

Pegasus

Issue 52 | 2009



PEGASUS

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

Chief Editors: Rowan Fraser and Sharon Marshall

Editorial Board: Kyle Erickson, Claude Kananack, Shane Brennan, James Collins and Henry Lee

© *Pegasus* 2009. Copyright is held by the Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter, and the authors of each individual contribution. Permission to reproduce material from *Pegasus* should be sought in the first place from the editors (address below).

Cover design by COMPRESS.dsl (www.compressdsl.com)

Special thanks to Mike Marshall for proofreading and formatting and to HuSS for providing matched funding for the Lawrence Shenfield Prize.

♣ New website: <http://projects.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus/>

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

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

E-mail: pegasus@exeter.ac.uk

♣ *SUBMISSIONS FOR FUTURE ISSUES*

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

♣ *SUBSCRIPTIONS AND BACK ISSUES*

Each issue of *Pegasus* currently costs £5 (including postage within the UK). Many readers prefer to take out a five-year subscription for £25. If you would like to subscribe to *Pegasus*, simply send your name, address and subscription period to the address given above, enclosing a cheque made out to ‘Pegasus’ for the appropriate amount. (Current students may buy copies for the bargain price of £3).

Do you need to fill some gaps in your collection? If so, back issues of *Pegasus* may be obtained for £5 each (including UK postage) on application to the editors. Some issues have to be supplied as a photocopy.

ISSN: 0308-2431

PEGASUS

ISSUE 52 (2009)



8. P.J.Rhodes on
the Old Oligarch



14. A tribute to Dr
Lawrence Shenfield



40. Undergraduate
production of *Lysistrata*

Contents

Department News (David Braund)	2
Staff Research News	3
New Postgraduates	6
MA theses 2007-08	7
How Seriously Should We Take the Old Oligarch? (P.J. Rhodes)	8
Interview with Dr Martin Lindner (James Collins and Henry Lee)	14
A Tribute to Dr Lawrence Shenfield (T.P. Wiseman)	16
Dr Lawrence Shenfield Prize 2009	18
An Epicurean Adoption (Chris Davies)	19
The Fall of the Peisistratids in Thucydides VI (Eleanor Davies)	22
<i>Ex tenebris gelidis lucebimus et vincemus</i> (Jack Bullen)	26
Review of T.P. Wiseman, <i>Unwritten Rome</i> (Claude Kananack)	27
Review of R. Stoneman, <i>Alexander the Great: A life in legend</i> (Paula Carrajana)	29
A Promenade of Research in the Yellow-orange Silence of Brown University (Valeria Cinaglia)	32
The Fabric in Aeschylus' <i>Agamemnon</i> - A Homeric Perspective (Robert Leigh)	34
Review of the Classics Society's Production of Aristophanes' <i>Lysistrata</i> (James Collins)	40

Department News



**Ikaros and Helios - Black-figure vase
painted by Hannah Porter**

The major event this last year was the announcement of the outcome of the Research Assessment Exercise 2008 in December. In previous Exercises, the Department has done conspicuously and consistently well. This time again the result was very good, placing us third in the country for research at the highest level (closely behind the larger departments in Cambridge and Oxford). This result was outstanding within the University, even though the institution as a whole improved substantially on its previous performances.

The life of the Department has been enriched by a series of visitors from Europe, Japan, South Africa and North America as well as many from across the UK. Dr Altay Coşkun (University of Waterloo) is with us from January to July 2009, working with Stephen Mitchell on Galatians (Humboldt Foundation).

Meanwhile, in March we had the pleasure of a visit from our former student Anastasios Leventis, together with his wife and mother, to inaugurate the Leventis Room in Amory in honour of his father Konstantinos Leventis, to whose generosity we owe the Leventis Postgraduate Scholarship.

We congratulate the following students who have successfully completed their PhDs in the last year:

Eriko Ogden:	A Political Reading of Plato's <i>Gorgias</i>
Anthony Comfort:	Roads on the Frontier between Rome and Persia. An investigation of trade and travel in the provinces of Euphratesia, Osroene and Mesopotamia AD 363-602
Anna Collar:	Networks and Religious Innovation in the Roman Empire
Gillian Ramsey:	Ruling the Seleucid Empire: Seleucid Officials and the Official Experience
Pauline Hanesworth:	Heroic and Mortal <i>Anodoi</i> : Representations and Uses of a Mythical Motif in Archaic and Classical Greece

As *Pegasus* goes to press, the Department is coming to terms with the departure of our wonderful administrator Claire Turner, who has been keeping the department together and functioning for the last eleven years. The good news is that she remains within HuSS, having moved to lead the Admissions Team.

David Braund
Head of Department



Staff Research News

Barbara Borg (B.E.Borg@exeter.ac.uk): Last year, my main project was a monograph on tombs from second and third century AD Rome, which I hope to finish during next year's study leave. It is intended to make a major contribution to the social history of the city and discusses a wide range of evidence – the tomb buildings, their locations, interior decoration, movable equipment and inscriptions. I am also editing a *Blackwell Companion to Roman Art*, and I have written several contributions to exhibition catalogues and dictionaries on portraiture in Roman Egypt.

David Braund (D.C.Braund@exeter.ac.uk): I have been pursuing my research on the Black Sea region. I have had several visits to St. Petersburg, working in the Hermitage Museum and the neighbouring Institute for the History of Material Culture (Russian Academy of Sciences). I have given various papers (especially on Black Sea Herakles) in Denmark, Poland and Russia, etc and also spoken at symposia connected with the international *Land of the Golden Fleece* exhibition in Cambridge and New York. As for publications, my favourite recent product is a paper on Scythian jokes about Greek colonists.

Altay Coskun (A.Coskun@exeter.ac.uk): The last year has been one of the liveliest and most prosperous for me. Most importantly, our son Leander was born in September, and our daughter Luisa became a loving sister. At the same time, my Trier-based project 'The Foreign Friends of Rome' came to a close with the latest update of my Database *Amici Populi Romani* (APR 02) and the publication of the edited volume on 'Friendship and Clientele Bonds in the Foreign Relations of the Romans, 2nd cent. BC – 1st cent. AD'. Still fresh is the ink of my *Hermes-Einzelschrift* (101): 'Withdrawal of Citizenship or Expulsion of Foreigners? Studies in the Rights of Latins and Other Foreigners as well as in the Change of Citizenship in the Roman Republic, 5th–1st Centuries BC' (March 2009). Three other distinctions awarded in 2008 are still felt with pleasure in 2009: First, the Mainz Academy invited me to represent the young generation of scholars in the Humanities; I gave a public talk on the 'Were the Romans Generous in Conveying Their Citizenship? In-between Myth and Reality', an extended version of which is now in print. Secondly, I was appointed Associate Professor in Ancient History in the Department of Classical Studies at the University of

Waterloo. Last but not least, I was awarded a Feodor Lynen-Visiting Scholarship by the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Bonn), to study the history of the Galatians together with Stephen Mitchell at Exeter (2009–11). My current research focuses on the 3rd to 1st centuries BC. Main themes are the impact of the topos of 'Keltensieg' on our sources as well as on modern perspectives, the aims and conditions of the Galatians' migrating to central Anatolia, their ensuing political organisation and foreign relations, and finally the biography of King Deiotaros Philorhomaïos.

Eleanor Dickey (E.Dickey@exeter.ac.uk): This year I have mostly been working on Latin loanwords in Greek. I have so far found more than 600 loanwords that can be demonstrated to have been integrated into the Greek language before 600 AD, far more than is usually thought. In December I also went to Thessaloniki to give a talk on the development of Atticism – that is, why Greek writers of the second century AD wanted to write in the language of the fifth century BC. This conference was great fun, besides which the city was unexpectedly engulfed in riots that centred on the conference hotel, and I gained a much greater understanding of the ancient interest in battles by watching battles between police (correctly armed with shields and apparently trained in phalanx manoeuvres) and rioters (incorrectly armed with gas masks and Molotov cocktails, but you can't have everything) each night from the balcony. In March I am going to a conference on the teaching of Latin at Yale, to give a paper on the teaching of Latin to Greek speakers in antiquity (using precursors of Berlitz phrasebooks that have turned up on papyrus). I trust there will be no battles there!

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk): My research has centred this year on ancient psychology and ethics. I am finalising a book, *Naturalistic Psychology in Galen and Stoicism*, for Oxford University Press, and have also worked (with John Wilkins and Tim Whitmarsh) on a co-edited volume, *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, based on an Exeter conference, for Cambridge University Press. I have also published or written papers on Platonic, Stoic, Epicurean, Senecan and Galenic psychology, and on ancient ideas of self or identity.

Lena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk): I came to the Department in 2002 as a historian of ancient Italy and a researcher into material culture. The combination of these fields was a new creative direction for the community and they embraced it with the same curiosity, support and enthusiasm which I have been fortunate to experience for all my endeavours since then. In my research I am particularly interested in how to access the histories of those groups that have not left their own written record, which could be either the communities of pre-Roman Italy from Lucania and Samnium or the elusive ancient youth. As such I use a variety of tools from archaeological evidence to testing contemporary theoretical models from different fields. The resulting interdisciplinary projects have allowed me to take students on excavations with colleagues to Italy and Kazakhstan. Currently I am also leading a dynamic international team on a venture that involves academics from numerous fields and practicing artists, as well as school children, that investigates the way in which the physical world impacts on the bonds between memory and place (De-Placing Future Memory: <http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/deplacingfuturememory/index.php>; <http://projects.exeter.ac.uk/futurememory/>). This interest is part of a bigger project which considers the disjunction between the evidence that suggests continuous mobility throughout history and the co-existing belief that the sedentary condition is the norm. It challenges the normative thinking about migration and borders which forms part of our bounded nation state mentality.

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@exeter.ac.uk): This year I have been developing the *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual History* project in collaboration with Kate Fisher in the History department, as part of the new Wellcome Strategic Award, in the Centre for Medical History. We are organising an international conference on *Sexual Knowledge: the Uses of the Past* in July, and are making plans to put on an exhibition of historical erotica from the Wellcome Collection as part of a programme of public engagement. My solo work has included continued study of the work of Valerius Maximus and the function of exemplary tales within Roman culture.

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): This year has (finally) seen the publication of essays in honour of P.J. Rhodes edited by me and Lene Rubinstein (Royal Holloway): *Greek History and Epigraphy*

(Swansea, 2009). I have also been continuing to work on a project on kingship in archaic and classical Greek thought. I organised an interdisciplinary conference in Cambridge in September with Prof. Charles Melville (Cambridge): 'Every Inch a King: From Alexander to the King of Kings'. I gave a paper at the conference on Alexander the Great, which I have since written up for publication (in the volume of the conference, which Charles and I will edit). I am currently working on an article on 'Ambivalent kings: ruling and being ruled in archaic and classical Greece', as well as a paper on despotism and the rule of law which I will give in Moscow in June, and another on the 'imaginary kings' of Xenophon, which I will present to a conference in Liverpool in July.

Stephen Mitchell (S.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): I had a year's study leave in 2008-09 which was largely spent working on the corpus of inscriptions of ancient Ankara. The texts include the *Res Gestae* of Augustus and during the year I wrote a historical guide to the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ankara and this famous inscription, published in English and Turkish by the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. Another important project was to prepare a catalogue of the large collection of epigraphic squeezes housed at the British Institute at Ankara, which is due to be published online during 2009. I have been appointed Director of the Exeter Turkish Studies Centre, a new initiative in the school. Classical Turkey is one of the research strands of the new centre.

Karen ní Mheallaigh (K.Ni-Mheallaigh@exeter.ac.uk): I have had a busy 2008-9 so far... Conference-wise, in July 2008 I delivered a paper on Umberto Eco and the ancient ass-novel at the *International Conference on the Ancient Novel* in Lisbon, Portugal. In December, I spoke on ancient speculation about extra-terrestrial life at *Trips to the Moon and Beyond: Lucian to NASA*, a festive colloquium at the University of Royal Holloway, London, to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the first moon-landing. I have continued work on my book about ancient fiction, and am co-organising a conference, *Irony and the Ironic in Ancient Literature*, with Matthew Wright, which will take place here at the University of Exeter on September 1-4 2009.

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk): In the past year I have published two books, *Perseus* (Routledge, London, 2008) and *Night's Black Agents* (Continuum, London, 2008), and three essays, 'Bilistiche and the prominence of courtesans in the Ptolemaic tradition' in P. McKechnie and P. Guillaume eds. *Ptolemy Philadelphus and his World* (Brill, Leiden, 2008) 353-85, 'Bastardy and fatherlessness in the ancient Greek world' in S. Hübner and D.M. Ratzan eds. *Growing up Fatherless in the Antiquity* (CUP, Cambridge, 2009) 105-19, and 'Alexander's sex life' in W. Heckel and L.A. Tritle eds. *Alexander the Great: a New History* (Blackwell, London, 2009). 203-17. The substantially revised and augmented second edition of *Magic Witchcraft and Ghosts* will shortly appear from OUP USA. I trust that University of Exeter Press will have published my new book *Alexander the Great: Myth and Sexuality* by the autumn and that the German translation of *Greek and Roman Necromancy, Nekromantie: das antike Wissen der magischen Totenbeschwörung* (Roter Drache), will also have appeared by this time. Currently I am co-editing with Beth Carney a collection of essays provisionally entitled, *Philip and Alexander: Father and Son*, and continuing to work on my big book of ancient dragons.

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk): This year I am continuing my general focus on the application of globalisation theory to aid the historical interpretation of ancient material culture, which has led to a major article in the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, with the rest shaping up into the beginnings of a book. In a related project, I am working with Dr. Rebecca Griffin (School of Dental Sciences, University of Liverpool) on the investigation of social and health inequalities in late Roman Britain through the dual contextual analysis of human remains and their associated material culture, which has led to promising results to date.

Julius Rocca (J.S.C.Rocca@exeter.ac.uk): My research, funded by the Wellcome Trust, involves an examination of the medical and philosophical implications of Galen's use of teleological arguments. In the spirit of this inquiry, I have organised, together with Professor Chris Gill, an international conference on teleology in the ancient world, to be held at Exeter, 8-11 July.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk): Apart from the usual round of conference papers on various

themes, I have nearly completed my book on Aeschylus, entitled (provisionally) *Cosmos and Polis in Aeschylus: Space and Time in the Earliest Drama*. This is a new kind of investigation of the way in which conceptions of space, time and the cosmos in Aeschylus (and other texts) are variously shaped by socially integrative institutions: ritual (with its myth), the polis, money. It is the final volume of a trilogy, loosely connected with my *Reciprocity and Ritual* (1994), and *Money and the Early Greek Mind* (2004).

Richard Stoneman (R.Stoneman@exeter.ac.uk): In April 2008 my *Alexander the Great: a life in legend* was published by Yale. I am continuing to research and work on the Alexander legends, and learning from teaching a third-year course on the subject. I am in the early stages of organising a conference on 'The Alexander Romance in the East' to take place in Exeter in July 2010, for which we already have acceptances from a dozen international speakers. I am currently busy checking the Italian translation of the second volume of my commentary on the *Alexander Romance*. (The first volume was published by the Fondazione Valla in November 2007, and there is a third volume to come). I completed the English text for Valla in 2001 so I feel I am revisiting old haunts! And in the interstices of this I am writing a book on oracles, entitled *Making the Gods Speak*, to be published by Yale, I hope in 2010.

Lieve van Hoof (L.Van-Hoof@exeter.ac.uk): This year, I have been engaged in two major projects. On the one hand, I have finished my first book, which argues that Plutarch's practical ethics make for much more exciting and sophisticated reading than is usually assumed. On the other hand, I have become a postdoctoral research fellow with affiliations to various universities both within and outside of the UK. As such, I am now working on a project that examines how Greek authors of the fourth century A.D. used their cultural capital strategically in order to promote themselves in a rapidly changing society.

Peter van Nuffelen (P.E.R.Van-Nuffelen@exeter.ac.uk): Three areas have kept me busy in 2008: pagan monotheism, Hellenistic history, and Late Antiquity. The results of the research on pagan monotheism are starting to be published: a paper on Plutarch has appeared in *Hermathena* (182 (2007), 9-39), and together with Stephen Mitchell I have seen two volumes of papers off to the publishers

(CUP and Peeters). Regarding Hellenistic history, I have been involved in the organisation of a conference on the 'Age of the Successors' (Leuven, September 2008). I have also edited a volume entitled *Faces of Hellenism*, which should appear in 2009, and to which I have contributed a paper on 'Hellenistic Historians and Royal Epithets'. In the field of Late Antiquity, my attention is divided between three topics. I am running a project on episcopal succession with colleagues in Leuven and organising a conference in October 2009. Work on 'A cultural history of Late Antique historiography' continues, whilst I have also given several papers on ritual communication in Late Antiquity.

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk): Work continues on Galen and on British Food (as described last year). A number of Galen papers have been given in the Research Seminar this year, and we have had an exploratory seminar with colleagues from the Peninsula Medical School on links between Hippocratic medicine and current concerns over diet, exercise and good health. I am nearing completion of my edition for Budé of Galen's treatise on food, *de alimentorum facultatibus* and am also preparing an English translation of his treatise on simple medicines. Athenaeus is not being neglected: 'Athenaeus the

Navigator' appeared in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 2008. This is an attempt to argue further for the author's substantial project in gathering together hundreds of quotations about ancient dining, against those who think he is a 'mere compiler'.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@exeter.ac.uk): *Remembering the Roman People* was published in January (OUP), and Anne and Peter Wiseman's Ovid *Fasti* translation is due to be delivered to OUP before the end of the year. Otherwise, a couple of articles on Velleius Paterculus and one on the Romans and civil war should be appearing in 2009.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk): My Companion to Euripides' *Orestes* (Duckworth) is now on the shelves of all good bookshops. I have been making progress on its successor, *The Comedian as Critic*, as well as writing articles on early classical literary criticism and literary prizes. Karen ní Mheallaigh and I are also planning a major conference on 'Irony and the Ironic', to be held in the Department this September: this promises to be an unmissable event.

New postgraduates

Vijaya-Sharita Baba (vb229@exeter.ac.uk)

My PhD dissertation is on the women in Later Antique historiography, focusing on the image of women as part of narrative techniques. I am currently working on the image of the barbarian women in Ammianus, Justin, Orosius, Procopius and Jordanes, the present section being on the use and image of mythical women.

Oya Dinler (od216@exeter.ac.uk)

By focusing on the Letters of Pliny the Younger, my research aims to investigate the concept of *luxuria* with all its moralizing, political and social connotations and to explore what aspects of luxury were translated into architectural material. Roman baths and bathing establishments, as an expression of luxurious social life, have been chosen to reconceptualise the Roman idea of luxury which appears as one of the critical dynamics for the changes of Roman life and a new Roman identity.

Hale Güney (hg243@exeter.ac.uk)

The Resources and Economy of Nicomedia: The objective of this study is to produce a detailed and well-founded account of the economy of ancient Nicomedia (located beneath today's city of Izmit, Turkey). This will be based on an evaluation of the natural resources and strategic advantages of the city and place special emphasis on an account and interpretation of the numismatic evidence. The method I will apply in my thesis will be to evaluate the coins within the context provided by other sources such as ancient writings, epigraphic materials and archaeological finds. To this end it will be illuminating to consider architectural structures that were registered in the course of the 2005-8 surveys of Kocaeli and its Districts, such as aqueducts and sections of ancient roads. I am also heavily involved in the new Exeter Turkish Studies centre.

Laura Hawtree (ljh214@exeter.ac.uk)

My research will concentrate on depictions of wild animals in Roman epic. Many passages in Roman epic refer to wild animals and afford a stylized indication of the Roman sentiment towards wild animals. Can Roman discussions of relevant animals from other Roman literature and art show that the same Roman attitudes to wild animals were widespread? Or are wild animals treated differently in Roman epic? Overall I hope to focus my research on discovering how the writers of Roman epics exploited and manipulated the Romans' views of wild animals and their ideas/stereotypes about different species.

Samantha Masters (sm387@exeter.ac.uk)

Affectionately known as 'Vases have feelings too' my PhD dissertation (actual provisional title: 'The language of love and affection in Archaic and early Classical Greek vase-painting') engages in the process of reading images, with a view to identifying emotional content in specific vase scenes. Through a selection of scene types concerned with love or seduction (which have hitherto largely been ignored from the perspective of emotional content), I will assess whether and to what extent emotion is represented, how it is conveyed, how this emotional vocabulary changes over time, and why.

Beginning with the abundant examples of scenes involving Helen's abduction/seduction, I will move on to other (selected) scenes involving courtship and marriage. My goal is to investigate relationships between issues and discourses that emerge from the vases and other general discourses on the subject/s.

Sotirios Mouhtaris (sm384@exeter.ac.uk)

The main subject of my thesis is incubation in the ancient Greek world. In antiquity, people believed in prophetic dreams as well as healing dreams. They sought to come into contact with deities such as Asklepios, Trophonios and Amphiaraos in order to find cures or to consult them about personal issues and the future. Belief in Asklepios in particular became very popular in Classical times through to the Imperial Roman era. However, there is no recent extensive research regarding incubation, but rather scattered academic articles. This might mean that the evidence should be re-examined and new links established in this academic sphere, not only to comprehend this practice but also to present the rites and rituals and understand the underlying significance of incubation in the ancient Greek world.

MA theses 2007-08

Clare Coombe:	An exploration of myths of Roman identity and the hero in Prudentius' <i>Peristephanon</i>
Phillip Davies:	The Seleucid death mask: the public face of the Seleucids, through the eyes of Augustan Rome
Caroline Green:	Looking at Euripides' <i>Medea</i> in the light of Pasolini's <i>Medea</i> . The ways that gesture in the ancient script has been interpreted through the filmic medium
Pamela Hall:	Pythagoras: myth of <i>vir sagacis animi</i> ?
Laura Hawtree:	Virgil: The psychologizing of Death. Aristeus, Aeneas, the lamenting nightingale and slumbering beasts: To what extent does Virgil's portrayal and use of death in the <i>Georgics</i> resemble that in the <i>Aeneid</i> ?
Amy Hetherington:	A reassessment of the regional division of fourth century villa mosaics in Roman Britain
Rebekah Maarschalk:	Wealth in Dark Age and Archaic Greece
Amber Sears:	Creolisation in Roman Britain: a study of bodily identity in first century military settlements
Laurence Somerfield:	An investigation into Domitianic visual culture: alternative histories through art, architecture and patronage
Salvatore Sutura:	'Guardians of the Poor': The charitable works of bishops in late antiquity
Dominic Wilson:	Representations of the Sisyphus myth in the classical tradition

How Seriously Should We Take the Old Oligarch?

P. J. Rhodes

The question I want to address here is: how much truth is there behind the obviously partisan picture of Athens which the pamphlet by the 'Old Oligarch' paints?¹

The most striking feature of the work is the polarised division of the Athenians into an upper and a lower class: various words are used for each, and the line is not always drawn in the same place; for instance, in i.2 hoplites belong to the upper class but sailors to the lower, yet in i.3 members of the lower class are keen to hold the offices 'which involve receipt of pay and domestic benefit' — though as far as we know the exclusion of the lowest Solonian class, the *thetes*, from office-holding was enforced to the end of the fifth century,² and I believe (despite recent attempts to argue otherwise) that the line between *zeugitai* and *thetes* was the line between hoplites and non-hoplites.³

Thucydides writes of that kind of polarisation in connection with other cities, particularly Corcyra,⁴ but not in connection with Athens until he reaches the revolution of 411. After the death of Pericles (whom by wishful thinking he represents as an unchallenged leader) he writes of rivals for the dominance over the people;⁵ Cleon is the greatest persuader of the people; but his opponents Diodotus in 427 and Nicias in 425 are not oligarchs (those attacked as a group in 427 are intellectuals who consider themselves more clever than the laws);⁶ Alcibiades in 415 is not one of a group, but a single exceptional figure who is seen as a potential tyrant,

and the group contrast evoked by Nicias in the debate on the Sicilian expedition is between old and young.⁷ In Aristophanes' fifth-century comedies the contrast is between honest Demos and the self-seeking politicians who mislead him; there is mockery of fashionable young men such as Phidippides, and of clever men such as Socrates; but there is not a polarisation of rich and poor or upper and lower class, and it is a characteristic for which Cleon is mocked that he sees conspirators everywhere.⁸

In the fourth century the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* ascribed different policies in 396 to the respectable and propertied and to the many and democratic, but the only other text suggesting that kind of division is a passage in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, of the late 390s;⁹ elsewhere the main fourth-century division is grounded in a notorious traumatic event, which side a man was on, and at what stage, in 404–403.¹⁰ After 411–410 and 404–403 everybody active in politics accepted the democracy, though it was discovered that one could make adjustments without having a revolution. In the Demosthenic period men would call themselves democrats and their opponents oligarchs, but Demosthenes tended to distinguish between a few ultra-rich men such as Midias and everybody else, and he redefined democracy to mean freedom from external enemies such as Philip rather than internal freedom. I do not think anybody at that time was seriously opposed to the democracy; and when the democracy was overthrown in 321 I think this was because, thanks to Demosthenes, democracy had come to be identified with opposition to Macedon.¹¹

¹ I was delighted to be invited to join with John Marr in completing J. L. Marr & P. J. Rhodes (edd.), *The 'Old Oligarch': The Constitution of the Athenians Attributed to Xenophon* (Aris & Phillips [Oxbow Books], 2008), to read this paper in Exeter at the seminar on 5 November 2008 marking the book's publication, and to have it published in *Pegasus*. All translations of the work given here are from that edition.

² See *Ath. Pol.* 7.iv, 26.ii, 47.i, with P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (O.U.P., 1981), *ad locc.* The latest serious use of the classes which is attested was in 428 (Thuc. III.16.i).

³ See, for instance, L. Foxhall, 'A View from the Top: Evaluating the Solonian Property Classes', in L. G. Mitchell & P. J. Rhodes (edd.), *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (Routledge, 1997), 113–36, with the response of Rhodes, p. 4.

⁴ Thuc. III.69–85, with general remarks on *stasis* 82–3.

⁵ Thuc. II.65.v–xiii.

⁶ Cleon *pithanotatos*, Thuc. III.36.vi, IV.21.iii; intellectuals, III.37.iv – 38.vi.

⁷ Alcibiades, Thuc. VI.12.ii, 15.ii–17.i, 28–9, 53–61; old and young, 13.i.

⁸ Demos and politicians, Ar. *Eq.* and *passim*; Phidippides and Socrates, Ar. *Nub.*; Cleon and conspirators, e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 235–9.

⁹ οἱ μὲν ἐπ' < >εἰκεῖς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες ... οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δημοτικοί, *Hell. Oxy.* 9. iii Chambers; 'Ships must be launched: the poor man approves, the rich and farmers do not approve', Ar. *Eccl.* 197–8 — but triremes >< stipends in *Eq.* 1350–3 does not necessarily imply class division.

¹⁰ Men who stayed in the city under the Thirty (those who served in the cavalry being particularly guilty) are contrasted with those who went into exile (those who joined Thrasybulus while he was still at Phyle being particularly meritorious): for one instance among many see Lys. XVI. *Mantitheus*.

¹¹ On fourth-century Athens see P. J. Rhodes, 'Democracy and Its Opponents in Fourth-Century Athens', in U. Bultrighini (ed.), *Democrazia e antidemocrazia nel mondo greco* (Alessandria:

Our author admits that the democracy is successful and stable, and I think that in the fifth century the democracy was accepted by most citizens, rich as well as poor, as long as it brought success and an empire from which rich as well as poor could benefit. There were a few upper-class malcontents after political leadership had passed to men such as Cleon — including, it seems, Thucydides — but I do not think Athens was divided on class lines as the Old Oligarch suggests.¹²

What about the author's other allegations? In i.6 the Athenians 'allow everyone in turn the right to speak or to serve on the council'. Probably the *thetes* were excluded from the council as they were from office-holding in general, but among those eligible, although there was probably some over-representation of the rich, it will not have been possible to fill all the places without appointing some poorer men.¹³ In the council all members and in the assembly all citizens in good standing had an equal right to speak and to propose motions. M. H. Hansen has shown for the fourth century that, although at any time there were only a few regularly active politicians, a large number of men must have spoken and proposed motions occasionally; and the Platonic Socrates remarked that there were some matters on which the assembly called for experts but on general matters of policy any man of any occupation, rich or poor, noble or ignoble, could speak.¹⁴

In i.10–12 we have the complaint that metics and slaves are no worse-looking than citizens (advanced as a reason for forbidding physical maltreatment of slaves), that slaves do not give way to citizens, and that some slaves live luxuriously and become rich. While it is clear that some upper-class people continued to flaunt long hair and fancy clothes, according to Thucydides plain clothing in the Spartan style had become fashionable and very elaborate hairstyles had been abandoned too. As so often, we are frustratingly ill-informed. Sparta's helots wore particular clothing (though perhaps not unique to

them) and were subject to various forms of ill treatment; but we do not know how slaves were treated in other Greek cities. Sparta, far from welcoming metics, from time to time indulged in *xenelasiai*, expulsions of foreigners: that was probably exceptional, but Athens as a great trading centre must have had more metics in proportion to its citizen numbers than most cities. No doubt in the fifth century as in the fourth Athens had some slaves with special skills who managed particularly well; life was anything but good for the many slaves who worked in the silver mines; and I dare say that in Athens and equally in other cities some ordinary slaves of ordinary citizens had considerate owners and some did not.¹⁵ Slaves and metics were not necessarily treated better in democratic than in oligarchic cities: we should note both that many Athenian slaves deserted to the Spartans at Decelea in and after 413, and that many metics and slaves supported the Athenian democrats against the Thirty in 404–403.¹⁶

According to i.13, 'The *demos* have made it unfashionable for individuals to engage in athletic exercise and musical activities ... the rich provide the choruses while the *demos* take part in them.' The meaning of the first sentence seems to be that individual upper-class athletic and musical activities are not highly regarded in modern Athens except in the circles in which they are practised (compare the debate between Just Argument and Unjust Argument in Aristophanes' *Clouds*).¹⁷ Then comes the point that through Athens' festival and naval liturgies the rich provide the money and the poor are paid to take part. Liturgies were not peculiar to Athens, though Athens' size made them particularly extensive there and Athens may have been exceptional in the way in which they functioned as a kind of tax on the rich. However, while it was indeed the poorer men who rowed the ships, in the late fifth century a significant proportion of the oarsmen were non-Athenians, while it is arguable that most of the members of the

Edizioni dell' Orso, 2005), 275–89; 'Stability in the Athenian Democracy after 403 B.C.', in *Festschrift* for W. Eder (forthcoming).

¹² How many were the 'men of prudence' who thought that at Pylos either they would be rid of Cleon or, less probably, they would win a major success over the Spartans (Thuc. IV.28.v)?

¹³ Cf. P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (O.U.P., 1972), 2–6.

¹⁴ M. H. Hansen, 'The Number of *Rhetores* in the Athenian *Ecclesia*, 355–322 B.C.', *GRBS* xv 1984, 123–55 = his *The Athenian Ecclesia II* (Opuscula Graecolatina xxxi. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum P., 1989), 93–125[–7]; *Pl. Prot.* 319b3–d7.

¹⁵ Sparta: treatment of helots, see H. Michell, *Sparta* (C.U.P., 1952), 79–83, doubting many of the allegations; *xenelasiai*, e.g. Thuc. I.144.ii, II.39.i. Athens: at least 3,000 metics of hoplite status in 431, Thuc. II.31.ii; rich slaves employed in banking, see (on Pasion and Phormio in the fourth century), J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.* (O.U.P., 1971), 427–42; up to c. 11,000 slaves employed in the mines, C. E. Conophagos, *Le Laurium antique* (1980), 348–9.

¹⁶ More than 20,000 deserters, Thuc. VII.27.v; supporters of the democrats, Rhodes & Osborne 4 with commentary.

¹⁷ *Ar. Nub.* 961–1023.

choruses were from the élite. It is a serious distortion to think of liturgies as simply transferring money from rich citizens to poor citizens.¹⁸

i.14 states that the *demos* hates members of the upper class in the allied states but upper-class Athenians try to protect them. It is certainly true that Athens supported, and not systematically but sometimes when provoked imposed, democracies in the allied states (some exceptions will be cited in iii.10–11), and that in 411 the Athenian oligarchs wanted not to abandon the empire but to change to oligarchy in the allied states too (Thuc. VIII.64.i – 65.i, cf. 48.v); but what is said of attacks on upper-class men among the allies seems to be a considerable exaggeration. i.15 seems to suggest that the Athenians' financial demands on the allies impoverished them to the extent of lessening their ability to continue paying tribute. If our dating of the work to 425–424 is right, it was written just when the Athenians were raising the tribute assessments to far above their pre-war level;¹⁹ but these increases were made in order to pay for fighting the Peloponnesian War, not in order to enrich the Athenians. Expropriation of allied landowners for the benefit of (both rich and poor) Athenians undoubtedly happened, but again this was not expropriation for expropriation's sake but was a political response to actual or threatened revolt.²⁰

i.16–18 says, 'They compel the allies to sail to Athens for lawsuits'. In the middle of the fifth century this seems to have been another Athenian response to particular instances of revolt; other texts as well as this suggest that the practice later became general.²¹

¹⁸ Liturgies elsewhere, P. J. Rhodes, 'Nothing to Do with Democracy: Athenian Drama and the *Polis*' *JHS* cxiii 2003, 104–19 at 108, citing P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia* (C.U.P., 2000); non-Athenian oarsmen, e.g. Thuc. I.121.iii, 143.i, VII.13.ii, 63.iii–iv; choruses from the élite, Wilson, *op. cit.*, 75–7, D. Pritchard, 'Kleisthenes, Participation and the Dithyrambic Contests of Late Archaic and Classical Athens', *Phoen.* lviii 2004, 208–28.

¹⁹ *IG* i³ 71; extracts M&L 69 trans. Fornara 136. If the orthodox arrangement of the tribute lists, as in *IG* i³ 281–4, is correct, there had already been an increase in 428.

²⁰ On Mytilene in 427 *IG* i³ 66 and Antiph. V. *Herodes* 77 suggest that what is reported in Thuc. III. 50 either is misleading or was soon reconsidered.

²¹ Mid fifth century, e.g. Erythrae, M&L 40 = *IG* i³ 14 trans. Fornara 71, 26–9, Chalcis, M&L 52 = *IG* i³ 40 trans. Fornara 103, 70–6; later, Antiph. V. *Herodes* 47, Chamaeleon fr. 44 Wehrli *ap.* Ath. IX. 407 b, cf. Thuc. I.77.i.

Here also the valid point seems to be the political one, that Athenian courts would tend to favour supporters of Athens; there is something in the psychological point that this would put pressure on allied litigants to appear pro-Athenian; economic benefits for Athenians were simply incidental. Court fees will not have been enough to cover the jurors' pay; we do not know what became of fines imposed by Athenian courts in non-Athenian cases.

Then, according to i.19–20, 'They have learned to row without noticing it, both they themselves and their slaves.' I have mentioned already that not all the oarsmen of the Athenian navy were Athenians; how many Athenian citizens rowed tolerably often in

the navy we cannot tell; as for slaves, A. J. Graham has argued successfully that the oarsmen did include slaves more often than used to be believed.²² It is worth noting that richer men were sometimes required to row to their destination and then fight as hoplites, but that that practice was

not limited to Athens; and that the Athenian fleet which sailed to the Arginusae islands and won the battle there was rowed by men who were not experienced oarsmen.²³

ii.1 claims of the Athenians' hoplite army that 'they have set it up to be as it is'. This states with a different slant what Thucydides represents Pericles as stating in his funeral oration. The Athenians accepted that they could not match a full land army of Sparta and the Peloponnesian League; they were willing to risk land battles when they did not expect to encounter that full land army, and their defeat at Delium in 424 (we believe after this work had been written) resulted from their being caught unprepared.²⁴ The point is not that the Athenians deliberately kept their infantry weak for class-based

²² A. J. Graham, 'Thucydides, VII.13.ii, and the Crews of Athenian Triremes', *TAPA* cxii 1992, 257–70, 'Thucydides, VII. 13. ii, and the Crews of Athenian Triremes: An Addendum', *TAPA* cxviii 1998, 83–114. However, the earlier argument for slave oarsmen from the word *hyperesia* by B. Jordan, 'The Meaning of the Technical Term *Hyperesia* in Naval Contexts of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.', *CSCA* ii 1969, 183–207, cf. his *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (U. Calif. Pub. Class. Stud. xiii 1975), 240–68, was mistaken.

²³ Athenian *auteretai*, Thuc. III.18.iii–iv; Peloponnesian, VII.1.iii — but allegedly at the suggestion of Alcibiades, VI.91.iv; Athenian fleet to Arginusae, Xen. *Hell.* I.vi.24.

²⁴ Pericles, Thuc. II.39.ii–iv; Athenians unprepared at Delium, IV.90.iv.

reasons, but that their power in the Aegean and the Delian League relied on a strong navy, and their hoplite army was good enough for the battles which they wanted to fight but was not stronger than any conceivable opposing army.

Much that is said in chapter ii of Athens as a naval power seems fair enough: in ii.2, that because of their location the allies cannot combine against Athens (there was a synoecism based on mainland Olynthus in 432, which caused Athens on-going trouble); in ii. 4, that the Athenians can make descents on the enemy coast but withdraw when they encounter opposition (as they did in 431 and 430, and again in 425); in ii.5, that they can travel to distant places as a land power cannot (or could not until Brasidas took an army to the Thraceward region in 424); in ii.6–8, that they can import from wherever they wish basic foodstuffs and luxury goods (remarked on also by Pericles) — and also foreign loan-words.²⁵

ii.9–10, perhaps displaced from chapter i, claims that Athens has festivals, sanctuaries and gymnasia provided for the public at public expense, rather than private provisions made by the rich for their own enjoyment. It is certainly true that between the Persian Wars and the end of the fifth century Athens acquired an altogether exceptional range of sacred and secular buildings, and that from the middle of the century onwards these were presented emphatically as public buildings, erected from public funds under the supervision of publicly appointed committees. In so far as the rich paid their taxes, they will have contributed to the funds available for these buildings; it was notoriously alleged that much of the money was misappropriated from the allies, when Athens continued to collect tribute after abandoning regular warfare against Persia, and I do not think that allegation has been proved false.²⁶ Athens' many festivals will be mentioned again in iii.2, 8, and are mentioned also in Pericles' funeral oration: the rich contributed to them through various festival

²⁵ Olynthus, Thuc. I.58.ii, and various appearances until VI.7.iv; Athenian coastal raids, in 431, II.17.iv, 23.ii, 25–7, 30, in 430, II.56, in 425, IV.42–5; Brasidas to Thraceward region, IV.78–9; Pericles on Athenian imports, II.38.ii.

²⁶ Public buildings, notice the series of accounts collected in *IG* i³ 433–97 (some examples M&L 53, 54, 59, 60, trans. Fornara 90. B, 114, 120, 118. B); paid for by allies, Plut. *Per.* 12–14; L. Kallet-Marx, 'Did Tribute Fund the Parthenon?' *Class. Ant.* viii = *CSCA* xx 1989, 252–66, undermines the particular scenario constructed by B. D. Meritt *et al.*, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, iii (Princeton: Am. Sch. Class. Stud. Ath., 1950), 326–8, but not the general possibility.

liturgies.²⁷ How luxurious the houses and other buildings of the rich were is not clear: Thucydides in connection with the evacuation of Attica in 431 writes that the rich lost 'handsome possessions in the country, with houses and expensive furnishings', and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* alleges that before Sparta's occupation of Decelea in 413 'the land of the Athenians was the most expensively furnished in Greece'; on the other hand, Demosthenes in the mid-fourth century contrasted the grand houses of the ultra-rich of his own time with the modest homes of the great men of the fifth century.²⁸

Returning to the theme of naval power, ii.11–12 deals with Athens' ability to import whatever the navy needs and to prevent enemies from doing likewise. Athens' sanctions on Megara before the Peloponnesian War show awareness that it could use its sea power to the disadvantage of its enemies, while the special treatment of Methone in the 420s shows a corresponding awareness that it could give favourable treatment to friends.²⁹ ii.13 seems to us and to many but not all commentators to be an allusion to the geographical setting at Pylos of which the Athenians took advantage in 425.³⁰

ii.14–16 we believe reflects the early years of the Archidamian War: if Athens were an island, there would be no risk at all of enemy attacks or of betrayal to an enemy; as things are, the farmers and the rich are intimidated by the enemy but the *demos* is not; the Athenians deposit their property on the islands and allow the countryside to be ravaged. Thucydides makes it clear that this reaction to the Peloponnesian invasions was unexpected and some Athenians found it hard to accept,³¹ and we think this passage is fatal to an early date for the work. Our author's most startling remark is in ii.14: 'The farmers and the rich among the Athenians truckle to the enemy, rather, whereas the *demos*, since they know well that the enemy will not burn or cut down anything of theirs, live without fear, and without truckling to them.' This seems intrinsically unlikely, since the poorer Athenians did not consist simply of an urban

²⁷ Pericles on festivals, Thuc. II.38.i.

²⁸ Lavish houses in the country, Thuc. II.65.ii, *Hell. Oxy.* 20. v Chambers; Demosthenes, XXIII. *Aristocrates* 207–10 cf. XXI. *Midias* 158–9.

²⁹ Megara, Thuc. I.67.iv, 139.i, 140.iii–iv, cf. *Ar. Acharnians* 729–835 (the reinterpretation of G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* [Duckworth, 1971], 225–89, was perverse); Methone, M&L 65 = *IG* i³ 61 trans. Fornara 128, 34–41.

³⁰ Thuc. IV.3–23, 26–41.

³¹ Thuc. II.13–22.

proletariat but had been dispersed throughout Attica, and indeed were more likely than the rich to lose everything if the enemy descended on their one and only field. Thucydides says that most of the Athenians had always lived in the country; the men of Acharnae (not likely to be particularly poor) were especially eager to fight back against the invaders; and, while the rich lost their lavish houses, 'the common people had started out from a poor base and had lost even that'.³² Possibly Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* has supplied our author with his model of the peace-loving farmer; certainly this contrast between the intimidated rich and the carefree poor seems mistaken.

ii.17 makes the strange claim that in oligarchies those responsible for an agreement are known and have to uphold it, but citizens of a democracy can always blame other men for a decision which they dislike. Probably Athens was neither better nor worse at keeping agreements than other states, but there may when our author was writing have been bitter memories of the failure to save Plataea in 429–427.³³ In fact Athens was better than other states in the classical period at publishing the texts of treaties and other documents, and better than those Peloponnesian states which did publish texts at identifying the individuals responsible. What Athens could not do was record who was present and who voted on which side in the assembly, though even there raised hands in Athens were more publicly noticeable than shouts in Sparta. Under any régime in which decisions are taken not by individuals but at meetings, it is possible for people who are unhappy with a decision in retrospect to allege that they were absent from the meeting or present but opposed to the decision; in Thucydides' narrative the Thebans deny responsibility for their city's medism in 480–479 under a narrow oligarchy. Thucydides remarks on a tendency in Athens to claim credit for successes but deny culpability for failures, but that is a tendency which we should not expect to be peculiar to democracies.³⁴

"The general picture of the *demos* painted by Aristophanes is that it is good at heart and acts wrongly only when it is misled by the politicians who are the real culprits."

According to ii.18 comedians are not allowed to attack the *demos*, but they are allowed to attack individuals, because apart from a few worthless men the individuals attacked are from the upper class. In fact characteristics of the *demos* are mocked, such as its ability to be led astray by flattering speakers or its addiction to lawsuits; but the general picture of the *demos* painted by Aristophanes is that it is good at heart and acts wrongly only when it is misled by the politicians who are the real culprits. Individuals — political, literary, philosophical — are indeed attacked, and A. H. Sommerstein has demonstrated convincingly that left-wing upstarts are regularly

dealt with more harshly than right-wing aristocrats.³⁵ In particular, in the 420s Aristophanes attacked Cleon, in *Acharnians* before our date for our author's work and above all in *Knights* about the time of the work. Is what our author says compatible with *Knights*? The treatment of the *demos* we are

sure is not a problem; Cleon was a left-wing upstart although he was rich, and it may be that for our author he was one of the few worthless victims and (if the other comedians slanted their attacks as Aristophanes slanted his, which may not be the case) that our author, lacking the benefits of Sommerstein's researches, was blind to that slant.

In ii.19, 'The *demos* at Athens know which citizens are valuable and which are worthless, but ... despite this knowledge they cherish those who are convenient and useful to themselves, even if they are worthless; as for the valuable ones, they hate them rather.' This remark, which juggles with the moral sense and the social-class sense of the adjectives, seems to be a response to suggestions, as by Aristophanes, that the *demos* is taken in by low-grade politicians: the *demos* knows what it is doing, and does not mind if the politicians who promote its interests are worthless men. Here I suspect that our author is mistaken, and that men such as Cleon did not appear worthless to ordinary citizens. 'Men who actually take the side of the people, even though they are not by nature commoners' are men such as Pericles and Alcibiades — and Alcibiades was well

³² Most Athenians lived in the country, Thuc. II. 14. ii, 16; *Acharnians*, II. 19–21; poor lost everything, II. 65. ii.

³³ Thuc. II.2–6, 71–8, III.20–4, 52–68.

³⁴ Anonymity of Peloponnesian published decrees, P. J. Rhodes with D. M. Lewis, *The Decrees of the Greek States* (O.U.P., 1997), 492; voting by shout in Sparta, Thuc. I.87.ii; Theban medism,

III.62.iii–iv; Athenian successes and failures, II.59.i–ii, 65.i–iii, III.43.iv–v, VIII.1.i.

³⁵ A. H. Sommerstein, 'How to Avoid Being a *Komodooumenos*', *CQ* 2 xlvii 1996, 327–56.

enough known to appear in Aristophanes' *Banqueters* of 427 and *Acharnians* of 425, though he was not yet politically important.³⁶

iii.1–6 remarks on the difficulty of getting business done at Athens because there is so much to be done. Athens was an exceptionally large state, it had the Delian League to administer as well, and it had a governmental structure in which even minor decisions were referred to the assembly, and a large number of citizens had to be appointed to and overseen in administrative posts. iii.3 raises the issue of bribery: it would hardly be possible to bribe the whole council or assembly (though somebody offering a great benefit, such as a supply of cheap corn, could probably expect prompt treatment); but it would be possible to bribe the *prytaneis*, or individual councillors or politicians, to give priority to one's business, and there are some suggestions that that occurred.³⁷ The list of business to be dealt with is well informed, except that in iii.4 four hundred is a surprisingly large number of trierarchs when no text suggests that the navy had as many as four hundred ships at any time in the fifth century.³⁸ The unexpected combination of orphans and guards for prisoners is found also in a list in the Aristotelian *Ath. Pol.*, and there may be a common source here, perhaps a comedy.³⁹ I should perhaps add that 'an unusual act of arrogance or impiety' in iii.5 does not have to refer to the religious scandals of 415.

iii.10–11 illustrates the point that the Athenians support the democrats or the lower classes in *staseis* in other cities (as in Corcyra in 427–425⁴⁰) with three counter-instances, when Athens supported the other side but it did not work out well: none of them is later than the 440s, but it may well be that there was no such instance later than the 440s. Finally iii.12–13 claims that there are not many men who have been unjustly disfranchised (and who might therefore want

a revolution which could lead to their reinstatement: our author seems to think that those who have misbehaved in office under the democracy and have been justly disfranchised for that would not want a revolution). We know of some generals who were exiled — two of the three who acquiesced in the treaty of Gela in 424, Thucydides in 424/3⁴¹ — but we do not know of many Athenians who were exiled or disfranchised before 420, whether justly or unjustly. For the century after 420 much of our evidence comes from the orators, who are not available before 420, but there is no reason to think that there was a large body of exiled or disfranchised Athenians before the religious scandals of 415.

Overall, the author's view of permanent hostility between the upper and the lower class does not seem justified for the 420s. That pervades the work, and it has led to a number of distorted judgments: on the reason why metics and slaves are no better-looking than citizens (i.10–12), that liturgies represent a simple transfer of resources from rich citizens to poor citizens (i.13), that the *demos* has deliberately impoverished the allies for its own benefit (i.15), that financial considerations also help to explain the transfer of allied lawsuits to Athens (i.16–18), that the infantry are deliberately kept weak (ii.1), that the rich are affected by the invasions of Attica but the poor are not (ii.14), that comedy usually attacks upper-class men, not lower-class men (ii.18), that the *demos* knows that democratic politicians are worthless but does not mind (ii.19). That apart, the author is well informed, and with allowance for his bias he gives a picture of contemporary Athens which has a good deal of truth in it; and the one other strange point is the claim that it is easier for a democracy to break agreements than for an oligarchy, and easier for individuals to deny responsibility for decisions which they shared in making than in an oligarchy.

³⁶ Ar. frs. 205, 244 Kassel & Austin (= 198, 554 Edmonds, with translations), *Acharnians* 716. Responsibility for the tribute assessment of 425, alleged in [Andoc.] IV. *Alcibiades* 11, would be earlier than any other political activity attested for him — and the criticism of that assessment is one of my reasons for thinking that the speech cannot have been written as early as c. 415: cf. P. J. Rhodes, 'The Ostracism of Hyperbolus', in *Ritual, Finance, Politics ... David Lewis* (O.U.P., 1994), 85–98 at 88–91.

³⁷ Ar. *Pax* 905–8, *Thesm.* 936–8, Lys. VI. *Andocides* 29.

³⁸ Four hundred in Andoc. III. *Peace* 9 is probably a manuscript error: the corresponding passage in Aeschin. II. *Embassy* 175 has three hundred.

³⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 24.3: cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 655–724, though that does not contain orphans and guards for prisoners.

⁴⁰ Thuc. III.69–85, IV.46–8.

⁴¹ Treaty of Gela, Thuc. IV.65.ii; Thucydides, IV.104.iv–107.ii, V.26.v.

Interview with Dr Martin Lindner

Questions by **James Collins** and **Henry Lee**

Martin Lindner, who are you?

An ancient historian from Oldenburg University (Germany), specialising on the history of imperial Rome, classical reception and the history of mentalities.

What were you doing at the University of Exeter?

Teaching BA students the basics about the “crisis” of the 3rd century AD, frustrating postgraduates with texts by Theodor Mommsen, and doing some research for my new book.

What’s your favourite food?

Poppy-seed cake with streusel (I hope this is an English word, at least Merriam-Webster says so). It is about as addictive and fatal for your health as the wonderful English crumble pies – but with more icing and spices.

What will you miss the most about Exeter?

The warm welcome, living on a beautiful campus, working in a department with more than five colleagues...

What do you think of British weather?

I was waiting for that question ever since I read *Watching the English* by Kate Fox. Actually it is very much like the weather in Oldenburg, maybe a bit milder.

What do you think of the department and how does it differ from your department in Oldenburg?

When my colleagues ask me to describe the difference I usually tell them: “They have their own football team.” I am not that fond of football and even worse at playing it, but it is a very good example to illustrate the two academic cultures. In Germany most Classics departments are very small and often have a rather strict hierarchy. Our own department maintains a quite informal atmosphere – but still no one would dream of forming a sports team. (Besides, we would have problems even to get enough players for a basketball team.)

Does Exeter fulfil your expectations?

Did and does. I enjoyed teaching in a different language, the interaction with new colleagues and the chance to visit the charming countryside. Sometimes the marketing slogans are right: It was like working where other people go on holiday, and I hope to return to Exeter in the not too distant future. I know that this must sound like a very biased view, but it simply was the perfect place to stay as a guest lecturer.



Martin Lindner in the grounds of Oldenburg University with the Exeter bear

Troy or Gladiator? Why?

Troy – but this is a choice between plague and cholera. I am no friend of modern action cinema, but at least *Troy* has the iconic “Is there no one else?!” scene in it. I still believe that *The Fall of the Roman Empire* is way better than its remake *Gladiator*.

Which actor do you think has best fulfilled their role as a classical character?

Embarrassing moment ahead: Malcolm McDowell in *Caligula*. Family friendly option: Richard Burton and Liz Taylor in *Cleopatra*.

Which ancient literature would you like to see converted to film? If you could have your pick, who would you cast in the lead roles?

I would love to see the life and works of Catullus adapted for the big screen. As for the lead roles: A younger Daniel Day-Lewis as Catullus, Christina Ricci as Lesbia and Moritz Bleibtreu as Clodius Pulcher.

Which historical or mythological character do you admire the most and why?

The Egyptian goddess Bastet. Everybody who has control over cats commands my utmost respect.

In Classics and the Uses of Reception, Charles Martindale says, “Already a classics student is far more likely to spend their time analysing Gladiator than the Commedia of Dante. I find this trend worrying.” What would be your response to that?

Hopefully, he will still spend most of the time analysing Sophocles or Horace. Reception studies have to be based on a very good knowledge of the original sources. If this is the case, they can provide valuable insights into the transformation of texts – more or less regardless of the example treated.

This said, I too find it worrying if *Gladiator* wins over Dante, but that is simply because I don't like *Gladiator* as a movie and have some fond memories of reading the *Commedia* back at university. What I find more worrying is the way in which two forms of reception are pitted against each other by Martindale.

The most interesting thing about classical reception is seeing the constant change and the adaptability of classical sources. An epic movie is just as much part of this rich tradition as a medieval poem, a renaissance novel or an oil painting from the 19th century are. Condemning the modern popular versions is just elitist thinking. Ignoring the “good literature” leads to worthless results when studying classical tradition as a constant flow of interactions.

***Have you written any books or articles recently? / What are you currently researching?***

A book called *Nationalism and Classical Reception* and an article on the *hierodouloi* in Western Sicily will go to print this month. Currently I am researching for a small exhibition on Roman curse tablets.

What is your favourite German beer?

How did we get from scientific qualifications to beer so quickly? *Erdinger alkoholfrei*, by the way...

What did you take home as a souvenir from Exeter?

A teddy bear from my post-graduate students, countless books I bought at Oxfam and about 200 photographs.

Dr Lawrence Shenfield

1921–2008

*Address given by **T.P. Wiseman** at the celebration of the life of Lawrence Walker Shenfield, Parish Church of St John the Evangelist, Tipton St John, on Thursday 15 May 2008.*

I suppose there are two reasons why I have the honour of speaking about Larry before this congregation, when most of you must have known him much longer than I did. In the first place, he was much involved with the University in the last fifteen years of his life; and secondly, he entrusted me with editing the text of his book on the Florence Baptistery, which is due for publication in August.

I'd like to begin, if I may, with a message from my colleague Richard Seaford, who can't be here today. This is what he writes:

"I first met Larry when he was one of a group I accompanied as lecturer on a tour of northern Greece. He then enrolled on our MA in Ancient Drama and Society at Exeter. Despite being about half a century older than the other students, he fitted in beautifully, was always interesting in discussion, and successfully obtained the degree. This was not enough to satisfy his curiosity and intellectual ambition, and a few years later he obtained his PhD with a fascinating thesis on chariots in the ancient world. And now there is the book on the Baptistery at Florence. There is much I could say about Larry, about his charm and gentleness, about his memories stretching back to his war service in Italy. But I will confine myself to one thing. What he achieved academically in his last years is breathtaking. As a model of how intellectual curiosity can fill old age with energy and happiness, for himself and for others, he will remain an inspiration to us all. It so happens that on the day of his funeral I am lecturing in northern Greece, where I first met him. He will be in my thoughts."



Richard puts it in a nutshell. In a way, what I'm going to say is just an expansion of that.

Larry was the son of a New York architect. He did his first degree at Yale, in Latin, English and Modern Languages, and he graduated in 1942. That was wartime, of course, and he was immediately drafted into the US Army, where he was first trained as a cryptographer. But after the Allied landings in Italy in the summer of 1943 the army saw a better use for his linguistic skills, and by September of that year he was in Naples, translating documents and interrogating German prisoners. He was soon head-hunted by higher authority, and in November 1943 he began work at the headquarters in Brindisi of the new Allied Control Commission for Italy.

Although only (as he put it) a lowly sergeant, as an ex-cryptographer he had high-level security clearance; and apparently, of all the 3,500 men in the new combined American and British regiment set up to govern Italy, he was the only one who had fluent Italian and German but was not of Italian descent. So

he found himself acting as translator at meetings with ambassadors and government ministers, all communications passed through his hands, and he had full responsibility for the confidential files.

Sixty years later, when it no longer needed to be top secret, Larry revealed the intelligence operation he also had to handle, the clandestine financing of two rival partisan groups in north Italy. It was done through Allied officers at a secret sabotage headquarters in Milan, who kept in contact with the Commission in Brindisi by submarine, via Venice. As Larry explained:

"The problem was twofold: each group wanted to be paid in gold to the exclusion of the other; and we did not want our own people to know we were giving gold to both sides. We did not dare withhold it from the Communists, who had Russian support, with their ambassador Vishinsky most days in the office next to mine. Gold was essential because it was the only means of bribing Germans or Fascist Italians to get arms or information. Procuring and shipping it was a nightmare for the Navy; and we had to have written requests or instructions for the gold coins or bars and signed contracts (pledging secrecy) and signed receipts. I had to handle the interpreting (by wireless phone in code) and translating, and I kept our records."

That earned him the US Army's fourth-highest decoration, the Bronze Star, awarded in August 1945 'for meritorious achievement in connection with military operations from 25 November 1943 to 8 May 1945'.

After VE day, the Americans had tens of thousands of men to repatriate for demobilisation, and only a limited number of troopships to ferry them back across the Atlantic. The Army set up educational schemes to keep their servicemen usefully occupied, and so it came about that Larry spent much of 1945, first at the University of Rome, listening to lectures on Romanesque architecture, and then at the Army's 'study center' at Florence. That was where he fell in love with what the Florentines call *bel San Giovanni*, the wonderful marble-clad Baptistery. Again, let me give you Larry's own words, recalling how he was shown round the city by the architect Fernando Poggi:

"We turned right into Via Calzaioli ... and finally exited into the bright sunlight of the Piazza del Duomo. Immediately on the left there burst upon us the gleaming white and green marble, angled facades of the octagonal *Battistero*, ... the resplendent gem of the city to which Dante in his exile yearned to return, in whose font like all Florentines of his day he had been baptised."

Larry got to know the building better than most professional scholars have done, including, crucially, the area underneath, which had been excavated in 1915. In the autumn he went round north Italy looking for parallels for its marble veneer; the Army called it 'rest and recreation', and gave him a pass. The dissertation he completed before he sailed back to the States in December earned him a distinction mark, and he was hoping to go back to Yale to do a PhD.

But he had to earn a living. After a year or two as a journalist, he qualified himself for the US Diplomatic Service, and in 1948 he was back in Europe as the American Vice-Consul in Genoa, and before long as the Press Officer and Cultural Attaché for the whole of north Italy. Five years later he changed career again, and went into business in senior management posts in a succession of American firms based in Paris and London, and then, in 1972, in his early fifties, now married to Janet and with a young family, he retired to Devon.

From this point on most of you will know the story better than I do. Larry was interested in everything, writing articles on local history, devoted to the Devon Archaeological Society, and in due course he signed on with what was then the University of Exeter's Department of Continuing and Adult Education. He took various courses with them, including one on modern Greek which I imagine was in preparation for the tour Richard refers to. But his particular enthusiasm was for archaeology – Neolithic,

Bronze-age, Iron-age, Roman – in the courses supervised by Henrietta Quinnell. She is one of the two dedicatees of the Baptistery book, and it's clear that Larry regarded his work with her for the Certificate in Archaeology as a profoundly formative experience.

He was already in his seventies by this time, but was now also sitting in on undergraduate courses in the Classics Department. He concentrated on Greek, and in 1994 he signed on for an MA, writing a dissertation for Richard Seaford on human sacrifice in Euripides. Largely through his enthusiasm, the department's postgraduates now set up their own seminar series (members of staff allowed only by invitation), inaugurated by Larry himself with a paper on 'The Indian Origins of Greek Mythology'; he also acted as the group's secretary, reporting proceedings in the Department journal *Pegasus*.

No sooner had he finished the MA than he embarked on a PhD thesis on chariots in early Greek culture. His supervisor was the Department's Bronze-age expert Dr Norman Postlethwaite, who is with us here today. Norman remembers above all Larry's single-mindedness, and his willingness to embrace evidence from all sources, including a remarkable chariot-burial that had just been excavated in the East Riding of Yorkshire. He had strong views on the practical design of chariots, and soon found himself advising an international group based in Jordan who were organising the re-enactment of ancient chariot-races.

But he had not forgotten the Florence Baptistery. In 1993, knowing that I was interested in Italian archaeology, he had asked my advice about pursuing his theory that it may have been in origin a late-Roman building. Now, you must remember that at that point I knew nothing of Larry's background; all I could see was that it was a hugely ambitious project, so I said, 'Well, Larry, there must be an awful lot of technical bibliography, and it'll all be in Italian.' I can still remember the slight smile with which he said, 'Yes, I have Italian...' Nothing more; it was a long time before I discovered that this was the man who had acted as interpreter in discussions between the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff and the King of Italy. Among all his many virtues, he was a very modest man.

Larry continued to be an avid member of the Department's research seminar, determinedly getting the bus to Exeter even when he could hardly walk. And he did indeed carry out that hugely ambitious project; the complete draft text of the Baptistery book was delivered on 15 April this year, just three weeks before he died. It was good that the publisher was able to send him a copy of the book's cover, which gave him much pleasure at the end.

I think his story is a heroic one. As a classicist, and remembering Larry's enthusiasm for the Greek Bronze age, I'd like to end by inviting you to think of him as Odysseus – not so much Homer's much-enduring hero as Tennyson's Ulysses, forever looking out for a new challenge:

"How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use!"

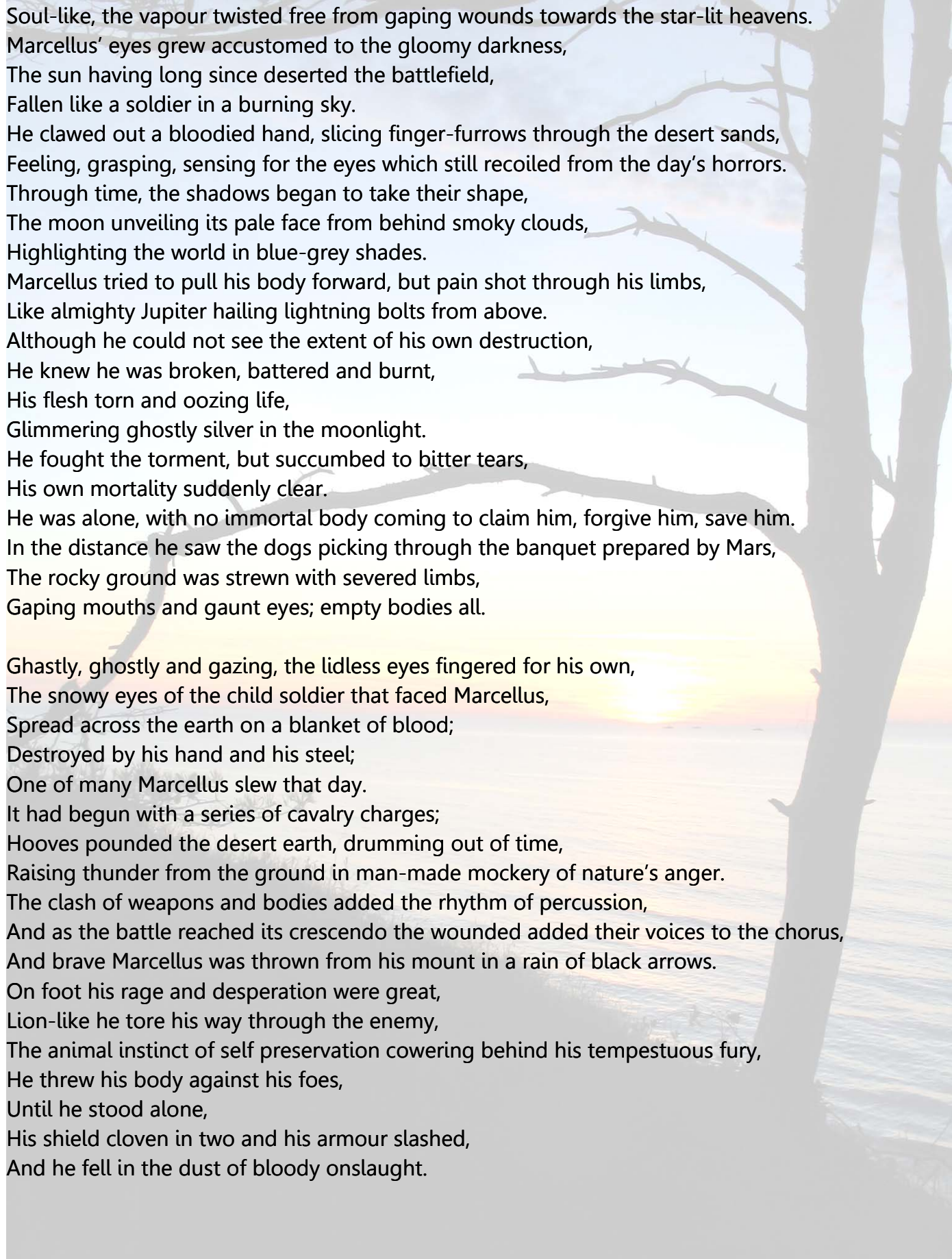
That was the Larry we all knew and loved.

Dr Lawrence Shenfield Prize 2009

Pegasus is extremely grateful to have received a generous bequest from Dr Shenfield. To honour his memory we are pleased to announce the Lawrence Shenfield prize, which will be awarded annually for the next ten years to the best undergraduate submission. In this, its inaugural year, the editorial board was inundated with more than 20 undergraduate articles. Submissions included essays, poems, photos, artworks and travelogues. After a very difficult decision, the board is pleased to award the inaugural Lawrence Shenfield prize to Chris Davies, a second-year Ancient History student for his amazing poem. Highly recommended were Eleanor Davies' excellent essay on Thucydides which is also being published and Hannah Porter's beautiful black-figure vase (pictured on page 2).

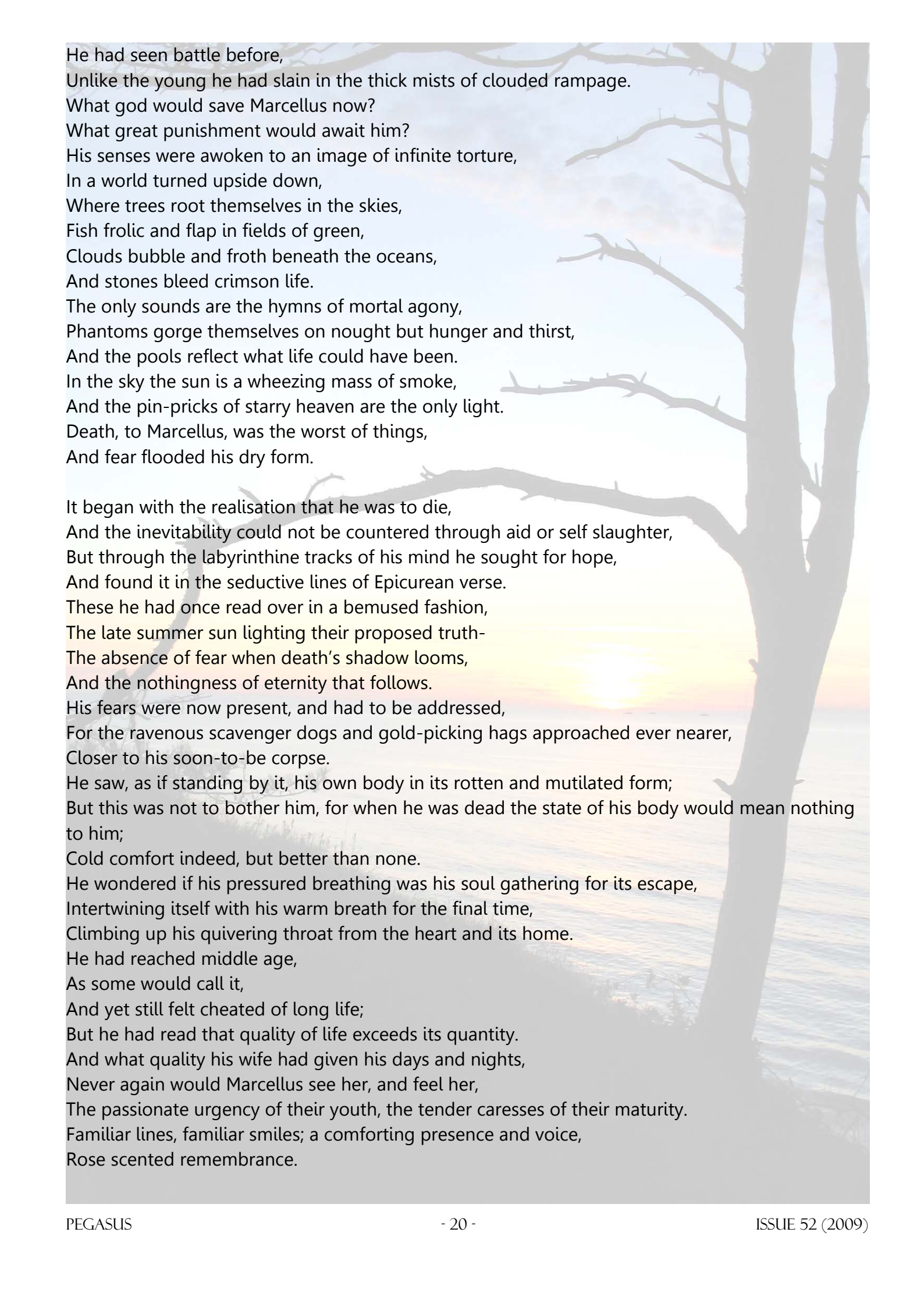
An Epicurean Adoption

Chris Davies



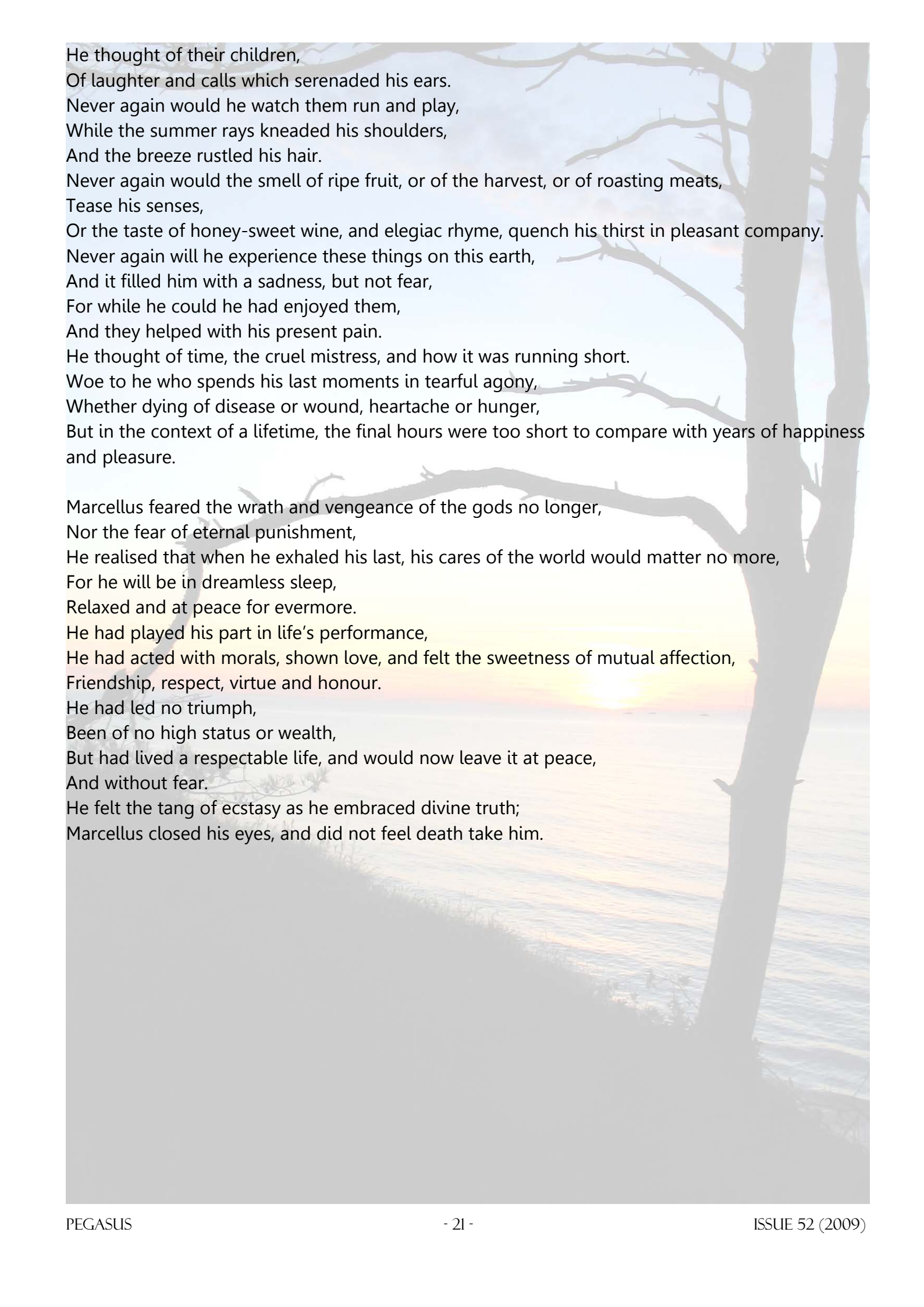
Soul-like, the vapour twisted free from gaping wounds towards the star-lit heavens.
Marcellus' eyes grew accustomed to the gloomy darkness,
The sun having long since deserted the battlefield,
Fallen like a soldier in a burning sky.
He clawed out a bloodied hand, slicing finger-furrows through the desert sands,
Feeling, grasping, sensing for the eyes which still recoiled from the day's horrors.
Through time, the shadows began to take their shape,
The moon unveiling its pale face from behind smoky clouds,
Highlighting the world in blue-grey shades.
Marcellus tried to pull his body forward, but pain shot through his limbs,
Like almighty Jupiter hailing lightning bolts from above.
Although he could not see the extent of his own destruction,
He knew he was broken, battered and burnt,
His flesh torn and oozing life,
Glimmering ghostly silver in the moonlight.
He fought the torment, but succumbed to bitter tears,
His own mortality suddenly clear.
He was alone, with no immortal body coming to claim him, forgive him, save him.
In the distance he saw the dogs picking through the banquet prepared by Mars,
The rocky ground was strewn with severed limbs,
Gaping mouths and gaunt eyes; empty bodies all.

Ghastly, ghostly and gazing, the lidless eyes fingered for his own,
The snowy eyes of the child soldier that faced Marcellus,
Spread across the earth on a blanket of blood;
Destroyed by his hand and his steel;
One of many Marcellus slew that day.
It had begun with a series of cavalry charges;
Hooves pounded the desert earth, drumming out of time,
Raising thunder from the ground in man-made mockery of nature's anger.
The clash of weapons and bodies added the rhythm of percussion,
And as the battle reached its crescendo the wounded added their voices to the chorus,
And brave Marcellus was thrown from his mount in a rain of black arrows.
On foot his rage and desperation were great,
Lion-like he tore his way through the enemy,
The animal instinct of self preservation cowering behind his tempestuous fury,
He threw his body against his foes,
Until he stood alone,
His shield cloven in two and his armour slashed,
And he fell in the dust of bloody onslaught.



He had seen battle before,
Unlike the young he had slain in the thick mists of clouded rampage.
What god would save Marcellus now?
What great punishment would await him?
His senses were awoken to an image of infinite torture,
In a world turned upside down,
Where trees root themselves in the skies,
Fish frolic and flap in fields of green,
Clouds bubble and froth beneath the oceans,
And stones bleed crimson life.
The only sounds are the hymns of mortal agony,
Phantoms gorge themselves on nought but hunger and thirst,
And the pools reflect what life could have been.
In the sky the sun is a wheezing mass of smoke,
And the pin-pricks of starry heaven are the only light.
Death, to Marcellus, was the worst of things,
And fear flooded his dry form.

It began with the realisation that he was to die,
And the inevitability could not be countered through aid or self slaughter,
But through the labyrinthine tracks of his mind he sought for hope,
And found it in the seductive lines of Epicurean verse.
These he had once read over in a bemused fashion,
The late summer sun lighting their proposed truth-
The absence of fear when death's shadow looms,
And the nothingness of eternity that follows.
His fears were now present, and had to be addressed,
For the ravenous scavenger dogs and gold-picking hags approached ever nearer,
Closer to his soon-to-be corpse.
He saw, as if standing by it, his own body in its rotten and mutilated form;
But this was not to bother him, for when he was dead the state of his body would mean nothing to him;
Cold comfort indeed, but better than none.
He wondered if his pressured breathing was his soul gathering for its escape,
Intertwining itself with his warm breath for the final time,
Climbing up his quivering throat from the heart and its home.
He had reached middle age,
As some would call it,
And yet still felt cheated of long life;
But he had read that quality of life exceeds its quantity.
And what quality his wife had given his days and nights,
Never again would Marcellus see her, and feel her,
The passionate urgency of their youth, the tender caresses of their maturity.
Familiar lines, familiar smiles; a comforting presence and voice,
Rose scented remembrance.



He thought of their children,
Of laughter and calls which serenaded his ears.
Never again would he watch them run and play,
While the summer rays kneaded his shoulders,
And the breeze rustled his hair.
Never again would the smell of ripe fruit, or of the harvest, or of roasting meats,
Tease his senses,
Or the taste of honey-sweet wine, and elegiac rhyme, quench his thirst in pleasant company.
Never again will he experience these things on this earth,
And it filled him with a sadness, but not fear,
For while he could he had enjoyed them,
And they helped with his present pain.
He thought of time, the cruel mistress, and how it was running short.
Woe to he who spends his last moments in tearful agony,
Whether dying of disease or wound, heartache or hunger,
But in the context of a lifetime, the final hours were too short to compare with years of happiness
and pleasure.

Marcellus feared the wrath and vengeance of the gods no longer,
Nor the fear of eternal punishment,
He realised that when he exhaled his last, his cares of the world would matter no more,
For he will be in dreamless sleep,
Relaxed and at peace for evermore.
He had played his part in life's performance,
He had acted with morals, shown love, and felt the sweetness of mutual affection,
Friendship, respect, virtue and honour.
He had led no triumph,
Been of no high status or wealth,
But had lived a respectable life, and would now leave it at peace,
And without fear.
He felt the tang of ecstasy as he embraced divine truth;
Marcellus closed his eyes, and did not feel death take him.

The Fall of the Peisistratids in Thucydides VI

Eleanor Davies

Thucydides states in Chapter 2.65 of his *Histories* that the Athenians were defeated in the Peloponnesian War: “Not by their enemies but by themselves and their own internal dissensions.”¹ He also states that, of the many ‘errors’ made in the war through these ‘internal dissensions’, the Sicilian War was the greatest and worst. At the beginning of his history therefore, Thucydides places his account of the Sicilian Expedition as the central and prime ‘exemplum’ of a tale of lack of internal cohesion and the failure of leadership. And so we should regard the story of the Tyrannicides, embedded at the centre of Book 6 just as Book 6 is itself in the over-arching narrative of the war, as an illustration of the causes and effects of ‘internal dissention’ and loss of leadership. Because Thucydides so rarely breaks the flow of his chronological narrative, it is easy to regard chapters 6.54-9, as Dover and others have, as an irrelevant digression or correction of the accounts of rival historians such as Hellanicus:² however, the rarity of such a digression means we should pay all the more attention to its meaning, rather than dismiss it as an irrelevancy.

Leadership, or the lack of it, is an important theme in Thucydides’ *Histories*: the event which inspires and leads into the comments of 2.65 is the death of Pericles, a ruler described as a *de facto* tyrant (“thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen”) and praised in the highest terms by Thucydides: “He, deriving authority from his capacity and acknowledged worth, being also a man of transparent integrity, was able to control the multitude in a free spirit.”³ If this passage is read in comparison with Thucydides’ description of the Peisistratid tyrants we notice some evident similarities:

¹ 2.65 Trans: Jowett (1900)

² For the former idea, see Dover (1965) p.62, for the latter, Hornblower (1987) p87. Hornblower’s explanation, although surely lacking as to the reasons for the inclusion of the digression, includes a very convincing explanation of why Thucydides emphasises so much that Hippias was the elder brother: this was a ‘mistake’ made by Hellanicus.

³ 2.65 Trans: Jowett (1900)

οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐπαχθὴς ἦν ἐς
τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ’ ἀνεπιφθόνως
κατεστήσατο· καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ
ξύνεσιν.⁴

Thus these two different styles of leader, the Peisistratids, tyrants in name and Pericles, tyrant in effect, rule in a similarly successful way, through the effortless control of the people by their virtue (ἀρετή). Thucydides goes to great lengths to demonstrate that the rule of Hippias only became oppressive to the people once he was threatened by the death of his brother Hipparchus at the hands of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (6.59.2). This has several effects: as Dover and McLeod⁵ point out, it destroys the popular image of the Tyrannicides as heroes who brought freedom to Athens, but it also shows how Athens suffers when it loses a virtuous and powerful leader. The relevance of this to Book 6 and the Sicilian Expedition becomes clear when we consider another important character often associated with tyranny, Alcibiades:

ὧν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν... ὅπερ
καὶ καθεῖλεν ὕστερον τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
πόλιν οὐχ ἥκιστα. ... ὥς τυραννίδος
ἐπιθυμοῦντι πολέμιοι καθέστασαν.⁶

Whilst Alcibiades is undoubtedly a far more complex and ambiguous character than Pericles (his gambling and excess are clearly condemned) and it is his extravagant and lustful character, rather than his virtue and easy command of the people that links

⁴ 6.54.5: “For the rest of his rule was not grievous to the majority, but he ruled without reproach and they practised virtue and good judgement to a greater extent than any other tyrants.” All translations of Book 6 are my own.

⁵ 1965 p61-2 and 1983 p149 respectively

⁶ 6.15.3-4 “For he was held in honour by the citizens...and this in no small measure ruined the city of the Athenians at a later date... since he might be aiming at establishing a tyranny and were hostile to him.”

him to the tyrants, it is easy to see the connection between the story of the mutilation of the Hermae and the subsequent downfall of Alcibiades, and the corresponding account of the overthrow of the tyrants. In both stories, it is the δῆμος' mistaken fear of tyranny, linked to sexual power and impotency,⁷ that causes a disastrous removal from power of a leader, and subsequently that leader's defection to the enemy. In this light, the purpose of the retrospective account of the downfall of the tyrants is to illustrate and expound upon the accusation and exile of Alcibiades, which Thucydides regarded as a crucial cause of the disaster in Sicily.⁸

One of the most evident and obvious themes of Book 6 as a whole, and of the Tyrannicide digression in particular, is that of mistake and rumour. In his introduction to the discussion (6.53-4), Thucydides repeatedly emphasises that the state of fear and suspicion of the people arises from their ignorance of the true facts of the story:

ἐπιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἀκοῇ ... ἦν ἐγὼ ἐπὶ πλέον διηγησάμενος ἀποφανῶ οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν λέγοντας.⁹

⁷ The Hermae, phallic statues placed around the city, were symbols of Athenian sexual dominance and fertility. It has been suggested by Ellis (1983) and Wohl (2001) amongst others that the mutilation of the Hermae involved the removal of the phalli as well as destruction of the faces of the statues.

⁸ The final line of 6.15 demonstrates this. The conference held at Rhegium, described in 6.47-9, clearly shows that, according to Thucydides at least, the presence of Alcibiades was crucial to the success of the expedition. While scholars such as Broedow (1973) and Ellis (1989) have debated the relative tactical merits of Alcibiades' plan, it was the one chosen, and unquestionably depended upon his own presence and diplomatic skills. Woodhead (1970) comments: "Thucydides may reflect Alcibiades' own opinion when he regards the failure of the Sicilian expedition as...caused by the people's lack of trust in Alcibiades personally."

⁹ 6.53.3-54.1 "For the people had learnt *by hearsay* [my italics]...I shall narrate this affair in full, to prove that neither foreigners nor Athenians themselves give an accurate account of their own tyrants and this event."

If we compare this with Thucydides' comments on the quality of the evidence given against Alcibiades in the same paragraph, we see clear parallels:

οὐ δοκιμάζοντες τοὺς μηνυτάς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπόπτως ἀποδεχόμενοι, διὰ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων πίστιν πάνυ χρηστοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ξυλλαμβάνοντες κατέδουν.¹⁰

The implication is that Alcibiades is amongst χρηστοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν and that there was no reliable evidence against him, thus criticising the

δῆμος for its precipitate actions.¹¹ We can clearly see a similar effect to this in Thucydides' vivid description of the assassination of Hipparchus (always referred to as a τόλμα - a daring or reckless deed) which highlights the confusion and impulsiveness of the Tyrannides. Thucydides therefore is making a double comparison, the first between the Athenian people's

continual ignorance and reliance on hearsay in their current affairs and concerning their own history, and the second between two actual incidences of this ignorance in action, the trial of Alcibiades and the downfall of the tyrants.¹² In this way Thucydides introduces the digression with a sense of continuity, albeit in a slightly confusing fashion: if he had made his purpose of comparison between Alcibiades and the tyrants more explicit, it would have made his digression seem more immediately relevant than an excursus on the ignorance of the δῆμος, and there

¹⁰ 6.53: "They did not put the informers to the test but in their state of suspicion accepted everything and on account of their faith in unreliable men, they seized and imprisoned altogether the most useful of the citizens."

¹¹ N.B. Thucydides makes no judgement on whether Alcibiades was actually guilty of the charges brought against him or not. In the lack of actual evidence, this remains a matter for debate amongst scholars, with the prevailing opinion being that he probably was guilty of the profanation of the Mysteries, but not of the mutilation of the Hermae. See Ellis (1989) pp53 for the debate.

¹² To clarify: in the first instance the comparison is between the attitude of the δῆμος to A: the present and B: the past. In the second instance the comparison is between A: the attitude of the current δῆμος to Alcibiades and B: the attitude of the historical δῆμος, as represented by the Tyrannicides, to the Peisistratids.

would have been less scholarly debate on its purpose.

The ignorance and paranoia of the people concerning the affair of the Hermae and the supposed guilt of Alcibiades has its particular parallel in the story of the Tyrannicides in the character of Aristogeiton. Thucydides highlights the fact that he was not aristocratic, describing him as ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστών, μέσος πολίτης, ‘a man of the city, a middling citizen’.¹³ This has the effect, not only of discrediting him, but of emphasising his connection to the ordinary people of the δῆμος, one of the reasons the story was so popular among ancient Athenians and one of the reasons it is so appropriate here. Aristogeiton was a hero to the Athenians not only as a tyrant killer, but because his relationship with Harmodius, a young aristocrat, was seen as a paradigm of the ideal homoerotic, pederastic relationship.¹⁴ Thucydides makes much of this aspect of the tale, but rather than emphasising the successful aspects of the relationship (their loyalty to each other for example), he chooses to stress Aristogeiton’s fear of the sexual power of the tyrant and subsequent ‘lover’s rage’:

ὁ δὲ ἐρωτικῶς περιαλγήσας καὶ φοβηθεὶς
τὴν Ἱππάρχου δύναμιν μὴ βία
προσαγάγῃται αὐτόν, ἐπιβουλεύει εὐθὺς ὥς
ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀξιώσεως κατάλυσιν
τῇ τυραννίδι.¹⁵

The use of τυραννός in this phrase is interesting: Thucydides takes great care to prove that Hippias, not Hipparchus, was the ruling tyrant at that time, and it is Hipparchus that the plot must be assumed to have been laid against – Thucydides would seem to be contradicting himself. However, a clue to the reason for this inconsistency lies in the word βία, which normally means ‘force’ or ‘violence’, but in this

context must be presumed to carry a sexual meaning. It is the sexual power of the tyrant and his family that causes fear in the citizens (note how Aristogeiton’s powerless status is emphasised in comparison to that of the ‘tyrant’) and precipitates their downfall. As Wohl (2001) demonstrates, it is a similar kind of excess of sexual power and, ultimately, a sexual transgression that causes the people’s suspicion and fear of Alcibiades:

φοβηθέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ
μέγεθος τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα
παρανομίας ἐς τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τῆς διανοίας
ᾧ καθ’ ἑν ἕκαστον ἐν ᾧ γίγνοιτο
ἔπρασσεν.¹⁶

This somewhat elliptical phrase seems to mean that because the people were suspicious of Alcibiades’ rampant and uncontrolled appetites (for food and drink possibly, as well as sex: eating, drinking and sex were closely connected in ancient thought¹⁷), they believed his appetite for power was equally unbridled. But in the end, it was a sexual transgression that was to prove Alcibiades’ undoing: as well as the mutilation of the Hermae, an act which could be seen as destructive of the sexual power of Athens, the profanation of the Mysteries was probably seen as a sexual crime – the Mysteries were a fertility rite and may have included some sexual content. In other words, whether Alcibiades was in fact guilty of these crimes or not, they were seen as the types of thing a person like him (who stood for lust, excess and tyranny) would do, and that was enough for the δῆμος (who stood for, or believed they stood for, rationality, moderation and democracy) to condemn him. Thucydides’ point is not about which side was fundamentally right, but about the disastrous consequences of ill-thought-out action. In Alcibiades’ case the consequence is: οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔσφηλαν τὴν πόλιν;¹⁸ in Hippias’ a much

¹³ 6.54.2-3

¹⁴ See Demosthenes *Against Timarchus*, Aeschines *Against Naeara* for examples of the tradition surrounding Harmodius and Aristogeiton as lovers.

¹⁵ 6.54.3-4 “He, as a lover, was tormented and feared the power of Hipparchus, lest he employ violence against him and so immediately laid a plot, so far as his status would allow, to overthrow the tyranny [the tyrant].”

¹⁶ 6.15.4 “For the majority feared him for the extent to which he carried his misbehaviour with regard to his own body and his personal life, and the ambition apparent in all his actions in everything he did.”

¹⁷ See Davidson (1997)

¹⁸ 6.15.4-5 “And so in a short time they ruined the city”

harsher and more 'tyrannical reign', and in both cases, the leader abdicates to the enemy: Alcibiades to Sparta, Hippias to Persia.

Rawlings (1981) has demonstrated the parallels between Books 1 and 6 of Thucydides' *Histories*: both function as introductions, Book 1 to the first half of the Peloponnesian War, Book 6 to the second. He also argues that both books are composed using a 'ring' structure, using a retrospective digression at the centre (on Pausanias and Themistocles in Book 1, the fall of the tyrants in Book 6) to highlight the important themes of these books. We have seen that the discussion of the fall of the tyrants in Book 6 highlights ideas of suspicion of tyranny, particularly in regards to sexual power, failed leadership and over-reliance on rumour. However, perhaps the theme that we have encountered that is most relevant to the rest of Book 6 and the *Histories* as a whole is that of the 'dual' motivation, in which a specious excuse is given by the people to cover the real reason for their actions. Thus Hipparchus was assassinated, apparently because of the insult done to Harmodius, but actually because Aristogeiton and others feared the power of the tyrants, and Alcibiades was arrested, ostensibly because he had been accused of profaning the Mysteries and mutilating the Hermae, but really because the people feared his tyrant-like private habits and ambitions. We can easily see the relevance of this to Thucydides' explanation of why Athens went to war in Sicily:

ἐφιέμενοι μὲν τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει τῆς πάσης ἄρξαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ ἅμα εὐπρεπῶς βυλόμενοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυγγενέσι καὶ τοῖς προσγεγεννημένοις συμμαχοῖς.¹⁹

We can see here the 'double standards' of the δῆμος at work: Thucydides draws the comparison

neatly between the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις (their aspirations of power) and what the Athenians pretend is their reason (to help Egesta). We also see the theme of the ignorance of the δῆμος again: in 6.1 they are entirely ignorant of the size and population of Sicily. These ideas are directly comparable to what Thucydides says about the start of the Peloponnesian War: in 1.20 he complains of the ignorance of the Athenians and other Greeks about early Hellenic history, citing the story of the fall of the tyrants as an example ("So little trouble do men take in the search after truth; so readily do they accept whatever comes first to hand"²⁰) and then in 1.23 says of the reasons for the start of the war:

"The real though unavowed cause I believe to have been the growth of the Athenian power, which terrified the Lacedaemonians and forced them into war; but the reasons publicly alleged on either side were as follows."²¹ Again we see the ideas of the false beliefs of the Athenians, and the false reasons given for acts of aggression and war.

In conclusion, the account of the fall of the Peisistratids is placed firmly at the centre of Book 6, and a careful reading of it proves that it is no irrelevant digression. The story certainly illustrates and corrects popular misconceptions about the events it describes, but there is no reason to believe that Thucydides merely "succumbed to the temptation...to correct historical error wherever they find it, regardless of its relevance to their immediate purposes."²² In fact the discussion is crucial to highlight the important themes of Book 6 and illustrate the story of Alcibiades, particularly the ignorance and impulsiveness of the δῆμος and their pathological fear of tyranny. In just the same way, Book 6 demonstrates in miniature the flaws of Athens that (according to Thucydides) eventually lead to the loss of the war: lack of a clear leader, 'internal dissensions' and paranoia destroying the leaders that they had, and, ironically, excessive greed and lust for

¹⁹ 6.6.1-2 "Although the true reason was that that they wanted to rule the whole of Sicily, they said that they quite properly wanted to help their own kinsmen and those who were already their allies."

²⁰ 1.20 Trans: Jowett (1900)

²¹ 1.23 Trans: Jowett (1900)

²² Dover (1965) p62

power, the very factors they condemned in the tyrants. Thus the retrospective discussion of the fall of the tyrants is a historic illustration of the character of Athenian politics, and hence of why they lost the war.

Bibliography

Bloedow, E.F., *Alcibiades Re-Examined* ((Historia Einzelschriften 21) Wiesbaden: 1973)

Davidson, J., *Courtesans and Fishcakes* (Princeton 1997)

Dover, K., *Thucydides Book 6: Text and Commentary* (Bristol Classical Press: 1965)

Ellis, W.M., *Alcibiades* (London: 1989)

Hornblower, S., *Thucydides* (1987)

McLeod, C., *Collected Essays* (Oxford: 1983)

Rawlings, H.R., *The Structure of Thucydides' History* (Princeton: 1981)

Woodhead, A.G., *Thucydides on the Nature of Power* (Harvard: 1970)

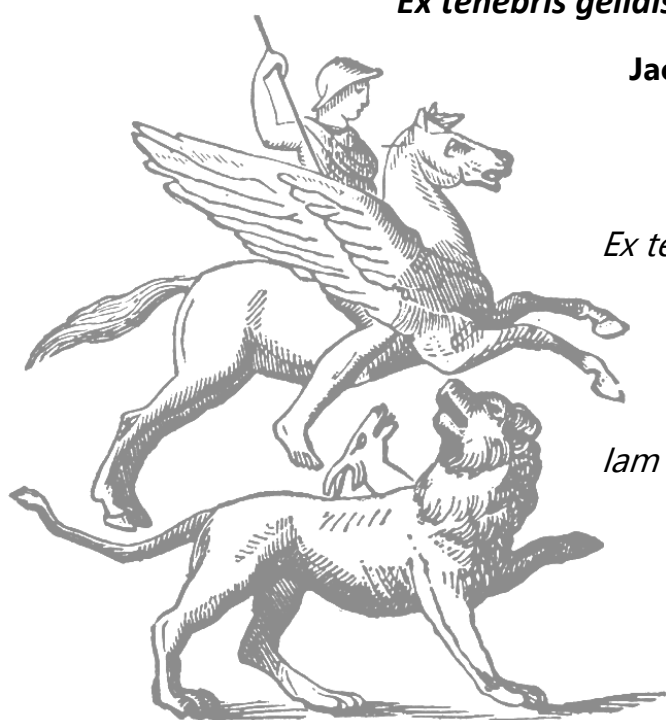


View over the Southern Peloponnese

Photo: Helen Morgan

Ex tenebris gelidis lucebimus et vincemus

Jack Bullen



Ex tenebris gelidis lucebimus et vincemus,

Sicut Bellerophon beluam it igniferam, ut

lam pietas et amicitiae dulcedo durent.

Eu tueatur et nos vita beata et amans!

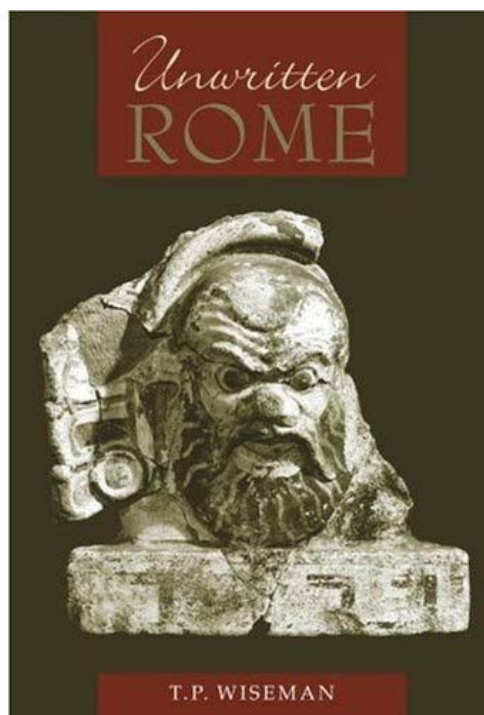
Book reviews

T.P. Wiseman, *Unwritten Rome*

(Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008). Pp. 366, B/W maps and ills. ISBN: 978-0-85989-822-5/978-0-85989-823-2

Claude Kananack

Clearly many difficulties emerge when ancient historians attempt to construct the early history of any society utilizing only the literature that has survived. Archaic Rome was primarily an oral society. Hence, it is crucial for Roman scholars to analyze the aetiology of oral traditions and cultural memories and their effect on the existing historiography to begin to understand archaic Rome. The earliest certain evidence of a written narrative in Latin is from the tomb of the Scipios on the Via Latina from the early 3rd century BC. Therefore, we are left primarily with the considerable corpus of literary texts from a later period to explain Rome's early history. T.P. Wiseman (hereafter 'TPW') has attempted to converge the oral history with the written history of Rome in his earlier books: *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester: 1979), *Historiography and Imagination* (Exeter: 1994), *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge: 1995), *Roman Drama and Roman History* (Exeter: 1998), and *Myths of Rome* (Exeter: 2004). He endeavours to further enlighten the shadowy past of pre-literary Rome in this book.



TPW acknowledges that, "There are no short cuts, there are no magic wands, there is no time machine that can take us back to unwritten Rome." [p.22] Nevertheless by combining expert analysis of the existing literature, archaeology and material culture that illustrate the history of pre-literary Rome, TPW convincingly assumes the role of wizard/time-traveller and conjures up a comprehensive representation of archaic Rome.

Unwritten Rome's eighteen chapters traverse the oral traditions surrounding the foundation of the city to the first year of the Republic. TPW combines previously published research with four original studies (chapters 1, 2, 7 and 16 and the Afterword to chapter 18) to provide a comprehensive overview of the early society of pre-literary Rome. TPW has updated the footnotes of the older pieces in line with recent scholarship. As each chapter can be detached from the whole, a thorough review is required to fully comprehend the author's arguments and the many topics that are covered.

In the first chapter, TPW informs the reader that although archaeological records have dated the settlement of Rome from the late Bronze Age (1300-1200BC),¹ the earliest writing discovered near Rome appears on fragments of a geometric plate and a pottery shard dating from around the seventh century— with just three and five Greek letters respectively. TPW states that early Romans were well aware of the Greek language and its mythology largely through contact with the Greek colonies in Italy and Greek merchants. The 1901 discovery of a fragmentary inscription on a pillar from the Volcanal from the sixth century affirms TPW's statement that in Rome, "writing was... in public use by this time." [p.2] However, he claims that writing before the fourth century was scarce, unreliable and often misunderstood by the historians and poets writing centuries later. The chapter

¹ All dates are BC, unless otherwise indicated.

continues to gauge how much of the Roman past, if any, could have been correctly recorded by the literature of the late third century and what the modern scholar can accurately infer from the historiography that still exists. TPW uses the example of the varying accounts regarding the origin of the cult of Anna Perenna in order to highlight the monumental task facing Roman historians in understanding early Rome. TPW argues that, while “modern scholars... take it as axiomatic that cults and rituals remain the same over long periods of time,” [p.18], in fact “cult and ritual change, like everything else in society.” Therefore, in the chapters that follow, he reminds the reader that it is a challenge to accurately represent the early history of Rome by only examining certain religious aspects.

The next two chapters discuss what can be inferred about the past from the annals of Livy and Ennius. TPW concludes that sections of Livy’s history were influenced by the frequent and enduring Roman stage plays and their representation of Rome’s dramatic heroes. In chapter three, TPW focuses on the importance of *carmina*, oral prophetic chants, that are recounted in a fragment of Ennius and their effect on later historiography.

Chapters four through ten focus on individual Roman cults, rituals and festivals through an analysis of literary and archaeological evidence. TPW’s empirical analysis of the *Lupercalia* in chapter four begins with an investigation of the god of the *Lupercal* and its apparent relationship with the Greek oral traditions of Pan. TPW focuses on the origins and etymology of the ancient festival. He examines the changes to the festival due to political and social developments throughout Republican and Imperial Rome. In chapter five, a similar analysis is conducted of the god Liber and his corresponding festival, the *Liberalia*. TPW’s inquiries focus on both the literature regarding the myth along with the recurring motifs of Liber carved on *cistae* from the fourth and third centuries. This analysis relates the significance of the god and his festival in conjunction with the ideology of *libertas* (‘freedom’) in Republican Rome.

Chapter six examines the celebrations on the Kalends of April. TPW dissects Ovid’s *Fasti* 4.133-62 and investigates the aetiology of the temple dedicated to Venus Verticordia in an attempt to unravel the controversial ritual of Venus. The next chapter (7) discusses the oral tradition of King Numa’s summoning of Jupiter to Rome and the subsequent dedication of a temple to Jupiter Elicius. These inquiries lead TPW into a discussion of the negative attitudes towards magic throughout the history of Rome and how in the oral tradition Numa’s ‘eliciting’ of Jupiter endured as a positive myth in an increasingly disapproving atmosphere.

The origins of *ludi scaenici* (‘stage games’) performed during the many festivals in the Roman calendar and their portrayal of the myth-history of pre-literary Rome is the focus of chapter eight. The next two chapters (9 and 10) explore the festival of the goddess Flora, the *Floralia*, and the games given in honour of Hercules respectively. TPW concludes that the *ludi scaenici* were significant in explaining to most Romans that “what they saw on the stage was a large part of what they knew about the past...” [p.174]

Stage performances and the history of Roman drama are the topics covered in the three chapters that follow (11, 12 and 13). First, TPW outlines the categories of Roman plays and argues that, regardless of whether the performance was aimed at the literary elite or the *multitudo*, the significance of theatre for the Romans was to understand and celebrate their past. Second, TPW reviews a commentary by Rolando Ferri (CUP: 2003) on the pseudo-Senecan play, *Octavia*. TPW criticizes Ferri’s purely ‘classicist’ approach and offers his own hypothesis that the nature of the play was primarily a stage performance rather than a literary tract. Third, TPW analyses how Ovid depicts pre-literary Roman theatre and its influence on the poet’s *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*.

Chapters fourteen and fifteen survey the Roman historiography concerning archaic Rome. This section begins by again informing the reader that Italy was “an integral part of the Greek world”. [p.233-4] The bulk of the chapter is dedicated to how and when a communal memory of the pre-literary past was formed by examining the early historiography of Rome (Cato the Elder, Fabius Pictor, and Cincius Alimentus.) The following chapter (15) resumes the discussion of the origin of Rome’s collective memory by inspecting the works primarily of Livy, Varro,

Cicero, Dionysius, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus and Augustine. TPW argues that their presentation of archaic Rome depended on the later authors' individual dispositions to oral tradition and the socio-political milieu when they were written.

The excavations by the archaeologist Andrea Corandini and his hypothesis that he has located the house of Tarquin are assessed in chapter sixteen. TPW introduces seven literary incidents that refute Corandini's claims. He emphasizes the responsibility of archaeologists to engage with the corresponding literature to completely comprehend their discoveries.

The final two chapters (17 and 18) focus on the oral traditions concerning the first year of Republican Rome. TPW discusses the legend of Lucius Brutus and the expulsion of the monarchs in chapter seventeen. The significance of these oral traditions in formulating the collective memory of Rome's past is examined along with the transformations it underwent according to the changing political environment. Chapter eighteen presents other important episodes regarding the first year of the Republic. The differing stories of Lucius Brutus, Lucretia, Publius Valerius and Marcus Horatius may at first seem inconsistent, but TPW argues that, "By the time Livy was writing, a satisfactorily coherent narrative had been evolved" [p.313] from Tarquin's reign through to the first year of the Republic.

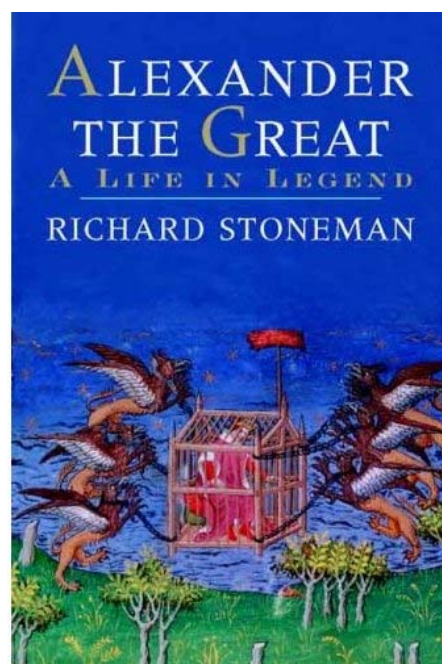
TPW is one of the leading Roman historians in the relatively unexplored interdisciplinary field of Roman oral history. The reader can sense that he is strongly hesitant about agreeing with scholars who argue that Rome was devoid of any original oral traditions. While he admits that Greek oral traditions permeated pre-literary Rome and that there clearly exists many correlations between the myths of the two societies, he is adamant that certain Roman oral traditions have their own distinct origins. This is the primary aim of *Unwritten Rome* and it generally succeeds. Although some of TPW's hypotheses must remain speculative due to the subject matter examined, the reader can be assured that throughout the work he maintains the high standards of professionalism expected of an academic who has spent the last half-century investigating the Roman world. The literary and archaeological evidence are exhausted and analyzed with expertise that is second to none. TPW's erudite and lucid writing style brings clarity to a complexity of issues and makes *Unwritten Rome* an invaluable source for scholars interested in the early history of Rome.

R. Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend*

(New Haven/ London, Yale University Press, 2008). Pp. xvii, 314. ISBN 978-0300-11203-0.

Paula Carrajana

The legendary career of Alexander the Great was at least as vibrant as his extraordinary life. Over the centuries, the hero of the *Alexander Romance* has been reinvented again and again, and various representations of him arose as a result of different cultural and literary traditions. It is precisely the route of this Alexander of legend that Richard Stoneman traces in his latest book. The legendary material concerning Alexander is vast, culturally diversified and geographically scattered. To put it forward in an organised and coherent way represents a major challenge, one which Stoneman



measures up to by structuring the book according to the hero's biography: each of the twelve chapters deals with a stage in Alexander's life and includes (re)interpretations from different cultural backgrounds.

The first chapter of the book addresses the legends about Alexander's birth. In ancient tradition, it was customary to associate the birth of a hero with wondrous phenomena; stories about Alexander display a similar pattern. In the Egyptian version, Nectanebo, Egypt's last pharaoh (who was skilled in magical arts) becomes Olympias' lover by transforming himself into a serpent that, in turn, is an incarnation of Amun-Re. Since in Egypt it was believed that the pharaoh was this god's son, Alexander is thus legitimised as the future monarch. The Persian version takes a rather different path: here, the hero is the son of a (fictitious) Shah of Persia and, therefore, the rightful heir to the Empire.

Alexander's Persian campaign is the theme of chapter 2, which specifically concerns the Persian versions of his life. Stoneman focuses mainly on the influential *Shahnameh* by Firdausi (tenth century), *Iskandarnamah* by Nizami (twelfth century) and Jami's 'Logic of Alexander' (fifteenth century). The first two texts depict Alexander as a legitimate and fair conqueror who managed to overthrow the infamous king Darius – all classical authors from Firdausi onwards have in fact shared this view. In the third text, Alexander becomes a prophet of God; he "has now been thoroughly Islamicised as a result of cross-fertilisation from the Arabic tradition" (39).

Chapter 3, 'Cities of Alexander: Jews and Arabs Adopt the Hero', tackles legends regarding Jerusalem and Alexandria. Stoneman argues that there is no historical evidence either for Alexander's visit to Jerusalem (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 11.331) or for his all too rapid conversion to Judaism (gamma recension of the *Romance*, II. 24). The highly favourable depiction of Alexander in Jewish tradition seems to have originated in Alexandria: "It was in the city founded by Alexander that the conqueror became a hero of Jewish legend and a bearer of meaning for Jewish civilisation" (52). Stoneman then refers to legends that ascribe to Alexander the founding of the cult of Serapis and construction of the Pharos at Alexandria, but he believes it to be highly unlikely that the hero actually had anything to do with these events.

The next two chapters dwell upon Alexander's adventures in India. Chapter 4, 'The Marvels of the India (329-326 BC)', emphasises the impact the hero's journey across those lands has had on later writers. Exotic places and bizarre creatures, made famous mainly by the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle about India*, were part of the collective imagination for centuries on end; this worldview is made apparent, for instance, in medieval *Mappae Mundi*. Chapter 5 tackles the issue Stoneman identifies as "the moral heart of the *Romance*" (92; cf. 4): Alexander's encounter with the Brahmins. This episode, repeatedly retold in later literature, was revisited in two important texts, *On the Life of the Brahmins* and *The Correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus*. In these, and in all the other works mentioned in this chapter, Alexander stands apart from any kind of moral salvation: "The proud conqueror refuses to learn his place in the world" (106).

Chapter 6 is devoted to Alexander's cleverness, one of the hero's most outstanding features in the *Romance*. Two of Alexander's fantastic exploits are handled here in detail: exploring the ocean inside a diving bell and the skies in a flying machine. There have been some quite interesting uses of these episodes in later literature and art. The representation of Alexander's flight in religious iconography, which Stoneman analyses and discusses, is particularly puzzling. It is due to his cleverness, and his affinity with Aristotle, that the hero becomes the repository for all kinds of wisdom in eastern thought.

'Amazons, Mermaids and Wilting Maidens', chapter 7, addresses the role of women in the *Alexander Romance* and in later reinterpretations, especially within the medieval European tradition and in modern Greek folklore. All the texts share a striking aspect, that of the sheer lack of erotic tones. Stoneman draws particular attention to the meaning of the Candace episode in the *Romance*, concluding that the main theme of that excerpt, as well of those around it, is Alexander's concern about his own death.

Preoccupation with his own mortality is precisely the theme of chapter 8, 'The Search for Immortality'. Alexander's career was marked from the start by "an almost religious longing" (151), which Arrian termed as *pothos*. Stoneman makes it clear that the wish to attain more than is allowed to mere mortals is a recurring topic in the *Romance*: questions associated with immortality are clearly present in episodes such as the encounter with the Brahmins, the oracular trees of the sun and moon, or the Water of Life. The latter is one of the motifs of the Sura 18 of the Qur'ān, a text in which Alexander is referred to as Dhu'l-qarnein, the two-horned one. In Arabic romances, the search for the Water of Life and Immortality are indisputable central themes. The moral is always the same: despite his triumphant career, immortality is beyond Alexander's reach.



Chapter 9 is a kind of counterpart to chapter 8. Entitled 'The Unclean Nations and the End of Time', it reveals an Alexander who is capable of fighting against monsters and of forever imprisoning the Unclean Nations, named Goth and Magoth in the *Romance*. The story of the Unclean Nations, repeatedly taken up, is of the utmost importance since "it is the main vehicle for the insertion of Alexander into the sacred history of the Christian world" (174). Similarly important is Alexander's presence in apocalyptic and prophetic texts, which Stoneman also discusses.

The tenth chapter deals with the innumerable legends associated with Alexander's death. In the *Romance* the hero often seeks the help of oracles to find out more about his own death. The event itself happens in Babylon in 323 BC: just as in the historical accounts, in the *Romance* Alexander is taken ill after a banquet, but the poisoning theory, already mentioned in Plutarch (*Alexander*, 77), is central here. Still in this chapter, Stoneman enhances the peculiarity of the Syriac and Arab versions of Alexander's demise and addresses certain issues connected with the location of the hero's tomb.

The last two chapters ('Universal Emperor'; 'King of the World: Alexander the Greek') reveal how the figure of Alexander has endured in the Christian west and in Greece. Around the fourth century AD, Alexander's negative portrayal produced in the Roman Empire gives way to a much more positive one, associated with the 'pagan revival'. Yet, it is only in the twelfth century, with the appearance of the influential *Historia de Proeliis*, that the image of the hero in the west starts to gain prominence. Stoneman clarifies that process: in that century and the following ones, the Alexander of legend becomes a major figure in universal histories and in chivalric tradition, and an important reference in *Mappae Mundi* and religious iconography. It is only at the close of the Middle Ages that the image of the *Romance* ceases to be the prevailing one. Meanwhile, in Greece Alexander's legendary route was just beginning. Regarding the Greek cultural representations of the hero, those of the Byzantine period and modern folklore are the ones Stoneman tackles in detail.

On the whole, Alexander's image as conveyed in this book is of a flexible figure, capable of adjusting to different times, places, and even literary genres; above all, a figure who is able to fulfil man's multiple dreams, as Stoneman's fascinating account clearly shows. This book takes us on an enjoyable journey through Alexander's enthralling legends and, through them, into man's imagination and into his deepest fears and aspirations. This is a thorough work, highly erudite and an incontrovertible work of reference for both scholars and lovers of the topic. The appendices about the different versions and their respective chronological arrangement are particularly useful. Also worthy of mention is the fine collection of illustrations included in the book.

A Promenade of Research in the Yellow-orange Silence of Brown University

Valeria Cinaglia



Brown University - College Green

From the high rectangular windows of the Herbert Newell Couch Library in Classical Philology, few sun rays enter to pierce the silence of research. A marble bust, desks and comfortable armchairs are surrounded by books on the shelves that cover the walls of this small room on the top floor of Macfarlane House, seat of the Department of Classics at Brown University. The fascination of this place, as of the whole Macfarlane House, is the muffled silence and

the welcoming ambiance that greets visitors. Walking from the library to the ground floor, one has the impression of being in the small corridors and staircases of one's own house, feeling an overwhelming sense of community. Close to the front door, two large rooms overlook College Street: both with wide fireplaces, large windows and wooden floors. The best part of the day to have classes there is the early afternoon during autumn, when the sun brings into the room the piercing yellow, orange and crimson colours of the leaves. The rooms are mainly used for classes, seminars and receptions. It is on these occasions that the small community of Macfarlane House sneaks out from the inner rooms and breaks the silence in a *crescendo* that gathers everyone within it, professors, graduate and undergraduate students – for evenings of academic discussion as well as pleasant mundane conversation. Leaving the department, one is at the top of College Street which drifts down to the city centre, where the sea encroaches upon Providence creating a small river that reaches the slope of the State House. It is just possible to eavesdrop on the city's noises through the gaps between the vermillion ochre branches. Among those branches, in front of the Department of Classics, sprout the four floors of the Rockefeller Library for humanities, social sciences and fine arts, which stands imposing on the hillside. Going up College Hill, one enters the Van Wickles gates that enclose Lincoln Field and College Green. These two large fields host the university's main buildings – site of classes, concerts, café and administrative offices. They represent the core of the University that, founded in 1764 as the College of Rhode Island in Warren, moved there in 1770 and was

renamed Brown University in 1804, in recognition of a gift from Nicholas Brown. During the winter, the green rectangular space is coated with snow and one can barely see the Ruskinian Gothic pointed roofs of Slater Hall or the brown-stone of Sayles Hall. During the fall, at the beginning of the academic year, the fields' paths teem with students moving in different directions, sitting on the grass or busy behind a desk covered by leaflets supporting Obama's candidacy. Passing through the arch of Faunce House, one is outside the university fields and can easily dip into Thayer Street where bars, restaurants and shops stretch out invading the street with shining colours. This is a meeting point of the Brown community's social life. Before the end of the fall semester, the Department of Classics leads this whole community in celebrating Christmas. Following a tradition that started back in 1948, the University unites in the historic first Baptist Church in America for a *Latin Christmas Carol Celebration*. Classics Professors read ancient texts, including the Bible, in their original languages, while the audience sings carols in Latin. The white Georgian church is decorated with red flowers and Classics students, dressed in white and black, direct the multitude to sit in the dark wooden benches. When the music starts they help the audience to sing in that language, Latin, that was there when the first universities were founded. The moment is solemn; to hear a whole university singing in Latin is an unusual and unique experience that refreshes the concept of a university and its meaning. I was a spectator of all this for only four months and this small promenade describes how I felt and lived in the Brown community. It was a promenade of research, a plunging in the New England fall; but, also, a promenade of discovery of an incredible academic atmosphere and acquaintance with a department whose excellent scholars and students are also exceptional hosts.



Sayles Hall: a memorial by a father to a child who died in his sophomore year, built in 1881.

The Fabric in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* - A Homeric Perspective

Robert Leigh

It is often stated that Agamemnon's walking on the red fabric in the *Agamemnon* constitutes 'blasphemy',¹ an 'offence',² an 'act of ὕβρις which [Agamemnon] knows to be sacrilegious'.³ I believe that it is crucial to our understanding of the scene to determine whether the fabric is in any sense sacred and that a close examination of the role of fabric items in Homer and in the fifth-century world shows that it is not.

In Homer, woven items along with items made of metal are the principal inanimate stores of wealth and media for exchange in transactions between ξένοι ('guest-friends'),⁴ god and suppliant,⁵ ransomer and killer.⁶ It is easy to underestimate the importance of fabrics as valuables because they make no appearance in the *loci classici* for valuable objects, Agamemnon's seemingly comprehensive list of offerings to Achilles (*Il.* 9.121-56) and the prizes at Patroclus' funeral games in *Iliad* 23. This absence is explicable by the fact that in the *Iliad* the Greeks are an army living in camp and constrained from fabric production and exchange by the absence or shortage of some or all of raw materials, skilled labour, equipment, secure and weatherproof storage facilities and demand. The importance of fabrics is nevertheless implicit in both lists because the slave women in both are described as good at weaving (*Il.* 9.128-130; 23.262-3 and 704-5). The women in the list of offerings to Achilles are also 'surpassingly lovely' (9.130), but those in *Iliad* 23 are not credited with any characteristics except skill at weaving.

When the focus is not on the Greek army, the central importance of fabrics is immediately apparent. When Priam assembles the ransom for

Hector's corpse (*Il.* 24.228-31) the first thing he does is to take twelve sets of clothing (sixty garments in all) from his clothes chest. Given the importance to him of persuading Achilles to surrender the corpse and the fact that he can choose from all the wealth of Troy, which is paradigmatic,⁷ this establishes the primacy of fabric items as stores of value and therefore as items for reciprocal exchange.⁸ Burkert makes the general point succinctly in his discussion of votive offerings: 'Valuables in early times are garments and metal.'⁹ Aegisthus illustrates the point in *Od.* 3.273-5 when he dedicates thank offerings for having succeeded in seducing Clytemnestra:

He burnt many thigh bones on the altars of the gods and hung up many offerings, both woven things and gold, having completed this great task which he never in his heart expected to.

A pair of Homeric episodes demonstrates that there is no distinction between objects suitable as gifts for a mortal and for a god. Hector returns from the fighting in *Iliad* 6 on the advice of his brother Helenus to tell his mother to choose a robe (πέπλος), the biggest and finest in the house, and dedicate it to Athena to persuade her to defend the city against Diomedes (*Il.* 6.84-101). Hector passes the instruction to Hecabe (269-78), and she complies with it:

She went to her sweet-smelling store room **where there were robes, the very-many-coloured work** of the Sidonian women whom godlike Alexander himself brought from Sidon on the sea-voyage on

¹ Christopher Collard *The Oresteia* (Oxford 2002) 143 note on 948-9

² Collard (n. 1) 143 note on 950-5

³ Denniston and Page *The Agamemnon* (Oxford 1957) 151 note on 931 ff.

⁴ For example, Helen and Telemachus, *Od.* 15; Eperitus and Odysseus, *Od.* 24. (see below)

⁵ Hecabe and Athena, *Il.* 6. (see below)

⁶ Priam and Achilles, *Il.* 24 (see below)

⁷ Achilles says in *Il.* 9.401-3 that a man's life is worth even more than 'all the wealth which they say Troy got in the old days of peace before the sons of the Achaeans came'.

⁸ Note also the gifts which Odysseus pretending to be Eperitos of Alybas tells Laertes that he gave to Odysseus as his guest-friend: forty eight garments (twelve sets of four), gold, a mixing bowl and four women beautiful and good at weaving (*Od.* 24.274-9). Theories that metal objects in Homer are men's business and garments women's need to take these passages into account. Note that Hecabe is present in *Il.* 24.228-31 and Priam could therefore have asked her to sort out the clothes, but did not).

⁹ Walter Burkert *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1985) 93

which he brought the nobly-born Helen home;
and Hecabe **took one and lifted it out** as a gift for
Athena, **the one which was most beautiful in its
many colours and the biggest, and shone like a
star. It lay at the bottom, beneath all the others.**
(*Il.* 6.288-95).

In the *Odyssey*, in a strikingly similar passage, Helen
chooses a πέπλος as a gift for Telemachus to be
worn by his bride on their wedding day:

Helen stood by her clothes chests **where there
were robes of very many colours** she had made
herself; and Helen like a goddess among women
**took one and lifted it out, the one which was
most beautiful in its many colours and the
biggest, and shone like a star. It lay at the
bottom, beneath all the others.** (*Od.* 15.104-8)¹⁰

There are no separate categories of garment, some
for mortals and some for gods, since both Athena and
Telemachus get the biggest and most beautiful, and
the size of the biggest is such that it can be worn by a
bride of unspecified dimensions without swamping
her or being too small. Based on the archaeological
record, from sculptural and painted representations
and from our knowledge of the warp-weighted loom
which was the standard means of cloth production,
the largest piece of cloth which could be produced
without special techniques and modifications was
about 5' by 6'.¹¹ The size is 'limited by the distance
the weaver can reach to work'.¹²

¹⁰ The words in bold indicate identical or cognate wording in the original Greek. These garments are described as ποικίλος, multi-coloured. This must imply the use of different coloured yarns, printed fabrics being unknown. ποικίλος is often translated as 'embroidered' or 'tapestry' in discussions of the *Agamemnon*. More accurately these fabrics are examples of supplementary weft-float pattern weaving. True tapestry cannot be produced on the warp-weighted loom because there is insufficient tension in the warp. See E.J.W. Barber 'The Peplos of Athena' in Jennifer Neils, *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton 1992) 111.

¹¹ Barber (n. 9) 110.

¹² E.J.W. Barber *Prehistoric textiles; the Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (Princeton 1991) 105.



**Lekythos by Amasis painter showing women
weaving on a warp-weighted loom¹³**

Therefore the cloths in questions are embroidered
garments. Unless and until they are given away by
the owner, nothing marks them out as intended to be
worn by a human or dedicated to a god in a temple.¹⁴
It follows that they are not yet sacred and not
necessarily destined to be sacred and that to damage
them is not sacrilege. Agamemnon's statement that
'gods should be honoured by such things' relates to
the value of the fabrics – they are of too high a
quality to be wasted by walking on.

Many critics find that the amount of attention
given by Agamemnon to the problem of keeping the
fabrics clean is petty and demeaning if they are not
sacred. The point is put by Jenkins as follows:

This [argument that the fabrics cannot be carpet
because walking on a carpet is not damaging it]
begs the question, however, of whether walking
on any fabric (and barefoot) would in reality
destroy it. Too much speculation on these lines is
likely to lead our discussion of what is arguably

¹³ http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/evdy/ho_31.11.10.htm
(accessed 13 July 2008).

¹⁴ Contrast the πέπλος made annually at Athens for
presentation to Athena at the Panathenaia where every step of
manufacture starting with the setting up of the loom is itself part
of the ritual. Barber (n.9) 113; and cf. Herodotus 3.47 where
Amasis (king of Egypt) makes gifts of two identical garments, one
to the Spartan people and one to the goddess Athena at Lindos.

the greatest scene in the greatest of Greek tragedies into absurdity.¹⁵

The answer is that the fabrics constitute part of the wealth of the household. This is a major difference from the modern situation where a piece of fabric (even a very valuable one) in a rich man's house is regarded as a by-product and a symbol of his wealth but not as wealth itself (which consists of intangibles like bank balances and stocks and shares.) The fabric is wealth itself, not merely a token of wealth.¹⁶ The importance of maintaining the items which constitute wealth in mint condition is apparent from several passages in Homer. For example Helen gives Telemachus clear instructions as to what the garment she gives him is for:

'I am giving you this gift, my child, to remember Helen's handiwork by, for the lovely occasion of your wedding, for your bride to wear; until then let your dear mother keep it in your house'. (*Od.* 15 125-8)

The same point is emphasised in the Iliadic simile for Menelaus' blood:

As when a Maeonian or Carian woman colours a piece of ivory with purple to be a cheek-piece for a horse's bridle; it lies in a store-room and many horsemen long to have it but it lies there a thing of joy for a king, an adornment for the horse and a glory for the charioteer. (*Il.* 4.141-5)

Agamemnon's list of gifts for Achilles specifies seven unfired tripods (*Il.* 9.122) and the prizes for the chariot race in *Il.* 23 include an unfired cauldron (ἄπυρον ... λέβητα, *Il.* 23.267) and an unfired bowl

¹⁵ I.D. Jenkins, 'The Ambiguity of Greek Textiles', *Arethusa* 18 (1985): 109-32, at 117.

¹⁶ The idea that there are spiritual and moral values more important than wealth is in this context an anachronism. In *Choephoroi* the first thing the chorus celebrate after the killing of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra is the rescue of the house from evils and the erosion of its possessions - κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς (942).

or jar (φιάλην ἀπύρωτον, *Il.* 23.270). If store is set by the fact that bronze tripods and cauldrons are in mint condition when use damages them so little, and they can easily be re-burnished to restore them almost to be as good as new, it clearly follows that fabric items must be kept in mint condition if they are to be used as a store of, and means of transferring, wealth. When Agamemnon says 'gods should be honoured with such things' (*Aga.* 922) and that there is 'much shame in destroying the house's goods with

my feet, destroying wealth and fabrics bought with silver' (*Aga.* 948-9), he is saying that to use the πέπλοι at all is to remove their mint condition status and therefore to squander them. Agamemnon's concern may make him look mean and petty but it is not ridiculous.

The argument so far is based exclusively on Homer. I turn now to some fifth- and fourth-century considerations which throw further light on the scene. In classical times we find that woven fabrics continue to constitute a category of wealth in their own right. Thucydides summarises the annual receipts of king Seuthes of Odrysia (424-40 BC):

... forty talents worth of gold and silver as tribute, and as much gold and silver again as presents, and fabrics both embroidered and plain (ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα), and other items... (*Thuc.* 2.97.4)

In Herodotus 5.49.4 Aristagoras of Miletus tells Cleomenes king of Sparta about the wealth of the Persians: this consists of 'gold, silver, bronze, multi-coloured clothing, beasts of burden and slaves'. In Herodotus 9.81 the booty from the Persian tents after Plataea is itemised as about a dozen kinds of gold and silver items – cups, furniture, ornaments etc. – and embroidered clothing (ἐσθῆς ποικίλη) of which there was 'too much to count'.

In both Herodotus and Thucydides, it is the wealth of barbarians being defined. Greek empires like the Delian League now demand and receive tribute payable in money (for example *Thuc.* 1.99.3 Athens' 'allies' have the choice of paying money or providing ships to Athens) and Clytemnestra's quantifying of

the wealth of the house in fabric therefore has overtones of barbarian, Persian excess. Herodotus 9.82 recounts how after the battle of Plataea Pausanias the victorious Spartan general finds Xerxes' war tent (used by the Persian general Mardonius) and gets Mardonius' cooks to prepare a Persian banquet and his own a Spartan meal to illustrate the folly of the Persians bothering to invade Greece. The anecdote hinges on Pausanias' initial reaction on seeing the luxury of the tent and the two aspects of luxury which Herodotus identifies are the furnishings of precious metals, and the παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις – embroidered spreadable things. παραπετάσμασι is an unusual word and is the same word, with an augment that does not greatly affect the meaning, as πετάσμασιν, the word used by Clytemnestra in telling the slave women to spread the fabric items in Agamemnon's path:

'Slaves, why are you delaying in the task you were set of strewing the ground on which he walks with coverings? Let his way immediately be strewn with purple...' (Aga. 908-11)

Pausanias surveys the tent again after tables have been laid for dinner and is amazed at the sight of κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένas – 'gold and silver couches well strewn' (sc. with πετάσματα) using the same word for 'strewn' as Clytemnestra uses in her instructions to the slaves.

In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Euripides criticises Aeschylus for introducing in his tragedies 'horsecocks and goatdeer such as they depict on Median (Persian) παραπετάσματα' (*Frogs* 937-8). The reference is to Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* in which a horsecock (a mythical beast) is painted on a Greek ship at Troy. The reference to τοῖσι παραπετάσμασιν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς is I think a reference to this passage in the *Agamemnon*, although only an oblique reference

since there is no suggestion that mythical beasts are depicted on these πετάσματα). Even if it is not, it suggests that πετάσματα are regarded as distinctively Persian. Note that the word πετάσμα refers to the function of the thing it defines – a thing for spreading – and it seems to be this use which is distinctively barbarian in the eyes of the Greeks; the Greeks have richly embroidered fabric of their own from Homer onwards but do not have so much of it

and do not spread it about on couches (which is what amazes Pausanias in Herodotus).

Clytemnestra's use of them to spread on the ground and Agamemnon's suggestion that they are 'footwipers' is merely taking this idea a stage further.

The exotic character of the πέπλοι is further established by the fact that they are

ἀργυρωνήτους (Aga. 949), 'bought with silver', unlike

Hecabe's and Helen's which were made in house.

At first glance this Persian connection makes sense in *Agamemnon* because Clytemnestra is deliberately treating Agamemnon as if he were a barbarian king (as he complains at 989) and trying to make him behave as she thinks Priam would behave (Aga. 935). But in fact there is a paradox here because it is Agamemnon who has just sacked Troy and should be returning laden with spoils, including woven fabrics, out of which he should be making generous gifts to the gods as token of the thanks he has expressed to them at lines 810, 821-2, 829 and 852-3. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, the messenger announces in his first sentence that he knows that Heracles 'is alive and victorious and is bringing the first fruits of battle to the local gods' (θεοῖσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις) (*Trach.* 181-3). In *Agamemnon*, the herald at 577-9 babbles predictions about spoils being nailed up in gratitude in all the temples of Greece. When Agamemnon arrives, however, he thanks the local gods (θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους, the same phrase as in the *Trachiniae*) but there is no suggestion of sacrifice or dedication and the omission is shocking because we can see from Agamemnon's

speech at 810-54 the size of the debt to the gods which needs reciprocating. Agamemnon's remark about the strewn fabrics that 'gods should be honoured by such things' (*Aga.* 922) is ironic in that he intends it as a criticism of Clytemnestra's actions but it unintentionally refers to his own omission – it is he who should be returning laden with spoils of Trojan fabrics both to honour the gods with¹⁷ and to increase the wealth of the household. It is one of the many inversions of role between him and Clytemnestra that he returns victorious from Troy but she, not he, provides the booty and in doing so impoverishes rather than enriches the house; all he brings is Cassandra who is a gift from the army to him, not from him to the gods.

In fact the Greeks of classical times seem to have had a fairly relaxed attitude to dealings with sacred goods and chattels (as opposed to temples and precincts). Pericles in Thucydides lists among the assets available to fight the war:

Uncoined gold and silver in both private and public offerings (*ἀναθήμασιν*) and all the sacred equipment for the processions and games and the spoils from the Persians and other things of that sort amounting to not less than five hundred talents. (*Thuc.* 2.13.4)

Pericles is perfectly happy about using *ἀναθήμασιν* of gold and silver and the sacred bits of equipment used in processions and games to pay for the war. He is even prepared to strip the gold from Athena herself but in that case – and by implication not in the others – it must be replaced later.¹⁸ Where objects are destined for dedication but have not yet been dedicated their attitude seems even more

¹⁷ Note that Herodotus 9.81 says that after the victory at Plataea in 479 one-tenth of all the booty (including by implication the embroidered clothing) was set aside for Apollo at Delphi and that in Euripides *Ion* 1145-62 some of the hangings that Ion borrows from the temple's treasury at Delphi are embroidered *πέπλοι* dedicated by Heracles who took them as spoils from the Amazons.

¹⁸ See also the unflustered response of the Athenians at Delium when accused of using for secular purposes the spring whose water is strictly reserved for ritual hand-washing prior to sacrifice (*Thuc.* 4.97.3). The Athenian response is that the god will not mind because they took the water not out of *ὕβρις* but from necessity.

relaxed. There is a story in Diodorus which illustrates the point. In 347-6 the Athenian general Iphicrates comes across a fleet carrying gold and ivory statues which Dionysius of Syracuse (not at war with Athens) has sent to be dedicated at Olympia and Delphi. Iphicrates sends to Athens for advice, and is told 'not to bother himself about religious issues, but see that his soldiers are fed'. Iphicrates therefore takes and sells the statues. Dionysius writes as follows to Athens:

Dionysius to the Boule and people of Athens: I cannot write I hope you are doing well because you rob the gods of sacred objects both by land and sea, and you took the statues which we sent for dedication (*εἰς ἀνάθεσιν*) to the gods and broke them up for coinage and you have behaved sacrilegiously towards the greatest gods, Apollo at Delphi and Olympian Zeus. (*D.S.* 16.57.3)

The reason for the Athenian insouciance and the impotent rage of Dionysius' letter is, I think, that an object is made an *ἀνάθημα*, a sacred object, by taking it to a temple and performing an *ἀνάθεσις*. The statues were on their way to gaining *ἀνάθημα* status but had not achieved it at the time of interception.

Demosthenes in *Against Meidias* complains that Meidias, as part of his campaign to wreck Demosthenes' production of a set of plays at the Great Dionysia in 354, has broken into a goldsmith's shop and damaged Demosthenes' robe:

He plotted, members of the jury, to destroy the sacred robe (for I regard as sacred everything which is made for the festival, until it is used) and the gold crowns which I had made for the chorus...' (*Dem.* 21.16)

The parenthesis is seriously weak; if the argument were a strong one, Demosthenes would surely say either nothing at all or at least 'all right minded people regard...' or 'the best authorities regard...' but in fact he cannot find any support beyond his own opinion. We hear nothing more about this argument in the remainder of the speech.

In the circumstances it is impossible to maintain that the fabrics are protected by any kind of actual or prospective sacred status. It follows from this view that at *Aga.* 946-7

καὶ τοῖσδ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἄλουργέσιν θεῶν
μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος

θεῶν must be taken with what follows it: 'As I tread on these purple garments

may no envy of the eye of the gods strike me from afar', not 'As I tread on these purples of the gods, may no envy of any eye strike me from afar'. Both versions are awkward. I do not accept that the former reading places too much emphasis on θεῶν; the dialogue in 936-8 is about attracting the ill-will of men; then in 939-45 it is about

Clytemnestra's victory; and with θεῶν Agamemnon reverts to the thought of 936-8: it is not just the ill-will of men, the gods too may be envious.

Finally I turn to some considerations relating to the staging of the play. First, I think it is beyond doubt that the fabric items are πέπλοι of the usual size (that is, around 5' by 6') on the basis of the Homeric passages discussed above, the archaeological evidence relating both to πέπλοι and to the loom used to weave them, and the repeated use of the word εἶμα. Surely multiple πέπλοι must be laid out in the *Agamemnon* to create a satisfactory spectacle given the size of the Theatre of Dionysus. The items are invariably referred to in the plural.¹⁹ As to their pattern, Taplin speculates whether the pattern of the fabric 'was at all web-like'²⁰ because such a pattern would link it thematically to the robe used to entangle Agamemnon. I doubt that the pattern on the πέπλοι would be significant simply because it would be too far away for most of the

"To avoid confusing those close enough to see them, the πέπλοι would have to have a neutral and decorative (not narrative) pattern like the check which we see on garments depicted on black figure vases."

audience to see; if it was significant it would be both exhibited and described just as at *Choephoroi* 1010-17 Orestes holds up and describes the robe used to entangle Agamemnon. To avoid confusing those close enough to see them, the πέπλοι would have to have a neutral and decorative (not narrative) pattern like the check which we see on garments depicted on black figure vases.²¹ The fabrics have a predominantly purple colour. The ancient Greeks had no cheap synthetic fabrics or dyes so presumably a

stage-property representing an expensive piece of purple cloth would itself actually be an expensive piece of cloth. I would therefore conjecture that the decoration on the fabrics is deliberately neutral and non-distinctive; the props for the purple garments given to the chorus in the final procession in *Eumenides* (line 1028) could, if only from motives of economy, be the props for the garments used in

the *Agamemnon*. This would imply that twelve πέπλοι are deployed in *Agamemnon* by a secondary chorus of twelve slaves who would also dress the chorus in the same πέπλοι at the conclusion of the *Eumenides*.



¹⁹ 909, 921, 922, 923, 926, 936, 946, 949. Some of these may be generalising plurals, but 909, 921, 922 and 946 unambiguously refer to the actual objects on the stage.

²⁰ Oliver Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (London 1978) 80.

²¹ For example, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase, Boardman (n.12) illus. 46. See also 68, 79, 140 and 143. The check pattern is less common on red-figure vases presumably because it was more difficult to depict on a garment falling in realistic folds. See John Boardman *Athenian Red Figure Vases of the Classical Period a handbook* (London 1989) for abstract patterns of spots rather than checks.

Review of the Classics Society's Production of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*

James Collins

Adapted and produced by Oliver Mayes

Director: Ellie Cahill

Assistant director: Ellie Lawrie

Synopsis: Written in 411 BC, *Lysistrata* is a satirical attack on the events of the Peloponnesian War between Sparta and Athens following disputes over the defeat of Xerxes in 448. Lysistrata comes up with an extraordinary plan to starve the men of Athens from sex in an attempt to force them to end the war, calling a meeting of women and enlisting the help of the Spartan Lampito. The hedonistic women are reluctant but Lysistrata convinces them to make an oath over a wine bowl. The old women seize the Acropolis, meaning that the war cannot be funded.

Soon a stand-off takes place between the men and women and the men's attempts to smoke out the women are thwarted. A magistrate arrives with reinforcements and contemplates the unruly nature of women and their men's responsibility to control them. The men are again overwhelmed but Lysistrata arrives and allows the magistrate to question her. She explains that women feel that they are badly treated and not listened to. Soon, though, she hears news that women are abandoning the oath and spends time rallying their support once more.

One of the women, Myrrhine, appears with her husband Cinesias. Lysistrata has told her to demand that the women's terms are met in return for sex and he quickly agrees. She goes to get bedding so that they can have sex but while claiming to fetch oil she runs and locks herself in the Acropolis. This is the last straw for both Athenians and Spartans and a herald appears to begin peace talks and finally an agreement is reached.

It is often the case that modernisations of classic texts sacrifice the feel and context of the original work. It is always worrying that a scriptwriter will try to make the piece entertaining for a wider audience by trivialising the original message and using inappropriate humour. This is not the case for Oliver Mayes' adaptation of *Lysistrata*, which managed to capture the original message of Aristophanes' work while making it accessible to a wide audience. Many who had come to support friends in the production and had no background in classics found the messages easy to identify and were entertained by the witty reworking of the humour and the "huge talents" on display.

The delivery of the adaptation was spot on and inspiring. The lead roles were perfectly fulfilled and successfully portrayed by Charlotte Mackenzie and Camilla Morgan as Lysistrata and Lampito respectively. Support was impressively strong from Chloe Hasler as Calonice, whose background in drama certainly shone through. Also noteworthy as an up and coming name in the world of Exeter drama was Dan North whose performance as Cinesias was hilarious while extremely convincing.

Credit must go to all of the cast and crew who put together this small-scale production which was an entertaining and original take on a classic.





Dr Lawrence Walker Shenfield
1921 – 2008