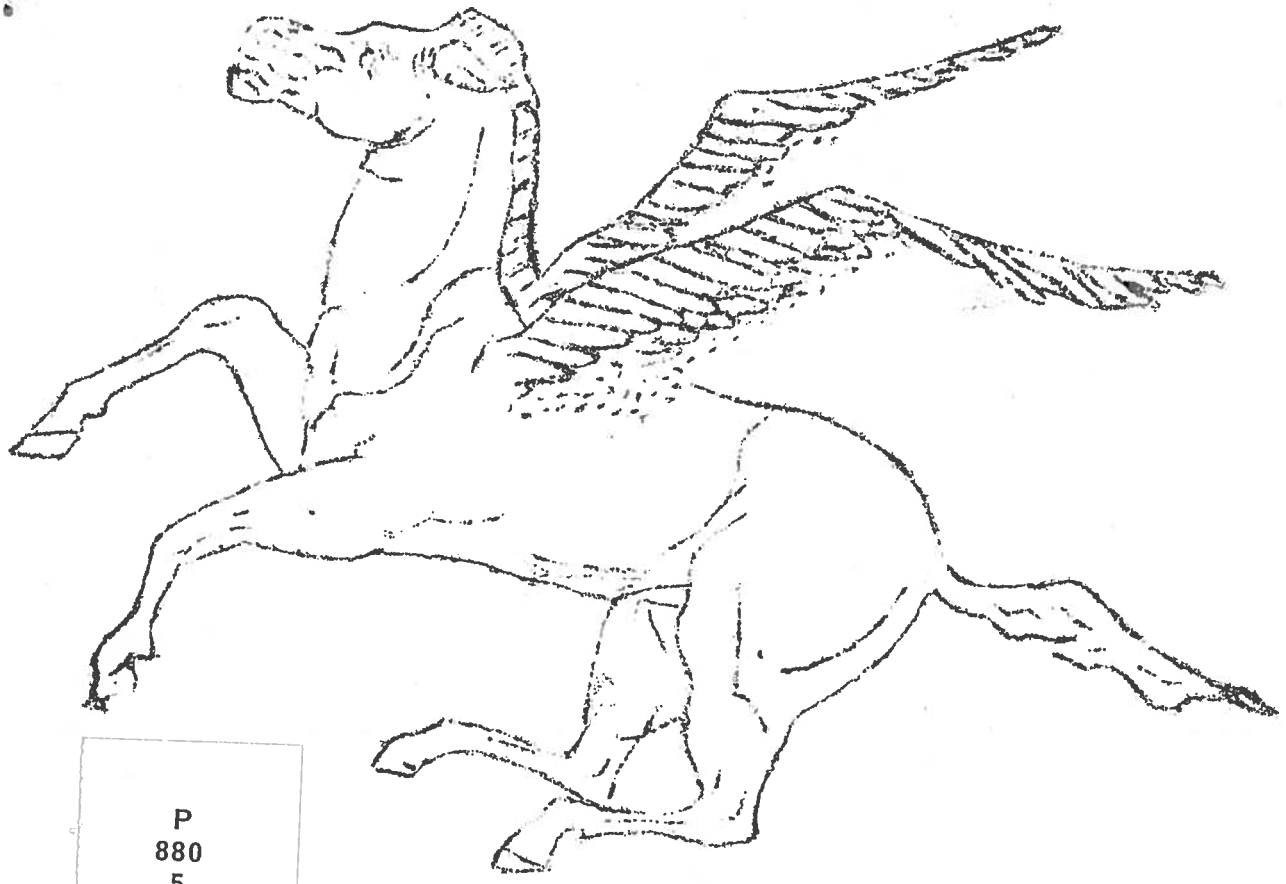
No. 24



PEGASUS

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PEGASUS

University of Exeter Classical Society Magazine

Editor : Hilary Gurney

It is my pleasurable duty to thank everyone, in as short a space as possible, who played any part in the creation of this edition of "Pegasus". Special thanks are due to Valerie Harris, our Departmental Secretary, without whom, I suspect, the entire Department would collapse. I received an overwhelming response to my constant badgering, and have been able to produce a particularly lengthy issue, which I hope is well worth the new inflationary price. In this year of Virgil's bimillenium, we have endeavoured to pay the great man his due. Last, but not least, it was with great regret that we learned of Mr. Mathewson's retirement, and both students and staff join to wish him all the very best for his retirement. Such a valuable individual cannot but be sorely missed.

CONTENTS

"ROBIN" (1951-1981)

To write an appreciation of a colleague of thirty years' standing is inevitably difficult and invidious, and it is made no easier when the Editor informs me that paper and finances are short, and any encomium must be limited to one page say fifty lines or slightly over a line and a half (strictly, 1.5. recurring) per term. He has, however, been eulogized in these pages under the name of VARRO, and more briefly by a prosopographer whose ample lines were thinly disguised under the pseudonym of SYCOPHANTA MAXIMA; and it has been already related how he first appeared before the wider world of classical scholarship as an Argive Elder in Bradfield Theatre in 1934. My own next contact (since, though we overlapped in time at Oxford and had several shared acquaintances, we never consciously met as students) followed on an epistolary information from Fred to the effect that "one of our new colleagues has been teaching at St. Paul's, where he met your brother", and I was sent along, through the damp streets of Hammersmith in December 1950, to encourage and to warn. Through most of this process Robin silently sucked at his pipe. A few weeks later he made a rather shy entry into the still rather ramshackle ambiance of Gandy Street, under the genial but Olympian autocracy of John Murray, who urged me (a task for which I was ill qualified) to introduce him to the life of the place. He needed little introduction, and was soon comfortably ensconced in Topsham. Among our earlier conversations I remember him saying how unwontedly pleasant it was not to be continually approached with the stealthy question, "I say, whose side are YOU on?", and asking, at a time when the staff was sufficiently small and intimate for everyone to know, and most people to like, everybody else, "I say, WHO is the man who is always sitting in that armchair in the commonroom looking like XY?" - mentioning an actor who specialized in the performance of mentally subnormal gangsters. (Wine-maddened centaurs, I hasten to add, will not drag out of me the name of either the actor or the colleague). Robin was seldom sharp-tongued and never seriously malicious, but I do remember him telling me once that he had caused surprise, when a certain public figure had been criticized for over-freely applying the word "vermin" to his political opponents, that, as a fellow-Welshman, he regarded the statement as factual, the criticism as fair, and the language as very reasonable. On a later occasion, the imagery was more notable than the vehemence; on a hot summer day, a professorial colleague, mentioning the two leaders of the rival factions in the State, timidly murmured, "You know, I cannot say I feel any DEEP confidence in either Mr. A OR Mr. B", whereupon Robin replied, looking at the heatwave that was scorching the gardens of Reed Hall, "My confidence in Mr. B is such that, if he were now to come into this room and say the sun was shining, I would immediately ring up the Meteorological Office to make sure that my eyes were not deceiving me".

Courteous, even in controversy, with colleagues, Robin always seems to have shown an urbane and paternal approachability to students. Sometimes an afternoon has been enlivened by the tinkle of teacups as students slipped out from a seminar to work the tea-machine in the cubby-hole opposite; sometimes students would use him, as Japanese villagers use an Official Mediator, to convey a discreet complaint or request ("Hugh, do you think you could use the MODERN PRONUNCIATION in Greek?" Hugh, the students say they would prefer to have xerox copies of their Proses rather than take them down from dictation". Hugh, Miss Hergenheimer from Kentucky has been brought up in the traditions of child-centred education; I think she was quite hurt when you used the word IMBECILE in commenting on her last Latin Prose"). These diplomatic aptitudes helped him, and others, on various occasions when, through illness, sabbatical leave, or interregnum, he had to shoulder the largely unrecompensed weight of organizing the Department; a task for which, however, he had been well prepared by experience in the Senate, and his stint, too brief, as Warden of Crossmead. It was in Crossmead, on an earlier occasion, that he had impressed his audience with a Christmas speech (this was in earlier days when students were usually sober and speeches were listened to) in which he speculated on the function of a University, notable in particular for an oblique criticism of a singularly obtuse ecclesiastic who had recently informed a Christmas party, with a beaming smile, that, while he was always sorry for students who had to work when they would sooner be playing football, he had appreciative memories of students acting as unpaid and enthusiastic strike-breakers in 1926.

I have not yet mentioned Robin's contributions to the cause of learning. Encomia have been made elsewhere on his dealings with Lucretius, with the Pre-Socratics, and with Sophocles - the latter all the more noteworthy in a scholar who, though familiar with Rome, had been lecturing in Greek for some twenty years before stepping on the sacred soil of Greece; his revitalizing of the examinations pattern may, perhaps, not be fully realized by current generations of students; but particularl credit is, I think, due to a scholar who, while appreciating what is valuable, and accepting what is necessary, in new patterns of education, still, where it is desirable, staunchly defends the old. Real Ale, Read Bread, Real Prayer-Book Services, all have their defenders; Robin has always stood for Real Classics, fighting in the last ditch to defend Prose Composition and sometimes even reanimating the moribund tradition of Latin Verses; he has breathed life into such apparently forbidding subjects as Syntax and Greek Metaphysics; and he has been healthily suspicious of new-fangled fetishes, refusing, with Balsdon, to believe that a historian my be untruthful but a lapidary inscription cannot, or that there is great merit in professional fascination with postholes and potsherds. At one Triennial Conference (these distressing and extremely expensive jamborees consist largely of ultra-specialist <u>epideixeis</u> by red-carpeted dignitaries, often

foreigners, who, with the organizers, look down with Jowett-like contempt on the rabble of ordinary teachers and learners who try to understand what they are talking about) Robin once approached me, pale and shuddering, over the lush grass of a Cambridge quadrangle. (I believe they call them something different in Cambridge, but no matter.) I had, of course, chosen the cheapest accommodation available; Robin was in slightly superior quarters.

"I say, Hugh, what is the conversation like in YOUR Hall at mealtimes?" (Apart from one Dutch scholar, whose pronunciation of the word "Porridge" would have been a phonetician's delight, I had no particular comments to make.) Robin continued, "Where I am, it's TERRIBLE. Nothing but a lot of ARCHAEOLOGISTS talking about PROTO-CORINTHIAN. What on earth IS Proto-Corinthian?"

I knew the answer, since a few years earlier I had been informed, by a temporary Head of Department who believed in getting three years' work done in two, that he would be expecting me to give a course in Antiquities, including two lectures on Vase Painting, a subject in which I could scarcely tell an aryballos from an olpe, but by frantically reading through two books by Buschor and the appropriate sections of the Cambridge Ancient History I had scraped up the jargon, if little more; but he had my sympathy.

Still , he never was, nor ever became, a rigid defender of lost causes; like the Wise Man in the Oedipus, he could always judge the new by reference to the old; and vice versa.

I had just discovered, an episode mentioned by our Professor in his Inaugural Lecture, how the future Emperor Vespasian had slipped up in his supervisory duties as Aedile, with the result that one Roman street was distressingly muddy. The Emperor (who but Caligula? - a pity this episode did not figure in the television serial) indignantly summoned the offending Aedile, and instructed the gang of street cleaners to shovel the corpus delicti over the Aedile's toga. I mentioned this to Robin (the year was, I think, 1956), who had not come across it either. He laughed out loud.

"I am sure", he said, "that is exactly the sort of thing that used to happen to Khrushchev". (The statesman in question, in case his name is unknown to the current generation, had just admitted at a public meeting that Stalin had once compelled him to dance a Ukrainian folk-dance for the amusement of a Kremlin drinking-party).

Much more could be said, but my paper-ration is already exceeded; suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.

HUGH STUBBS

Is Pope's Dunciad a 17th Century Aeneid?

Howard Erskine-Hill says of the final Book of The Duciad:

> There is no connection between Aeneas' finally successful struggle to establish himself in Latium and the events of Book IV. As the followers of Dulness pay court to her, and thereafter 'Roll in her Vortex', the parallel with the Aeneid seems totally abandoned. 10

He then proceeds to suggest that the only substantial parallel in Book IV is in the lines 290-334 where 'a young gentleman is introduced just back from the Grand Tour'. Erskine-Hill is right to single out this passage as having a close affinity to the Aeneid, and we shall come to it later, but I think that he is quite wrong to suggest that apart from this passage 'the parallel with the Aeneid is totally abandoned'.

In the Aeneid we are not told of the events that occur after the killing of Turnus by Aeneas, and the finally successful struggle by Aeneas to establish himself in Latium is not described as Erskine-Hill suggests: we are merely given hints, such as in Book VI, that Aeneas will eventually marry Lavinia the daughter of King Latinus of Latium who will give birth to Silvius:

> Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,
> Quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx
> Educet silvis, regem regumque parentem
> Unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.
> (Aen. VI, ll. 763-6)

> (=Silvius of Alban name, your last-born child, whom late in your old age your wife Lavinia shall bring forth in the woodland, a king and father of kings; from him shall our race have sway in Long Alba)

Because the fates cannot be refuted we can be sure that Aeneas will live to be an old man and that Rome will ultimately be the centre of a great empire; Aeneas' descendants will establish themselves in Latium, but there is no indication that Aeneas by the end of the Aeneid has at that stage "successfully established himself in Latium". There have been a number of rather fruitless attempts at writing a thirteenth Book for the Aeneid in which all the problems a that remain at the end of Book XII are resolved. However, such attempts are pointless since they invariably introduce an optimistic tone that Virgil would never have intended.

The Aeneid is, in many ways, a highly pessimistic poem: indeed, I believe that the overriding tone of the poem as a whole is one of extreme pessimism. It concerns the quest for empire and pwoer that has been foretold by the Fates and ordained by the gods - a quest that has to be seen through right to the end, whatever the consequences in terms of human pain and suffering may be. It is important to briefly analyse the extent to which Virgil endows the Aeneid with a pessimistic tone.

The first three Books of the Aeneid concern Aeneas' escape with his family from Troy to Carthage and his recapitulation of the Trojan War. We learn of the destined greatness of Rome at an early stage in the poem in a speech by Jupiter (Book I, ll. 223-304); Venus says to Jupiter in reference to his promise of power for Rome:

> Certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis
> hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,
> qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent
> pollicitus.
>
> (I, ll. 234-237)

However, the context of Venus' speech is a discussion of the troubles that are facing Aeneas and the hardship and suffering that the Trojans underwent at Troy. Virgil's use of words like "occasum Troiae", "tristis minas", "contraria fata", and his description of the Trojan men as "viros tot casibus actos" heightens the pathos, and leaves us with the feeling that promises of prosperity in the distant future are irrelevant, and offer little consolation for the suffering of the present: Venus, who was comforted by such promises (~ "hoc equidem...solabar") when viewing the destruction of Troy, seems to epitomise this callousness.

The rejection of human emotion in favour of a search for empire is most keenly exemplified in Book IV: Aeneas stays in Carthage because he loves Dido; but he is not allowed to remain there permanently, and his human feelings are of little relevance when Jupiter orders him to be hurried away to fulfil his destiny:

> Non illum nobis genetrix pulcerrima talem
> Promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis.
> Sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
> Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
> Proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
>
> (IV, ll. 227-31)

Rome's destiny is the overriding concern, and Jupiter does not even make a mention of Aeneas' or Dido's human emotions. The theme is repeated over and over again throughout the Aeneid. In Book IV, however, the consequence is Dido's suicide, to which Virgil devotes a large number of lines. We learn of Dido's pain and mental suffering largely through Dido herself ~ her mental state is well portrayed by Virgil. But the gods have little sympathy, and even Juno, whom we are told "pitied her [Dido's] long pain and hard departure [death]' (IV, ll. 693-4), is able to offer little consolation; Juno's only act of "kindness" is to help Dido to die, and Book IV ends on a very depressing note similar to the end of Book XII:

> ...omnis et una
> dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.
>
> (IV, ll. 704-5)

We meet Dido's shade in Book VI, (ll. 450-476), and the pessimistic tone of the latter part of Book IV is reiterated. Aeneas feels that he is being driven by the gods against his will - the terminology that he uses seems to symbolise the unpleasantness of his task:

> Sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
> per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
> imperiis egere suis. (VI, ll. 461-3)

> (=But the gods' decrees, which now constrain me to pass through these shades, through lands squalid and forsaken, and through abysmal night, drove me with their behests.)

Virgil emphasises the compulsion felt by Aeneas by his use of the words "iussa", "cogunt", "imperiis" and "egere"; the unpleasantness and sombreness of his surroundings by "umbras", "loca senta situ" and "noctem profundam".

Book XII epitomises the pessimism inherent in the Aeneid. We are not left with a triumphant usurpation of power by Aeneas; we are not left with a description of the prosperity and happiness that Aeneas (may have) achieved; the poem does not end on an optimistic note at all, but as in Book IV, we are left with the description of a shade - here of Turnus - going down "indignant" to the underworld "with a groan":

> Hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
> fervidus. Ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
> vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.
> (XII, ll. 950-2)

Turnus, described in heroic terms previously, is unable to oppose fate and cannot escape death, despite his heroism, at the hands of a man described as "fervidus" (l. 951) and "furiis accensus et ira terribilis" (ll. 946-7): this fate seems so unjust, especially when we see that the gods do not allow a fair duel but give complete protection to Aeneas.

The Dunciad's last book is in many ways a continuation of the sequence of events narrated in the Aeneid. But although it resolves the action previously portrayed, and concludes the poem as a whole, it does not in any way become less pessimistic. Indeed, having begun the last Book with a slight hint of optimism, Pope ends the Book and the poem as a whole with lines of extreme pessimism; the first two lines are:

> Yet, yet a moment, one dim Ray of Light
> Indulge, dread Chaos and eternal Night!

But by the end of the Book, the slight hope that arises out of the "one dim Ray of Light" is completely dashed, and dread Chaos and eternal Night, invoked by the poet in line 2 reign supreme as their empire has been restored:

Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall;
And Universal Darkness buries all.

(ll. 655-6)

The last two lines are the conclusion of a process already referred to in lines 639-40:

Thus at her felt approach, and secret might,
Art after *Art* goes out and all in Night.

(Pope is repeating the pun of Ovid in the Metamorphoses where Argus' eyes are laid to rest one at a time: "(lumen) extinctum est, centumque oculos nox occupat una." (Met. I. 1. 721). The word "lumen" can mean either 'light' or 'eye', so when all the "lumina" are put out, 'all is night'.)

The image at the end of Book IV is of the falling of the curtain at the end of a play. But I also believe that the ending of the poem owes something to the ending of the Aeneid. The Aeneid, as we have seen, ends with the death of Turnus - the placing of "sub umbras" at the end of the last lines emphasises the sombreness and pessimistic tone of the poem's conclusion. In Book VI, the underworld to which Turnus has gone is described as being a place of "noctem profundam" in line 462, or 'abysmal darkness'. So the Dunciad ends with a picture of 'Universal Darkness' that 'buries all' - the visions seen by Cibber in the underworld have now become reality, and it is therefore appropriate that Pope uses the word 'buries' to give an image of total degeneration and death of literary values, that thus recalls the last lines of the Aeneid.

Books I-III of The Dunciad have a very close relationship with the Aeneid and therefore to a certain extent reflect the Aeneid's mythological heroism and epic tone. Book IV, however, although it still has a number of allusions to the Aeneid, has a much more contemporary feel. But Pope does not intend that we should forget about the relationship of his poem with the Aeneid. So in lines 289-334 he gives us a modern-day equivalent of the journey of Aeneas from Troy to Rome:

Thro' School and College, they kind cloud o'ercast,
Safe and unseen the young Aeneas past:
Thence burning glorious, all at once let down,
Stunn'd with his giddy Larum half the town.
Intrepid then, o'er seas and lands he flew:
Europe he saw, and Europe saw him too.
There all thy gifts and graces we display,
Thou, only thou, directing all our way!
To where the Seine, obsequious as she runs,
Pours at great Bourbon's feet her silken sons;
Or Tyber, now no longer Roman, rolls,
Vain of Italian Arts, Italian Souls:

cont...

To happy Convents, bosom'd deep in vines,
Where slumber Abbots, purple as their wines:
To isles of fragrance, lilly-silver'd vales,
Diffusing langour in the panting gales:
To lands of singing, or of dancing slaves,
Love-whisp'ring woods, and lute-resounding waves.
But chief her shrine where naked Venus keeps,
And Cupids ride the Lyon of the Deeps;
Where, eas'd of Fleets, the Adriatic main
Wafts the smooth Eunuch and enamour'd swain.
Led by my hand he saunter'd Europe round,
And gather'd ev'ry Vice on Christian ground...

...
See, to my country happy I restore
This glorious Youth, and add one Venus more.
Her too receive (for her my soul adores)
So may the sons of sons of sons of whores,
Prop thine, O Empress! like each neighbour Throne,
And make a long Posterity thy own.

(ll. 289-312 and 329-334)

Erskine-Hill says of this passage: "It is hard to conceive that this passage has no purpose within the structure of the poem." I would say that the passage has a very definite purpose in the structure of the poem as a whole, for in the passage Pope is giving an account of a contemporary situation, without ever losing sight of the Aeneid which acts as the basis of his narrative. It is noticeable that his transference from a largely mythologically-based narrative to a narrative that is founded much more in his own contemporary situation, is very similar to the change that we see in Ovid's Metamorphoses, although Ovid fails to achieve a totally smooth and effective transition from a mythological to a historical account. (Virgil's use of historical reference is much more subtle and we have allusions to historical events and contemporary situations throughout the Aeneid).

In this passage Pope does not attempt to obscure his sustained allusion to the Aeneid, but actually refers to the young gentleman as "the young Aeneas" who is protected by a cloud cast by Dulness in the same way that Aeneas was protected by Venus:

At Venus obscuro gradientis aere saepsit
Et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
Cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset
Molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas.

(Aen. I, ll. 411-414)

(=But Venus shrouded them as they went, with dusky air, and enveloped them, goddess as she was, in a thick mantle of cloud, that none might see or touch them, none delay or seek the cause of their coming).

But the heroic world of the Aeneid, we are told, has now become a world of extreme decadence: the River Tiber is no longer Roman or a symbol of Roman power (-it was the outer limit of the city, and could not be crossed by a general at the head of an army), but is "vain" and Italian"; even Venus herself has lost her role as guardian and has become an erotic deity who is served by "eunuchs", "cupids" and the "enamour'd swain".

And where Aeneas is prepared for future kingship by the events detailed in the Aeneid, especially in Book VI, the "glorious Youth" of The Dunciad, who passes through an experiential journey of pure decadence, remains the same "dauntless infant" (line 284) after his experience as when he began. It is fitting, therefore, that the passage should end with a brief allusion to Virgil who had said of Aeneas:

> Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
> et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.
>
> (=There the house of Aeneas shall lord it over all lands, even his children's children and their race that shall be born of them.)

Pope's lines are apt, in view of the decadence referred to in the preceding lines, and in view of the way in which he sees the Virgilian ideals and heroic tone to have been subverted:

> So may the sons of sons of sons of whores,
> Prop thine, O Empress! like each neighbour Throne,
> And make a long Posterity thy own.

We can therefore see that the final Book of The Dunciad is still very closely connected with the Aeneid since it reflects the events that are predicted in the Aeneid and are hinted at but are never specifically detailed or narrated - that is, Aeneas' establishment in Latium, and since it incorporates a highly pessimistic tone that is similarly present throughout the Aeneid. The verbal echoes of the Aeneid merely serve to remind us that the Aeneid continues to be Pope's basis for the Dunciad throughout the four books.

CHARLES LEE

Rediscovering a Benefactor: G. Mc.N. Rushforth F.S.A.

I give the following specific bequests: to the University College of the South West, Exeter, framed water colour drawing of the Parthenon at Athens by William Page. Also all the books forming my library (except books of account and any books otherwise bequeathed by this my Will or any Codicil thereto), my Executors having absolute power and discretion to decide which of my books come under the above description ...

I. Oxford

Gordon McNeil Rushforth was born on September 6th 1862, at 83 Oxford Terrace, Paddington (W.2), to Daniel Rushforth and his wife Mary. On the birth certificate, Daniel Rushforth is described as a button-maker; twelve years later, when he sent his eldest son to Merchant Taylors' School, he was a manufacturing chemist, and his address was 4 The Grove, Ealing. There were two other sons, Collingwood and Francis, and at least one daughter, Janet; all the children bore their mother's maiden name of McNeil.

Rushforth was at Merchant Taylors' from 1874 to 1881. Among his books are a matching set of Grote's History of Greece (12 volumes), Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire (8 volumes), Mahaffy's History of Classical Greek Literature (2 volumes), and Cruttwell's History of Roman Literature, all with the Merchant Taylors' Company arms - a very handsome start for any boy's classical library. What he won them for we do not know, but according to the school records he carried off the Headmaster's Prize for Hebrew in 1880; and his copy of Dindorf's Poetae Scaenici Graeci contains the citation 'for proficiency in Latin Verse' the same year. Among his other school prizes were Watson's edition of Cicero's Select Letters, Sellar's Roman Poets of the Republic and Lewis Campbell's two-volume Sophocles - the last two titles bearing, in addition to the coat of arms, the legend 'Gilpin Prize 1881'. The Gilpin Prize was 'for the boy of the best conduct during the year, selected by the Headmaster'.

1881 was the year Rushforth went up on an Open Scholarship to St John's College, Oxford. He took his degree in 1885, and then studied for the Bar, obtaining a studentship at the Inner Temple in 1887 and becoming Barrister-at-Law in 1889. But he evidently preferred scholarship to the law, and returned to Oxford.

It was a time of great energy and achievement in Oxford Classical studies - the era of, for instance, Wickham's Horace and Furneaux' Tacitus - and nowhere was the energy more manifest than in Roman History, where the influence of Mommsen and the German school was being fruitfully absorbed. The main figure in the revolution of Roman history in Oxford was H.F. Pelham (1846-1907), Classical Fellow of Exeter College since 1870, who in 1889 was appointed Camden Professor of Ancient History. Among the brilliant young men who came to Oxford to teach Roman history in the early years of Pelham's reign were F.J. Haverfield, H. (later Sir Henry) Stuart Jones, and G. Mc.N. Rushforth.

Of all Mommsen's great achievements, one of the very greatest was the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Begun in 1863, it was now approaching completion, with the first supplementary volumes already appearing. Collections of selected inscriptions did exist - Orelli's two volumes of 1828, with a third volume by Henzen in 1856, and Wilmann's Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin 1873), which now held the field - but there was a real need for an up-to-date selection of historically significant inscriptions, with a commentary that brought to bear on them all the advances in epigraphy and constitutional history that Mommsen and his followers had made. That was what Rushforth set himself to produce.

Latin Historical Inscriptions illustrating the History of the Early Empire was published by the Oxford University Press in 1893. It contained texts of, and commentary on, 100 inscriptions (including coins) chosen to illustrate the following subjects: Part I (Augustus): the victory of Octavianus and the foundation of the Principate (1), the or-

ganization of the provinces (2), the organization of Rome and Italy (3), the imperial family (4), and the worship of the emperor (5); Part II (Tiberius to Vespasian): history of the emperors and of persons connected with them (1), Rome and Italy (2), the Aerarium and the Fiscus (3), and the frontiers and provinces (4). It immediately became a standard work; 37 years later, when it was reissued in a second edition, the reviewer in the Journal of Roman Studies could still call it 'an excellent and necessary work' – and indeed it remains of value even today.

The origin of the book is made clear by the author's handsome acknowledgment 'to Professor Pelham, without whose encouragement and help this collection would never have appeared. He has taken the keenest interest in the work in all its stages, and when I say that everything that I have written has had the benefit of his revision it will be understood how much my book owes to him.' Rushforth was always a self-effacing man. But whatever the contribution made by Pelham (and Haverfield, and the other scholars whose assistance is acknowledged), Latin Historical Inscriptions was still a substantial achievement for a man of only thirty.

The preface is dated February 2nd 1893. Nine days earlier he had been appointed College Lecturer at Oriel. In 1897 he became Classical Tutor. He was also Vice-Principal of St Mary Hall, which was next to Oriel and later (1902) absorbed into it.

Rushforth's tastes were by no means restricted to the ancient world. Two of the books from his library that happen to have dated flyleaf inscriptions from this period are The Visitation of Herefordshire made by Robert Cook, Clarencieux, in 1569, ed. Frederic William Weaver M.A., privately printed Exeter 1886, 'with F.W. Weaver's best wishes, Evercreech, 22nd October 1886'; and The Great Age of Italian Painting, a series of lectures by S.G.C. Middlemore, London 1839: 'G. Mc.N. Rushforth from H.H. Middlemore Bartlect, Oct. 8th 1894'. (Weaver was Vicar

of Milton Clevedon, Evercreech, Bath; he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1900, and was for long the Somerset editor of the Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries. Bartleet was a younger man, just ordained, Curate of St Martin's, Scarborough; thirty years later he became Rushforth's neighbour as Vicar of Great Malvern, 1924-1946.) Local history and the fine arts - these were later to be among Rushforth's main preoccupations, and it is interesting to see how early they became a part of his life.

He was no mere dilettante in these matters, especially on the subject of Italian painting. In 1900 he published in Bell's 'Great Masters' series a book on Carlo Crivelli, which combined a life of that fifteenth-century Venetian artist with a scholarly catalogue of his surviving works. Moreover, Rushforth was himself a serious collector. In 1894, he had bought for his rooms at St Mary Hall a Madonna, attributed to another fifteenth-century Venetian painter, Bartolommeo Vivarini, which is now the centre-piece of the restored altar in the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

This combination of classical learning and expertise in Italian art made him a natural choice for his next position.

II. Rome

On October 25th 1899 a meeting was held in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22 Albemarle Street, W.1. In the chair was H.F. Pelham, now President of Trinity as well as Camden Professor. The others present, in the order given in the minutes, were:

Prof. Percy Gardner (1846-1937), ex-Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge, now Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford;
Prof. W.C.F. Anderson, Classical archaeologist;
Dr Clifford Allbutt F.R.S. (1836-1925), Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Cambridge;
Mr G.W. Prothero (1848-1922), ex-Professor of Modern History in the University of Edinburgh, now editor of the Quarterly Review;
Mr Somers Clarke (1841-1926), architect;
Mr W. St Clair Baddeley (1856-1945), archaeologist;
Mr George A. Macmillan (1855-1936), director of Macmillan's publishing house, Chairman of the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens;

Mr J.W. Mackail (1859-1945), ex-Fellow of Balliol, now Examiner to the Board of Education (later Oxford Professor of Poetry, 1906; Professor of Ancient Literature in the Royal Academy, 1924; O.M., 1935);
Mr A.H. Smith (1860-1941), of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, Librarian of the Hellenic Society;
Mr J.W. Headlam (1866-1908), Classical Fellow of King's College Cambridge;
Mr W. Loring (1865-1915), archaeologist.

The meeting was the result of an initiative by the Committee of the British School at Athens a fortnight earlier, to set up a British School at Rome 'to promote the study of Roman and Graeco-Roman archaeology in all its departments'. A circular was drafted to appeal for funds, with the following preamble:

> The British School at Athens has now been in existence for thirteen years, and in spite of its comparatively slender resources, it has won for itself an honourable place by the side of the older and wealthier Schools of France and Germany.
>
> But a British School at Rome has still to be established. Germany, France, Austria, and now the United States, all possess more or less well-equipped institutions; Great Britain, almost alone among the great European States, is unrepresented.
>
> The time has surely come when this omission should be supplied. For many years past excellent work has been done in Rome by British scholars, archaeologists, topographers, historians, and students of art. Every winter season finds British students at work there in one line of study or another, while the number of educated travellers who visit Rome steadily increases.
>
> What is needed in Rome is what is now provided at Athens, a recognized British centre of study and research, which should offer to British students the advantages which German, French, and American students already enjoy ...
>
> ... in some respects the work of a School at Rome would be more many-sided than is possible at Athens. It would be less predominantly classical and archaeological, and its students would be found in the galleries, libraries, and churches, as well as in the museums, on the Palatine, and in the Forum. A School at Rome would also be a natural centre from which work could be directed and organized at Naples, Florence, Venice, and elsewhere in Italy.
>
> It is not therefore only to those who are interested in classical history or archaeology that the proposed School should be of service, but equally to students of Christian Antiquities, of Mediaeval History, of Palaeography, and of Italian Art.

What had no doubt given the project its impetus and urgency was the dramatic success of Giacomo Boni's excavations in the Forum. He had started only ten months earlier, at the very end of 1898, and already he had revealed the 'lapis niger' complex, the Volcanal, the Basilica Aemilia and the Regia. St Clair Baddeley, one of those present at the October meeting, was a friend of Boni, and for seven months had shared in the excitement of

his discoveries. He had returned to England in July, but kept in close touch with progress. That very month he had received a letter from Boni: 'I am now cutting off the electric tram so as to excavate the Comitium, as you hoped would be done. The Domus Publica becomes more and more interesting, revealing new rooms with very beautiful pavements.' A new age in Roman archaeology had dawned, and it was a scandal that Great Britain was not officially represented there.

An Executive Committee was set up: Pelham, Gardner, Prothero, Macmillan and Loring from those present at the meeting; Gardner's brother-in-law J.S. Reid (1846-1926), Fellow of Caius and Professor of Ancient History at Cambridge; Charles Waldstein (1856-1927), Reader in Classical Archaeology and Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge; and F.J. Haverfield (1860-1919), Senior Student of Christ Church Oxford, who was soon to succeed Pelham as Camden Professor. After some delays because of the war in South Africa, the appeal was successfully launched, and when the Executive Committee met for the fifth time, on March 8th 1900, it was resolved to start the School the following November. 'In view of this Prof. Pelham was authorised to write to Mr G. Mc.Neil Rushforth M.A . of Oriel College, Oxford, and offer him the post of Director at a salary of not less than £200 a year.'

Rushforth accepted. He was present at the Committee's next meetings on May 24th, when he undertook to draw up a list of books to be purchased for the School's library, and on November 9th, when he was authorised to secure two or three rooms in Rome 'for the temporary use of the School'.

What he found was a suite on the second floor of the Palazzo Odescalchi in the Piazza Santi Apostoli. It had been built in the 1660's as the Palazzo Chigi and passed to the Odescalchi in 1694. The plan and interior were by Carlo Maderna, the facade - lengthened and spoiled in 1745 - by Bernini. In 1885 the palace had suffered a serious fire, but the repairs were now complete and the apartments Rushforth found were

eminently suitable. On January 10th 1901 the Committee authorised him to take the lease for three years, at a rent of 250 lire per month. In the event, the British School was housed there for fourteen years, until in July 1915 it moved to its present home in the Valle Giulia.

Rushforth was doing more in Rome than just house-hunting. Early in 1900, Boni had had the church of S. Maria Liberatrice (behind the temple of Castor in the Forum) demolished, to reveal the sixth-century basilica of S. Maria Antiqua that had been buried beneath it. St Clair Baddeley, back in Rome again, had reported the demolition and subsequent excavations in the Globe in February, March and April; one wonders how much his articles had influenced Rushforth in his acceptance of the Directorship at that very time. Certainly the newly revealed frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua would be likely to excite both his historical and his artistic enthusiasms.

Rushforth met Boni 'in a select company which used to gather in the hospitable rooms of Mr Wickham Steed', Rome correspondent of the Times from 1897 to 1902. The two men evidently got on well, and it was with Boni's helpful co-operation that Rushforth applied himself to the detailed study of S. Maria Antiqua and its wall-paintings. Already by March 1901 he had suggested the publication of a monograph on the subject to the Executive Committee in London. Approval was given: a 'scientific journal' had been part of the idea of the School from the very beginning, and at the Committee's meeting on June 27th 1901 the Papers of the British School at Rome were born. The first number was to contain Rushforth on S. Maria Antiqua, and Ashby on Roman roads in the Campagna.

A brief word is necessary on Thomas Ashby (1874-1931). He had been sixteen when his family settled in Rome, and after a brilliant Oxford career he devoted himself to the study of the city and its surrounding countryside. In a sense, the British School was founded just in time to benefit from his talents. In 1901 he was the School's first student; in 1902 its Honorary Librarian; in 1903 its Assistant Director; and from

1906 to 1925 its Director. His contribution to PBSR.I was the first in a long and distinguished series on the classical topography of the Roman Campagna, resulting eventually in a classic synthesis (The Roman Campagna in Classical Times, 1927, 2nd ed. 1970) which, together with the magnificent Aqueducts of Ancient Rome, posthumously published in 1935, will be his lasting memorial.

Ashby's fame is secure. But it is only just to point out that his 160 pages in the first Papers were the result of work already well advanced; Rushforth's 123 pages on S. Maria Antique became - and remain - the standard account of a major monument that had been discovered only two years before. The first Director's inaugural publication in the new journal was a remarkable piece of work.

In other ways, too, he was giving good service. 'With his wide range of learning and sympathies, his distinguished diplomatic manners, and his linguistic abilities, Rushforth did excellent work in helping the School to take its place beside older institutions of the same kind in Rome, and establishing cordial relations with them.' Thus the Times obituarist, whose verdict is borne out by the report of the Committee to the Annual General Meeting of subscribers in 1903: it was, they said, 'largely owing to Mr Rushforth's scholarship, tact, and ready courtesy that the School had won the position it held in Rome, and especially in the estimation of the other foreign schools'. (His touch was evidently sure in domestic matters as well: on January 16th 1902 the Committee approved a proposal by the Director to employ the son of the landlord's coachman as a second servant.)

But not everything was well. On May 29th 1902, he wrote to the Committee about the terms of his tenure of the Directorship. The Committee felt that he was being unreasonable, and at Pelham's urging he withdrew from his position, 'except as regards Rule XX, requiring a fixed term of residence in Rome; as to which he felt some difficulty, his health

being indifferent, and no such rule having been in existence when he accepted the Directorship'.

Rushforth's appointment in 1900 had been welcome to him, his obituarist tells us, 'as the climate of Oxford was beginning to tell on his health'. A move to Rome might have seemed a good idea from that point of view, but he should perhaps have known better. Augustus Hare's famous guidebook Walks in Rome, already in its 14th or 15th edition by 1900, contained a conspicuous warning in its introduction:

> Nothing can be more mistaken than the impression that those who go to Italy are sure to find there a mild and congenial temperature. The climate of Rome ... is not to be trifled with, and violent transitions from the hot sunshine to the cold shade of the street often prove fatal. 'No one but dogs and Englishmen', say the Romans, 'ever walk in the sun'.
>
> The malaria, which is so much dreaded by the natives, generally lies dormant during the winter months, and seldom affects strangers, unless they live near recent excavations or are inordinately imprudent in setting out in the sunset. With the heats of the late summer this insidious ague-fever is apt to follow on the slightest exertion, and particularly to overwhelm those who are employed in field-labour. From June to November the Villa Borghese and the Villa Doria are uninhabitable, and the more deserted hills – the Coelian, the Aventine, and a great part of the Esquiline – are a constant prey to fever.

If the 'inordinate imprudence' of setting out at sunset seems over-stated, remember Henry James's Daisy Miller (1878), in which the eponymous heroine dies of a romantic midnight visit to the Colosseum. The risk was real.

At any rate, Rushforth's health was causing him anxiety. The Committee reassured him of its sympathy and inserted a saving clause into the offending Rule XX. But it was not enough. On November 8th 1902 the Committee was informed that the Director, on the advice of his doctor, wished to relinquish his post on March 25th 1903 – just three years after his appointment. In fact, on doctor's orders, Rushforth left Rome a little before that date, leaving Ashby in charge as Acting Director until the arrival of his successor (H. Stuart Jones, Classical Fellow of Pelham's college, Trinity). It was an untimely end to a notably successful Directorship.

III. Malvern

Rushforth was still only forty. As the Vivarini Madonna shows, he was a man of independent means; his father's business must have done

the fragmentary text. When Ashby's brilliant edition of the work was sumptuously published by the Roxburghe Club in 1916, Rushforth received a copy 'with grateful acknowledgements from Dyson Perrins, March 25 1917'.

'Rushforth', his obituarist rightly observed, 'was one of those scholars of whom it has been said that their epitaphs are inscribed in the prefaces to their friends' books. He would have wished it so, for his extreme modesty was accompanied by a total freedom from any trace of petty jealousy or professional spitefulness.' The fly-leaves of the books in his own library certainly bear out that judgement.

For instance, two offprints from the Numismatic Chronicle, 1905 and 1908. On the first, 'G. Mc.N. Rushforth F.S.A. with kind regards from John Evans' - i.e. Sir John Evans, K.C.B., D.C.L., Ll.D., Sc.D., F.R.S. (1823-1908), President of the Royal Numismatic Society, ex-President of the British Association, the Geological Society, the Egypt Exploration Fund and the Society of Antiquaries, and for twenty years Treasurer of the Royal Society. On the second, two inscriptions in Rushforth's own sloping hand: 'Read before the Roy: Num: Soc: Lond: April 23 1908', and, at the top of the title page, 'In memory of a friend'. Evans had died on May 31st 1908.

The architectural works of Gian Teresio Rivoira (1849-1919) provide a more spectacular example. Rivoira was still a civil servant in the Italian Department of Posts and Telegraphs when Rushforth went to Rome in 1900. When the first volume of Le origini dell'architettura lombarda appeared the following year, he sent him a copy with the inscription 'omaggio dell'autore al chiarissimo Prof. Rushforth'. Volume 2 (1907) bore the less formal dedication 'all'amico Rushforth, G.T. Rivoira'. Rushforth translated the whole work, and Rivoira's Lombardic Architecture was published by Heinemann in 1910 (rev. ed. Oxford U.P. 1933). Meanwhile Rivoira had been travelling in the Middle East. In May 1914 his Architettura musulmana was published, and a copy came to Malvern 'a G. McN.

well, and he had no wife and children to support. With no need to work for his living, and every reason to choose a healthy atmosphere to live in, he settled at Malvern, in a house on the hill called Riddlesden which was to be his home for the rest of his life. There he devoted his ample time to the pursuit of scholarship, an 'amateur' in the best sense of that much-abused term, undistracted by preoccupations of teaching or administration, and entirely free from that 'demarcation' mentality that leads professional academics to pigeon-hole themselves as classicists, medievalists, archaeologists, art-historians, and so on. Rushforth was all those things at once, and more besides.

He had recently been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. (He and Ashby were admitted on the same day, June 6th 1901, when a paper was being read on the lapis niger inscription recently discovered by Boni.) The pride and pleasure he took in his election may be seen from his constant use thereafter of the letters 'F.S.A.' after his name, and from his contributions to the Society's proceedings in later years. In May and June 1910, the Society held an exhibition of English medieval alabaster work in its rooms in Burlington House, Piccadilly; Rushforth lent a fifteenth-century alabaster table, and kept the organizer's thank-you letter by him for three years, until he could slip it into his copy of the Catalogue, published in 1913, where it is still to be found.

One of his neighbours at Malvern was a collector on a much grander scale, C.W. Dyson Perrins (1864-1958), whose father had been one of the original partners in the Lea and Perrins Worcester Sauce firm. Perrins was at this time building up his magnificent library of manuscripts and printed books (the manuscripts alone fetched over a million pounds when they were sold after his death), and in 1906 acquired a sixteenth-century collection of views of Rome, with manuscript text. Thomas Ashby, now Director of the British School, examined the work in Perrins's library in the summer of that year, and his old friend Rushforth helped him to decipher

Rushforth, in segno di amicizia, G.T. Rivoira'. Ag[illegible], Rushforth did the English version. But for the war, it would have app[illegible]red at almost the same time (author and translator evidently worked in collaboration); in the end, Moslem Architecture, its Origins and Development was published by O.U.P. in 1918. Rivoira died in the influenza epidemic of 1919, but he had just completed his Architettura romana, which was published posthumously two years later. Rushforth received no. 8 in a numbered edition of 650 copies. Yet again the English translation was by his hand, with help - scrupulously acknowledged - from Ashby; and when the Oxford press published Roman Architecture and its Principles of Construction in 1925, it included a six-page 'biographical note' on Rivoira by Rushforth himself. In memory of a friend ...

Sir John Evans and Commendatore Rivoira were great men, famous in the world. J.D. Le Couteur (1883-1925) was an obscure scholar, known only to a few; but his story too illustrates Rushforth's pietas and gift for friendship. Le Couteur lived for a while in Malvern, and was involved in the re-leading of the medieval windows of the Priory Church (of which more later) in 1910. That, presumably, was when he met Rushforth, twenty years his senior, to whom he sent in 1911, 'with the author's compliments', an offprint on the great north window of Canterbury Cathedral. After the Great War he settled at Winchester, and in 1920 published Ancient Glass in Winchester, with Rushforth's name among the acknowledgments. But his career was cut untimely short; he died at 42, in August 1925. Rushforth's copy of his book contains the report of his funeral from the Hampshire Observer. The following year Le Couteur's posthumous English Medieval Stained Glass was published by the S.P.C.K., with a four-page 'biographical note' by Rushforth, who had revised the text and prepared it for the press.

Rushforth's own work in the pre-war period is inconspicuous - not surprisingly, considering the labour that must have been involved in the Rivoira translations. I know only of two short articles in the Burlington

Magazine in 1911, and his first contribution to the Antiquaries (January 22nd 1914), on the iconography of the windows in Leominster church, which is the first sign of the special interest which was to engross him in later years. The Great War itself probably made little difference to a gentleman scholar of uncertain health, already in his fifties, with no sons or nephews to make him fear the casualty-lists. His main preoccupation, as we shall see, was with the Malvern Priory church windows, but in 1917 he was summoned back to the study of Roman topography.

In that year Dr M.R. James (1862-1936), Provost of King's College Cambridge, dicovered a thirteenth-century manuscript in St Catharine's College Library containing a hitherto unknown work 'On the Marvels of the City of Rome' (narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae) by one Magister Gregorius. James, himself a very distinguished scholar, published it in the English Historical Review, but was perhaps too preoccupied by his appointment as Provost of Eton in 1918 to explore the full significance of the work. Rushforth, acknowledging the help of Ashby, Stuart Jones, St Clair Baddeley and Mrs Strong (Ashby's Assistant Director at the British School), produced within two years a detailed commentary and revised text - 45 pages of the Journal of Roman Studies that beautifully exemplify his obituarist's judgement on his work: 'characterized by exact information, perfect finish, and a lucid style'. (Seventeen years later a German scholar called Paul Borchardt published a small follow-up article in the JRS: Rushforth, characteristically, had not only given advice but translated the text into English.)

After the war, in the last twenty years of his life (he died at 76), Rushforth published a good deal, mostly in the Antiquaries Journal and in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, which he had joined in 1920. He was at once invited on to the Council of the B.G.A.S. (just as he had been elected to the Council of the Antiquaries in 1919), and he served twice as the Society's President in 1927

and 1928. One of the books in his library, presented by the Rev. L.H. Dahl, bears the inscription: 'From the author. In gratitude for much information imparted during your two years' Presidency of the Glouc.' Arch. Society. Stapleton Rectory, Bristol. Sept. 24 1929'.

It is through another clerical member of the B.G.A.S., the Rev. Eric Baker, that we get a precious glimpse of Rushforth in action, and some idea of the respectful affection he inspired:

> We shall not easily forget the spare, frail figure that stood beneath many a Gloucestershire chancel arch to address the Society, the thin high-pitched voice, the quick sharp gestures of head and hand lending emphasis to his words ... There was something in his manner and presence, a zest, an acumen, together with a practised eye and well-trained intellect that brought an air of distinction to any gathering of which he was a member.
>
> He insisted that others more expert than himself should expound the purely architectural features of a church – he was too unassuming to take into account his own immense knowledge of the subject. His contribution, as he saw it, was to record the story that lay behind the monuments of brick and stone, for it was the human aspect of our studies that absorbed him. This explains his invariable habit of commenting upon the mural tablets of a church, the family trees which littered the pages of his notebook, the pedigrees he delighted to embody in his discourse ... His was no dry-as-dust interest in pedigree as an end in itself. It expressed and clarified for him the human element in his story. To illustrate the theme he would draw upon all the evidence the church afforded – brasses, fragments of painted glass, effigies, inscriptions and so on, weaving them as far as possible into a historical pattern, always with the purpose of 'making sense of it', as he would say. He sought to convey a sense of action that characterizes the pageant of history, setting the events and traditions of each locality in the wider perspective of national life. Scarcely a church that he visited with the Society was not the occasion of some new discovery, some fresh observation due to Rushforth.

Baker's last comment is borne out – and not only for Gloucestershire – by the titles of some of Rushforth's papers: 'A Sketch of the History of Malvern' (TBGAS 1920); 'An Indulgence Inscription in Clapton Church, Gloucestershire' (AJ 1923); 'Medieval Tiles in the Church of Llangattock-nigh-Usk' (AJ 1924); 'The Burials of Lancastrian Notables in Tewkesbury Abbey after the Battle, A.D. 1471', and 'Tewkesbury Abbey: the Wakeman Cenotaph and the Starved Monk' (TBGAS 1925); 'Lord Cromwell's Rebus in Tattershall Castle' (AJ 1926); 'The Kirkham Monument in Paignton Church, Devon' (Trans. Exeter Diocesan Arch. Soc. 1927); 'Herefordshire' (Presi-

dential Address, TBGAS 1927); 'The Story of Dauntsey' (TBGAS 1928); 'Warkworth' (TBGAS 1930); 'A Fourteenth-century Tomb from Little Malvern Priory Church' (AJ 1931); 'The Arms of St Augustine's Abbey and of St Mark's or the Gaunts' Hospital, Bristol' (TBGAS 1932).

Besides all this, there were contributions (on art) to the Legacy of Rome and Medieval England volumes, revised editions of his Latin Historical Inscriptions (urged on him by the new Camden Professor, J.G.C. Anderson) and of Rivoira's Lombardic Architecture - and, above all, there was his work on English medieval stained glass. For that, which was arguably his most important scholarly achievement, we have to go right back to his early years in Malvern.

At that time, the St Anne's Chapel of the Great Malvern Priory Church was being restored. In 1910, the chapel windows and the clerestory windows above, on the south side of the choir, were re-leaded, and the opportunity was taken to restore them to their original order and banish the 18th- and 19th-century intrusions. The Vicar of Malvern, A.C. Deane (1870-1946), called on the advice of M.R. James, Provost of King's - whom we have already met in the context of Magister Gregorius' narracio de mirabilibus. Rushforth was very interested, and planned a monograph on the ancient glass in the Priory.

In 1913 Deane published a history of the church in Bell's 'Cathedral Series'. He then moved to the Vicarage of Hampstead (on the progress that was to make him eventually Chaplain to King George V), but on March 7th 1914 sent Rushforth a copy, with the following letter:

> My dear Rushforth,
> I have had a few copies of the Priory book specially bound, and it's a great pleasure to send one for your acceptance. You know how grateful I am for all your ungrudging help. I hope it will not be very long before you are able to send to press your work on the windows.
> With best remembrances from us both,
> Yrs sincerely,
> Anthony C. Deane

In fact, Rushforth's book would not see the light for more than twenty

years. Canon Deane's successor had the rest of the windows of the Priory church re-leaded; under Rushforth's supervision (in succession to James), the restoration and re-ordering that had been done in St Anne's Chapel was repeated, between 1915 and 1919, for the whole church. The monograph was going to become a major work: 'daily contact with the glass during the releading greatly increased my knowledge, and I felt that it was my duty to preserve the results which I had gained in some permanent form'.

A series of photographs of the dismantled windows was taken by Sydney A. Pitcher, of College Court, Gloucester, who was (or became) a close friend of Rushforth. Pitcher published the photographs in six folios (1916-1927), 'with descriptive notes by G. Mc.N. Rushforth F.S.A.'. Meanwhile Rushforth himself was already producing important historical and iconographical accounts of medieval stained glass elsewhere in England.

Once more, a bare list must serve to indicate the extent of his work. He discussed the stained glass of Leominster church (Proc. Soc. Ant. 1913-14), a medieval house in Leicester (Archaeological Journal 1918), the east window of the Lady Chapel in Gloucester Cathedral (TBGAS 1921), the great east window of Gloucester Cathedral (TBGAS 1922), the choir clerestory of Tewkesbury Abbey (TBGAS 1924), the Chapel of the Vyne in Hampshire (Walpole Society 1926-7 and 1936-7), various churches in Wiltshire, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Lancashire (AJ 1929, on 'Seven Sacraments' compositions), and finally the church of St Neot, Cornwall (Trans. Exeter Diocesan Arch. Soc. 1937).

It was in 1936 that the Clarendon Press at last brought out Medieval Christian Imagery, as illustrated by the painted windows of Great Malvern Priory Church Worcestershire. It is a magnificent achievement: 'Mr Rushforth', said the Times Literary Supplement, 'has lifted the subject on to another plane, and by close study of a single church, illustrated by the widest reading and knowledge of other examples, has produced a truly monumental work'. Rushforth was seventy-three. In a sense, it

really was his monument.

In 1935, All Souls College had asked him to study the surviving medieval glass in the ante-chapel. Sydney Pitcher (who had illustrated the Malvern book) again produced a series of photographs. Rushforth began the work, but was never able to complete it.

IV. Exmouth

Of Rushforth's two brothers, Francis became a solicitor and Collingwood a clergyman. The latter had retired in 1916 from his living at Great Staughton, Huntingdonshire, and settled at Elmhurst, Hartley Road, Exmouth, where he evidently lived with their sister, Janet, until his death in March 1935. At any rate, Janet McNeil Rushforth was certainly living at that address in 1936; her eldest brother was in the habit of going there for Christmas and staying for the winter months.

He knew Devon well. Already in 1927 he had published a study of the fifteenth-century tombs of Paignton church for the Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archaeological Society; a note on a lily-crucifix and an unidentified saint in Kenn church appeared in the Antiquaries Journal the same year, and in 1929 his study of the iconography of the Seven Sacraments included the medieval glass in the churches of Cadbury and Doddiscombsleigh. As one would expect, he was on good terms with the scholarly clerics of the Exeter Cathedral Chapter. Prebendary J.F. Chanter, Treasurer of the Cathedral and Honorary Archivist of the Diocese and Chapter, gave Rushforth an inscribed copy of his book The Bishop's Palace at Exeter and its Story (S.P.C.K. 1932), and it was in the Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Society that Rushforth published his last substantial work, forty pages on the medieval glass at St Neot in Cornwall.

He was also in touch with John Murray, the energetic Principal of the University College of the South West. Murray was busy organising the start of the transfer of the College from its quarters in Gandy Street, in the middle of Exeter, out to the Streatham Estate where its successor, the

University of Exeter, now stands. Murray was Acting Head of the College's Classics Department from 1933 to 1938; his main preoccupation, however, was not teaching but raising funds. A new library – the Roborough – was being planned for the new site, and books to equip it were one of the College's main needs. (Among his correspondence about the Roborough, incidentally, is a letter of January 1938 from Vincent Harris, the architect, in which he points out to Murray that if the new library is lit with table lights, 'there will be difficulty in using it for dancing'.)

The records of the University College were destroyed in the 'Exeter blitz' of 1942, but Murray's own papers survive in the University of Exeter's archives. They include an exchange of letters with Rushforth in December 1936, which suggests that the two men were already on good terms. The letters are revealing of both their characters:

6.12.36

My dear Principal,

I am intending to come to Exmouth just before Christmas for my usual winter stay, and, partly in order to relieve my shelves, should like to bring with me some books for your college Library. I enclose a list of items which I am not likely to want again, and you may think worth having. I could add, if necessary, various commentaries on Aristotle's Ethics.

Hoping that you and your affairs are flourishing, I am,

Yours sincerely,

G. Mc.N. Rushforth.

8.12.36

My dear Rushforth,

Thank you for your letter and for the offer of books which you would bring with you to Devon. They will be very welcome. Will you please bring the Commentaries on Aristotle too.

I should like to know which day you would drop them here, and how long you will be in these parts. Perhaps you would give me the pleasure of putting you up for a night or two. Term ends on Saturday week, and on 30th December I am leaving here for Uganda on a Colonial Office Commission, but till then I expect to be here. I am all alone with room to spare, my wife having just arrived at Johannesburg on a visit to my stepdaughter married there.

The College is indeed flourishing: numbers 50 up on last year: all Halls full and overfull: the UGC grant up from £14,500 to £15,000. But we are likely to have to vacate Gandy Street and heavy capital is needed for rehousing at Streatham, and we must try to build a Library besides extending a women's Hall and building one for men. The capital account is anything but prosperous.

But growth is the great thing. Why, yesterday five Turks arrived, two of them with no English whatever, though some French. In this emergency I am using a Turk from Cyprus, a Government Scholar, to teach his collinguals their first English. We do very well in the Levant.

The Egyptian Government was due to send us four freshmen scholars this term, and sent twelve - first-fruits of the Treaty, I suppose.

Do you think anything can be done with Perrins about helping our Library? A few of his odd thousands would help enormously.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
John Murray.

The foundation stone of the Roborough Library was laid by the Duke of Gloucester on October 20th 1937. Rushforth had been invited, but wrote to Murray on October 17th:

My dear Principal,

Thank you for your very kind letter and invitation. It is with the deepest regret that I have to decline it, for I should have felt greatly honoured by the opportunity of meeting HRH under such circumstances, and for the recognition of my modest benefaction to the College. But in my present condition it is impossible, for the fact is that, though I had no reason to mention it to you before, early in this year I was found to be suffering from heart weakness, and till recently I had to lie low and keep very quiet, so that it was only lately that I could return to Malvern. Though my doctor has considerably improved my condition, at my time of life I cannot expect to resume my former activities, and must be content for the future to be a looker on. Fortunately, I can keep up my old interests, and I am fully occupied.

If all goes well I am intending to return to Exmouth for the winter, and shall hope to see you then, to talk over with you various matters connected with my books. I take this opportunity of saying that I leave the College at perfect liberty to deal with them as seems best.

I shall look forward to reading the account of your ceremony on the 20th, and with every good wish for the future of the College, I am

Yours sincerely,
G. Mc.N. Rushforth.

Already, on August 21st, Rushforth had made his will. He left Riddlesden to his servant, Charles Leonard Goodyear, and all his manuscripts and papers concerning the Priory Church to the Library Authority, Malvern Urban District. Of his art collection, he left to the Society of Antiquaries an Italian panel painting of the Crucifix rising out of the recumbent figure of the Virgin, and a small framed Byzantine painting of John the Baptist with wings like an angel (both had earlier been exhibited to the Antiquaries: AJ 1938 291-2); and to the Ashmolean, Richard Westall's watercolour 'Boreas and Oreithyia' and two oil sketches by Benedetto di Castiglione. In order to increase the residue of the estate (eventually valued at £16,000 net) which was to be invested as a trust fund for his sister and surviving brother, Rushforth instructed his executors to sell

the following items:

'Ships in a calm sea', oil-painting by Dubbels;
'Storm on coast, ships driving ashore', oil painting by Turner;
'Beauty controlled by Prudence and crowned by Merit', oil painting by Angelica Kauffmann;
'Landscape, ruined temple above a cascade', oil painting by Hubert Robert;
'Virgin and Child', oil painting, school of Perugino;
'Lausanne', water-colour by John Glover Crystal;
intaglio by Giovanni Bernardi (on which Rushforth had published a note in the Burlington Magazine in 1937).

All his other pictures, plate, china, etc went to a cousin, who was also to inherit the income from the trust fund after the deaths of Francis and Janet McNeil Rushforth, with the request that he would 'adopt and prefix the surname of Rushforth to his present surname'.

His books, and the water-colour of the Parthenon that now hangs in the ante-room to the Reed Hall upstairs dining-room, were left to the University College of the South West. He intended to draw up a catalogue of the books for the guidance of his executors, but if he did so, and it ever came to Exeter, it must have been lost in the 1942 destruction. The only record the present University Library has is a list recently compiled by Miss Sarah Newton, of the valuable items that were put in the Rare Books Room (81 titles) and the Reserve Collection (136). Of the Rushforth books on the open shelves I have identified about 460 titles, mainly in the Classics, Fine Art, History and Theology sections. There must be many more, for instance in English Literature, and no doubt French and Italian too - standard works of classic authors that such a library might be expected to contain (for instance, there is a set of Dickens first editions in the Rare Books Room) - but I have not been able to track them all down.

What is abundantly clear is that Rushforth's library included, among other things, an excellent coverage of Latin and Greek texts, mainly Teubners, including recondite items as well as 'classics' in the usual sense; a good collection of works on the topography and history of the city of Rome; many expensive illustrated catalogues of exhibitions of paintings, furniture and other objets d'art; and an extraordinarily wide range of

works on English local history, genealogy, heraldry and secular and ecclesiastical architecture, which vividly illuminate that lost world of learned vicars and gentlemen scholars in which Rushforth spent so much of his life.

He died in Exmouth on March 26th 1938. Murray, wishing to commemorate his benefaction, asked the executors if they could provide a photograph of him to hang in the Roborough. They consulted Janet Rushforth; she in turn applied to her brother's old friend Sydney Pitcher, and enclosed his reply (dated July 18th 1938) with her letter to Murray. He was not surprised, he said, that the books were to go to the U.C.S.W.: 'Mr Rushforth had mentioned it to me about a year ago, and I thought his reasons for this very sound'.

We can guess what the reasons were. Another friend, the Rev. Eric Baker, quotes a revealing phrase:

> Even in the last months of his life, when health and strength were ebbing fast, he was devouring the latest books and periodicals that he might still 'continue to learn', and a yet deeper source of satisfaction, as he once admitted, was to realize that in personal intercourse and correspondence he could be of some avail in 'passing on the torch to others'.

By leaving his books to enrich the library of the U.C.S.W., and to stimulate the imagination of its students in generations to come, he was passing on the torch.

Sydney Pitcher duly produced a framed photograph for the Roborough. Alas, no record of it now remains. Worse, in the Exeter University Library catalogue a false expansion of Rushforth's first initial has turned him into 'George' McNeil Rushforth. Modest and self-effacing though he was, he deserves better than that. The blame, perhaps, should go to the bomb-aimers of the Luftwaffe in 1942. Exeter did remember him, for a while at least: a Guide to the Roborough Library in the late fifties, by the then Librarian, L.J. Lloyd, refers to its 'small collection of rare editions and printed books, chiefly of Greek and Roman Literature, most of which are part of the collection bequeathed by the late G. Mc.N. Rushforth'. Since then, however, he has been forgotten.

Rediscovering Rushforth has been a particular pleasure for the present writer, as an ex-Scholar of the British School at Rome (and now, as it happens, responsible for the Papers inaugurated by Rushforth in 1902); moreover, this summer, for the first time, Exeter students will be going to the British School to fulfil their course requirements in Ancient History. But quite apart from fortuitous circumstances, the man himself deserves commemoration. He lived in a world of privilege but was not corrupted by it; what he cared about was true scholarship and selfless loyalty to his friends. And he left his books to Exeter because he wanted to bring alive in us ('passing on the torch to others') that fascination with the living world of the past, and that love for the things of beauty that men have made, which had been the meaning of his own life.

T.P. WISEMAN

Sources and acknowledgments

Rushforth has no entry in the Dictionary of National Biography, nor even in Who's Who? (I have, of course, used those two works of reference, and Crockford's Clerical Directory, for many of the other characters in the story.) The main source for his life is the anonymous obituary in The Times of March 31st 1938; other obituaries appeared in Antiquaries Journal XVIII (1938) 335, and in Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society LIX (1938) 344-5, LX (1939) 6-7; the Rev. Eric Baker's appreciation is at pp. 347-50 of TBGAS vol. LIX.

For the Rome period, I have used St Clair Baddeley's Recent Discoveries in the Roman Forum 1898-1904, by an eye-witness (London 1904), Rushforth's obituary of Giacomo Boni, in Ant. Jnl. V (1925) 441-3, and - by generous permission of Mr Anthony Rattray James - the first Minute Book of the Executive Committee of the British School at Rome, which is in the School's archives at 1 Lowther Gardens, Exhibition Road, London.

The Murray correspondence is in the University archives in Northcote House (Principal's papers, box B, file 27), and I must thank Mr B.W. Clapp, author of the forthcoming History of the University, for guiding me to it. The rest of the evidence is provided by the Rushforth books themselves, and the letters that are still to be found in a few of them.

I am very grateful also to Mrs L.A. Charlesworth, Secretary to the Provost of Oriel College; Mr F.D. Harvey; Mrs Vera Lloyd; Mr A.D. McWhirr, F.S.A.; Miss Sarah Newton, of the University Library; and Mr J.D. Reid, of Merchant Taylors' School, Northwood.

Last year, in "Punch" magazine, there appeared a revolutionary article on Alexander the Great, which is prompting all the top historians to re-examine the evidence and rewrite the history books.

Shome Talk of Alexander

Alexander III, called THE GREAT, king of Macedonia, was born in 356 BC, at Pella in Macedonia, two facts which escaped him for most of his short life. Drunk, he had great difficulty in working out how old he was, since (given that by the time he was twelve it was 344 BC) he seemed to be growing younger every year; nor could he clearly remember whether he had been born at Massa in Pelladonia or Poland in Alexandria. Asked for his name at parties, he frequently informed his hostess that he was Milton from Greater Pasadena. He would then fall down.

His father was Philip II, about which he was fairly clear, even if he didn't always get the number right; but as his mother was Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus of Epirus, he never managed to refer to her as anything but Mrs. II, unless it had been a really rough night, in which case she could be any number from Mrs I to XXXVI. However as she was a heavy drinker herself, she never came when called, since this involved finding her other shoe.

Despite this, she was not as big a lush as her husband Philip, who wept most of the time, partly out of remorse, and partly because nobody would play *Melancholy Baby*; and it was because of this guilt-bred grief that Philip, deeply distressed by his son's inability to think straight, enunciate clearly, or, indeed, cross the room without knocking over the furniture, persuaded Aristotle, in 343 BC, to take Alexander on as a pupil.

It did not work out well: Pella was two hundred miles from Athens, and to get to Aristotle's place you had to change horses five times, plus make tight connections at Thebes-on-the-Hill and Sparta's End, where the buffet sold an unpretentious little retsina used mainly to despatch horses which had broken a leg en route. Because of this, young Alexander frequently ended up in Thrace, plastered, and shrieking at unimpressed citizens that he was the daughter of Mrs. Aristotle IV and could lick anybody in the place.

Fortunately, the result of this early experience was that he became an expert swordsman, fearlessly prepared to take on six adversaries at a time. That everyone else saw only two adversaries does not, of course, diminish Alexander's heroism; in fact, the contrary. Indeed, such was his prowess that when Philip left with his army in 340 BC to attack Byzantium,he was confident to leave Alexander in charge of Macedonia; more confident, at least, than to take Alexander with him, since Alexander could not only not remember whether you turned left or right at the roundabout for Byzantium,he was unable to stay on his horse after a heavy breakfast.

In the spring of 333 B.C., Alexander subdued most of Asia Minor, and arrived in Gordium in Phrygia. It was here that he was presented with the Gordian knot, which according to legend could be loosed only by the man destined to rule Asia. Naturally unable to untie it (most days he could not even pick up his shoes, let alone find the laces), Alexander, in a fit of rage, cut through it with his sword. He also cut through his horse, his maps, and four bystanders, but it did not matter: all Persia lay at his feet, as indeed, Alexander himself had so often done.

Conquest of Egypt

Wheeling south after the defeat of Darius, Alexander then marched west, though occasionally north, and once or twice in a circle, until, having subjugated Byblos and Sidon, he reached Tyre and put it under siege. The siege lasted seven months, and some historians maintain that it was the Tyrians who successfully resisted, when in fact it was rather that Alexander was forced to give up, because the tonic had run out. He took his army into Egypt, and founded Alexandria, erecting the huge Pharos lighthouse, one of the seven wonders of the world, so that he could find his way home at night.

History has it that it was in Alexandria that he began to think of himself as the son of Zeus. This is true, but it is also true that it was part of a painful delusory process brought on, ironically, by a tragic accident.

Alexander had lived all his short life in terror of delirium tremens, having seen what it could do to both his father and mother, who spent long periods of his childhood swatting one another under the mutual impression that the other was a giant spider. When he arrived in Egypt, the first thing he saw was a camel. He fainted. When he recovered, it was gone. Tentatively he asked his aide-de-camp, Callisthenes, whether he had also seen "that horse with the big knockers". Callisthenes, not comprehending, suggested that Alexander switch brands; the general changed to Bloody Marys, but that night, staring at the Nile aimlessly, he saw his first alligator. He rushed, screaming. to his tent, where he told the distraught Callisthenes that he was being pursued by four-legged handbags.

Alexander,subsequently refused, when it dawned on everyone else, to believe the truth; those who claimed that they, too, had seen what he had seen were dismissed as flatterers, insulting him by humouring him. After he had killed twelve of these with a broken bottle, the rest stopped insisting that they were telling the truth, which finally satisfied their leader, while doing nothing to relieve his wretchedness.

He left Egypt, conquered Babylon in a somewhat depressed stupor, and pushed on towards India.

While Philip was away, Alexander defeated the Maedi, a Thracian people; it was not a difficult victory, since the Maedi had been unaware that they were at war and were taken by surprise, but Philip was pleased with it, because any victory was a good excuse for a thrash. Three years later, however, the two fell out; when Philip divorced Olympias (the row is said to have begun over who had the corkscrew), Alexander fled with his mother to Epirus, since her father Neoptolemus lived in a forest, and 337 was a good year for wood alcohol.

But in 336, when Philip was assassinated (the reason is unclear, but the crime may not have been political, since Philip is known to have amassed a personal fortune of eighteen thousand empties which has never been found), Alexander succeeded him. He then marched south, in the hope of capturing the heavy aquavit plant in Norway, and found himself in Corinth, where he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Greek League, who took his halting Norse for colloquial Barbarian and elected him out of terror. Reeling into Thrace in the spring of 335, he found the bars shut and, in an invincible fury, crushed the bewildered Triballi before turning to cross the Danube, where he dispersed the Getae (for being out of stuffed olives). Meanwhile, a rumour of his death (he had been lying under a table for six days) had precipitated a revolt of Theban democrats. Waking, Alexander marched 240 miles in fourteen days, to Thebes. He still had the hangover, so Thebes was burned to the ground.

The Persian Expedition

From his accession, Alexander had set his mind on invading Persia, where, it was said, King Darius had discovered a method of distilling gin from dates which retailed at less than 3p a pint. At the River Granicus, Alexander stopped; the Persian plan was to tempt Alexander across (by telling him the first two drinks were on the house) and kill him in the melee, but the scheme misfired badly. Alexander, slumped between two satraps, had great difficulty in focusing on the heliograph, and interpreted the Persian invitation as a request to drink up and get out because it was closing time. Enraged, he hurled his forces across the river; the Persian line broke, exposing Asia Minor to the Macedonians. Most of the major cities opened their gates to Alexander, many of them throwing in a free ploughman's lunch, with the single exception of Miletus, which took courage from the fact that the Persian fleet lay close at hand. It was a mistake: Alexander did not attack the Persian fleet, as anticipated, since the movement of the ground beneath his feet led him to believe that he was *already afloat*; he thus attacked the coastal towns, under the impression they were large brick ships, and, stunned by this utterly unprecedented stratagem, they instantly surrendered. To his dying day, Alexander never understood why Miletus did not simply up anchor and sail away.

India and the Final Years

It was there that he saw his first elephant.

Next afternoon, in 328 B.C., on the plains of Sogdiana, he met and immediately married a local girl, Roxana, daughter of King Oxyartes, because he didn't want to be alone at night when he woke up and saw the giant with the arm on its head walking around on four wastebins.

Unhappily, Roxana arrived for their wedding night riding on an elephant; forever thereafter, Alexander assumed that she too was a figment of his sodden imagination, and it came as no surprise to anyone when, four years later, he also married, at Susa, the daughter of his old adversary, Darius. Inevitably, the two women fought over the dress allowance; Darius's daughter kept complaining to Alexander about his first wife, from which Alexander inferred that his second wife was also either a drunk or a liar attempting to humour him, while Roxana kept complaining about his second wife, upon which Alexander would knock her about on the grounds that no figment of his imagination was going to tell him how to run his marriage.

There could be only one outcome of all this. Alexander took to drinking even more heavily, and, inevitably, early in 323, he failed, one morning to rise from his bed. Friends continued to throw water over him for eight days, but it did no good, any more.

On the Shelf

Too delicate, too fair and clean to hold;
As grasping fingers reach out to caress
The soft flowing folds of your pretty dress
You shy away. An ornament all cold,
That nobody will ever dare to take.
We see you sitting there, perched on the ledge
of Unreality. Over the edge
You'll fall one day and then, for sure, you'll break.

CHARLES LEE

As for the impersonal verb "intonuit" - if Latin Prose writing hadn't gone out of fashion, isn't it the verb we should use to describe Concorde's breaking of the sound-barrier, or a bomb-disposal-squad detonating a mine? Or what of yet another book on UFOs - the title slips[3] my mind - by the Warminster author Arthur Shuttlewood, in which a UFO skimming the roof-tops sounded as if it were scraping off all the slates?

Let me <u>not</u> be thought to incite students to spend nights sky-watching when they should be construing Virgil! "Scientific Method" is <u>not</u>, per se, using binoculars; <u>but</u> going about interpretations in a systematic sort of way.

Virgil's "Thing" drew a torch-effect in its wake; perhaps a red exhaust; as well as lighting up its surroundings. No wonder it was called a star. But so[4] was the UFO adduced in John A. Keel's "The Trojan Horse" (p.144) for 8.15 p.m. of Monday, 25th April, 1966, when it sailed in from Canada over the New England states of the U.S.A. I am limited by the publishers' copyright clause to commend discriminating attention to this story, rather than to quote it. I shall have served[5] their interests, I hope, by referring to the source. It is so far my only source for concimitants like a smell of sulphur - to which it has extensive clues which largely escape its index. Our own clue is Aen. 2. 698 "...et late circum loca sulphure fumant". Or can <u>Pegasus</u> readers tell me that they, like certain other Latin authors, associate thunder with a smell[6] of sulphur.

Lucretius, like ourselves, associated thunder with clouds. The other Latin poets at least commented, when achieving effects about "thunder from a clear sky". Conington adduces Aeneid 9.630 and Georgics 1.487. May I close by quoting the telling "conjunction" <u>there</u>?

> non alias caelo ceciderunt plura serens
> fulgura <u>nec</u> diri totiens arsere cometae.

LUCIUS

<u>Notes</u>

1. "Flying Saucers on the Attack" p.160 (Ace Books, New York).

2. "Flying Saucers from Outer Space" by Arnold E. Keyhoe (Arrow Books, Hutchinson, about 1954) - <u>passim</u>

3. There was a later flap about "Things" in that area in August 1980 - which even got into the photo-pages of the news weekly "Now".

4. "Operation Trojan Horse", Abacus Books [Sphere Books Ltd. 1973 (30-32, Grays Inn Road, London W.C.1.)] by John A. Keel.

5. I take this as tantamount to giving them a free review - as their rubrics seem to recognise. May I therefore add here that I do not go along with Keel's interpretations; though well aware there are "depths" in the phenomena on which he spent unparallelled trouble and research.

His book's title has of course no relation to the "real" Trojan Horse of Aeneid II.

6. W.F.Jackson Knight was (dare I opine?) wrong, in the Penguin translation, to adduce the sight of the smoke. Conversely, he was (surely?) right in his rendering of "signantemque vias".

The History of the Greek Language

The Greek language is a member of the Indo-European family of languages which has eight branches which are, in turn, subdivided. The Germanic branch includes English, Dutch, German, Scandinavian and Gothic. The Goths came to Eastern Europe as migrants from Scandinavia around the first century B.C. Subsequently a major part of the Gothic people moved into Italy and Spain. Gothic is also closely related to Scandinavian. During the Viking Age the language spread overseas where it remained permanently in Iceland. The language from the ninth century to 1500 is called Old Norse, from which Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Faroese and Icelandic emerged. South of the Baltic were other Germanic speakers who were the ancestors of modern-day Germans. By the end of the Middle Ages High German and Low German (which High German eventually replaced) and Dutch had arisen. Yiddish, the language of Eastern European Jews, and Afrikaans, the language of the South African Boers also emerged from this branch of the family. Frisian, going back to the 10th century, is also allied to German and English and was brought to Britain in the middle of the fifth century where it mingled with Old English/Anglo Saxon, for which reason English, as we speak it today, appears very unlike genetically related languages. Germanic is distinguished from other branches by far-reaching consonant changes. Until about the beginning of the Christian era Germanic may be regarded as comprising a single language.

The second branch is Balto-Slavonic languages which falls into two divisions and includes three languages: Old Prussian in the west, Lithuanian in the east and Latvian. Old Prussian became extinct in 1700 but the others are still flourishing. The second division includes the Slavonic languages which expanded widely in the fourth century. The Slavonic original language subdivided to form distinct languages of Russian, Bulgarian, Polish, Bohemian, Serbo-Croatian, Czech and Slovak. Between Baltic and Slavonic there are many similarities both in vocabulary and grammar which lead to the concept of including both in a single branch.

A third branch is Aryan, falling into two groups - Indian and Iranian. Sanskrit is the oldest form of Indian and although now defunct it gives richness to modern languages on account of its copious vocabulary. Prakrit languages are those 'unrefined' popular spoken dialects which evolved further from the 'refined' Sanskrit. In 1000 B.C. Indo-European speech in India was confined to the north-west, but later spread over the north and centre. Sinhalese is a southern branch of the language, the language of Ceylon. Old Iranian is recorded in two varieties, Avestan and Old Persian; from these came Modern Persian, Kurdish and the Afghan language, Pushto. The Indian branch of the language has continued but Iranian languages have been lost to Turkish languages which took over during the Middle Ages.

A fourth branch is Thraco-Phrygian which includes Thracian, Phrygian and Armenian, whose earliest homeland was South East Europe. Thracian was spoken in the eastern half of the Balkan peninsula and Western Asia Minor and was largely ousted by Latin and Greek. Phrygian was spoken east of the Thracian area in Asia Minor and after the third century A.D. the Phrygians were completely hellenised. The Armenians were further east again and the language still survives.

The Illyrian branch of the language was spoken in the western part of the Balkan peninsula north of Greece. It began to be Romanised as early as 230 B.C. and was finally overrun in the seventh century by the Slavs . Albanian may be a continuation of the ancient Illyrian.

Italic type languages emerged from the language of the minor province of Latium, where there were two closely related dialects, Latin-Faliscan and Oscan-Umbrians. The Latin language followed the expansion of Roman power; by the beginning of the Christian era most of Italy had been latinised. The principal modern descendants of Latin are Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French and Rumanian.

The Celts are first mentioned in the fifth century B.C. The best known language is that of Gaul which survived until the fifth century A.D. A second division of Celtic is that first found in Ireland and which spread to Scotland and the Isle of Man. From the first division Welsh and Breton live on today.

The final branch is Hellenic, represented only by Greek. There are three main types of dialect: Aeolic, Doric and Ionic, with its offshoot Attic - the dialect of Athens. From this emerged in the late fourth century the κοινη or 'common' language of the Hellenistic Age. This is the language of the New Testament and was the spoken standard when Greek became the language of the Near East. It was very different from Byzantine Greek the living language of Hellenistic Byzantine times. Modern Greek began around the tenth century. Greek was spread early by colonisation to Sicily and Southern Italy.

There are many traces of a pre-Greek population both in place names and vocabulary and there is positive evidence of early connections with Asia Minor.

These eight branches form the Indo-European family; they have common stems which are not found in Semitic, Ural Attaic or Bantu for example. The word meaning "father" for example has common features in all the Indo-European languages. The English corresponds to the Sanskrit: pitar, Greek: πατηρ, Armenian: hair, Latin pater. The change of the consonant p to f is in accordance with phonetic laws.

Grammatical relationships are expressed by means of inflexion and a word normally consists of three elements, root, suffix and ending. For example the Greek word ἵππος may be divided up into root, suffix and ending as may the Latin equus. Modern Indo-European languages have lost their inflexions on account of phonetic decay by which words become simplified. In their place the modern languages use prepositions and auxiliary verbs and to express person and number in the verb the pronouns, which retain their inflexion, are joined to the verb forms.

The inflexions of the nouns, that is the cases, are formed in similar ways in the various languages. There were originally eight cases of which at least two were lost. In English these cases have long been lost but the relationship can be seen in other languages; for example, the Gothic: gibos corresponds to Lithuanian: rankos "of the girl", Sanskrit: gnas, Greek: θεας, Latin: familias and Iranian : mna. All these genitive singular feminine endings go back phonetically to a common form - as.

The eight original cases were nominative, accusative, vocative, dative, genitive, ablative, instrumental and locative. There are only traces of the last three in Greek. The accusative is the case of the noun which depends directly on the verbal notion and also the direction or relation of the action of the subject towards something, the extension of the verbal notion in space and time. The genitive expresses the dependance of one verb on another, but it may also depend on verbs; usually on those which indicate a partnership. In Greek it replaces the old ablative signifying from what something is taken or from what it is separated, it is used after the comparative and superlative and of space and time as well as replacing the ablative as a genitive absolute. The Dative, in Greek, represents three cases in the original Indo-European languages: the dative itself, the instrumental and the locative. It is the case of the wider object and signifies by which the person or thing is designed, for which it is being done. It is the case of interest, signifying equality, resemblance and difference. In Indo-European, the instrumental case had the original signification of "going together". In Greek, the dative has the significance only in Homer and classical prose: αὐταις τριηρεσι.

There are also parallel verb forms in the Indo-European languages. There were originally four moods - indicative, subjunctive, optative and imperative, all of which remain in Greek and can be traced throughout in the other languages of the family. Likewise there are similarities in the syntax and common language forms such as reduplication where in the languages the same method of inflexion is used for the perfect tense, and ablaut or vowel gradation. In the Semitic languages a regular mode of inflexion is the variation of the vowel of the root, but in the Indo-European family it carried no fixed variation of grammatic relationship or meaning.

Originally there were three tenses,present, aorist and perfect, which signified not when but how a thing was done. Therefore many tenses cannot be formed. The present stem is wanting in stems signifying a momentary action because the present signifies a lasting action or state,or a continuous action, past, present or future. In original Indo-European the future signified aiming at something. The imperfect and aorist originated from narrative, the aorist signifying an action beginning in the past. The perfect signified the intensive nature of a condition. For example τεθνηκεmeans "totally dead". Later it came to mean an action done completely. Therefore the perfect took over as a past tense in many languages and the died out. The perfect became related to the present meaning something now done and so there was a necessity for a further corresponding past tense. Hence the pluperfect developed.

These common features in the various languages suggest a single older original language which was the parent Indo-European of which no trace remains, but its existence is inferred from the relationship of the languages of the family. The question of how it became divided into different groups that have spread and subdivided into the modern languages of Europe and India is largely answered by a consideration of the Romance languages. The growth of these languages from their origins as the dialect of a small-league of market towns shows that the questions of language and race are independent of each other. Those people who today speak Spanish, two thousand years ago spoke an Iberian language not of the Indo-European family. Their descendants speak a language descended from Latin because they were conquered by the Romans whose language spread over the whole western portion of their Empire. The Spanish people are not descended from the Romans: the factors are social and political not racial.

Two main factors are at work. Strong nationalistic feeling will preserve a language among a minority for centuries in spite of inconvenience. For example, Irish is still spoken in Southern Ireland today. On the other hand if a people becomes reconciled to settling down together with its conquerors the need for mutual intelligibility and understanding overrules the feeling of racialism and the languages become unified.

It is unlikely that there was originally an Indo-European race. The languages which belong to the family contain a great deal of vocabulary which has no Indo-European etymology. Large sections of the language forms

and vocabulary are borrowed and adopted from known languages of other families. It is probable, therefore, that migratory bands speaking Indo-European languages occupied area of land and destroyed previous populations. The speakers must have been in a large majority and probably, in many cases, took centuries to gain the upper hand. If ever a single parent Indo-European language was spoken, it would have been spoken for a long time in a self-contained area. As this became too small for an increasing population various bands moved off. This isolation would produce new dialects with their own peculiarities. Continued isolation would cause a dialect to grow into a language. In addition the existing languages of the original occupants would affect those arriving there and thus the languages would become differentiated.

Assuming that there was an original centre from which the Indo-Europeans spread we must now decide where this centre was. It has been said that, as the common word in INdo-European languages was the word for a beech tree, the original centre must have been west of a line drawn from East Prussia to South East Asia Minor since the beech does not grow east of this line. A European origin seems likely since they knew of the horse and ox but not of the ass or camel. The earliest extant Indo-European literature is the Sanskrit Rig-Veda, a collection of hymns. The composers of these hymns had passed the north-west frontier of India but were, as yet, confined to the valleys of the Indus. It has been generally concluded that this indicates that the Aryans were passing through ASia Minor at this date on their way east although it is equally likely that the gods, whose names are of no satisfactory Indo-European etymology, belonged originally to Asia Minor and were borrowed from there by the Aryans. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that they passed to India and Iran through northern Asia Minor from a region in north-west Asia Minor or south-east Europe. About the same time, 2000 B.C., the earliest Greek speakers broke down from the Danube valley towards the Aegean. Between the break-up of the Indo-European community and the Greek invasion the language had been developing characteristics which differentiated it from the dialect of the parent tongue. Though it afterwards split into four main dialects, there was an original true Greek language from which they all derived.

When the Indo-Europeans entered the area of the Aegean they came into contact with the ancient Minoan civilisation which did not speak an Indo-European language. But the Greeks developed their language somewhere north and set out in separate bands and during the invasions they met the cultures and languages of earlier civilisations. There were four main dialects of the language which may be attributed to this advance of the Greeks in separate groups. They are Aeolic, Ionic-Attic, Arcado-Cyprian and Western Greek which includes Doric. In historic times Arcado-Cyprian was spoken in Arcadia in the centre of the Peloponnese and was hemmed in on all sides by Doric dialects.

From this can be concluded that this dialect was once spoken in a wider area of the Peloponnese and the south coast of Asia Minor and beyond as far as Cyprus. The Peloponnese was probably then invaded and conquered by those who spoke other Greek dialects and who subjugated the Arcadian speakers and cut them off from the sea. The Dorians were the last of the migratory bands from the north to descend upon Greece and their invasion took place after the time of Homer. When they reached the Peloponnese they found those peoples who were known to Homer as Achaeans. If it was the Dorians who brought the West-Greek dialect to the Peloponnese, Arcado-Cyprian must have been the dialect of those Achaeans who occupied the Peloponnese. The dialect called Doric comprises only a portion of the West Greek dialects. The Achaeans of classical times who lived in the north of the Peloponnese spoke a West-Greek dialect but were not Dorian. They may well have been descendants of the Homeric Achaeans who therefore, are likely to have spoken a West Greek dialect and so it is likely also that on their invasion of the Peloponnese they found already there a former of Greek invaders speaking Arcado-Cyprian.

Arcado-Cyprian was not the only dialect spoken in the Peloponnese in ancient times. Ionic was spoken in the area of Asia Minor known as Ionia between the Aeolian cities and the Dorians. Attic, spoken only in Attica was closely akin to Ionic. Originally Ionic-Attic dialects were spoken in north-east of the Peloponnese and from there progressed eastwards. Driven from the Peloponnese the Ionians occupied Attica and thence Asia Minor. In prehistoric times Ionians lived in Western Greece on both sides of the Gulf of Corinth, and were driven away from there by invading Achaeans. If these Achaeans spoke Arcado-Cyprian it is likely that the Ionians were the earliest Greek speaking people to reach Greece. Therefore it is probable that Achaean domination of Greece began in the 15th century B.C.

Therefore, it is clear that the Greeks came down to Greece in four separate migrations, the order in which the dialects advanced being probably Ionic, Arcado-Cyprian, Aeolic, West Greek. These dialects were never long out of touch with one another. West Greek, however, was more widely separated from the other three.

The Greek language, as we know it, of Homer and the classical period, had not emerged from the formative stage when Ionians and Achaeans entered Greece. When they arrived they met with the earlier languages of the Aegean. In early times there was free intercourse between Greece and Asia Minor and for this reason there are many reflections of the languages of Asia Minor in Greek. Interpenetration of peoples was easy in those days. Small settlements formed the communities, and the regions between them were likely to be inhabited by wanderers or colonists and as a result the different languages borrowed vocabulary from one another. In the times between warfare and raiding there was a necessity for neighbouring peoples to understand one another for the purposes of trade. Slavery too must have brought about much admixture of language.

Therefore the Greek language was influenced by languages prior to it and this accounts for the richness of vocabulary and expression. It is essentially Indo-European but its characteristics were softened and enriched and permeated by non-Indo-European languages such as Cretan. In the original Indo-European centre one of several dialects was formed due to the increasing isolation of its speakers from their linguistic kinsmen. Its speakers moved farther away and there followed a period in which this dialect grew into a language. This took place possibly in Macedonia. Again these speakers divided and eventually descended into Greece in four separate bands. Each dialect as it descended came into contact with non-Indo-European languages and was modified and enriched by them. Thus Greek was formed. At no stage should we imagine the language to have been entirely isolated from foreign influences. Borrowing took place between meighbouring languages and original Indo-European. Borrowing must still have taken place during the formative stage in Macedonia, but such borrowing was confined to vocabulary. The languages that were in Greece already affected not only Greek vocabulary but also phonology and syntax. This influence of other languages shows us that the Greeks borrowed much of their religion and particularly their ideas of government from older civilisations, that they came down from lands removed from the sea (θαλασσα is a non-Indo-European word) and to some extent they absorbed the peoples in whose territory they settled.

The Greek alphabet comes originally from the Semitic language although this does not mean that the alphabet was invented by Semites, or that it had no previous history but the names of the letters of the alphabet were semitic in origin. These names were handed on with the alphabet until they reached the Greeks. The Greek alpha, beta, gamma, delta and so on obviously correspond to the Hebrew names aleph, beth, gimel, daleth and so on. In order to adapt the borrowed alphabet to the sounds of their language the Greeks had to make certain changes. The Semitic languages did not represent their vowels in writing; on the other hand they had letters representing breathings and gutterals which did not exist in Greek, and they had more sibilants than the Greeks. Therefore, the Greeks utilised letters that in the Semite alphabet had expressed breathings and spirants to represent vowels. Thus aleph became α, yod became ι, and vau became υ, and ayin became ο. In the Chalcidic alphabet, or earlier variety, the letter that had been the Semitic cheth was not used as a vowel but represented the rough breathing while ε, corresponding to Semitic he, did duty for both long and short e. In the Ionic alphabet, the Greek alphabet as we know it, the letter corresponding to cheth was used, not as a breathing but to represent the long open vowel η.

In the case of sibilants ζ corresponds to Hebrew zain, and represented a voiced sibilant or spirant. The Greek letter sigma, which corresponds in name and form to the Hebrew samech, was transposed from the fifteenth place in the alphabet, which was that of samech, to the twenty-first which was that of the sibilant san. In the Ionic alphabet ξ corresponded to san, having the value of ks. In the Ionic alphabet ch was represented by the form χ which was used to represent the unvoiced velar aspirate. In the east

ψ had the value ps. The origin of this form is unknown, as also is that of φ which in both alphabets had the value of ph. The origin of the digamma, brought in to represent the bilabial spirant when the letter corresponding to the vau had been made into a vowel, is also unknown. The final letter Ω was probably differentiated from o.

The Cyrillic alphabet used by the Russians and other Slavonic peoples is an offshoot from this Greek alphabet. The Chalcidic Greek alphabet was carried by Greek colonists to Italy and Sicily where it became the basis of the Latin alphabet and thus the English.

Greek is a language predominantly Indo-European which yet shows clear traces of the impact of ancient culture upon the Greek mind and manner of life.

SARAH MUNRO.

One of the surest ways to hold a man is to be breathlessly interested in what he is doing. Men adore to be watched. The audience they prefer, however, is the feminine audience of one.

Today there are so many masculine interests a fiancee is expected to share - more games, more occupations! This means more possibilites of holding - but also of losing - your man. Beware of extra competition from these efficient girl motor-cyclists if he's a dirt-track rider; girls with swimming records if that is his sport - or tennis or tireless devotion to point-to-point meetings if these things mean his life...

Fortunately, there is a way out. A girl can always ask to have these games explained to her. After that it is plain sailing. She can just listen. She, in fact, must listen.

Berta Ruck. 'How to hold him'. (Home Chat, 1930)

Vt iuuenem teneas, nec te mirere relictam,
scitantis, quod agit, fac tueare modo.
Adspectes inhians; gaudent spectantibus omnes,
testis at in primis una puella placet.
Quot uelit hoc aeuo, quod non fuit ante, laborum
participem sponsam sponsus habere, uide!
Accedunt etiam ludi, quis multa tenendo -
multaque perdendo - sors datur apta uiro.
Si biiugo gaudet curru certare, puellam
si qua rotis Circum corripit ipsa, caue.
Scindere si nando Tiberim, cui plurima nandi
palma datur, magis est haec metuenda tibi.
Seu pila, seu campestre trahit certamen equorum,
ne nimium Veneri credula fide tuae!
Ecce autem Bonus Euentus! nescire iuuabit:
has studiosa artes explicet ille roga.
Ausculta modo: sola salus uenit auscultando:
hac facilis cursus condicione datur.

ROBIN MATHEWSON

Ovid's Exile and the Anti-Augustanism of his Metamorphoses

Ovid states that there were two reasons for his exile:

"Perdiderunt cum me duo crimina, carmen et error."

(Tristia II, 207)

He goes out of his way to maintain the secrecy surrounding his error:

"pars etiam quaedam mecum moriatur oportet
meque velim possit dissimulante tegi."

(Tristia I, V, 51-52)

As a result a single explanation of his "error" will probably never be acceptable to all scholars - the multitudinous suggestions demonstrate the diversity of possibilites and opinions.

It is possible to provide more definite suggestions concerning the identity of the "carmen". But there is a distinct problem: Ovid was hoping to gain an imperial pardon, and therefore what he says in his poetry written during his exile seems to be written with the purpose of gaining a favourable impression. Ovid says that the Ars Amatoria was the cause of his exile, and continually blames the poem for it:

"Sic utinam, quae nil metuentem tale magistrum
Perdidit, in cineros Ars mea versa foret."

(Tristia V, xii, 67-8)

But the Ars was written a number of years prior to his exile; he says:

"quae iuvenis mihi non nocitura putavi
scripta parum prudens, nunc nocuere seni."

(Tristia II, 543-4)

Are we to suppose that the Ars, published in about 1 B.C. only brought retribution seven or eight years after the publication, and that it inflamed Augustus enough to send Ovid into exile? Moreover Ovid's statements that the Ars was the major cause of his exile seem to be an over-emphasis of the charge which could be publicly argued. In other words, Ovid is exaggerating the relevance of the Ars (which possibly was the original cause of Augustus' anger with the poet) to his exile, in order that he may make a public confession and, he hoped, reverse his exilic situation. I see no reason to suppose that the Ars was the immediate cause of Ovid's exile, although I concede that it may have been a contributing factor to Augustus' displeasure which ultimately resulted in the poet's exile.

The fact that the Metamorphoses was not published until about A.D. 8 has caused many scholars to assume that any connection between the poem and Ovid's exile is highly tenuous. John Thibault, for example, says: "Although the Metamorphoses was not formally published at the time of Ovid's relegation, a few copies were doubtless in circulation among his friends. But this is scant and dubious ground for singling out the Metamorphoses, as the object of his anger." Thibault's scepticism is a result of the belief that the Metamorphoses did not contain extensive material likely to inflame the emperor.

We do not know the date of the publication of the Metamorphoses, but we do know that it was still unpublished when Ovid was going into exile, and that it still seems to have been incomplete:

> "vel quod adhuc crescens et rude carmen erat
> quae quoniam non sum penitus sublata, sed extant
> pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse reor."
>
> (Tristia I, vii, 22-4)

But, although incomplete, it was already in circulation - and not just among Ovid's friends:

> "nunc incorrectum, populi pervenit in ora
> in populi quicquam si tamen ore mea est."
>
> (Tristia III, xiv, 23-4)

It is very possible that the Ars Amatoria was used by Augustus merely as a cover, whereby Ovid was accused of writing a work that subverted the ideals of moral reform that Augustus had drawn up, rather than being accused of a "crime" in which Augustus was probably involved and that might therefore embarrass him or render his moralising position rather ridiculous.

We know that Augustus' sexual morality in early life was by no means exemplary:

> "Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant..."
>
> (Suetonius: Aug. 69)

But although, as Suetonius says, Augustus' other vices were controlled and refuted "praesentis et posterae vitae castitate", nevertheless in later life he still seems to have continued a life of promiscuity:

> "Circa libidines haesit, postea quoque, ut ferunt, ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quae sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirerentur."
>
> (Aug. 71)

Pseudo Aurelius Victor corroborates Suteonius' statement:

> "Cumque esset cibi ac vini multum, aliquatenus vero somni abstinens, serviebat tamen libidini usque ad probum vulgaris famae. Nam inter duodecim catamitos totidemque puellas accubare solitus erat."
>
> (Epit. de Caes. I.22)

Ovid's "error" may have been that he witnessed an adulterous relationship between Augustus and some other party or that he saw Augustus in some other compromising position. If, as a result, the poet then composed a work that not only portrayed the gods as characters with very basic instincts but also implicated Augustus himself in immoral acts, then Augustus' moralising position would be ridiculed and, to attempt to prevent the poet from corroborating his statement, banishment would very probably follow.

Ovid defends his Metamorphoses in the Tristia (II, 555ff.) as being filled with praise for Augustus and as being indicative of his loyalty towards his emperor:

> "Invenies vestri praeconia nominis illic
> invenies animi pignora multa mei."
>
> (Tristia II, 65-66)

Again.later,Ovid tells of the great affection he has for Augustus:

> "Aspicies, quantum dederis mihi pectoris ipse,
> quoque favore animi teque.
>
> (Tristia II, 561-2)

Ovid suggests that Augustus should read the lines where 'beginning with the earliest origin of the world he has brought his work (the Metamorphoses) to the times of Augustus':

> "Atque utinam revoces animum paulisper ab ira,
> Et vacuo iubeas hinc tibi pauca legi,
> Pauca, quibus prima surgens ab origine mundi
> In tua deduxi tempora, Caesar, opus."
>
> (Tristia II, 557-60)

Ovid is suggesting to Augustus that the supposed eulogy that ends at line 870 of the last book of the Metamorphoses, really does indicate the affection and reverence that Ovid says he feels for his emperor and the imperial family. However, it seems to me that the "eulogy", quite apart from the excessive flattery of which it is composed, cannot be taken as a serious indication of Ovid's reverence, for a number of reasons.

First, the ending of the poem should be considered and the relationship of the ending with the tone of the poem as a whole. Lines 557-560 of the Tristia (above) might suggest that the Metamorphoses is merely a mythological and historical account of happenings "prima ab origine mundi" to Augustus' own time. However, such an appraisal is very misleading and we should notice the way in which Ovid has subtly changed two lines from the invocation of the Metamorphoses and has then placed them at lines 559-560 of Book II of the Tristia:

(Adspirate meis) prima ab origine mundi
ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen!"

(Met. I, lines 3-4)

Pauca, quibus prima surgens ab origine mundi
in tua deduxi tempora, Caesar, opus!"

(Tristia II, 559-560)

Galinsky suggests (p.251) that the "mea tempora" of Met. I, line 4, is a "mere tempora 1 indication, devoid of any idealogical or patriotic intent." But the "mea" tempora of the Metamorphoses anticipates the end of the poem where Ovid refers to himself and not to Augustus: The fallen empires (XV, lines 420ff) are indicative of the past; the lives of Caesar and Augustus, like the empire of Rome, are of the recent past and the present; but all are to pass while Ovid's fame will endure into the future, ("perque omnia saecula... vivam"). So the use of "tua tempora" in the Tristia implies that the Metamorphoses ends with a eulogy of Augustus. But the use of "mea tempora" at the outset of the Metamorphoses would seem to anticipate the actual ending of the work which involves Ovid himself in a near self-eulogy: we are brought to Ovid's own "tempora" and are left with the belief that it is he (Ovid) who will survive "per omnia saecula fama" - "saecula", perhaps which could be described as Ovid's "tempora."

It might be claimed that the poem really ends at line 870 of Book XV with the anticipated apotheosis of Augustus, and that lines 871-879 are merely a concluding passage that has little bearing on the preceding lines; but the connection of the final nine lines with the previous passage by means of the structure of word reflection, where "Iove Iuppiter" (line 858) reflects "Iovis" (line 871), does not bear this out. The concluding nine lines are essential to the poem as a whole.

"Sic et Saturnus minor est Iove: Iuppiter arces
temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis
terra sub Augusto est; pater est et rector uterque.
di, precor, Aeneae comites, quibus ensis et ignis
cesserunt, dique Indigetes, genitorque Quirine
urbis et invicti genitor Gradive Quirini
Vestaque Caesareos inter sacrata penates,
et cum Caesarea tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta,
quique tenes altus Tarpeias Iuppiter arces
quosque alios vati fas appellare piumque est:
tarda sit illa dies et nostro serior aevo,
qua caput Augustum, quem temperat, orbe relicto
accedat caelo faveatque precantibus absens!

Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
nec potent ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.
cum volet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius
ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aevi:
parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum,
quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam."

The reflecting pattern here is very precise. At the centre of the structure we have the repetition of "Caesareos" (line 864) and "Caesarea" (line 865) which is reinforced by "Vestaque" (first word of 864) and "Vesta" (last word of 865); the repetition of "Quirine" (last word 862) and "Quirini" (last word 863) is reflected by the repetition of "quique" and "quosque" (first words of 866 and 867 respectively; "Augusto" (860) is reflected by "Augustum (869) and "Iove" (858) by "Iovis" (871) - this is reinforced by the positioning of "Augusto" and "Augustum" in the same feet of their respective lines in the same way that bot "Iove" and "Iovis" are placed in the third foot before the end of the two lines. (The repetition of "Iuppiter arces" in line 866 after the use in 858 anticipates the reintroduction of Augustus; in 858 "Iupiter arces" comes at the beginning of a comparison between Jupiter and Augustus; in 866 Jupiter, amongst others, is asked by the poet to forestall the death of Augustus for as long as possible; so although there is a break at line 861 in terms of subjectivity, the repetition of "Iuppiter arces" at line 866 shows us that a continuity is intended. The continuity of the conclusion with the rest of the poem thus refutes the proposition that the conclusion is separate and could have been added at a later date by the poet - possibly during exile - as suggested by certain scholars.

The comparison of Jupiter's ruling of heaven with Augustus' ruling of earth is a condensation of the passage in Book I (lines 168-205), where the image of heaven, described in terms that remind us of the Senate, the Via Sacra and the Forum, is followed by a direct comparison between Augustus and Jupiter:

> "... Sic, cum manus impia saevit
> Sanguine Caesareo Romanum exstinguere nomen,
> Attonitum tantae subito terrore ruinae
> humanum genus est totusque perhorruit orbis;
> nec tibi grata minus pietas, Auguste, tuorum
> quam fuit illa Iovi."

The elevated position of Jupiter referred to at the end of Book XV is similarly echoed here:

> "Celsior ipse loco sceptroque innixus eburno
> terrificam capitis consussit terque quaterque
> Caesariem, cum qua terram, mare, sidera movit."
>
> (Met. I. 178-180)

At the beginning of the poem, the reverence with which Jupiter is viewed has not been undermined or even totally destroyed by the descriptions of his amorous affairs and philanderings that are described in the ensuing chapters. However, when he is described in Chapter XV as a king who "arces temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis", we are inclined to feel that he is totally unworthy of such a position. Moreover, the implications here of anti-Augustanism cannot be ignored: not only are we left at the end

of the poem with the feeling that the apotheosis of Caesar and the anticipated apotheosis of Augustus have been ridiculed by Ovid since the divine status which they are to attain has already been portrayed in very base terms more appropriate to humans than gods, but also the present life of Augustus and his imperial stature is brought low by its connection with Jupiter. Galinsky supposes that the identification of Augustus with Jupiter is erroneous if such a viewpoint is maintained throughout the poem since "in line 866....Ovid discontinues this analogy. Jupiter is now quite distinct from Augustus." Certainly the analogy of the similar roles of Jupiter in heaven and Augustus on earth is discontinued at line 866, but although the two characters regain their own identity I see no reason why the comparison and close connection between them should be discontinued. I therefore see no reason why the "Iovis ira" of line 871 should not be taken to have overtones of a reference to Augustus. There seems to be an innate anti-Augustan tone in the poem, especially at the end, and as Ovid says that he might expect the "Iovis ira", he may have also expected (and may have received) the wrath of Augustus - as Augustus is connected with Jupiter in line 858, so he may also be here connected with the "Iovis ira" (line 871) - a phrase used again in the Tristia to refer to Augustus specifically. (Tristia I, V, line 78 and 3, xi, line 62).

And so the poem ends, not with the eulogy of Augustus (as suggested in Tristia II, 557-60), but with a triumphant assertion and near self-eulogy (per omnia saecula fama...vivam) - an assertion, as we have seen, that is closely connected with the structure and tone of the poem and is not merely a tacked-on conclusion, and that emphasises the anti-Augustan tone that has been implicity present throughout. Maybe the Metamorphoses deserve a few more lines than those allotted by Thibault when he examines the possible cause of Ovid's exile.

CHARLES LEE

Classical Association Guest Lecturers - Michaelmas Term, 1980.

It was with greatest pleasure that the Classical Association greeted Professor K.D.White on Thursday, 9th October, who gave a most entertaining lecture on "Greek and Roman Food and Diet" and impressed his audience with his knowledge of agriculture in ancient times. We departed much enlightened as to what produced the great empire builders of antiquity.

On Tuesday, 28th October, Dr. Alan Sommerstein amused his audience by his fascinating lecture on how the Greeks and Romans spoke. This question must be of the utmost importance for any classicist or linguist.

In this age of the liberated woman, the woman's role in Rome is of immense interest. June Gardiner's lively talk on November 10th gave great insight into the unenviable position of women in Roman society to an audience comprised mainly of the feminine gender.

Mr.H.W.Stubbs gave, with his customary enthusiasm, a lecture entitled "Journey into a mirage: property and social reform in Sparta". He imparted some of his extensive knowledge in a most

The Incomplete Aeneid

To pick on certain problems in the Aeneid, perhaps not very serious problems, and then to blow their importance out of all proportion, using this evidence as proof that the poem is far from complete, is a dangerous practice. But how are we going to know that this textual problem is not in fact a copyist's mistake, rather than conclusive evidence that Virgil died before he was able to spend the length of time that he had set aside for ironing out the ambiguities, the inconsistencies, the ineffective passages and the obtrusive repetitions that do crop up throughout the poem? There is a fairly simple example of this in Book X, when the wraith, disguised as Aeneas in order to lure Turnus away from the scene of the battle, has boarded the ship; and Saturnian Juno has severed the cable with which the ship is moored. The manuscripts would make more sense if lines 663 and 664 were to precede lines 661 and 662: the Oxford Classical text has emended the text for it to read this way. But, the manuscripts have the lines the other way around. This particular example does not in fact cause that much of a problem to us, as it is very easy to see how a copyist could have accidentally muddled up the pairs of lines, for any number of reasons; for instance that the scribe was not concentrating at the time. This is a simple example, but it serves to demonstrate the type of error that we must guard against.

Having said that, our own text of the Aeneid is surprisingly good as compared to those of other ancient authors that have come down to us. It is based chiefly on two manuscripts (P and M) from the 4th or 5th century, and another (R) which is believed to be of the 5th. P and R are in the Vatican, M in Florence. There are also other fragmentary manuscripts of the 4th century or earlier; so we are fortunately endowed with a large number of very early manuscripts, which reflects the popularity of the Aeneid right from the start. Although no single manuscript is wholly complete, the three good ones are all nearly so, and therefore are able to make up for the gaps in the others. There is also a literary dialogue written at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries, called the Saturnalia, written by a scholar by the name of Macrobius, which includes a number of quotations from Virgil. Perhaps of more interest, however, is the commentary of Virgil's works by Servius, written at about the same time as the Saturnalia. Throughout the commentary, he quotes extensively from the text, and he also cites and discusses variants. However, the commentary is written in much the same style as the commentaries of today, so that he does not in fact tell us that much that we are not able to work out for ourselves: all the same, it is a valuable document when we need an alternative scource to help us sort out a textual problem. Another interesting reason why the text we have is relatively free from errors

is that a large number of such a renowned and popular poem were kept in libraries. These would have been the copies of superior quality, and so they would have provided a sound and reliable source from which to take the copies. Moreover, there would have been a large number of copies throughout the schools. So, although we must keep our eyes open for problems arising from copyists' mistakes, it is reassuring to know that the text of the Aeneid is reasonably reliable: this means that the majority of difficulties that arise will, in fact, be explained by Virgil's lack of revision.

A certain Aelius Donatus, a well-known grammarian of the 4th century and a teacher of St. Jerome, wrote a Vita Virgili. His is the longest and probably the most useful of the accounts of Virgil's life that we have, evidently based on Suetonius' Vita Virgili, written at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries. In this work, Donatus states that the poet had intended to spend a period of three full years in revising the Aeneid, but also informs us that it was in substance complete: he uses the phrase perfecta demum materia. So, we do have evidence that the poem is incomplete, beyond the fact that we can see that there are plenty of inconsistencies in it.

One of the factors that led to the large number of repetitions, inconsistencies and ambiguities in the first place, was the method of writing that Virgil used. From Donatus, we know that there were stories going around in the ancient world concerning Virgil's way of writing. We have no evidence to prove these rumours, but they are so undramatic that there is no reason to disbelieve them. He is said to started by making a prose plan of the story, and then he composed the poetic version section by section, not necessarily following the order of the prose plan; this means that it is quite possible that passages from Book XII may have been written before those in the first book. We are told that the poet dictated a considerable passage in the morning and spent the rest of the day in re-working this material, so that the final result of a day's work might only be a few lines. So, it is not hard to see how some passages will have come down to us in a less polished state than others: or perhaps imperfectly fitted into the overall scheme of the poem. These problems arise out of a system which involves on the one hand a tightly organized written plan, and on the other, a very free method of composition, in which the poet focuses his attention on each single episode at a time.

When scholars discuss the incompleteness of the Aeneid, the most obvious aspect to look at is the number of hemistiches, or half-lines, in the poem. Moreover, these lines are also one of the major sources of argument in connection with Virgil. The total number of half-lines is 59; the average number per book being 5; and no book is without one. There is no discernible even distribution of these lines throughout the

books, the book with the least number being Book XI with two, and the book with the most being Book II with ten. All the lines make sense, that is to say that there is no break in the sense of the story as a result of the half-lines. There seems to be little evidence to back up the views of the scholars who maintain that Virgil used the half-lines as a deliberate stylistic device. If the poet wanted to use them in order to break up the succession of hexameters, the fact that the distribution throughout the poem is so irregular seems to be slightly mysterious; moreover, it would be unlikely for a poet to tamper with a metre form as established as the hexameter, especially in an epic, a serious verse form, whose traditions were clearly laid down and not lightly disregarded. One of the main arguments that scholars use in favour of the half-lines being used intentionally is that quite a lot of them are really quite effective. In my mind, the mere fact that they are not all effective is pretty conclusive proof that Virgil did not mean them to remain in the form that we have them in the final version.

Moreover, if Virgil had declared that it was his intention to introduce hemistiches, it is surprising to say the least that this fact was not mentioned by any of the grammarians or commentators at the time, because we have no previous examples of the phenomenon (for instance, there are none in the Eclogues or Georgics). Moreover, as we have no subsequent examples either, if Virgil intended to leave the half-lines as half-lines, the practice is even more interesting to grammarians as it did not become a common usage afterwards. So, if we bear in mind the methods of dictating and revision that Virgil employed, then it is not hard to see that the half-lines are evidence that the poem was not fully revised. And we can see that these are the types of problems that Virgil, a poet so careful to make sure that his metrical structure was not irregular in any case, would have emended in the final revision. However, it is interesting to note that Virgil is supposed to have read aloud to Augustus Books II, IV, and VI, all of which do contain half-lines; so, he could not have regarded the presence of incomplete lines as a reason for not reciting parts of the poem in public.

There are two passages which are said to have been cut out by the first editors of the poem, and which have caused a great deal of discussion. The first is a passage of four lines which is supposed to have come before the first lines of the poem, so that the Aeneid would not in fact start with the words arma virumque cano. However, there seems to be little evidence for this passage actually coming in this position, and the confusion can easily be explained as a copyist's mistake. The lines consist of a form of dedication which might easily have been taken from elsewhere and prefixed to the Aeneid as a prologue. It is easy to see how a scribe could have written these lines into the text at a later date.

However, the other passage in Book II is more important to demonstrate the type of problem that we are up against. For there must either be a gap waiting to be filled at a later date between lines 567 and 588, or else a passage which gives an account of Helen's behaviour on the night of the fall of Troy which would seem to be quite irreconcilable with the description of Helen's activities on that same night, which we get from Deiphobus in the Underworld in Book VI. In these twenty-two lines in Book II, Aeneas sees Helen cowering from the invading Greeks, as well as from the Trojans, and he considers murdering her in payment for all the suffering she has caused. Immediately after this passage, Venus appears to her son, and tells him not to have such mad ideas and thereby forsake his duty to his family. If these twenty-two lines are to be left out, and line 589 follows line 566, then the text does not make nearly such good sense. But this scene contradicts the Deiphobus story, in which he tells how his 'coniunx' (VI.523) lets the Greeks into his 'thalamus' in order to murder him. This total contradiction is further confused by the fact that the 'Helen episode' in Book II does not appear in any of the manuscripts, but is only preserved for us by Servius in his commentary. So, the only explanation seems to be that Virgil somewhere marked the passage as being one which would need more work on it, and that as a result, it was omitted by the editors after his death.

That is an example of a major problem in the poem, but there are also a multitude of minor confusions throughout the Aeneid. The type of minor difficulty can be shown by a couple of examples from Book VI. When Aeneas enters the Underworld, it appears that he does so twice. First of all, Aenead and the Sibyl enter the vestibulum of Orcus, and they proceed through the Underworld which is described in terms of a Roman house: the type of words used are vestibulum (273), in finibus (286), cubilia (274), limen (279), thalami (280) and sedem (283). They are entering Hades as if they were entering any villa. However, this seems to be confusing in the light of the passage that follows, because the two travellers seem to enter the Underworld for a second time when they reach the river Styx (VI.384) and confront the ferryman, Charon (VI.388-416). From this point, the imagery used is that of the countryside. This is hardly a problem on which our whole interpretation of the poem is going to rest, but it is the type of ambiguity that would have been ironed out in the revision. There is also a further ambiguity at the end of the same book, when Aeneas is leaving the Underworld:

> Sunt gemini Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
> cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
> altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
> sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
> his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
> prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna
> ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit.
>
> (VI. 893-9)

Virgil seems to make the distinction between the two gates fairly clear, but there is no explanation given as to why Aeneas should go out through the gate that he does. Virgil would certainly have clarified this point at a later date if he had been able to. It should be added that it does not seem possible that this problem could have been caused by a copyist's incompetence.

Another aspect to discuss in connection with the lack of revision is the number of repetitions in the poem. It is quite easy to see how verbal echoes and repetitions could crop up when the poet was doing his dictation. He might be describing a battle scene from near the end of the poem and then be suddenly floored as to how to depict a certain action or scene; his memory would recall an episode from an earlier passage, perhaps from Book II, and he would include it temporarily, to be altered later. Some scholars have laid a great amount of weight on the repetitions in showing that they are indicative of the incomplete state of the poem, but their importance must not be over-estimated. On many occasions, the connotation that the repetition evokes is not meant to have any significance, but is purely accidental. For example, the phrase iam pridem resides animos is used both in Book I.722 to describe Dido's heart which has not been stirred to love since the death of her husband, Sychaeus; and in Book VII. 693, to describe the spirit of the Italian peoples who have not been stirred to war for so long, that is, until the arrival of the Trojans. Also, the phrase at domus interior is used in Book I.637 to describe Dido's house, and in Book II.486 to describe Prian's house. It is hard to see that two such phrases, which are pretty insignificant in length, would be remembered in connection with one another; and it is also hard to believe that they would actually affect the interpretation of the other. However, we do find that passages that are longer than these two examples are also repeated. In Book II, Aeneas meets the ghost of his mother, Creusa, and he tries to embrace her;

> ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
> ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
> par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno. II.792-4

When Aeneas meets his father in the Underworld, these exact three lines are repeated at VI.700-2. This is a relatively long passage, so the explanation may be either that Virgil thought that the lines were particularly good, and worthy of repetition; or else, at some stage, a studious scholar may have written these lines in the margin of the manuscript as being appropriate to the parallel situations, and a not-quite-so-bright scholar consequently wrote the lines into the text. We shall never know for certain the answer to such a problem, but passages of such length are hardly gling to pass by unnoticed. However much Virgil wished to use the technique throughout the poem, it is hard to believe

that he would not have cut out a lot of the duplications which did not have any particular point, because he would have been unaware of the fact that for every time that he included an ineffective repetition, the ones that really do work will become less successful as they will not be held up in such high relief.

There are a large number of inconsistencies in the Aeneid. A few examples will show the types of problems that arise: a discussion of the disparity between the descriptions of Helen that we get from Aeneas in Book II and from Deiphobus in Book VI has already been mentioned above. Then again, in both Book I.755 and V.626, the Trojans are said to have been wandering on their travels for seven summers, although we are told clearly at Book IV.193 and IV.309 that they have spent a winter in Carthage. So, whereas they had spent seven summers travelling by the time of Book I, by Book V, they should have spent eight years wandering. In Book V, the helmsman, Palinurus, is swept overboard on the night before the Trojans arrive at Cumae. But when Aeneas meets him in the Underworld, Palinurus states that he was tossed by the waves for a period of three days before he saw land: so here too, there is a time problem. In Book IX, we are introduced to the two warriors Euryalus and Nisus as if we are not supposed to know them already, whereas they have already taken quite a major part in the foot race in the funeral games in Book V. Book X ends with the death of Mezantius after a single combat with Aeneas, and the following book opens with the dawn of a new day. No other books have such an abrupt transition as these two have, and it is probable Virgil would have done something in the revision to improve this.

Inconsistencies also tend to arise from the fact that Virgil is prone to exaggerate points in a certain context with the exclusion of other details. For example, in Book XII the story requires the Latins to regret the single combat between Turnus and Aeneas, and so Turnus is described at the truce as being youthful and pathetic:

> adiuvat incessu tacito progressus et aram
> suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus
> pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor.
>
> XII.219-221

This impression is given to fulfil the purpose of that particular part of the story, but it does not tie in with the picture that we get of Turnus elsewhere: the warrior who towers above his fellow soldiers, who was capable of throwing a boulder which twelve ordinary men would have had trouble in merely carrying (XII.899). And this is not the Turnus whom we see elsewhere glorying in the killing of Trojans. However, the belittled Turnus does serve to make Aeneas look even more

impressive by comparison, but this does not adequately explain the inconsistency.

Another example of this type of problem can be seen in the description of the Latin peoples. At the beginning of Book VII Virgil tells us that Latinus' reign has been both long and peaceful:

> Rex arva Latinus et urbes
> iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat. VII. 45-6.

and at VII.623, Ausonia is described as being 'inexcita... atque immobilis ante'.' At VIII.253ff., Diomede warns the Ausonians not to enter in on a war, of which they no experience. All this hardly seems to tie in with the prophecy of Jupiter in the first book, when he says that Aeneas will have to conquer a warlike race - populos ferocis (I.263), and Anchises warns his son at V.730 that he will have to fight against a race that will be fierce and tough: gens dura atque aspera cultu Debellanda tibi Latio est. Moreover, at VIII.55, the Tiber god tells Aeneas that the Latins are always at war with the people at Pallenteum. It has been suggested that the problem could be solved if we make the distinction between the Latins as the peaceful race, and the Rutulians as the warlike one. But Virgil himself does not bring out this distinction at any stage, so the problem remains unsolved.

The general structure of the poem has also been criticised for a couple of reasons. Firstly, it is emphasised throughout the poem how great are the trials that Aeneas has to overcome in order to reach his promised destiny. Some people maintain that the magnitude of Aeneas' endurance is not successfully reflected in the poem, and to make matters worse, Aeneas' suffering is itself dwarfed by the suffering that Dido has to bear. Secondly, it is said that the final few books are something of an anti-climax, as Aeneas has already reached his Promised Land, and the battles that he has to go through are merely a formality, as we all know by this time that is declared by Fate that he is going to win in the end. Neither of these opinions seem to hold much weight. In Books II and III we do see a great deal of the trials that Aeneas and his followers have had to go through; and the intensity of Dido's passion only goes to show the extent of the powers that are working on Aeneas to force him to stay in Carthage and so forget his duty. The second half of the poem must also be seen as a further stage in Aeneas' testing before he finally settles in Italy. As to the end being an anti-climax, the comment above only takes into consideration the story-line, which must be balanced with the fact that the final few books contain some episodes which are no less powerful and no less spectacular poetically than those in the first half. Bearing in mind that the possibilities for story-telling presented by the subject matter of the second half as compared with the first half of the poem, this makes the achievement all the more remarkable. Moreover, in the last few books, Virgil portrays a great variety of characters, such as Nisus and Euryalus, Pallas, Lausus, Mezentius, Camilla, and Turnus himself: all of which help to make the last few books no less interesting than the first ones.

NINETEEN FORTY-SIX & NINETEEN EIGHTY-ONE

the Annual General Meetings of the Classical Association at Exeter

The Editor has asked me to compare and contrast the Annual General Meeting of the Classical Association held at Exeter in 1946 with the corresponding Meeting to be held here in April. As I was not present at the former, and the latter has yet to take place, I feel like a student who is asked to compare and contrast a Set Book that he has not read with another that he hopes to read in a week or two; but there is a certain amount in the archives, labelled "one box of rubbish" by an earlier Secretary of the South West branch.

The earliest relevant source is the Minutes of the meeting of the Council of the national Classical Association at Oxford in April 1945: "Present:- Dr. J.T.Sheppard (Chairman), Sir Richard Livingstone...(Note: by an unfortunate misdirection the above met in the wrong room. The following names should be added as having assembled elsewhere - the President, Professor Gilbert Murray.....)" But the Council had more important matters to consider than the Exeter meeting. There was a questionnaire from the Provisional French Government asking for information on the position of Latin in English schools; a letter enclosing draft constitution of an educational and cultural organisation of the United Nations, inviting comments; contacts were re-established with Uppsala and the Hague; an exchange of periodicals set up with the Maxim Gorki Library of the Moscow State University; and Council sent "a message of appreciation and encouragement to Mr. E.V.Rieu on the series of translations from the Classics which he is editing for Penguin Books, and of congratulation on the happy start the series has made with his own version of the Odyssey", and "a letter of congratulation to Professor Sir D'Arcy Thompson on the completion of sixty years of professorial work".

The minutes of the local South-West branch (secretary the Revd. - later Canon - C.B.Armstrong) are laconic: "Arrangements for the 1946 General Meeting were discussed, and suggestions made". A tea-party in the Chapter House seems to have loomed large in the preparations: a special sub-committee of four ladies was formed to organize it, and an appeal sent to local members to cover the cost (£14).

Most of the buildings of the University that we now take for granted had not been built in 1946. The Washington Singer was there, and most of the lectures were delivered in it; visitors stayed at Mardon, Reed Hall and Lopes. The charge for a single room in these "College Hostels" from Mon. 8th April to Thurs. 11th was £2.15.0 ("members are requested to be punctual at meals"). "Ration cards will not be necessary", visitors were informed in 1946; happily we can still say the same in 1981. Those who preferred to stay in a hotel were charged 14s.0d. for bed and breakfast at the Royal Clarence, 15s.0d. + 10% at the Rougemont, and 13s.6d. at the Imperial. Accommodation at St. Luke's in 1981 will cost £42 from Tues. 7th April to Fri. 10th. St. Luke's will be the focus of activities, with part of Wednesday spent on the main University site.

since our mountainous terrain is considered too much of a struggle for our more elderly members. (Even one less elderly member, as he climbs the hill, always thinks of Hesiod Works and Days 289: "the gods have put sweat upon the path to virtue".) A guide to places of interest in Exeter was available in 1946, price 2d.; here the 1981 visitor will be paying less than his predecessor, as he will be given a free brochure.

The lecturers in 1946 were distinguished indeed. After Principal Murray's "Reflections from the Wings" came Prof. E.R.Dodds, on "Plato and the Irrational"; the Presidential Address by Sir FRANK FLETCHER (in capitals twice as large as anyone else), "Retrospect"; Lady Fox on "Roman Exeter"; Prof. B.D.Meritt on "Early Years of the Delian League" (Greek historians will recall that ATL vol. I had been published before the war, but the three succeeding volumes were yet to appear); Mr. F.W.Walbank on "Polybius and the Growth of Rome"; and Mr. C.G.Hardie on "Dante and the Fourth Eclogue". Summaries can be read in the Proceedings of the Classical Association for 1946. In 1981 we are offering Dr. Richard Seaford (who had not even been born when the 1946 meeting was held) on "Dionysiac drama and Dionysiac mysteries"; Prof. Martin West on "Cosmology in the Greek tragedians"; the Presidential Address by Prof. Deryck Williams, "Virgil's Aeneid: the first two thousand years"; Michael Crawford on "City and territory: the archaeology and history of Fregellae"; Prof. Brian Shefton on "The eye: a motive in ancient art"; and Prof. Peter Wiseman on "I, Clodia". Are there any significant differences of emphasis?

Visitors were conducted around the Cathedral in 1946 by the Dean of Exeter, and then taken to some sites in the city (revealed as a result of bombing) by Lady Fox. The Cathedral remains the chief attraction this year; one innovation is a walk around the University gardens. In 1946 Tuesday was the eating and drinking day: the tea-party in the Chapter House, and a reception by the Mayor in the Guildhall (there was no Association Dinner, now traditional). It was only the second time in the history of Exeter that the city had had a Labour mayor. He was informed that the Classical Association was an important and influential body, and was urged to entertain them lavishly, to show that Labour could do these things as well as the Tories; with the result that the generosity of the civic hospitality during this period of post-war shortages was remembered for decades after.

This year's visitors are being offered excursions to Killerton, or Saltram, or Dartmoor (cost £3). In 1946 it was Dartmoor only: Mortonhampstead, Postbridge, Grimspound, Widdicombe and Haytor - conducted by R. Hansford Worth Esq. himself (cost 5/-). In 1946 there was an exhibition of books, including the Anglo-Saxon Exeter Book, in the Roborough; in 1981 there will be an exhibition on Roman Devon (and how much more we know about that subject than we did in 1946!) in the Library

bequest, and a display of books new and second-hand at St. Luke's. And we are offering two other lollipops for which there is no precedent in 1946: a production of Euripides' Cyclops and scenes from the Bacchae, and a volume of essays, Pegasus, by past and present members of the Department of Classics, published to coincide with the meeting(see below).

At the end of the 1946 meeting, a vote of thanks was passed to all those responsible for the organization of the conference by Mr. J.S.Shields, one member of that meeting who will be with us again in 1981. And when it was all over, L.J.D.Richardson, Secretary of the Classical Association (of hyperesia fame), sat down on the following Sunday to send a letter from University College, Cardiff - the home of the present National Secretary too - to thank the South West Branch "for all they did to make the Meeting the great success it was. From the very beginning", he continued, " - for the Branch must be regarded as τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν in the matter of a projected Meeting in the South West - and throughout the weeks of preparation, the members of the Branch must have worked hard to have everything in readiness; and, during the Meeting itself, we had the delightful experience of listening to your Chairman, the Very Rev. the Dean of Exeter, not only on the platform but in the precincts of his wonderful Cathedral, and we also enjoyed a charming tea provided by the South Western Branch for us in the historic Chapter House. As our members (reluctantly!) took their departure at the close of the Meeting, I heard nothing but praise and delighted appreciation of all the arrangements that had been made for our comfort and nothing but admiration for the effective manner in which you had yourself looked after all the details". This glowing letter has been inserted in our Minutes book.

About 160 members had attended; the figure for 1981 stands at 102 at the time of writing, and we are expecting at least a dozen more. It is good to know that the 1946 meeting made a profit: it came to exactly £1, which the meeting decided should be retained by the South West Branch.

David Harvey (Secretary, S.W.Branch
the Classical Association)

After 'Superman, the Movie', it's Pegasus, the Book'...

The University of Exeter is publishing this year a collection of essays (etc.) by past and present members of the Classics Dept. staff, several of which appeared for the first time in the pages of Pegasus. With the permission, therefore, of the last editor but one, the project was given the title Pegasus: Classical Essays from the University of Exeter. Loyal subscribers, and other veterans of the magazine's 17-year history will perhaps remember some of the items to be republished: F.W.Clayton, 'Lady Mary and the Greek Anthology'(no.5,1966); I.R.D.Mathewson, 'Five Translations from Horace'(no.10,1968); J.Glucker, Professor Key and Dr.Wagner: an Episode in the History of Victorian Scholarship'(no.12,1969); G.V.M.Heap, 'James Duport's Cambridge Lectures on Theophrastus' (no.15,1973); J.W.Fitton, 'Menander and Euripides: Theme and Treatment'(no.21,1977); T.P.Wiseman, 'Mortal Trash: an Essay on Hopkins and Plato'(no.21,1978). Other contributors are F.D.Harvey,A.H.F.Griffin,R.A.S.Seaford, and the late W.F.Jackson Knight. The Editor is H.W.Stubbs, another name familiar to readers of these pages, who has written the Introduction to the volume. *Pegasus: Classical Essays from the University of Exeter* is 140 pages long, and costs £4.50(post free!) from the