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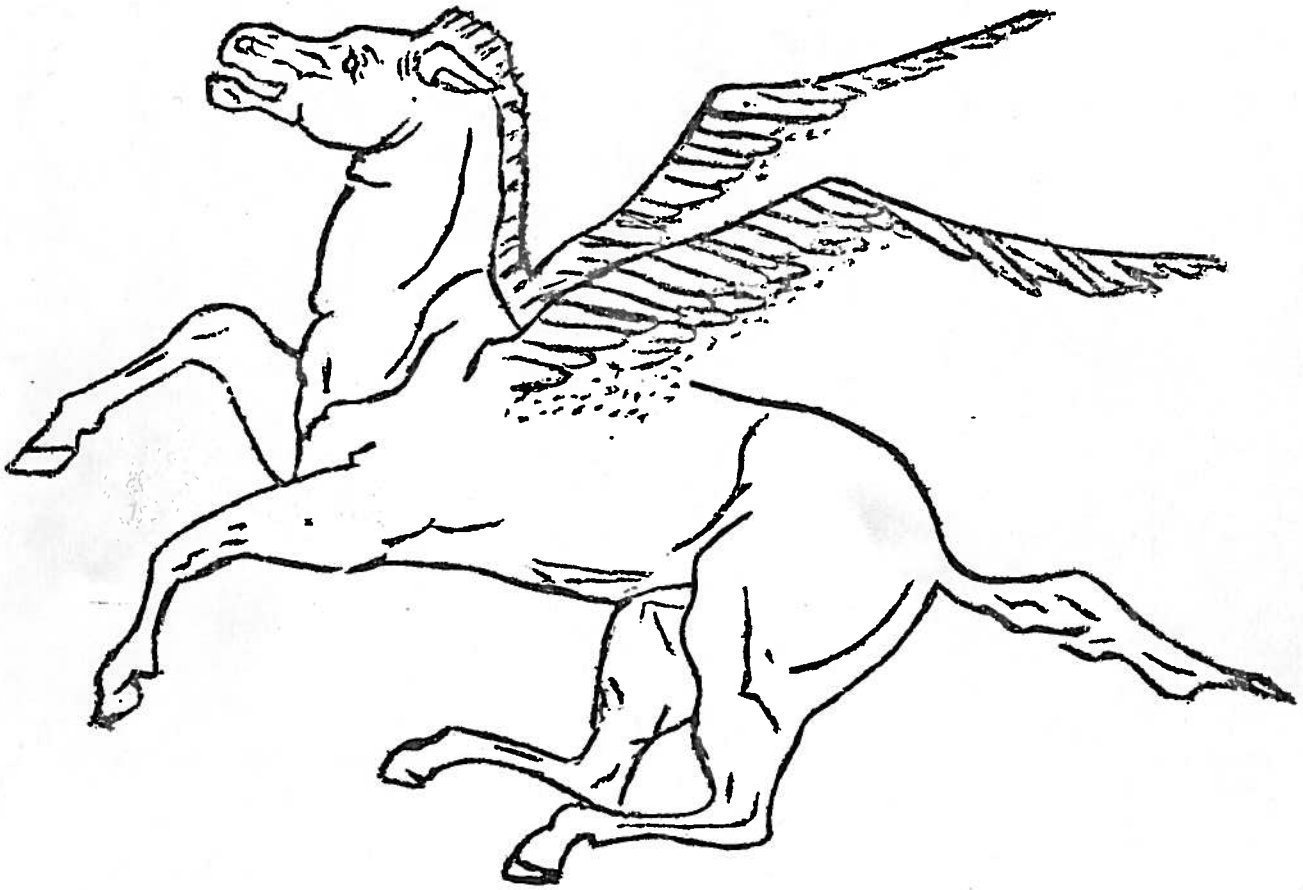

PEGASUS

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No. 25 June 1982

PEGASUS

University of Exeter Classical Society Magazine
Editor : Hilary Gurney

Here we are once again. In a future edition of Pegasus, we should like to feature news of past members of staff and students of Exeter University, and any such information would be more than welcome. I wish to thank all members of staff and students who helped to make this magazine possible, especially Valerie, our secretary, without whom this would be merely a pile of paper. Farewell, and I hope that you enjoy the 1982 issue of Pegasus.

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CONTENTS

Reflexions of a New Zealand Classicist in Exeter

Classics and New Zealand sound an odd combination - do Kiwi classicists wear grass skirts and chant their conjugations to the accompaniment of a war dance? Or scan hexameters in the rugby scrum, come to that? The reality is disappointing - Latin has been taught in New Zealand schools as long as the schools have been there (though, sadly, in increasingly fewer of them), and syllabuses often resemble British ones. And the university departments (which four of the six universities have) are largely staffed by people with British degrees. Yet reflexion may suggest that these similarities should be a cause more of delight than of depression, if they show how universal the study of the classics is.

I decided in 1980 that a couple of terms spent teaching in a British university would be interesting and enjoyable, and would moreover provide a stimulating extension to a period of study leave. So I started writing to British departments to see if anyone was interested in an exchange, which would mean simply that bodies would change places and do each other's work. Rather to my surprise I struck oil - in the person of Alan Griffin - in my first batch of letters. Exeter was near the top of my list (partly because I had never been here and partly because of my friendship with a retired member of another department here who spends much of her time in New Zealand) and was able to give me an account of the Exeter department (both past and present) that seemed to guarantee a worthwhile stay here. The authorities at both ends were co-operative and the exchange was on.

In the end my original plans for study leave had to be altered, and on a hot, sunny Christmas Day, two days after finishing the examining of a large heap of Classical Studies papers from the schools, we left Auckland. Our summer holiday consisted of a fortnight spent in various interesting places along the way, from steaming Singapor. to frozen Istanbul. We nearly did not reach England, let alone Exeter, because of the weather, but it was a relief when we got here to find that the Professor was snowbound in Pennsylvania (not as distant as we at first innocently supposed) and that half the students were also expected to be delayed. So within a few days I was embroiled in the excitements of a new teaching term and of living and learning about a new university, in the spirit neither, I hope, of the wide-eyed colonial uncritically absorbing the wisdom of the old world nor of the brash antipodean determined to show the effete motherland how much better things are done down there.

New Zealand is a country of 3 million human inhabitants and 60 million sheep, of flightless birds and three-eyed lizards, of Moas (extinct) and Muldoon (not yet), which has produced Sir Ronald Syme as well as Sir Edmund Hillary and which buys more books per head than any other country in the world (even if those on rugby are catalogued in the 200's). My university is in Auckland - a town nearly the size of Birmingham, near the northern (warmer) end of the North Island. The largest town in New Zealand, it also has the largest university, with an enrolment of some 12,500 students; even though many of these are part-time, this means that in student numbers it is more comparable

with Oxford and Cambridge than with Exeter. The B.A. degree is constructed on what has come to be known as the cafeteria principle: a student takes, over a minimum of three years, a total of 21 'papers' at various levels and in four to six subjects. It is therefore possible to do a whole degree in the Classics Department (which contains five 'subjects' including Hebrew), but few students do so; on the other hand, a large number whose main interests are elsewhere do a paper or two at first year level in Ancient History or Classical Studies. Many students follow their B.A. with a single subject M.A., mainly by examination, over one year in the case of Latin and Greek (some do both successively).

One important difference between British and New Zealand universities is that New Zealand operates an 'open' university policy, which means that anyone who matriculates to a certain basic level is entitled to enrol at a university. One result of this is that few New Zealanders can feel cheated of a university education; another is a predictably high failure rate, especially in the first year. Moreover, the population of New Zealand, like that of Australia, is mainly concentrated in a handful of large towns, in which the universities are; most students are expected to live at home and attend their local university, and where theyare able to do so their grant does not include any allowance for subsistence. There is thus little competition between students to attend a particular university or between universities to attract students; what may occur is rivalry between departments of the same university to attract the more able students in the area. All departments perforce play the numbers game, and because the Classics in New Zealand as elsewhere face problems such as declining enrolments in the schools and accusations of irrelevance (to what?), Classics departments over the last decade have taken particular care to ensure that what they offer in the cafeteria is interesting and well taught. Often the very smallness of classes is seen by students as an advantage, since it enables the sort of personal contact between lecturer and student that is almost impossible, despite the efforts of tutors, in, say, an Anthropology class of 850.

Of course I have found Exeter different in many ways from Auckland. It is a pleasant change to teach students whose time is more or less at the disposal of a single department (or two), instead of those who have to fit a Greek Prose in between a biology practical and a Chinese oral; and I am sure that a residential University has tremendous advantages over one where students retire nightly to the bosoms of their often uncomprehending families - on the other hand I do not know how various tragic and comic extravaganzas that I have directed could ever have reached the stage without vacation rehearsals. I am often asked how I find the students here; the rather boring answer is that classical students seem to be much the same (ch rming, intelligent, hardworking, goodlooking etc.) the world over. But perhaps New Zealand students talk more without being driven into it - is this a good thing? Academic standards, so far as I can judge, seem comparable, if one excludes those students in New Zealand with only the minimum qualification (most have more); and a long-cherished belief that failure to identify indirect questions was a disease strictly endemic to the southern hemisphere has been sadly dissipated. Other longheld illusions have been shattered: the English do not spell any better than New Zealanders and - worst of all - they are no better at getting their work in on time. One feature of the Auckland scene, however, is conspicuously missing here (and doubtless in most other

British universities), namely the large number of part-time students, especially the more mature ones. These are widely various, and include a quantity of middle-aged women, who in many cases have grown up children (sometimes university students themselves). As students they are obviously highly motivated; they bring far more experience to bear on their studies than do their juniors, even if they are unused to academic disciplines, and, most important of all, they are usually willing to discuss problems and raise difficulties in class (being, on the whole, not too frightened of looking foolish).

I may say that many of my fixed impressions of Classics departments have become even more firmly entrenched. I am naturally more convinced than ever that classical lecturers are more intelligent and work harder than anyone else in the university, that any one classics department will cover the whole range of political opinions and a wide range of outside interests and eccentricities, and that classical secretaries are ladies of astonishing efficiency who spend most of their time extracting examination papers from staff by a mixture of threats and promises. I note also that classicists buy (and read) more books than anyone else, that their students smile sweetly and never read a quarter of what they are optimistically told to and that there is never enough money for the library.

It has been an interesting experience; I only hope Alan Griffin is having as good a time in Auckland.

R.S.W.HAWTREY

Pegasus: Classical Essays from the University of Exeter

Introduction by Hugh Stubbs; versions and imitations by Fred Clayton and Robin Mathewson; Jim Fitton on Menander and Euripides, John Glucker on a murky episode in Victorian scholarship, Alan Griffin on Ovid's Ceyx and Alcyone, David Harvey on Pegasus coins and plates, G.V.M.Heap on classics in eighteenth-century Cambridge, Jackson Knight on death and the Romans, Richard Seaford on Dionysiac mysteries, Peter Wiseman on Vespasian and on Plato in Gerard Manley Hopkins.

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SEX AND THE LITERARY CRITIC

As a first-year undergraduate at Cambridge I was told to read Horace's first book of Satires. So I went away and took out of the Library the Victorian edition of A.Palmer (1883). Dutifully I read through the text. I was rather puzzled about the second poem in the book. It was only 24 lines long, considerably shorter than the other nine poems in the book. It was only when I turned to Palmer's commentary that I realized that the poem had been bowdlerized as being "scarcely profitable reading". Horace Sat.I.2 is actually 134 lines long.

This is a striking example of the bowdlerization of subject-matter dealing with sex, a phenomenon all too frequent in editions of Roman satire. Perhaps the most extreme examples are the complete omission from many editions of Juvenal's second and ninth Satires, poems which deal with homosexuality. His sixth Satire has also been censored, either as a whole or in parts, with the suppression of briefer but supposedly salacious passages. A secondary refuge of embarrassed or outraged commentators is to print the text but refrain from comments. One example of this is an 1874 edition of the satirist Persius, in which the translator and commentator, John Conington, passes over lines 35-41 of Satires 4 in total silence. (Read on for a translation of these lines!)

Other satirical works are subjected to the same kind of 'deodor-izing'. For example, the Loeb edition (supposedly the edition to make texts accessible) leaves in Latin various sexual episodes in Petronius' Satyricon(M.Heseltine 1913)) and until recently Martial's more risqué epigrams were rendered in Italian, which was evidently deemed the appropriate language (W.C.A.Ker (1920); the revised edition (1968) translates all the poems into English). Spreading the net still wider, to Roman iambic poetry, Horace's two "obscene" Epodes, 8 and 12, have seldom been printed and still less often read. Catullus has not escaped censorship either: in his commentary (1961) Fordyce left out 32 poems, naturally banning all references to pedicatio and fellatio.

This sort of bowdlerization is not any surprise in scholars of the Victorian age, although even there we find the occasional breath of fresh air, for example in the case of Lewis' edition of Juvenal (1873): he not only prints the text in full, he translates it and even provides commentary (if of a predictable kind, e.g. on Satire 9, "the subject of this Satire is necessarily a painful one").

Lewis' "enlightened" attitude is rather surprising and very much the exception. But more surprising perhaps is that the Victorian attitude has persisted so strongly. Duff was one of the Victorian editors of Juvenal who escluded Satires 2 and 9 and some paragraphs from Satire 6 from his edition, first published in 1898. His edition was reprinted 13 times up to 1962. Then in 1970 came the "new edition". Any student buying this "new edition" of Duff might have reasonably expected the missing poems and paragraphs to be supplied. But no. The only respect in which this was a new edition was that it had a new introduction by another scholar. No Satire 2, no Satire 9. Fortunately, Duff's edition has been superseded by the more recent editions of Ferguson (1979: text and commentary) and Courtney (1980: commentary only), so that there is now no difficulty in reading the complete text of Juvenal.

That omission has been repaired but there are other, more disturbing, manifestations of this sort of Victorian attitude. In 1974 Dr.J.C.Bramble published a book on Persius (Persius and the Programmatic Satire) which includes close analysis of Persius' imagery and language. His treatment of Persius' use of sexual themes (pp. 41-5 and ch. 4, passim) is refreshingly frank and honest. But to judge from the outraged shrieks of reviewers, you would be forgiven for thinking that Bramble was peddling pornography. Consider this:

> "but Bramble will not let implication be; he has no patience with nuance, with innuendo; he insists on being tiresomely, offensively, even ludicrously explicit"
>
> (W.Clausen, Gnomon 1977)

and this:

> (Bramble's) "coarse and unconvincing obsessiveness"
>
> (G.Williams, Classical Philology 1977)

and this:

> "the search for sexual innuendo becomes desperate"

and again:

> (Bramble's "Procrustean insistence on sexual implications throughout"
>
> (G.Townend, Journal of Roman Studies 1976)

While I would not wish to deny that Bramble occasionally perceives sexual references where there may be none, the prudery of these reviewers is reminiscent of the Victorian era.

What is important is that prudery in all its forms can only limit our appreciation of Persius in particular and Roman literature in general. Censorship distorts the literary artefact. For this reason, the literary critic should not condone or encourage but resist censorhip. Most Roman poetry books are carefully constructed as poetic entities and it is an important part of the job of the literary critic to assess the book as a whole as well as the individual components of the book. But suppression of any part of the book distorts the book as a whole. For example, to bowdlerize poems 8 and 12 from Horace's book of Epodes is to remove two of his most powerful weapons in his iambic armoury, for it is these two scathing and savage invectives as much as anything else in the book which set Horace firmly in the iambic tradition of Archilochus. Again, Juvenal's first book without Satire 2 and his third book without Satire 9 are lame and incomplete as artistic entities; one might say, castrated.

As well as distorting the artistic entity as a whole, censorship ignores the artistic merits of the individual poem which it mutilates or suppresses. Juvenal's sixth Satire is a real tour de force which cannot be fully appreciated except when read complete, without any paragraphs excised. Satire 9, according to H.A.Mason ('Is Juvenal A Classic?' in Critical Essays on Roman Literature : Satire, ed.J.P. Sullivan (1963) p.96), presents "Juvenal's art in the purest, most

concentrated form". And Satire 2 is in my view one of Juvenal's finest creations (for an appreciation of the structure and imagery, see S.H.Braund and J.D.Cloud Liverpool Classical Monthly 1981, pp. 203-8.

Finally, you may be wondering what exactly all the fuss is about. So that you can judge for yourselves, I cite below some of the most salacious excerpts which so many scholars for so long have attempted to keep from the eyes of the "impressionable".

In Juvenal's second Satire I can find nothing more outrageous than this witty attack on a hypocritical homosexual:

> "Do you rant at vileness when you're avowed the most notorious ditch the Socratic buggers have plowed? The hair on your body, the bristles along your arms, pretend to show a tough he-man, yet the doctor can't help but grin when you show a hairless ass to be cured of itching piles."
>
> (tr.Hubert Creekmore, Mentor Classics (1963)

In Satire 9, the client who has rendered homosexual services to his patron complains:

> "You think it's easy to hold an erection and push it in till it meets your last night's meal?"
>
> (tr. Creekmore)

Persius Satire 4.35-41, an attack on a decadent sunbather:

> "Repulsive! Giving your prick and backside's adytum a weeding! Showing the world a spongy vulva! Your chin's all combed and scented plusy: how is it your windpipe juts beardless at the groin? Five masseurs might pull the plantlings up, boil your arse and fray it with hooked pincers; yet bracken of that sort softens never by ploughing."
>
> (tr.J.R.Jenkinson, text, trans., comm. (1980)

Horace Satires I.2.116-119:

> "When your organ is stiff, and a servant girl or a young boy from the household is near at hand and you know you can make an immediate assault, would you sooner burst with tension? Not me. I like sex to be there and easy to get."
>
> (tr.N.Rudd, Penguin (1973)

Horace Epode 8.1-10:

> "Do you, stinking from long life, ask what weakens my sexual powers, when you have a black tooth and ancient old age furrows your forehead with wrinkles and your foul arse-hole gapes between dried-up buttocks, like a dyspeptic cow's? But it's your bosom that excites me and your limp tits, like a mare's teats, and your flabby stomach and your skinny thighs on top of swelling calves."

Fraenkel (Horace (1957) p.58): "The obscenity of both language and matter was probably intended to carry on characteristic traits of a certain type of early Greek iambi." Even though Fraenkel does not enjoy this "repulsive" text, he acknowledges its "polish" and perceives the literary function of the "obscenity".

In these few pages, I have focused upon a few poems and passages of poems which have frequently been censored in the past. But to respond to censorship by paying disproportionate attention to these poems is not an approach I would advocate in general. Horace says, "In avoiding one moral fault fools rush into its opposite" (Sat.I.2.24). Rather, if Classics is to keep its rightful place as a University subject in the 1980's, we must shrug off the remnants of Victorian prudery: we must read texts in their entirety.

SU BRAUND

Some 'Maxims of Barnby', gleaned from the novels of Anthony Powell and rendered into Latin by Ralph Hawtrey.

A small man is at more of a disadvantage with a small women than with a big one.

Si parvus fueris, parvam ne quaere puellam;
namque tibi magnae damna minora dabunt. (A Buyer's Market)

Has any writer ever told the truth about women? No one would believe it if they did.

Nullus homo auderet de pulchris scribere vera;
nec, si scriptae essent, crederet ullus homo. (The Acceptance World)

Every woman has to be treated empirically.

Quo tibi quamque modo prosit tractare puellam
non ego praecipiam: dirigat usus opus. (The Acceptance World)

No duty is worth a moment's consideration if it forces you to neglect women

Officio pretium est operae te stringere nullo,
si foret ex illo despiciendus amor. (The Valley of Bones)

VILLIERS PARK

During the first half of this century, an eminent scholar named Charles Villiers had the idea of setting up a Trust enabling half-a-dozen or so sixth-form Classics students to gain practical experience by visiting either Italy or Greece each year under appropriate supervixion. This idea became a reality upon his death, when his house and most of his money were given over to establishing this Trust, and in the summer of 1980 I was fortunate enough to be chosen to take part in an 'expedition' to Greece under the auspices of Michael Atkinson, a teacher of Classics at Eton, and Tim Ham, a former classics master at Cambridge, and now a member of the Villers Park staff. Villiers Park also runs weekly courses for students other than classicists throughout the year, and from what I have gleaned from ex-colleagues at school, the experience is very rewarding and worthwhile. The following is a brief account of some of the events , planned and otherwise, which took place during our fortnight in Greece, taken from a diary compiled by all those taking part.

Monday, 21st July: We arrived in Athens at 2.30 p.m., only to be whisked away from the airport to our hotel, and then after a brief respite, we made our way up the Lykabettos Hill, on the top of which sits the 19th century Agios Georgios chapel. This rocky outcrop, supposedly thrown down from heaven in a fit of anger by Athena, affords a marvellous view of Athens and the Piraeus, and is a good starting point for any expedition to Athens. On the way down we wandered past the stadium, restored in 1896 for the first of the modern-day Olympic games, and then most of us sampled our first ouzo, the first of very many consumed on the trip, I might add! A reasonably early night, due to jet-lag and possibly in preparation for the next day, was enjoyed by all.

Tuesday, 22nd July: First on the agenda was a trip to the National Museum, only a few hundred yards away from our hotel, taking in especially the Mycenaean gold, and various other notable exhibits. From there we wandered the busy Athenian streets to the old Agora, and then to the Theseum, a temple dedicated to Hephaestus, possibly the most intact of all remaining Greek temples. Then on to the Stoa of Attalus, restored by the American pocket (and it shows!), the Areopagus, and on to the Acropolis. Unfortunately, we were shooed away from the Parthenon by neurotic Athenian policemen, and the Erechtheum and temple to Athena Nike were roped off. We descended on the other side, passing the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, the Stoa of Eumenes and Theatre of Dionysus. Exhausted, we set off to sample Athenian night-life.

Wednesday, 23rd July: A day trip to Aegina was on the itinerary today, passing over the "wine-dark waters" off Salamis, and after having spent the morning sun-bathing on a tourist-ridden beach, we took a bus to the temple of Aphaia, possibly my favourite site of the whole tour, due to its remarkable lack of tourists. We returned to Athens in the early evening, ready to upset the natives once more.

Thursday, 24th July: The first stage of our Peloponnesian tour, travelling through extremely picturesque mountains, and stopping off to view the remarkable wall-paintings and mosaics at Osios Loukas, a Byzantine monastery. From here we travelled to Delphi, just having time to look around the museum before once again stepping out on the trail of alcohol and nightlife.....

Friday, 25th July: A thorough examination of the site at Delphi was made today, taking in the Stadium, Theatre, temple of Apollo, and below the road which splits the site in two, the particularly attractive marble Tholos, whose purpose and dedication remain a mystery. An afternoon trip to the fishing village of Itea was aborted, due to the only rain experienced throughout the whole fortnight.

Saturday, 26th July: A long journey today to Andritsaina described in the "Blue Guide to Greece" as 'ramshackle', crossing from Antirion to Rion by ferry, culminating in a visit to the remote and breathtaking temple of Apollo Epikourious at Bassae, which was all roped off, presumably for repairs, as many columns had clearly collapsed recently. As the night-life of Andritsaina was practically non-existent, we all made the most of an early night.

Sunday, 27th July: Leaving Andritsaina amongst ringing church-bells, we travelled, largely on what appeared to be cart-tracks, to Olympia, visiting the museum and then the site, holding our own version of the Olympics in the stadium! We then travelled to our next hotel at Pylos (it was at this point that I realized I had left a pair of trousers at Andritsaina; no doubt the owner is proudly wearing them at this moment, pointing out how careless English schoolboys are!)

Monday, 28th July: Firstly we travelled to Nestor's Palace, and the small Tholos tomb nearby. From there we all began to enjoy ourselves, being chaperoned to "Oxbelly Bay", a beautiful natural bay at the north end of Sphacteria. Its beauty was enhanced by the lack of tourists (admittedly we had driven four miles across farmland to get there!), and making that our base, we planned an assault on Voidikilia, a fort on Sphacteria. A pleasant dinner was enjoyed on the quayside at Pylos, followed by yet another disco, and the consumption of even more ouzo and retzina!

Tuesday, 29th July: Early in the morning, too early in fact for those who had stayed up all night playing poker, we ventured south to Methone, and its Venetian castle, where imaginations ran riot as battles were rewon, invasions repelled and oil reboiled! After a sumptuous picnic lunch we once again retired to the beach, although a few heliophobes, finding the appeal of the unaccustomed sun beginning to rub off, went to discover the delights of the town of Methone.

Wednesday, 30th July: After a delayed start due to our mini-bus driver's hangover, we set out through hair-raising but dramatic by-roads to Sparta, where we encountered temperatures near 100°C. Late in the afternoon so as to avoid the full wrath of the sun, we set out for the anhydrous ghost town of Mistras, a Byzantine settlement set on a frighteningly steep mountainside. We finally ascended the 1000ft. or so to the Kastro, which afforded breath-taking views of the Eurotas valley around Sparta and the Taigetos mountains. Having journeyed back to Sparta, we were lucky(!) enough to experience Spartan volta and cochinelli before retiring for a blissful night's sleep.

Thursday, 31st July: No fewer than three site investigations were planned for today, so we set out early to rediscover the old city of Sparta; however we were disappointed, as the site was over-run by various species of farm-animals, and there is little to see except the ruins of an 11th century church and largely unexcavated Roman theatre. We then set out for Lerna, a small but extremely well-excavated site which dates from the 3rd millenium B.C., thus making it the oldest site in Southern Greece.

We then continued northwards to Mycenae, taking in the famous "Lion Gate" (where obstinate tourists were ushered out of the way to enable the party to get good photographs), the grave circle excavated by Schliemann and the 'tholos' Tomb of Atreus. It is easy to see why Mycenae was chosen to have complete contro over the entire Argolid, due to its dominant positioning.

Friday, 1st August: After a brief visit to the Nafplion museum, we travelled to Epidauros, but although the threatre was outstanding, the site was in so much of a mess that not even our leader could make head or tail of it. Consequently we travelled westwards to Tolon and again spent the afternoon soaking up the sun and trying to make conversation with bronzed continental beauties.

Saturday, 2nd August: Today began with a visit to "wall-girt Tiryns", by unanimous opinion more impressive in its own way than Mycenae. Then an unexpected bonus to the scheduled itinerary; we proceeded over varied cart-tracks to the Heraion of Argos, a desolate sight, but well worth a visit. Having travelled back to Nafplion we struggled up the 1,000 steps to the fortress of Palamidi, only to be met at the top by our coach-driver; if only we had known there was a road up to it from the back! After dinner, we set out to Epidaurus again, this time to see a production of Sophocles' Philoctetes; however the modern Greek dialect proved too much for us, although the experience was incredible, if a little hard on the backside.

Sunday, 3rd August: We spent our last full day in Corinth, firstly struggling up the impressive Acrocorinth and then on to the remains of the Roman colony at Corinth, once a rich and bustling commercial city, and comparatively complete. We then completed our round trip to Athens, stopping off briefly at the Corinth Canal, impressively cut through two miles of solid rock. A party was then held, including an introduction to the "Bunny Game", the object being to drink as much ouzo, retzina and beer as possible - further details can be obtained from me.

Monday, 4th August: "Free morning in Athens". A cultural visit was made to the Kerameikos, but the majority of us raided the Flea Market, much to the annoyance of Athenian traders. Our flight left on time: we had a good view of the Austrian Alps and by 5.30 p.m. were back in the premature eventide of Gatwick - needless to say, it was raining.

It need not be added that everyone on the trip thoroughly enjoyed themselves, and, I think, a sensible balance between culture and pleasure was maintained. I certainly regard it as a marvellous opportunity for any student, and wholeheartedly recommend it.

MARK WELDON

The City of Rome in the Middle Ages

Last year's Pegasus contained an article on the life of Gordon McNeil Rushforth, F.S.A., who bequeathed his library to the University College of the South West in 1938. In February 1982 Rushforth's notebooks and papers were generously donated to the Exeter University Library by the Rev.E.P.Baker, to whom he had left them at his death. Among the collection are the manuscript texts of four unpublished lectures: one of these, "Rome in the Middle Ages", was given on 8th August, 1922, as part of an extra-mural course, put on by the Cambridge University Local Lectures organization. It is reproduced here exactly as Rushforth wrote it, with only a few words added here and there [in square brackets] to complete the sense. Rushforth illustrated his talk with slides: sixty years later, we can look instead at the illustrations in Richard Krautheimer's brilliant book, Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308 (Princeton University Press, 1980).

Let us begin by considering the importance of the idea of Rome in the medieval mind. On the one hand there was the ancient prestige of the City, the capital of the greatest empire the world had known, the seat of a civilisation and art so far above what most of the Middle Ages could attain. They may have known little about the true history of the ancient world, or the meaning of its remains, but the glamour of the past and the legends which grew up combined to form a conception of almost supernatural grandeur which dominated the medieval imagination. On the other hand, Rome was the Holy City of the West, the seat of the visible head of the Catholic Church, the shrine of the princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of more bodies of the saints and more relics than any other place in the world, and so [was] one of the three great pilgrimages, the others being Jerusalem and Campostela.

We may say that, physically and materially, what kept Rome together, and preserved its integrity and continuity throughout the Dark Ages, was its Walls. Rome in the days of its greatness as capital of the Roman Empire was an unwalled city. Almost at the end of the ancient period, when the barbarian invasions were becoming a real and tangible danger even to Italy and the heart of the Empire, Rome was fortified by Aurelian (271-5), and his walls were restored by Arcadius and Honortus in 402 when the Goths were threatening. These ancient walls once built were never allowed to fall into serious decay and are standing today. Every age has left its mark on them in the form of restorations and renewals, and though they did not give absolute immunity, for Rome has been captured again and again, they as often saved it from invasion and devastation, and formed a protection and shelter behind which it could recover from the storms which from time to time swept over it. They have enabled it to justify its title of the Eternal City.

The next point on which I should like to insist is the immense difference, not only in life and culture and polity, but also in outward appearance, between medieval Rome and ancient Rome on the one hand, and modern Rome on the other. We shall see how, between let us say the 7th and the 14th centuries, the traces of the ancient city were steadily obliterated, so that all that was left to meet the eye was great isolated stacks of ruins, like the Coliseum and the Baths of Diocletion, too vast and solid to be destroyed. On the other hand,

the architectural revolution of the Renaissance, continued down to our own days, has largely destroyed the medieval buildings, or altered them past recognition. Medieval remains in Rome are by no means common or obvious. We have to search them out, and still more we have to reconstruct the picture of medieval Rome in imagination by the help of documents. Armellini, the historian of the Roman churches, has said (p.13) that of all the cities of Italy Rome is the poorest in medieval monuments.

In particular, the Roman churches in the course of the last four centures have generally been given an entirely new dress, both inside and out, even when the original fabric remains as the skeleton. Take the first both in rank and age, St. John Lateran, the cathedral church of Rome. Restored again and again after earthquakes and fires, Constantine's basilica remained all through the Middle Ages with all its added wealth of medieval monuments and furniture. Then in the 16th and 17th centuries the interior was completely transformed, and in the 18th the (east) front lost all its ancient appearance by the addition of a facade which is one of the grandest specimens of the baroque style, and worthy of the occasion, but you would never guess that behind it [is] (or was) the oldest church in Rome - 'omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput', as its proud title proclaims. It has no more connexion with it than the style of Westminster Abbey has with that of St. Paul's. Then the greatest of all the Roman churches, and the richest in medieval monuments, St. Peter's, was entirely destroyed and rebuilt in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, and all that represents the old church today are fragments of tombs collected in the crypt, and the famous twisted vine-columns now in the balconies of the dome.

A northern visitor to Rome about the beginning of the 13th century has recorded the vivid picture left in his memory by the first view of Rome as he came by the road from the North over Monte Mario. And the two things that struck his eye were the great masses of ancient buildings (palatia, the Coliseum etc.), standing up among the houses or dominating the empty spaces within the walls; and the 'seges turrium', the forest of church and baronial towers. A number of the tall medieval campaniles or bell-towers still remain beside their churches, but they are exceptions, and far more have vanished in the reconstructions and alterations since the Renaissance. Still rarer are the towers belonging to the fortified houses or castles of the great medieval families, for the Renaissance palace has replaced the baronial castle. In the case of one of the largest Roman palaces, still belonging to one of the oldest Roman families, the Colonna, a medieval tower is even now attached to the Renaissance building.

What a different spectacle is presented by the view from Monte Mario today, when the sea of roofs is dominated by the dome of St. Peter's and in these last twenty years by the colossal Monumento Nazionale at the Capitol!

* * *

Down to the beginning of the 5th century ancient Rome with all its great buildings and their contents was practically intact. We cannot dwell now on the splendour and interest of the spectacle presented, but the world has never seen anything like it again.

Then in 410 came the capture and sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric. The spell of the city's inviolability was broken, and the following centuries saw it attacked again and again. Instead of being the capital of a great empire and the seat of government, it became an isolated fortress or place of refuge in the midst of a hostile world. It was no longer safe to live outside the walls. Under the Early Empire the city had spread out along the great roads in suburbs and villas and parks, in a way which made a sort of vast garden-city up to and on to the hills twenty miles away. Now all this had to be abandoned, and its place was gradually taken by what we know as the Campagna, mere grassland with ancient ruins scattered about it. One result of this was that the great aqueducts which crossed it, bringing water from the hills to Rome, could no longer be maintained in order, and the supply if not entirely cut off became meagre. And so the great Imperial Baths fell out of use, and with them a whole chapter of ancient civilisation was closed. It may be imagined how under these conditions the population of the city shrank in numbers, so that by degrees whole tracts within the walls were abandoned and became almost as wild and desolate as the Campagna.

There was no longer any public authority interested in or capable of keeping up the great public buildings, and there was nothing but the solidity of the Roman masonry and concrete construction to resist the gradual and inevitable process of decay. But over one great complex of buildings the tradition of at least a nominal supervision seems to have been maintained, and that was the Imperial Palace (or rather series of palaces) which covered the Palatine Hill. It was never quite abandoned though the later Western Emperors and Theodoric ceased to live in Rome, and after Justinian's conquest of Italy in the sixth century it once more became nominally an Imperial residence and a seat of the Imperial government. The Byzantine rule became more and more unsubstantial, and finally faded away in the eighth century; but in 629 a Roman Emperor (Heraclius) could still be crowned in the great hall of the palace, in 663 it must have been occupied by another emperor (Constans II) on his visit to Rome, and as late as the end of the century we still find an Imperial curator palatii executing works of repair. After that it was left to its fate or actual demolition, but its imposing remains always made a great impression on the medieval world, and it was known as 'the great palace' (palatium maius). At the end of the 12th century a northern visitor could still identify and admire the House of Augustus, i.e. that Flavian reconstruction, the wreck of which has been revealed by modern excavation, though it had already begun to be stripped of its marbles for the benefit of the churches.

We must remember that the amount and bulk of the ancient buildings still standing in at least the earlier Middle Ages was far greater than anything of which we have cognisance. Human forces were not sufficiently powerful to affect them seriously, and they suffered mainly through neglect to keep roofs and walls in order, and still more through occasional fires and earthquakes. It was when the Renaissance had given birth, not only to a real interest in the ancient buildings, but also to a new creative art and architecture, that the ancient remains were sacrificed wholesale to the needs of the latter.

* * *

Imperial Rome was the capital of ancient culture and religion. Medieval Rome was the Christian capital of the Western world. The latest official record of ancient Rome - the Catalogue of the contents of each of the Fourteen Regions into which the city was divided, drawn up in the 4th century - tells us that it contained 423 temples. It has often been said that Rome has as many churches as there are days in the year, and the real number is not very different. But as the old Catalogues show in the Middle ages there were many more which have now disappeared. One list of the 14th century gives the total of 414, which it will be noticed is nearly that of the ancient temples. We may ask, what was the process by which the transformation was brought about?

There were no doubt churches in Rome before Constantine, but the history of the Roman churches we know begins with the basilicas which he built for the newly recognized religion. A few more were added in the course of the 4th century (e.g. S.Maria Maggiore in 352). Then at the end of the century we get the official suppression of paganism and the closing of the temples. But it must not be supposed that the temples were regularly converted into churches. It was rather an exception when this took place. At the present day there are only some half dozen churches which can be certainly said to be converted temples. If it had been done oftener, more ancient work would have been preserved: as it is, the Pantheon (S.Maria Rotunda), the round temple by the Tiber (S.Maria del Sole), and the pseudo-peripteral temple S.Maria Egiziaca close by (the so-called Temple of Fortuna Virilis) are some of the most complete ancient buildings to be found in Rome. When churches were not built independently, it was secular and not religious buildings which were converted. There are two striking instances of this in the region of the Forum.

On the east side, the deserted Curia, the seat of that august body the Roman Senate, was made into the church of S.Adriano by Honorius I about 620, and it still retains substantial remains of its latest ancient reconstruction by Diocletian, while the adjacent senatorial offices (the Secretarium Senatus) became the church of S.Martina, which, though on the old site, was completely rebuilt in the 17th century. On the opposite side, underneath the Palatine, was a building of the time of Hadrian, with the plan of a Roman house (vestibule, atrium tablinum, etc.), which may have been the library attached to the Temple of Augustus, the high back wall of which bounds it on one side. Here was installed, probably as early as the 5th century, the earliest church in Rome dedicated to the Virgin - S.Maria Antiqua, 'Old St.Mary's', a name which it must have acquired after the Basilica Liberiana had been rededicated to Mary by Xystus III in 492 and distinguished as S.Maria Maior - 'Great St. Mary's'. We shall have more to say about St.Maria Antiqua presently.

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We may learn a good deal about medieval Rome from a rapid survey of the chief epochs of church building and restoration. One great source of information is the Liber Pontificalis or Book of the Popes, biographies containing particularly accounts of what churches each Pope built or restored or endowed or enriched with gifts, compiled probably in the sixth century, but continued and added to from time to time (notably in the 12th century), and embodying original documents and contemporary information, and always the local tradition.

The first period to be noticed is what we may call the Byzantine age - the period that is from Justinian's conquest of Italy in the middle of the 6th century down to the disappearance of the last traces of Imperial authority in the 8th. There was a regular invasion of Greek influence accompanying the Greek officials, clergy, monks, residents. Churches and monasteries were dedicated to oriental saints and filled with their pictures. [The period was] marked officially by the foundation of monasteries (e.g. S.Saba on the Aventine).

A very instructive monument of this age is the church of S. Maria Antiqua. Not an important church in rank or size, but almost unique in the fact that its walls were decorated with successive series of pictures from the 6th to the 9th centuries, and then, apparently about the middle of the 9th century, the church was buried in an earthquake, to be revealed to us in an almost untouched condition by the excavations of 1900 and 1901. When you think how entirely the older Roman churches which have remained in continuous us have been transformed by restorations and changes of fashion down to the present day, the importance of this will be realized. It is like lifting the curtain on the realities of that early medieval world about which our information is so meagre, and which seems so remote and almost mythical. In S.Maria Antiqua we tread the pavements that were trodden by the Romans of the 7th and 8th centuries, they confront us pictured on its walls in the dress and personal appearance they wore in life, and above all we are surrounded by the religious art of the time expressing their religious beliefs and tendencies.

This art is Byzantine in character. To explain its subjects we have to go to the manuals of Byzantine art; and many of them are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions in Greek. Yet this was not the church of a foreign community. The works were carried out by or under a succession of Popes - Martin I (649-54), John VII (705-8), Zacharias (741-52), Paul I (757-68), Hadrian I (772-95). Latin appears side by side with Greek in the descriptions. And the art is Byzantine art with a difference: it has a certain Roman and Italian character.

One feature of the church is significant. When first excavated it was full of graves, not only in the floor, but even in the form of loculi dug out of the solid walls, especially in the outer church, which seems to have remained in use till the 11th century. Burial inside the city, especially around and in churches, began when the ideas of the ancient world disappeared, and after the catacombs were abandoned (410) and it was no longer safe to go outside the city.

For [the] same reason the catacombs ceased to be [a] place of pilgrimage or religious service, and the bodies of the saints and martyrs [were] brought into the city churches.

With the coming of the Franks and the coronation of Charles the Great as Roman Emperor in 800, Rome was freed from the Byzantines and from the Lombards, and under the comparatively favourable conditions which ensued, Pope Hadrian I (772-795) stands out as a notable restorer and builder. He not only did much work for the churches, as the long list of his restorations and donations in the Liber Pontificalis shows -

S.Maria in Cosmedin, the church of the Greek quarter, was his creation -- but also he repaired the walls of the city, he once more put four of the ancient aqueducts in working order, and he did something to revive and organize cultivation in the Campagna. There is little or nothing to show of his works today. Some of his pictures survive at S.Maria Antiqua in the outer church, and give some idea of the church decoration of the time, and of the decadence of art. But they cannot tell us what the work in the precious metals or in textiles and embroidery was like which he lavished on St. Peter's and other churches.

One of his immediate successors Paschal I (817-24) continued Hadrian's works of restoration and decoration. Three churches at least remain as special monuments of his activity - S.ta Prassede, S.ta Cecilia, and S.Maria in Domnica, and in each case the apse mosaic from the permanence of the material has survived, with the Pope's portrait. From the churches of Constantine onwards, mosaic had been a regular form of church decoration, especially for the apse and the face of the arch which enclosed or framed it. We may trace a real Roman school of mosaic, independent of Byzantine work though affected by it. S.Maria Antiqua [was] not important enough to have this costly decoration, but John VII, who did so much for that church, put up important mosaics in his chapel of the Virgin in St. Peter's, of which fragments survive. By the 9th century, as the mosaics of Paschal I show, the old inspiration had become fossilized; but as we shall see, when art revived in the 12th century the Roman mosaic workers produced more splendid works than ever before.

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The relative prosperity of the days of Hadrian and Paschalis died away, and the 10th and 11th centuries are the darkest and most degraded period of Rome and the Papacy. Hitherto what culture and art existed was the last faint tradition of the art and culture of the ancient world. But no new life was put into it, and under the terrible conditions of the age the effort grew fainter, and the results were more and more degraded. In the same way the ancient city of Rome in its outward aspect was still there in the 9th century, with the old lines of paved streets, and the temples and baths and palaces, still containing some of their precious contents, but gradually falling into ruin; while all the church building and church restoration by the Popes was only carried on by using up old materials and adapting old buildings. There was no fresh architectural or artistic movement.

A glimpse of what Rome looked like in the 8th and 9th centuries is revealed to us by a sort of guide or itinerary, based on a plan of the city, and intended for pilgrims or visitors. It is known as the Einsiedeln Itinerary. It is,so to speak, the letterpress belonging to a plan of Rome, and gives eleven routes across the city, with what was to be seen on the way. There are no descriptions, but it shows that at the time the main streets of ancient Rome were still used, and that the great public buildings had mostly preserved their ancient names. Moreover the author could read and copy correctly the inscriptions upon them which told the story of their origin and purpose. Many of the buildings which he saw had disappeared before an interest in antiquities and inscriptions revived once more in the early days of the Renaissance.

The catastrophe which brought all this world to an end was the devastation of Rome in 1084 by the Normans under Robert Guiscard Duke of Apulia, brought in to save Gregory VII from the Romans. Fire raged over most of the city, and the eastern quarters, the Caelian especially, from the Forum to the Lateran, never recovered. The old sites were buried under the ruins and ashes, and many of the old roads and landmarks must have disappeared. The old church of S.Clemente is more than 13ft. below the level of the new one. The outer church of S.Maria Antiqua dedicated to St. Antony was buried in the same way, and in later times([at the] end of the 13th century) S.Maria Liberatrice was built high above it.

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As has happened before in the world's history, a great catastrophe has been the starting point for an architectural and artistic revival. Besides, in the 11th and 12th centuries new life was beginning to stir in Western art and architecture. And then there was the necessity of replacing the destroyed or damaged churches. And so we get a whole series of reconstructions, and new developments of pictorial and decorative art, belonging to what we may call the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century which, accompanied as it was with an intellectual revival as well, was the precursor of the classical Renaissance of the 14th and following centuries.

First came the new church of S.Clemente, the one we see today, early in the 12th century. The old marble fittings of the quire [were] brought up from the church below. (Some [of the] paintings in the lower church [were] probably done just before 1084; [those of the] story of Clement VI are beautiful things in their way, besides being interesting archaeologically and liturgically, and show that revival was already at work.) Then followed the SS. Quattro Coronati (iiii), S.Adriano (1110), S.Maria in Cosmedin (1123) in the form in which we see it, S.Maria in Trastevere by Innocent II (1130-43), S.Maria Nova (about 1161) and so forth. In the thirteenth century one outstanding work was the remodelling of S.Lorenzo Fuori by Honorius III (1216-27) when the new nave was added and the orientation of the church reversed.

One remarkable feature of these new buildings was the revival of mosaic pictures, especially for the apse, in magnificent decorative forms, based on the study of the apse mosaics of the age of Constantine, and far more splendid and artistic than anything that had been achieved in this way for centuries. The great examples are the apses of S.Clemente (before 1125), S.Paolo Fuori (by Honorius III 1216-27), and S.Maria Maggiore (by Nicholas IV 1288-94), where the Coronation of Mary in the midst of grand convolutions of foliage is of surpassing richness and beauty. This and the great apse mosaic of the Lateran were executed for Nicholas IV by Jacopo Torriti.

At the same time there came into flower the exquisite and purely Roman decorative art of the Roman Marmorarii or marble workers, specially represented by the family of the Cosmati. It was based on the study of ancient marble and mosaic work, and its characteristic is the use of decorative mosaics (they did not usually attempt figures) in both glass (gilt) and marble tesserae applied to or framed by carved white marble work. Altar fronts, screens, pulpits and candelabra with twisted shafts, pavements, even grave slabs, are some of its familiar forms. We need not

go to Rome to see what it looks like, for Westminster Abbey contains a small museum of this exotic work which seems to have taken the fancy of the art-loving Henry III and his son Edward I. In one place we have the signature of one of the artists - 'Petrus Romanus civis'. The shrine of the Confessor and Henry's own tomb are the chief specimens, the latter in almost classical forms. Later, Gothic, as the fashion of the day, affected the Cosmati work, but it must be remembered that the Gothic style was always an exotic in Rome, and had only a short life there. There is only one purely Gothic church in Rome, the Minerva (end of the 14th century).

Contemporary with the great mosaics in S.Maria Maggiore, a Roman painter of the same school, Pietro Cavallini, was decorating S.Cecilia with grand figures and scenes. I will say nothing of the Tuscan artists brought to Rome to help decorate the churches and palaces at the end of the 13th century - Giotto and the sculptor Arnolfo di Cambio, for they really belong to the history of the Renaissance proper.

All this promise of a new life of Roman art was brought to a premature end by the exile of the papacy at Avignon (1305-77); and the Renaissance at Rome was postponed for another century.

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This is one side of the picture. Rome seems to be emancipated from the past, and to be starting on a fresh career. But there was another aspect of the Rome of the twelfth century which is revealed to us by various documents of the period. The continuity of the old tradition about the ancient Rome has been broken: the true names and history of the buildings or ruins has been forgotten, and a whole world of myth and legend has taken their place. About 1130 a Canon of St. Peter's Benedict (afterwards Celestine II) drew up an ordo - directions for the routes to be taken by the official Papal processions on festivals and other occasions. Compared with the Einsiedeln Itinerary, it shows how many of the ancient names had disappeared in the interval and been replaced by popular and legendary ones. Still more important is the book known as the Mirabilia, "the Marvels of Rome", which was probably also drawn up by Benedict about 1140. It is much more than an itinerary, and gives a detailed account of the city with descriptions of the great buildings and stories of their origin and meaning. It has sometimes been called a popular guide book for pilgrims, but Duchesne regarded it as the first indication of an awakening of interest in the antiquities of the city; the first attempt to write what we should call an historical and archaeological handbook. The results indeed are quite futile from the point of view of our knowledge, but the interest of the book is the attempt to co-ordinate the existing facts and beliefs about the ancient buildings, because there was a public which wanted to be informed about them. Its other value is that it tells us what was believed at the time. It shows that there was little or no knowledge of the real facts. The ruins have got the wrong ancient names or purely fanciful names, and fantastic stories are told to explain their origin, and that of statues.

Another very interesting and instructive picture of the antiquities of Rome in the 12th century has lately come to us from the discovery in a Cambridge library of a little book written by a visitor to Rome - a certain Magister Gregorius, at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. He was presumably an ecclesiastic, and he wrote down what he heard, and still better, what he saw in Rome for the instruction and

edification of the community to which he belonged at home. He was evidently not a pilgrim, and he may have come on business connected with his community. What makes him important for us is that he shows little or no interest in Christian Rome - the churches and relics. All his interest is in ancient Rome and its remains. Like the Mirabilia (which he does not seem to have known or used) he illustrates this new interest in antiquity which appears in the 12th century, though his Roman history and his identifications of buildings are no better. On the other hand he has the great merit of telling us what he saw, and sometimes the things he mentions are not recorded by anyone else, or not so early - we have already noticed his vivid record of the impression made on his mind and memory by his first view of the city from Monte Mario, with its forest of towers and mighty masses of building. Another of his most striking descriptions is that of a marble Venus which he was taken to see. It was perfect and still retained its delicate colouring, so that it seemed alive. 'And', he continues, 'such was its wondrous beauty and magical charm that I was constrained to go three times to see it, though it was two miles distant from my lodging.' Such appreciation of ancient art was rare or non-existent in the earlier Middle Ages, though we may remember that that princely prelate, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, brother of King Stephen, brought a collection of ancient statues from Rome in 1151 to adorn his palace at Winchester. And we may also remember that we are not very distant from the time when the remains of ancient sculpture were influencing and inspiring the first great Tuscan sculptors, Nicholas and John of Pisa.

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We must now glance at the secular buildings of medieval Rome, the palaces and castles. First and foremost comes the Lateran Palace, the regular official residence of the Popes, from Constantine down to the beginning of the 14th century. Considering its importance and long history, and the wealth and variety of its contents and decorations, the accumulations of ages, we know singularly little about it. The whole thing was swept away in the 16th century, and we can only make a very imperfect reconstruction of it from allusions and references. Magister Gregorius speaks of it as the winter palace of the pope, because in his day the Vatican had already begun to be used as an alternative residence. We know that at the entrance was a great porch or portico, and within was a grand staircase leading to ten State or Papal apartments on the upper floor. There was also a great triclinium or dining-hall with an apse containing a mosaic commemorating Charles the Great's coronation in 800. Then there were the Papal archives and library, and the Pope's private chapel - the Sancta Sanctorum - the only fragment of the palace preserved intact, at the head of the Scala Santa. It is a small and rather plain Gothic chapel which received its present from in 1278, with contemporary paintings, marble Cosmati work and pavement. In front of the palace, as early as the 10th century, was a remarkable collection of ancient bronze statues - the M.Aurelius ("Constantine"), the Wolf, the Spinario, the head and hand from the Colossus.

When the Popes were away at Avignon, the palace was allowed to fall into decay, so that when they came back in 1377 it was uninhabitable, and henceforward they made the Vatican Palace their official residence. As we have said, a palace had been started at the Vatican in the last half of the 12th century. In the 15th it was completely reconstructed The work was begun by Nicholas V in 1450, but his chapel with Fra Angelico's pictures [is] the only relic. The oldest surviving part of

the palace is the part built by Alexander VI: the Borgia Pope, for his own occupation. It looks outwardly like a medieval castle, but with its famous decorations by Pinturricchio, belongs of course to the first flower of the Renaissance.

Very difference from the Papal palaces were the fortresses and castles of the nobles, often made in or out of ancient buildings. Thus the Coliseum, far more perfect in the Middle Ages than as now after it was robbed to build Renaissance palaces and churches, was at one time occupied as a fortress by the Frangipani. But the greatest and most famous of them was the Castle of St. Angelo, which has never lost its character as a fortress, though nowadays it is little more than a museum. But till quite modern times it was to Rome what the Tower is to London - state fortress and state prison. Originally it was the Imperial Mausoleum built by Hadrian when the first Imperial Mausoleum of Augustus was full; and the Emperors and their families were regularly buried there down to the 3rd century. Its position at the head of the bridge which connected it with the city made it inevitable that, if ever Rome were besieged, it should be occupied and defended as an outwork. And we find it so used in the siege of Rome during Justinian's conquest in the 6th century, when it lost much of its splendid marble and bronze ornaments. (Nevertheless Magister Gregorius still saw a bronze bull standing on the rampart.) No doubt it continued to be treated as a fortress, for in the dark days of the 10th century we find it in the hands of the Roman leader Crescentius, and from him it got the name of Castellum Crescentii which it long retained (so in Magister Gregorius). The other name Castellum Sci Angeli replaced it later (14th century) but is older than that, and serves to record the tradition of the Vision of St. Michael on its summit seen by Gregory the Great during the plague, and the chapel commemorating this (610). Later, other families held it, and it was not till the Popes took up their residence in the Vatican at the end of the 14th century that it became a Papal fortress connected with the palace by a covered passage along the wall, and so formed an important element in providing for the security of the Pope's person. Clement VII was saved by it in 1527 when Rome was being sacked by the Constable of Bourbon.

The impression left by the history of Rome in the Middle Ages is one of continuous disorder, conflict, destruction; and these fortresses are the outward symbols of the state of things that prevailed. There was hardly ever a period of quiet long enough for civilisation and art to make much growth. The political aspirations of the Roman people and their leaders (Cola di Rienzo), based on the memories of the ancient world, led to nothing but disappointments. The nobles were at constant war with one another, or with the people; and the medieval Popes were never able to assert their authority for long together, and at last gave up the struggle and retired to a foreign country.

We cannot wonder that under these circumstances Rome was backward in culture as compared with other Italian cities. It was not until the Papal authority was firmly established by a series of energetic Popes in the 15th and 16th centuries that an at least outward prosperity and magnificence made Rome the dignified capital of Catholocism, though it was at the expense of popular liberty and ultimately of intellectual progress. With the emancipation and unification of Italy in our own days, Rome while retaining its character as a religious capital and at the same time becoming an important centre of scientific and humanistic studies, has started on a new career as the capital of a great European State.

G.Mc.N.Rushforth

JACKSON KNIGHT OPUSCULA.

Professor G.R. Wilson Knight has very kindly presented to the Classics Department a large collection of offprints of his brother Jackson Knight's articles. Any readers who would like copies of any of the following works are invited to contact Professor Wiseman, who will be glad to provide them. (It would be a help if overseas readers could make a small contribution towards postage costs.)

A Romano-British Settlement near Bloxham (1930)

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The Defence of the Acropolis and the Panic before Salamis, Jnl. of Hellenic Studies 51 (1931)

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Iliupersides, Class. Quart. 26 (1932)

Magical Motives in Seneca's Troades, Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 63 (1932)

Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game, Antiquity (Dec. 1932)

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The Wooden Horse at the Gate of Troy, Class. Jnl. 28 (1933)

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Myth and Legend at Troy, Folk-lore 46 (1935)

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Integration and Homeric Hymn to Apollo, Proc. Am. Phil. Ass. 67 (1936)

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Texture Patterns in Vergil, Proc. Class. Ass. 34 (1937)

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Vergil's Latin, Acta Classica 1 (1958)

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