickly as one might have thought. Thucydides' fascination with revenue, fleets and power comes from the experience of imperial Athens (distinctively empowered by income: 1.19). One might therefore suggest that the highlighting of tyrannies (characterized and empowered by income) as a potential but, in the event, ineffective source of transformation was prompted by perception of Athens as a tyrant-power - and indeed that this gives a special piquancy to the fact the conditions for the emergence of that power were created by the success of the long *un*tyrannized Spartans in suppressing Athenian tyranny and reversing a state of things in which "the rest of Greece" was "tyrannized". But, if one did think that, might one then go a step further and wonder whether Thucydides has created the archaic age of tyrants in order to make this implicit argument possible? Such an idea would be analogous to (though perhaps hardly compatible with) M.'s own suggestion (10) that the *basileiai/tyrannides* contrast is meant to echo the contrast between Pericles and his political successors - but it would have the advantage over it of being more obviously rooted in the overall argument of the *Archaeology*. Even so, I am not sure that one should wholeheartedly go this way. Although there are some rather broad-brush generalizations to be found in the *Archaeology*, I am not yet persuaded by M. – or, coming from a different direction, by Anderson – that the Thucydidean perception that a new form of autocratic power appeared in the Greek archaic age is false. And we should certainly guard against the suggestion that, because Thucydides was wrong to declare that tyranny was over and done with, he was misguided in thinking it existed in the first place. However dynastic a tyranny might try to be and however much rulers of all sorts look to the same sorts of practical legitimations of authority, to create a new instance of one-man (or one-family) rule where one does not currently exist is a notable and distinctive action. If, in doing so, the ruler in question avoids unequivocally declaring himself to be a *basileus* (whatever he does call himself) he is at least negatively creating or joining a new category. The subtleties of the political and discursive negotiations that underlie such a process may be lost to us but the process can still be as real as that which transformed C.Iulius Caesar Octavianus into Imperator Caesar Augustus – an implicit comparison which may seem to some to beg every question that is going.

Review of K. ní Mheallaigh, *Reading Fiction with Lucian: Fakes, Freaks and Hyperreality* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Reviewed by Nick Lowe, *Royal Holloway, University of London*

One of the things I urge on postgraduate students is the practice of composing what I call an academic logline: a single-sentence summary that aims – in the manner of the film loglines you'll find in places like IMDb – to encapsulate the story told in a way that will make people want to read it. This year the example I've been holding up as a model is a sentence from the blurb of this amazing book: "The aesthetic and cultural issues Lucian faced, in a world of mimesis and replication, were akin to those found in postmodern contexts: the ubiquity of the fake, the erasure of origins, the focus on the freakish and weird at the expense of the traditional." If that doesn't immediately make you want to drop everything right now, including this review, to rush off and read it, you're made of stronger stuff than I am, and your only recourse is to read on.

Like the Greek novelists, Lucian is one of those writers who seems to have been invisible to his contemporaries, and it doesn't help us that he had no qualms about fictionalising himself. We think we believe him when he tells us that he was a Hellenised Syrian whose travels took him to Athens, Rome, Gaul, and widely across Greek Asia. We're less certain when he claims he narrowly avoided a career as an incompetent sculptor. But was he really almost assassinated on the order of a celebrity psychic, after an Amazing Randi-style debunking campaign that climaxed with Lucian sinking his teeth into his victim's hand? We can be fairly sure, at least, that he didn't witness an epic space battle over the colonisation of Venus, not least because when he tells us he did he also helpfully tells us he is lying: that he is, like the title of the recent documentary about the hoax at the centre of Randi's life, *An Honest Liar*. Here a series of seminal studies by Bracht Branham, Simon Goldhill, and especially Tim Whitmarsh have given us a Lucian for our times: no longer the light fantasist of the Aristophanico-Platonic mythical dialogues through which he's so often first encountered, but a major voice in articulating the anxieties of heritage, cultural identity, and intellectual performance that characterise the imperial world of Greeks under Rome at the peak of the so-called "second sophistic" (a term everyone loves to hate). Now Karen ní Mheallaigh's book, easily the best on Lucian this millennium, is the culmination of her own series of terrific articles over the past few years, some of them remixed here, which have been gradually peeling back the weirdness of this literary world, and exposing the strange likenesses to our own.

Her pitch, which turns out an easier sell than you might think, is that Lucian is a postmodernist of the ancient world – specifically, she argues through a series of back-and-forths, something very like the ancient world's Umberto Eco – and that there's nothing particularly post-modern (in the historical sense) about postmodern aesthetics. At the same time, as the title suggests, Lucian is using the self-reflexivity of satirical prose to show us what's really going on when we read fiction, and to provoke reflections on our pleasure in falsehood that illuminate not only his own texts but many of the other manifestations around him of the wider imperial culture of wonders, literary and otherwise. Among the sibling works by other authors of the age with whom she demonstrates and explores Lucian's affinities are the *Journal of the Trojan War* by the fictional 'Dictys of Crete', which for the best part of a millennium displaced Homer in the west and was taken for an eyewitness account by a lieutenant of Idomeneus; Ptolemy the Quail, whose *Novel History* seems (those five letters are the incident tape across an unsealed portal to an abyss of scholarly woe) to have mixed real and bogus citations for a baffling paradoxographic mélange; and above all the tantalising Antonius Diogenes, whose *Incredible Things beyond Thule*

wrapped a fantastic saga of magic and wandering to the ends of the earth inside a matryoshka of literary voices, layers, and documents which Photius' ninth-century summary has further reordered so as to place it seemingly always just beyond the reach of rational reconstruction.

The *True Stories* is rightly read as the pinnacle of this corpus and the summit of Lucianic postmodern artifice, but she leads up to it with readings of other works that play with the nature and boundaries of fiction. A key text is the dialogue *Lover(s) of Lies*, where an outraged sceptic rants about the idiotic fantasy stories (one of them since filmed twice by Disney) to which he's been subjected in a conversation with supposedly educated men, and in the process not only infects us with a guilty delight in the fantastic nonsense spouted but a theory of why we're enjoying it, how the pleasure of fiction really works, and how a responsible reader should deal with it. There's also a wonderful chapter on the great intercultural dialogue *Toxaris*, in which a Greek and a Scythian swap increasingly bizarre stories illustrating the workings of friendship in their different cultures. It makes a strong case that Lucian has been reading the Greek love-novels of Chariton and his successors, which have been almost as difficult to find readers of as Lucian. Here she introduces the invaluable category of "microfictions", short stories embedded in collections or larger texts, as an undernoticed but absolutely vital component of the complex world of imperial fiction. This is a fast-moving field, and at times she's had to run to hang on to her place ahead of the pack. She has found it perhaps a little too hard to let go of the wishful idea that Lucian might have been at least the author of the lost original behind the tale of Lucius of Patrae's metamorphosis into an ass, which on a different provincial fringe of the Roman world inspired Lucian's kindred spirit on the Latin side, the African sophist Apuleius, to produce his *Metamorphoses* out of a similarly well-founded confidence in his own brilliance. Her superb chapter on this text was evidently torpedoed below the waterline late in press by Nesselrath's devastating demonstration, lightly rebutted in a footnote, that Lucian cannot possibly have been the author of either. But it doesn't affect her argument, and it would be a shame to lose the wonderful typo on page 136 which reproduces St Augustine's much-discussed inability to distinguish between auctor and actor of the Latin version. At least, I think it's a typo; but after this expert guided tour of ancient hyperreality, which among other things will leave you more excited about Bolus of Mendes' *Compounds* than is healthy for anyone, it's hard to be sure where reality ends and voyages of lunacy begin. This is, in every sense, a fabulous book – and it has a literally fabulous cover, which can be pored over at:

http://www.ponyhide.com/mychaelbarratt/graphics/newwork/26.6.12/Lost-Magic-Kingdoms.html.

Creative Corner

Translation Prize: 'Two Translations into Latin'

Translated by Sasha Gibbins, *University of Exeter*

I. From 'The Fellowship of the Ring', by J. R. R. Tolkien.

cum Bilbo Saccilius Sactermini nuntavisset se mox celebraturum diem natalem undecimum centesimum convivo clari splendoris, erat multum garriendi commotionisque per oppidum Hobbiton. nam Bilbo, vir divitissimus et speciosissimus, fuerat miraculum oppidi sexaginta annos postquam evanuit mirabiliter ac subito revenit. divitiis nunc fabula factis, quam e peregrinatione retulerat, late credebatur, quodcumque veteres dicant, Collem Sactermini plenam esse foraminum refertorum thesauro.

nisi tamen quod fama adipiscebatur, quoque vigor eius extensus mirandus erat, quoniam tempus progrediens eum vix tetigit, atque habentem nonaginta novem annos appellabant "bene conditum", quamquam "immutatum" nomen opportunius fuisset. erant qui abnuentes putabant eam esse rem nimio commodam quia iniquum esset aliquem habere perpetuam iuventam (ut videbatur) et (ut dicebatur) divitiam sine fine.
cum "pecunia debita solanda erit" loquerentur "non naturale est, et molestiam exhibebit", vero molestia nondum exhibita fuerat. plerique quidem Saccilio generoso moribus eius inusitatis bonaeque fortunae libenter ignoverunt.

solebat visitare cognatos praeter scilicet Sacvillos-Saccilios, atque multi Hobbiti familiarum pauperum parvarumque eum studiose admirabantur. at tamen nulli prius erant ei validi amici quam nonnulli consobrini iuvenes adolescebant, quorum maximus natu dilectusque a Bilbone novellus Frodo Saccilius erat. quem herem assumptum Bilbo nonaginta novem annos habens ad sedem suam duxit ut secum in Sactermino habitaret. quo facto spes Sacvillorum-Sacciliorum tandem deletae sunt. idem dies natalis et Bilboni et Frodoni fortisan erat,

When Mr. Bilbo Baggins of Bag End announced that he would shortly be celebrating his eleventy-first birthday with a party of special magnificence, there was much talk and excitement in Hobbiton. Bilbo was very rich and very peculiar, and had been the wonder of the Shire for sixty years, ever since his remarkable disappearance and unexpected return. The riches he had brought back from his travels had now become a local legend, and it was popularly believed, whatever the old folk might say, that the Hill at Bag End was full of tunnels stuffed with treasure.

And if that was not enough for fame, there was also his prolonged vigour to marvel at. Time wore on, but it seemed to have little effect on Mr. Baggins. At ninety he was much the same as at fifty. At ninety-nine they began to call him 'well-preserved', but 'unchanged' would have been nearer the mark. There were some that shook their heads and thought this was too much of a good thing; it seemed unfair that anyone should possess (apparently) perpetual youth as well as (reputedly) inexhaustible wealth.

'It will have to be paid for,' they said. 'It isn't natural, and trouble will come of it!' But so far trouble had not come; and as Mr. Baggins was generous with his money, most people were willing to forgive him his oddities and his good fortune.

He remained on visiting terms with his relatives (except, of course, the Sackville-Bagginses), and he had many devoted admirers among the hobbits of poor and unimportant families. But he had no close friends, until some of his younger cousins began to grow up. The eldest of these, and Bilbo's favourite, was young Frodo Baggins. When Bilbo was ninety-nine, he adopted Frodo as his heir, and brought him to live at Bag End; and the hopes of the

vicesimus secundus Septembris. "oportet te hic habitare, pusio Frodo" olim Bilbo inquit "ut commode diem natalem nostrum celebrare possimus. eo tempore Frodo adulescasinus etiam erat, ut Hobbiti appellabant aetatem stultam inter pueritiam et terminum adulescentiae tricesimo tertio anno.

Sackville-Bagginses were finally dashed. Bilbo and Frodo happened to have the same birthday, September 22nd. 'You had better come and live here, Frodo my lad,' said Bilbo one day; 'and then we can celebrate our birthday-parties comfortably together.' At that time Frodo was still in his tweens, as the hobbits called the irresponsible twenties between childhood and coming of age at thirty-three.

II. From 'Hamlet', by William Shakespeare.

utrum sim aut non sim: illa quaestio.
utrum melius in animo sit pati
agittas fundasque fortunae flagrantis
an armatum contra dolorum undas
se obicientem eos terminatre? mori: dormire;
nihil aliud; ac somno finiamus
dolores cordis et ictus mille nativos
corpori patiendos: quod est consummatio
vero petenda. mori, dormire;
dormire: fortisan somniare: immo, hoc est impedimentum
in enim somno somnia quae advenient
cum vacillaverimus hac e re mortali,
nos retinebunt: hoc est quod
cladem facit vitam longissimam
nam quis pati possit flagella spretionesque aetatis,
nefas tyranni, contumiam superbi
spinosum amorem contemptum, moram legis,
arrogantiam munerius, impetus
quos meritum aequum ab indignis recepit,
quoniam ipse sibi quietem faciat
nudo pugione? quis onera toleret
ut grunniat ac sudet lassa sub vita
nisi vero metus alicuius post mortem,
terram irrepertam a cuius amne
nullus peregrinator revenit, conturbat voluntatem
ac nos malle pati cogit mala quae habemus
quam volare ad alia quae nescimus?
conscientia igitur nos facit omnes ignavos;
sic color nativus constantiae
pallescit forma cogitationis exsangui
quo coepta magni cordis virisque
perversa fiunt.
et carent nomine actionis. quisce iam!
ecce pulchra Ophelia! nympha, in precibus tiuis
memoria omnia peccata mea teneantur.

To be, or not to be: that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them? To die: to sleep;
No more; and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep;
To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause: there's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life;
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? who would fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns, puzzles the will
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of?
Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.–Soft you now!
The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy orisons
Be all my sins remember'd.

Poetry Prize: 'Achilles and Penthesilea'

By Laurence Crumbie, *University of Exeter*

Tragedy do I sing of and
praise not wrath and glory:
You, Achilles, son of Thetis,
swift-footed warrior,
'Though a herald of Greek virtue
and champion at Troy,
Were suited less for epic deeds
than those of tragic vein.

For whilst running through Trojan ranks,
bringing fear and slaughter,
Scouring the sanguin'ous plains
in hunting out his prey,
Namely poor Priam's dearest sons,
what few of them remained,
Did Achilles soon come upon
the bold Amazon queen.

Their eyes locked in adversity,
their bloods boiled with rage;
Graceful Penthesilea stalked
after her advers'ry,
Then Achilles, watching each step,
advanced to meet her thus,
And snarling as he raised his blade
Slashed down in first attack.

But break his sword's fall did the queen's
and struck she in reply,
Yet thwarted too was this, her stroke,
by Hephaestus' artwork;
Mighty Achilles thrust her back
and pounced on her again,
Then made a stab at her soft breast
and strike did she no more.

He crouched down over she, his kill,
gazing into her eyes,
Yet glory and pride felt not he
but Sorrow gnawed his bones,
Lust did cause his blood to boil,
Regret made his eyes weep,
Love stole the colour from his cheeks
and brought him to his knees.

"Twofold", he cried, "be the ruin
that here my hand hath brought:
The first, your dear life, sweet maiden,
the second be my soul;
Please see these tears that I do spill
for they be all for you,
And shut not your eyes but look here
- your gaze I wish to catch.
Healer Apollo, hasten here,
prevent this tragedy:
Her lips, just now a Rose's red,
fade to an Orchid's white;
The emeralds of her eyes now be
not precious in colour;
The tender warmth of her bronze skin
this fatal sword does steal.

What glory lies in feats of arms,
victory and conquest,
Only recoils upon itself
through all the death it reaps;
Are we warriors or murd'rers?
What difference does exist?
Why should one so beautiful die
to reclaim one not lost?

Eternal honour the promise
should I embark for Troy,
And though glory may still arise
will it mean nil to me,
For in this war have I been cursed
thrice by cruel Cypris;
Thus left to rue my sacrifice
of happiness for fame.

Iphigenia, you were first
'though never to be mine,
For the cold heart of your father
ruled for death not marriage;
Despite the tears you did provide
and all our desp'rate pleas,
Sacrificed were you and our love
for Menelaus' lusts.

And Patroclus, dearest to me,
slain in needless combat,
Your passing still darkens my days,
bright shines the sun no more;
A cavernous void fills my heart
where once your presence slept;
Your death has numbed my soul such that
I feel true joy no more.

Now you, my queen, fallen maiden,
are dying in my arms,
Spilling the blood I stole from you
but wish to now return,
Breathing out your soul for me
- a breath I bid you hold,
And letting fall your beloved blade
I wish you'd take me with."

Whilst Achilles wept and mourned,
for this, his tragic fate,
Turned his lament to requiem
as her heart ceased to beat;
Seeing her eyes flicker no more,
but locked there in his gaze,
Did Achilles thus lay her down
into the world below.

Yet long did grief not torment him
there on the Trojan plains,
For a second arrow soon struck
the tragic hero's heel,
But being of diff'rent nature,
less pain did it inflict;
Instead it freed his forlorn soul
to find the ones it'd lost.

Prose Prize: 'A Problem Solved: *Frag. Exoniensis* 1978 Restored' *[see supplement]*

'Discovered' by 'S. Duff' & 'N. Oncents'

Editor's Note: Due to the nature of the submission, in that formatting is part of the humour (although we know the aptness of the term may be objected to by some readers), we have included the Prose Prize as a supplement to this issue, included within.