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P E G A S U S

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This year's edition of Pegasus has been fortunate in the number of articles contributed, both by staff and by students. Perhaps it reflects a growing interest in the Classics, especially in the face of the Government's tireless insistence on cutting back in the smaller Departments.

Many thanks to everyone who spared the time to write the articles, and most of all to Valerie Harris, the Departmental Secretary, for typing out and helping so much with the production of the magazine.

Carolyne Ellis

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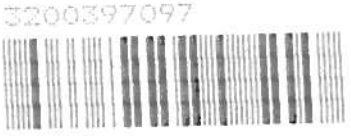


To chain a king

When Antony celebrated his success against the Armenians in a triumphal procession at Alexandria he paraded the Armenian king, Artavasdes, in chains. But these chains were special: they were made of precious metal (-plate?) - gold, according to Velleius (2.82), silver, according to Dio (49.39).

This is not an isolated peculiarity: it cannot simply be written off as some quirk of Antony and Cleopatra. On the contrary, the use of chains of precious metal (and the idea of such use) seems to have been quite commonplace in the case of captive royalty. So, for example, King Syphax of Numidia is said to have been bound in golden chains as a Roman captive in the Second Punic War (Silius Italicus 17.629-30: though cf. Diod. 27.6). Some 500 years later, late in the third century AD the Roman emperor Aurelian paraded Zenobia in chains of gold (SHA Tyr.Trig. 30.26: Aur. 34.3). In 29 BC Octavian himself, soon to become Augustus, is said to have paraded kings in golden chains (Propertius 2.1.33).

Why this apparently strange Roman practice? Velleius gives us something of a clue, for he states that Antony bound Artavasdes in chains of gold 'lest his (i.e. Artavasdes') status be at all diminished' (ne quid honori deesset). Scholars normally look no further in the search for understanding: for example, the excellent T.Rice Holmes tells us that the king had special chains 'in recognition of his rank' (Architect of the Roman Empire (1928): p.136). So much seems beyond dispute but it is only the beginning of an answer. In particular, we need to understand why Antony, for example, chose to recognise the rank of the captive Armenian king. Velleius gives us no explicit answer to that question, probably because the very question was for him unthinkable. Velleius was a prisoner of the same broad attitudes and assumptions as Antony: Velleius did not imagine that his readers/audience would inhabit another thought-world. Herein lies one of the several reasons why the historian of antiquity cannot depend upon the analytical powers of the writers upon whom he tends too much to rely. To understand the use of chains of precious metal we must probe the underpinning of Roman ideology for ourselves.

What did Romans think of kings? It is often said that Romans considered kings an anathema. And it is not difficult to find instances of Roman hostility to kings of the contemporary world and kings of the often-mythical past, such as Tarquinius Superbus, the evil and therefore the last king of Rome. The very Republic had been founded in violent rejection of kings and kingship. When Julius Caesar seized power after crossing the Rubicon in 49 BC, the long-standing opposition of Republic and monarchy immediately became a vital political issue. Caesar sought to sidestep the anti-Republicanism inherent in his pre-eminence by becoming dictator for life, but that was not enough. The idea of Caesar as king recurs in various incidents of Caesar's short 'reign'. Indeed, scholars still debate whether or not Caesar actually wanted to be proclaimed king of Rome. By contrast, Augustus is now praised for avoiding the taint of kingship by developing the Republican idea of princeps. And that is the point: all the sources and, by and large, modern scholars accept the basic premise that kingship was a taint.

It was. Yet we should also appreciate that Romans could take more positive views of kings. Rawson, in particular, has drawn attention to the attraction which Romans could feel towards kings. For Romans, kings were exotic and interesting. In particular, they were individuals who (in theory at least) enjoyed total power within their own regimes. Their wealth is conceived as appropriately vast. (Rawson, JRS 65 (1975), 148-59)

Roman attitudes towards kings were notably ambivalent. While early Roman myth and history turns up a bad king in Tarquinius Superbus, it also has glowing pillars of Romanness - Numa, taken to be the creator of most of Roman religious practice, and Tarquinius Priscus, the great builder, and Servius Tullius, traditionally the lawgiver responsible for key institutions of the Roman political and military structure. In short, kings could be good kings. And in the contemporary world the Roman state and individual Romans had kings who were valued, honoured and often vital friends and allies. There was even room for affection in these relationships: Augustus, for example (BJ 17.323: AJ 2.100), kept mementoes of his dead friend Herod (more familiar today as the baby-killer of the New Testament). In other words, 'good kings' might and did move in high Roman society.

The ambivalence of Roman attitudes towards kings and kingship starts to become apparent. A classic anecdote from Plutarch's Life of Cato the Elder points up this ambivalence. Plutarch says that when King Eumenes II of Pergamum visited Rome early in the second century BC members of the Roman elite flocked around him, eager to be his friends. The elder Cato kept his distance, because, he said, 'kings are cannibals' (Plut. Cato Maior 8).

This ambivalence was not only Roman. It was also Greek. Greek thinkers had debated the virtues and vices of kings and kingship for centuries before Cato (in fact, the Greeks themselves came to regard Homer as the first 'philosopher of kingship'). Discussion had centred upon the relationship of the monarch and the law. The 'good king' ruled in accordance with the law (natural, if not man-made) and, within the law, protected and cared for his subjects, like a good shepherd or a father. But there were also bad rulers who simply flouted the law. The key was the king's capacity to control himself in wielding absolute power. Thus for Herodotus' Darius kingship was the best political system provided that the best man was king. Plato, working within the same framework of ideas, argued in the Republic that kings must become philosophers or philosophers kings if the ideal state is to be achieved. For Plato, the strength of the philosopher is his reason, which makes him able to control himself to the full even when wielding the supreme authority of an absolute king. In other words, kings are good/the best provided that...

As the classical Greek world became the hellenistic world, the world of the city-states became the world of kings. The political philosophy of kingship became a more vital and practical issue but the hellenistic philosophers (notably, the Stoics) maintained the central principle of the old ideas - the primacy of the king's self-control.

In fact, the Stoics exploited the polarity of 'king' and 'slave' to argue that only the wise man is free, thanks above all to his reason and the self control it gives him. Thus, the king can be a slave - a slave to his passions - while the slave can attain true freedom - freedom from his own passions. The polarity of 'king' and 'slave' is most obviously a polarity of social status. But it is also a polarity of freedom for (as usually conceived) the slave lacks all freedom while the king has all freedom by virtue of the absolute power he wields. It is precisely because of this absolute freedom that the king needs absolute self-control to stop him murdering, raping and pillaging his subjects. Political philosophy becomes the familiar ethical area of freedom and responsibility, which a Roman might, like Seneca, express as the opposition between libertas and licentia (De Clem. 1.1.)

We may seem to have strayed far from our course but the detour is a temporal illusion. It was precisely in the context of Greek thought that Roman conceptions of kingship were moulded. Roman writers repeat Greek debates on the strengths and weaknesses of monarchy. And among these 'Roman' writers must be included writers in Greek, such as Philodemus, who wrote a work 'On the good king accoridng to Homer' for a leading Roman aristocrat of the 50's BC.

Everywhere in ancient thought, the exalted status of the king is understood. It allows various strategies. We have seen the Stoic's pointed denial of its necessary validity in philosophical reality. Romans were compared to kings by the Greeks and by each other. Romans were the friends of kings and the enemies of kings, often both in different circumstances. In particular, Romans could use their conquest of kings to express their own greatness - those who defeated beings of exalted status must be even more exalted. In his Res Gestae Augustus boasts his triumphs over nine kings and children of kings (RG 4.3). Claudius, possibly with an eye to the Res Gestae, is credited with eleven kings in Britain alone (D.Braund, Augustus to Nero (1985) no. 210(b)). Just as Romans traditionally enjoyed parading royalty in triumphs, so royalty were expected to avoid the indignity at all costs. Cleopatra's preference for suicide, though a disappointment to Octavian, is nevertheless a matter for Horace's admiration (Hor.Od,1.37). When in Roman custody those of high status are expected to act in a manner deemed appropriate to that status - with a stiff upper lip. When King Prusias II of Bithynia grovelled in the Senate to win favour he won nothing but contempt. This was not kingly behaviour at all: indeed, Prusias was not even a captive (Livy 45.44). Contrast the haughty Mithridates of Bosporus (Tac.Ann.12.21) and Caratacus (ibid.12.37). We have seen that an enemy of high status yielded special glory to the victor, but the Roman stake was still greater than that. It has two aspects which combine to explain the use of chains of gold and silver for royalty.

First, Roman conceptions of the relationship between status, and punishment. Roman law is excessively concerned with matters of social status. That is partly because social status involved rights and privilege. A basic tenet of Roman law was that those of high social status receive better treatment under the law than their social inferiors. Inequality of this sort was approved and institutionalised in Roman law, which is, of course, an expression of a broader ideology of inequality.

Institutionalized inequality appears most starkly in the second century AD when a so-called 'dual penalty' system was formalized. Under this system the Roman citizen body was divided into two categories, the honestiores ('those with higher status') and the humiliores ('the humbler'). For any given crime a member of the first category could expect a considerably lighter punishment than his social inferior - in particular, he was relatively unlikely to be chained.

This system was a formalization of a long-standing attitude (and probably long-standing practice). In the late 50's BC, in his De Republica and De Legibus, Cicero explicitly approves inequality before the law of precisely this type. It has been stressed that a tendency (arguably, an aim) of punishment under the Roman legal system was the preservation of high social status (see P.D.A.Garnsey, Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire (1970).

We have seen that kings were recognized as possessing high social status, although they may not be Roman citizens (from Augustus on, most were) and although Romans sometimes go out of their way to demean them. I suggest that chains of precious metals were used for royalty partly because of this Roman concern for status. Chains were not fitting for the likes of a king: if chains were to be used they must be special chains. That is what Velleius means when he says that Artavasdes was bound in golden chains, ne quid honori deesset.

But, at the same time, there are also considerations of fortuna. The devastating effects of fortune were already almost a cliche when Euripides built them into his Trojan Women, for example. There, the great royal house of Troy is reduced to slavery by fortune. In the hellenistic world the concept of fortune (tyche) was very much to the fore in the search for causes. Throughout, a favourite exampl of the violent fluctuations of fortune is the fall from the peak of social status to the pits - from kingship to slavery (see, for an obscure example, Lucian Menippus 16; cf. in general, M.S.Nussbaum, The fragility of fortune: luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and philosophy (1986)). To chain a king was to present him - indeed, to treat him - as a slave. The chains symbolised the king's fall and that fall could readily be interpreted as the work of fortune(cf. Hor.Epist. 2.1.191, playing on the notion of fortuna), which might strike down anyone - even perhaps the victor in due course. The symbolism was all the more striking since the high status of the king was usually evoked by his special dress and regal paraphernalia (e.g. Jos. AJ 18.241). To bind a king in golden chains was to gain the benefits of conquest, while mitigating the effects of fortune. Golder chains were chains and were not chains. When the emperor Gaius had freed Herod's grandson Agrippa from the detention into which Tiberius had cast him, the emperor declared Agrippa to be a king and "presente him with a golden chain of equal weight/exchange for his iron one" (Jos AJ 18 237). And golden chains reduced the potential for pity amc the onlookers, whom the king's subjection was meant to impress, and w perhaps themselves expressions of the pity of the victor. All, of course, combined with a shared concern for the preservation of status

Lest such an explanation should seem over-speculative or even over-sentimental (for pity is not familiar in the context of Roman imperialism), I give two examples: they could be multiplied.

1. When Sapor, King of Persia, put King Arsaces III of Armenia into chains, he used silver chains: Ammianus interprets their use as a solacium for Arsaces. Persian practice, but Roman interpretation (Amm. Marc. 17.12).

2. The Ad Herennium, a rhetorical treatise ascribed to Cicero, says much that is relevant. In particular it recommends the orator to expand upon the effects of fortune in order to evoke pity in his audience (2.50). We have seen that a rtandard example was the fall from royalty to slavery (e.g. Juvenal 7.20). The Ad Herennium further states that for a victor to treat a defeated king well was a mark of the victor's humanitas in the face of the common enemy, fortune (AdH. 4.23; cf. Sen. De Clem 1.1).

As Tacitus' Caratacus told Claudius: 'if you save my life, I shall be an everlasting memorial of your clemency' (Ann.12.37).

Chains of precious metal gave the victor all the glory and none of the opprobrium that might go with it - rather, they expressed his humanitas and clementia and thus brought him further credit. Status was preserved and fortune mitigated. The whole issue highlights the fact that, despite various differences and tensions (e.g. between kings and Republicans), the elite of the Roman state had much in common with the elite of their enemies and subjects - most obviously, status itself. That fact helps to account for the relatively smooth development of the Roman city state into a Roman world empire, with royalty actually becoming Roman senators from the first century AD onwards. As Brunt has observed CCSSH 7 (1963-5) 267-88 when Rome attained her millennium, in the third century AD, she was ruled by an emperor who might reasonably be considered to be an Arab sheikh.

DAVID BRAUND

Seneca and Elizabethan Drama

(from the point of view of a student in the School of English)

The first great epoch of popular theatre in England was born in the aftermath of the Renaissance. Over a span of fifty years - beginning with Kyd's 'The Spanish Tragedy' (1583) and ending with Ford's ''Tis Pity She's a Whore' (1633) - Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights produced some of the finest tragedies in the English language. Out of the abundance of classical works, rediscovered by Renaissance scholar it was undoubtedly Seneca who had the most profound influence on the Elizabethan imagination, and on the shaping of the direction of the new school of dramatists. Seneca had reached the English stage in an indirect way, through the theatres of Italy and France, the works of earlier English translators, and through plays like 'Gorbudoc' (1561), by Sackville and Norton, based consciously on the Senecan model and intended for a small literary and academic circle in Tudor England. But it was chiefly through the huge success of 'The Spanish Tragedy' which inspired a string of imitations, that Seneca's influence became firmly established in popular theatre.

We may ask why Seneca in particular was so important. The answer lies partly in a parallel between the political climates of Seneca's Rome and Elizabeth's England. The Renaissance had seen a transformation of society in Europe, with a growth of state power as embodied in the sovereign. Concerned with the prospect of despotism and its consequences for the rights of the individual, dramatists found their true affinity in a writer living at the court of Nero. Seneca was a poet in an extreme situation, and projects through his tragedies the terrible consequences of a man being brought to the edge of endurance by tyrannical powers. He held up, in reply, a calm Stoic affirmation of the kingdom of the mind:

> 'Not riches makes a king, or high renown
> A king is he that fear hath laid aside,
> And all effects that in the breast are bred,
> It is the mind only that makes a king'
>
> (Thyestes)

The Elizabethans adopted and revived Seneca's stoicism, as a means of rejecting the fixed hierarchies of court and government, and supplying a stance for the alienated individual. It clearly develops into the fatalism expressed in 'King Lear':

> '.....Men must endure
> Their going hence even as their coming hither
> Ripeness is all.'

The frequency with which a Senecan quotation falls whenever a moral reflection is called for is remarkable. When an Elizabethan hero dies, it is usually in the odour of Seneca.

But if Seneca's influence on Elizabethan thought has been rightly noted, his responsibility for the new 'Theatre of Blood', following on from the commercial success of the 'Spanish Tragedy' has been grossly exaggerated. The Elizabethans had developed their own taste for the horrific which the new playwrights aimed to satisfy. The trend owed much more to the Italians where stage-craft and stage-machinery had recently become highly sophisticated, and consequently the more gruesome elements of the play could now be realistically presented. There is very little of Seneca in this, although he may have been held up as the precept and example. The blinding of Oedipus in Seneca is far less offensively handled than that of Gloucester in 'King Lear'. Even in 'Thyestes', the most unpleasantly blood-thirsty of Seneca's plays, the worst we actually see is the serving up of the childrens' heads to their father, Thyestes, at a banquet. Generally the horrors are reported by the entrance of a Messenger, petard in hand. The Elizabethans were far more explicit. In Shakespeare's 'Titus Andronicus', the hero has to cut off his own hand on stage, whilst Hieronimo, in 'The Spanish Tragedy', actually bites out his tongue in front of the audience. There is a wantonness and sensationalism in the handling of these atrocities of which Seneca would have have been guilty, and in any case, his plays were intended for private readings, never for public performance. They were the forerunners of the modern broadcasted drama; Seneca's interest lies in the subtleties and ingenuities of language rather than in the action itself.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the most permanent of Seneca's legacies was in the area of language. The English language in early Tudor times was in many ways a deterioration from that of Chaucer. With changes in pronunciation, and a suppression of syllables, the melody of the older tongue had gone, and with this melody, much of its dignity. New infusions and rhythms from abroad were very much needed. Early attempts to incorporate Senecan rhetoric into dramatic speech were not altogether successful. Initially the rhetoric tended to overpower the English language. But the Elizabethans learned from Seneca the essentials of declamatory verse, and gradually merged it into their own language. The result is a mingling of the oratorical and the conversational, the elaborate and the simple. It was a combination which no other school of dramatists has ever accomplished. A new height of poetic diction emerged, culminating in the achievement of 'King Lear'. At the same time there was a revolution in Tudor verse form. When scholars came to translate Seneca's plays in 'The Tenne Tragedies' during the 1560's, they found that the blank verse of Surrey's translation of the Aeneid (1557) was in every way the verse in which to render the dignity of Senecan rhythm. Dramatists adopted and developped the new blank verse cadence in popular theatre. Without this, Shakespeare could not have formed the verse instrument which he left to his successors - Webster, Massinger, Tourneur and Ford.

No Elizabethan or Jacobean playwright ever borrowed directly from Seneca in terms of plot. Seneca's influence was more diffuse, but was evident in the type of tragedies that were being written. Underlying the Senecan tragedies are the introspective studies of Revenge, Jealousy and Ambition, which Shakespeare made use of when writing 'Hamlet', 'Othello' and 'Macbeth'. Seneca provided the Elizabethans with a frame-work for a new type of drama, based on a classical model, but far more robust. This, together with the integration of rhetoric and blank verse into the theatre and English poetry, was the most important influence of Senecan tragedy.

Lois Rathbone

VIRAGO VIRILITY - A study of "men and women" in Greek tragedy

A thoroughly modern feminist who throws aside Cosmopolitan and takes up Greek tragedy must find much to irritate and exasperate. She would discover Euripides' Electra saying;

γυναῖκα γὰρ χρὴ πάντα συγχωρεῖν ποσει (Electra 1052) (1)

and fantasizing about a man who would be

μὴ παρθενωπὸς ἀλλὰ τἀνδρείου τρόπου (Electra 949) (2)

Further for her delectation she meets Chrysothemis who, in an attempt to dissuade her impulsive sister from action says;

γυνὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἀνὴρ ἔφυς (Sophocles, Electra 997) (3)

Not a phrase designed to delight a womens' rights campaigner yet not every man in Greek tragedy is worthy of the trust which Chrysothemis places in the sex, not every woman conforms to the role of keeper of the house, tender of the loom. Orestes in his words to Electra:-

ὅρα γε μὲν δὴ κἀνγυναιξιν ὡς Ἄρης ἐνεστιν (Sophocles Electra 1243-1245 (4)

recognizes the fact, of which he has seen alarming proof, that the boundari confining the roles of the sexes are eminently crossable.

Agamemnon, the sacker of cities, hero of the Trojan war does not always exactly embody manly virtues. He begs Clytemnestra not to praise him; ἐν τροποις γυναικος (Aeschylus, Agamemnon 998) (5) and yet while he is away his position is usurped by a woman and her less than manly lover. On his return he fails to assert his authority and is defeated by his wife firstly in argument and then by force. Clytemnestra compels him, in a scene symbolizing her triumph, to walk on a carpet against his better judgement and then murders him. The phrase;

θῆλυς ἁρσενος φονεὺς ἐστιν (Aeschylus, Agamemnon 1231) (6)

by the juxtaposition of "male" and "female" emphasizes the triumph of woman over man and the horror of such an event. Agamemnon's fear is fulfilled, he is "womanized" by his wife's "masculinity".

Clytemnestra's second choice, Aegisthus, fares little better; he falls far short of being the muscle-bound tyrant asserting male supremacy over Argos. Orestes in the Choephori refers to his home as a land ruled by a pair of women;

δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ὦδ' ὑπηκόους πέλειν θήλεια γὰρ φρήν.
(Aeschylus, Choephori 304-5) (7)

and Electra is equally insulting of her stepfather's masculinity in the lines;

ὁ τῆς γυναικός, οὐχὶ τανδρος ἡ γυνή
καίτοι τόδ' αισχρόν, προστατεῖν γε δωμάτων
γυναῖκα, μὴ τὸν ἄνδρα (Euripides, Electra 932-4) (8)

Aegisthus is referred to as δίκουρος (Ag. 1626), a lamentably and intrinsically feminine task, and is also called ὁ παν' ἀναλκις (Sophocles, Electra 301). Aegisthus shows little, if any, sign of independent thought, acts at the instigation of Clytemnestra and fights as her ally, almost her second-in-command.

Agamemnon whines rather weakly to his supremely militant wife;

οὗτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἱμειρέιν μάχης (Aesch. Agamemnon 940) (10)

It is a pity for him that his words are proved so grossly inaccurate. The females within his family display a fair tendency towards the militant. Electra in Sophocles' version of the story is a formidable, assertive woman who reveals almost masculine resolve after the death of Orestes, and states;

ἀλλ' αὐτοχειρί μοι μόνη τε δραστέον
τοὔργον τόδ' (Sophocles, Electra 1018-1019) (11)

Granted when her brother returns the action is left to the male, but she personally is more than ready to do it.

Medea laments the lot of women and states;

πάντων δ' ὅς ἐστ' ἔμψυχα καὶ γνώμη ἔχει
γυναικες ἐσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτον (Eurip. Medea 230-231) (12)

Yet in facing her less than masculine and faithless husband Jason she shows great spirit and/charging him with effeminacy, questioning his own masculinity by her strength. Her courage is, however, inspired by an intrinsically feminine sense of having been scorned; it is Clytemnestra in whom one encounters a woman of truly masculine proportions.

clarity

The very first reference to Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' Agamemnon introduces the very special nature of this manly woman. The messenger says;

ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ
γυναικὸς ἀνδροβουλος ἐλπιζον κέαρ (Ag. 10-11) (13)

The chorus also recognise the unusual nature of Clytemnestra and when she slightly ironically asks them to accept a woman's words, they correct her, saying;

γυναι, κατ' ἀνδρα σάφρον εὐφρόνως λέγεις (Ag. 351) (14)

A dubious compliment perhaps bearing in mind the men in the play but Clytemnestra seems pleased and wishes to be considered a man and she says indignantly to the chorus;

πειρασθε μοι γυναικος ὡς ἀφρασμονον (Ag. 401) (15)

She enjoyed the status she gained in her husband's absence and resents her reduction at his return. Her triumph over him in argument preludes her ultimate triumph by force. In Homer's version of the story,

Aegisthus is the slayer but in Aeschylus it is Clytemnestra who undertakes,even revels in, the task. She relishes the deed in a distasteful,unfeminine manner and states gloatingly;

παιω δε νιν δις καιδυοιν όιμωγμασιν
μεθηκεν άυτου κωλα (Aesch. Agam. 1285) (16)

The final decision in the Eumenides favours the male. Athene betraying her sex declares;

το δ' άρσεν άινωπαντα. (Aesch. Eumenides 740) (17)

and we must all bow to her decision; I mean,as Electra states in the lines;

δυσῖν άδελφοῖν ποὺς άν ού γένοιτ ίσος
άνδρός τε και γυναικός, άλλα αρσην κρατει (Euripides, Electra 538-540) (18)

even their feet are superior!

Anne McKay

1. A woman ought to yield in all matters to her husband.
2. Not a girly-faced wimp, but a real man.
3. You're only a woman not a man.
4. Observe that woman can be pugnacious too.
5. In a womanly manner.
6. A female murder of a male.
7. This land is subject to a pair of women, for Aegisthus is a woman at heart.
8. That man is Clytemnestra's husband not she is Aegisthus' wife. It's disgraceful! It's the woman's place to run the home not the man's.
9. The total wimp.
10. It's not very becoming for a woman to lust for battle.
11. Then I'll do it myself all on my own.
12. Of all creatures who have breath and brain we women are the most miserable.

13. For so rules the heart ever hopeful, of manly counsel belonging to a woman.

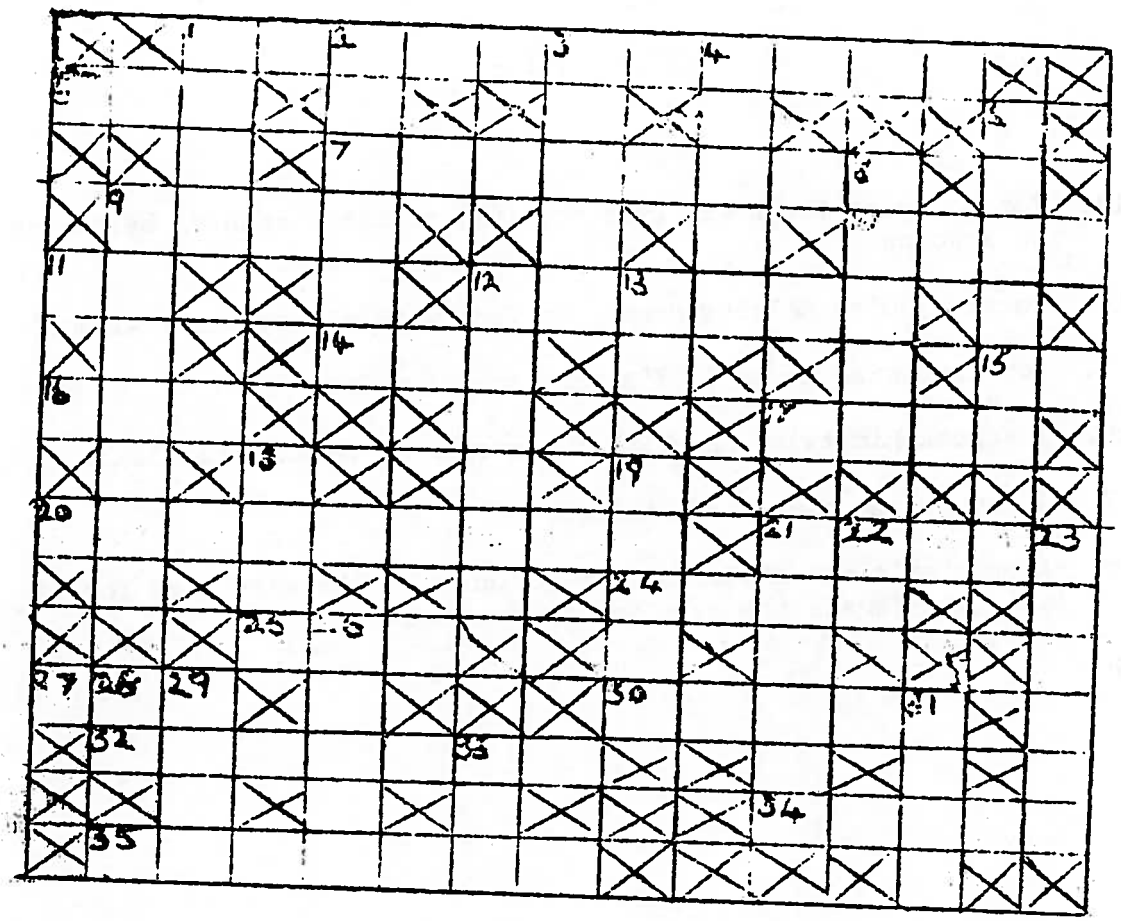
14. Woman, you're talking sense, in fact with almost manly wisdom!

15. You criticise me as if I'm some stupid woman.

16. I struck him twice and with two groans he relaxed his limbs.

17. I favour the man in all things.

18. A brother's and sister's feet wouldn't be the same size for of male and female the male one is superior.



Across

1. 'Send Me Those'(anag.) - pebbles perhaps?
5. 35 across, but more watery.
7. Topologically inferior, but also superior, Fritz.
9. 'Si monumentum vis, circumspice' - cuius?
10. Look! I've been hit on the head with a black pudding!
11. Yes, but only if you behold the waters.
12. I say, I say, I say...did you hear the one about the orator?
14. Abbreviated sibling, a subjunctive being.
15. I.e. the first word in a Latin phrase.
16. The sun reveals all human affairs.
17. It's not the same without, in the presence of Christmas.
20. Not quite Horace, but good enough for Gallic subversives.
21. Turn round this Swedish tank? You must be joking.
24. 14 across, but add me on subjectively, if in Egypt.
25. This is not quite East.
27. Augustus' fireman's more or less popular other duty.
30. Ill-omened country of blacks?
32. Plea of the confident god at the races.
34. "As our fortune would have it! Shade!"
35. We are Deva.

Down

1. Sweet Beast.
2. Great, but J.C. was greater.
3. To miss, and so write letters
4. Epic poet's vocation or invoc
6. Well-famed stargazer.
8. A soppy story-teller.
9. Clever head?
12. Antagonistic sister - well ne
13. But why locative.
18. Wander aimlessly, but end up the same place.
19. We'll punish you eternally.
21. Poet and pilot of Thunderbird
22. Cave canem - give Fido one t make him happy.
23. Greasy inventor of a less illustrious scourer.
26. Father Christmas brought this Rome twice in 845 years.
28. He propped her up on this acc
29. Find your way without this by generic spring of Hippocrene.
31. Win this and get a Pindaric O free!
33. Burn down Campus Radio.

Answers on page 32

Going to Greece : How? - A Supplement to David Harvey's 1980 Article

Time flies, and for the last five years I have been promising to supplement David Harvey's 1980 article "Going to Greece: How?"

This supplement may be inaccurate and frivolous, but first things first.

Do not try to go by coach. Some coach services are good; but, for a two-night journey, they are all uncomfortable beyond the limits (which are certainly wide) of tolerable discomfort.

If you want real luxury and reasonable conducted tours, perhaps to be followed-up in later years by individual revisits, take a package.

If you want an industrious and academically formative trip, try to attach yourself to the British School at Athens. My opinion of their attitude to visiting philhellenes may be obtained in private interview, but to earnest students they undeniably give good value for money.

If you want to enjoy yourself, meet new people, and see cities and know the minds of men, go by train.

Preferably, though a little bit longer, go via Paris and whatever train to Athens your travel-agent may find. Then you will be able to spend what is left of your holiday money in Paris on the way back - and have the pleasant experience of walking through Montparnasse and the Rue de Béotie within days of visiting their eponyms.

The night train from Paris to the Swiss border will be uncomfortable; French passengers keep the light on and talk all night. But you will get an excellent breakfast when you cross into Switzerland. Thence you may pass through either Austria or Italy. If you go through Austria you will go through the district mentioned in The Sound of Music. If you go through Italy you will go through several cities mentioned in Tacitus' Histories. (If you go by Ostend, you will miss Paris, but you may see the Rhine castles and taste Munich beer. A warning: it tastes exactly the same as beer anywhere else, except that you can get far better in the Ram.)

David Harvey as a schoolboy found Yogoslavia interminable. He must already have been tired by the German and Austrian stretches, or he could not have failed to appreciate the splendid Highland scenery of Slovenia; the baroque domes of Ljubljana, with the thin stream through which the Argo is said to have passed into the Adriatic (later realism suggested that it must have been manhandled over the mountains at Vrhnika, whence the name Nauportus); the Killiecrankie-like gullies which open out behind Zidanimost; the rolling maizefields of Slavonia, and Belgrade itself, where one may well break one's journey, perhaps better on the way home, with time to see the museums, the citadel, and the cathedral, with the tombs of medieval Tsars in the chancel, and the slivovitz in the timbered publichouse outside with the questionmark over the entrance and a recognizable affinity with our own Ship outside our own Cathedral. Through Serbia to Nish, with its memories of Constantine, and a tower outside with skulls amiably incorporated in the mortar by the Turks; the

historic name of Kumanovo (though I suppose there are some students who do not know about Kumanovo: they would do well to find out) and on to Skopje, capital of Macedonia, with the Church of St.Saviour and throngs of bronze sculpture by Mestrovic, and through Macedonia where the minarets overshadow the villages and the buffaloes glower from the village ponds; a few miles' walk, if one stays in Skopje for the night, to the Nerezi monastery with some of the finest frescoes in Eastern church art. From there to Tituv-Veles, uniquely distinguished by its three eponyms, a pagan Slavonic deity, a legendary Byzantine saint, and a very factual 20th-century culture-hero: and soon after that we are at the Greek frontier, and at Evzonoi we are greeted by polite Greek customs officers.

Salonica is worth a day or so: strange relics of the Tetrarchy, that odd semi-barbarous interregnum when the 3rd-century anarchy was beginning to settle down but the Byzantine age had not begun: and (see the Guide Bleu) a diachronic collection of all the styles and centuries of Orthodox church architecture, beginning with pagan temples and secular basilicas adapted to the new worship, and gradually becoming less and less like Western churches and more dominated by pendentives and cupolae and iconostases. One can also take the opportunity of a Turkish bath, which may be welcome after 48 hours in the train (this luxury is also available in Skopje). It should however be remembered that the word which means No in Yogoslavia means Yes in Greece, and the Yugoslav word for Little is the same as the Greek word for Much.

Salonica concentrates all the commerce which once gave present prosperity and promising prospects to the Chalcidic Confederacy, that illstarred hope which came to grief between the rivalries of Persia, Macedon, Athens and Sparta: the package industry is beginning to re-develop what was devastated by the abominable Philip, and partially restored by Cassander, but there is little for the tourist apart from Mount Athos, and for that one requires an official permit or an organised cruise. It is as well to book a seat for the Salonica to Athens train journey. For some hours, the names (Dion, Methone, Pydna) will be more exciting than the scenery, but at one point a haze of brilliance appears to one's right: it is the clouds and mist round Olympus. Otherwise, once Tempe is passed, Thessaly is not of great interest unless one wishes to see the Meteora monasteries; the coaches go through Thermopylae, but the train threads the barren mountains of Malis, Doris and Phocis until recognition dawns as one approaches Chaeroneia. Unless one is eagerly impatient to see Athens, one may well find it profitable to stop for a night or so in Thebes. The Seven Gates and the field sown with dragon's teeth can be seen in one morning, but there are plenty of further walks through Boeotia; Mr. Harvey's suggestion, that Guide Bleu distances should be multiplied by tow, is perhaps over-cautious, and it might be as well to multiply them by three, at least if one is walking, say to the ruins of Gla or the Sanctuary of Trophonius. One can, however, take a bus, or hitch a lift, over the Euripus to Chalcis, and if one has the energy, try to walk to Eretria across the Lelantine Plain, that favourite battleground of eighth-century historians. One need not be worried by the alarming monosyllable ΦΙΞ whitewashed across the walls: it is not a warning against the Hesiodic monster from the Sphinx Mountain, and there is no need to worry about riddles of death, though the monster's mountain can clearly be seen from the cafes on the northern summits of the Cadmeia; the modern Phix is simply the Greek version of Fuchs' Lager.

(More expensive than it is worth, and more expensive than an equal quantity of retsina; if you dislike your first mouthful of retsina, on the reasonable grounds that it tastes like a mixture of turpentine and ink, try the next mouthful, which will be pleasanter, and by the third mouthful you will be truly hooked. If you have an unashamedly sweet palate, of course, you should try Samian: if you want something stronger, raki is even better than ouzo).

When at last you reach Athens, it may be as well to ask at the University and find out where student accommodation exists; you will probably be directed to a large commonroom crow ed with all nationalities, something between a barrackroom and a Greyfriars dormitory. No luxury, but a place where one can sleep in reasonable comfort during such hours as one is not climbing Lycabettus or the Acropolis, taking bu es round Attica (never miss the monastery at Daphne, and one might do worse than visit Phyle and Decelea), seeing all the churches and museums possible; and then the Plaka.

The Plaka is of course a tourist trap; but there are cheap restaurants, it is a convenient jumping-off place for either the Acropolis or the Roman Market and its surroundings (also, of course, for the Agora proper and the Stoa of Attalus), and some of the narrower lanes take one right back to the fifth century. (Once, when the Fleet was in port, I heard a young English sailor make a comment on the morals of the Athenians which directly echoed some remarks made twenty-five centuries earlier by Aristophanes).

For a cruise round the Saronic Gulf, one takes a train to the Piraeus, which follows the line of the Long Walls; if one wants Marathon and Sunium, one goes by coach; for the Peloponnese, one can take the train, or take a coach, or walk and hitch. All are delightful. Eleusis and Corinth have ruins, Megara has little more than a name, a prosperous country town, and a cathedral. One may turn off to the right into Achaea, perhaps ultimately aiming at Elis and Olympia; if so, one will see Naupactus and Parnassus across the Gulf, and one should not miss the chance to go up the peculiar mountain railway from Diakophto to Kalavryta, where the flag was first raised for the War of Independence. (The monks were shortly afterwards massacred by the Turks; a century and a quarter later their successors were massacred by the Germans, as a notice attached to a planetree in the courtyard informs us). A placard in the monastery chapel prohibits, in firm Biblical language, access to women wearing trousers and shorts, "for that is an abomination unto the Lord". Beyond those mountains and now comparatively accessible are the Stymphalian Lake and the Falls of the Styx: but Arcadia is more easily entered if one goes due South, through Mycenae and Argos.

Argos is a friendly city (about the size of Tiverton); and a walk up the Larissa before breakfast will give one a view and an appetite. One will also see the theatre where, Horace tells us, a harmless lunatic used to sit by himself under the impression that there was a play on; and when cured he complained, reasonably enough, that he had been deprived of excellent free entertainment. From the theatre, past a fountain of excellent drinking-water, one can go on into Arcadia; though preferably not until one has taken another road out, to see the palace of Tiryns and the museum and the castle at Nauplia; where the bathing is excellent below, and the views from the 857-stepped Palamidi above.

On the way to Arcadia one passes the Lernaean Swamp; if one gets up at about six, one reaches Lerna (now called Myli) in time for a good breakfast, and can, if lucky, hitch a lift up into Arcadia, which should not be missed. It is cool, by Greek standards, and peaceful; there are forests, villages, and cafes where Arcadians play cards with the priest and buttonhole passing strangers, while their wives, by an admirable division of labour, work in the fields; or, if the men are shepherds, they sleep under the trees undisturbed by the chirping of the tettix. Tripoli is the local capital, and from it one can reach what remains of Tegea and Mantinea; further on , one comes across the pink roofs of Sellasia, and Sparta is not far off.

"A different sort of people, here", said an English policeman who was giving me a lift (he had been sent to help reorganize the Greek police, rather on Dock Green lines, and was pleased to find occasional company from England). "This is called Laconeea: quite an energetic lot of people. Where we've come from is called Arcadheea. Lazy lot of blighters, THEY are". Herodotus could not have put it better.

What remains of Sparta has been prophetically described by Thucydides(I 10)but there is an excellent museum, and the curator can usually be dragged out of the nearest taverna and induced to open it. Recent visitors have assured me that the food has not substantially improved since my last visit in 1950, or since the days when Herodotus explained that cooks in Sparta got the job through family influence rather than professional expertise. But one can, as a classical Spartan once said, partly recover from its effects if one lies down on the bed (a shallow one, in summer) of the Eurotas.

One should, of course, also go out and see Mistra, with its frescoes; and if one feels an impulse to take the long road to Gytheion, one can see the island on which Paris first consummated his passion for Helen. ("Rather a long way to go for THAT", as a friend of mine remarked in the 1940s in a slightly different connection).

Thereafter it is best probably to take the bus straight back to Athens and, if one has time, see whatever one has missed before leaving: Salamis, perhaps, or just the bathing-beaches at Glyphada and Vouliagmeni; or the Acropolis by moonlight, if the moon is full ("Find out moonshine, find out moonshine" as a group of Shakespeare's Athenians said: the sight is well worth it). Sunday Matins in the English church in Constitution Square is liturgically and ecclesiologically interesting; so is a visit to the small Russian church adjacent.

Food and drink? Plenty of retsina; food, even meat, gives fewer grounds for discomfort than in the less hygienic days of the 1950s, but in the Greek summer one can live very happily on corncobs, sprats, yoghourt, and stewed octopus; coffee is not expensive, but one should flatly refuse Nescafe and insist on the local product. Salads are superb, tomatoes as big as turnips, but avoid rhadikia - they are not radishes, but dandelions; and they taste like it. If a place serves hot meals, it serves them all day - one will not find, as in France or England, that all the meals are off if one arrives twenty minutes late, and furthermore, one can always see the food, stew, roast or whatever,

on the hob and ready to be dished up. Kebabs are called souvkakia and are excellent; so is stewed lamb (arnaki yakhni) even if one may suspect that the animal was really a goat; so, above all, is fish soup ---psarosoupa, bouillabaisse without the pretentiousness. Milk bars seem less numerous than they once were, but ricepudding, or a plate of thick yoghourt, with honey, is excellent at any time; milk is likely to oome from goats or sheep, as is the cheese (feta, by the way, may be bought in natural-food shops in this city, at a price). If you have a sweet tooth, try halva, or, especially if tired or hungry, lucumia - thick Turkish delight reinforced with nuts, and as a pick-me-up comparable to chocolate or Dextrosol. It should not be confused with lucumades, delectable bubbles of batter soaked in honey; baklava needs no introduction, except perhaps to people who have been nauseated by the English variety which has been known to be made with peanuts and should be dropped on the nearest compost heap. Sesame-rings, the Greek equivalent of pretzels or waterbiscuits, can be recommended, sesame rolls, substantial but dry, are useful on a train journey. On the way back, Yugoslav train meals can be whole-heartedly recommended, perhaps with slight reservations about breakfast: and in the heat of the day, there is commonly a surge of passengers on to the station platforms towards the taps clearly identified as PITNA VODA (a rudimentary familiarity with Indo-European roots will enable even those ignorant of Slavonic languages to deduce the meaning - and very drinkable it is). It may be advisable to carry, not only an Army-type water-bottle, but a fairly large plastic or pewter mug which can be strapped to the belt; sometimes, in the Greek countryside, one may come across a downflowing jet, and one can then lie under it with one's mouth open, and understand why Pindar and others made such a fuss about water, but in Yugoslavia the countryside, however hot, is, except in the mountains, seldom arid. Probably the breaks in the journey suggested in the introductory paragraphs might be better made on the homeward than on the outward lap; but it would be distressing to spend twenty-four hours in a train fortified only by the anticipation of the Greek frontier, when the Save and the Danube the Morava and the Vardar, are rolling twenty or thirty centuries of liquid history beneath the train windows.

H.W.STUBBS

Juvenal, Satire X, 147-167
Original Text and Modern-day Translation

expende Hannibalem: quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa oceano Niloque admota tepenti
rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos.
additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
transilit opposuit natura Alpemque - nivemque:
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
'acti' inquit 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura.'
O qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum!
exitus ergo quis est? o gloria! vincitur idem
nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
anulus. i, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.

Weigh up Adolf: how much of him do you get to a pound? He whom Germany could not contain, washed by the icy Baltic and bordered by the Alps with their reindeer. He added to his empire Poland, and vaulted poor Maginot's line, burning through Europe like a drop of acid. Britain is within his grasp, yet still he strains for more. 'Ve haff achieved nussing until ze German army breaks their defense und raises ze swastika in ze middle of Soho'. What a sight! What a picture it evokes! There bestrides the German eagle the general with two eye-balls, but only one of the other - or so we're told. But what was his end? O the glory of it! The tide begins to turn and he flees into solitude, a shadow of his former self. This man who once brought turmoil to the world, did not meet his end before his people, nor on the field of battle, nor even before his minions. But what avenged Auschwitz and all that blood was a grimy old bunker. Go on, mad man, run again and again all over Europe, to be a schoolboy's special subject and a film producer's delight.

MARK TURNER

Women in Homeric Society

In this essay I shall consider the normal status and responsibilities of the woman in Archaic Greek society by examining the representation of women in the Iliad and Odyssey. The evidence of the Homeric poems will not give a complete picture, because of the limitations of the subject-matter, but I hope to present an accurate account in areas where Homer does give us information. In the process of ascertaining what may fairly be said to have been the "norm", I shall constantly take examples from the poems to consolidate my suggestions. After that, I shall look at any women who seem to be exceptions and try to discover why they are different.

Before considering the normal lot of the woman in Homeric society, an important point must be made. The status and responsibilities of the aristocratic woman were very different from those of the slave women. I shall show this as I examine the slave woman's lot and the aristocratic woman's lot - separately. I should also point out here that we do not see any free non-aristocratic woman in Homer, and thus it is impossible to know what sort of life they led.

First, the normal lot of the slave. The supply of slave women was from wars and raids. The normal pattern of events is given in Odysseus' description of the sack of Ismarus:

ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὦλεσα δ' αὐτούς.
ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες
δασσάμεθ',....

Od. 9.40-2.

When a city had been sacked, the persons and possessions of the defeated belonged to the conquerors. The men were usually killed and the women, noble or otherwise, became the property of the victors. (This meant that there were few male slaves. One example of one in the Odyssey is the swineherd Eumaeus, who had been captured by pirates and sold into slavery as a youth.) Hector describes some of the duties of a woman in slavery, as he laments for Andromache if and when he is killed:

ὅτε κέν τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
δακρυόεσσαν ἄγηται, ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀπούρας.
καί κεν ἐν Ἄργει ἐοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἰστὸν ἀφαίνοις,
καί κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηιδος ἢ Ὑπερείης
πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη, κρατερὴ δ' ἐπικείσετ' ἀνάγκη.

Il. 6. 454-8

Slave women worked in the household, washing, sewing, cleaning, grinding meal and so on, usually under the direction of the mistress of the house. But in some circumstances, for instance before a man married, a slave might have quite a lot of the responsibility for home-management. For Athene makes such a suggestion to Telemachus:

ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς, ἐπιτρέψειας ἕκαστα
δμῳάων ἥ τίς τοι ἀρίστη φαίνεται εἶναι,
εἰς ὅ κέ τοι φήνωσι θεοὶ κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν.

Od. 15. 24-6.

In addition to household tasks, many young slave-girls would have to sleep with the master of the house. Hector refrains from mentinning this, out of delicacy maybe, or perhaps πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη is a euphemism for this, but it is clear that this was the normal practice. Laertes' treatment of the slave Eurycleia -

εὐνῇ δ' οὔ ποτ' ἔμικτο, χόλον δ' ἀλέεινε γυναικός

Od. 1.433-

was certainly very unusual, and although aristocratic ladies may have occasionally protested (as Phoenix' mother did Il. 9.449ff.), the men took little or no notice. Agamemnon says he refused to return Chryseis to her father

ἐπεὶ πολὺ βούλομαι κύτην
οἶκοι ἔχειν. καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα
κουριδίης ἀλόχου, ἐπεὶ οὔ ἑθέν ἐστι χερείων,
οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, οὐτ' ὄρ φρένας οὔτέ τι ἔργα.

Il 1.112-5.

He obviously likes her not only for her usefulness in women's work but for her body too. Achilles, referring to Agamemnon, says:

ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα. τῇ παριαύων τερπέσθω.'

Il. 9.336-7.

Again, he says that any man who is:

ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐχέφρων
τὴν αὑτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν
ἐκ ῥυμοῦ φίλεον, δουρικτητήν περ ἐοῦσαν.

Il. 9.341-3.

In the course of her duties, the slave-woman was much less cloistered than the aristocratic woman. She had to go and draw water and, presumably, get the food in. She had to serve at feasts from which noble women were excluded. A noble woman always had a retinue of slave-women: when Penelope decides to go downstairs she is accompanied by two slave-women;

οἵη δ' οὐκ εἴσειμι μετ' ἄνέρας. αἰδέομαι γάρ.

Od. 18.184.

Again, just after Nausicaa and Odysseus have met, Nausicaa withdraws and orders the slave-girls to look after him. He requests that they should leave him to bathe himself alone (although it was quite normal for a guest to be washed by his host's slave girls), and:

αἱ δ' ἀπάνευθεν ἴσαν, εἶπον δ' ἄρα κούρῃ.

Od. 6.223.

The position of the slave-girl, then, was very low. She was the property of her master and thus he had complete power over her. Slave-women carried out all the menial tasks within the house under the direction of the mistress of the house. They were not as cloistered as the noble women and thus came into contact with men more often. The master of the house, and his sons, could sleep with any slave-girl he chose, so that nearly all the children born to slaves were the off-spring of the free males, for there were very few male slaves. (In this case, it is interesting that the father's status was determinative where the offspring's status was concerned.) Thus, a slave-woman's lot was far from happy, and depended to a great extent on the character of her master.

Secondly, let us consider the lot of the aristocratic woman. Andromache seems to me to represent the typical noble woman. She is a loving and devoted wife (Il.6) who is preparing the bath for Hector's return home at the time of his death (Il. 22.442ff.). She laments his death not only because it means she will be enslaved if Troy is taken but because she loved him so much.

Andromache lived a fairly sheltered life - as I have already said, noble women did not participate in men's feasts (I shall deal with Arete and Helen later, for I consider them to be exceptions), as we see when she laments the fact that, with Hector dead, Astyanax will have no protection at feasts from taunts or cruelty. In spite of her cloistered life, both she and Hecuba appear on the walls of Troy, as does Helen. This can partly be explained, I think, by the fact that they are "royal family," and partly by the fact that Homer ignores what is normal practice in places in order to achieve a certain dramatic effect. It should also be noticed that Hecuba is lamenting with a group of Trojan women and that Andromache is not alone, but accompanied by two slave-girls. In fact, at this moment of crisis, Hector's death, all the noble women are there:

ἀμφὶ δέ μιν γαλόῳ τε καὶ εἰνατέρες ἅλις ἔσταν.

Il. 22.473

Nausicaa also lives a sheltered life, and when she goes to do the washing she has a retinue of slave-girls. Because she is young, and also to introduce an element of romance into the poem, her marriageability is stressed (by Athene Od. 6.27, by Odysseus 158-9, by Nausicaa 244-5). She is characterized as shy - αἴδετο γὰρ θαλερὸν γαμον ἐξονομῆναι
πατρὶ φίλῳ, Od. 6.66-7,
and as very conscious and nervous of what people say about her -
τῶν (the sailors) ἀλεείνω φήμιν ἀδευκέα, μή τις ὀπίσσω
μωμεύῃ. μάλα δ' εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον.
καί νύ τις ὧδ' εἴπῃσι κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας.
'τίς δ' ὅδε Ναυσικάα ἕπεται καλός τε μέγας τε
ξεῖνος ....'
... ὣς ἐρέουσιν, ἐμοὶ δε κ' ὀνείδεα ταῦτα γένοιτο.
καὶ δ' ἄλλη νεμεσῶ, ἥ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι,
ἥ τ' ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἐόντων
ἀνδράσι μίσγηται πρίν γ' ἀμφάδιον γάμον ἐλθεῖν.

Od. 6. 273-7, 285-8

This may just be Homer's characterisation of the young princess, but I think it reflects the sheltered existence of noble women, especially as girls.

Helen too is nervous of what people say. Aphrodite tells her Paris is awaiting her in his bedroom and she refuses to go -

νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη Il. 3.410
saying: τῷσι δέ μ' ὀπίσσω
πᾶσαι μωμήσονται. Il. 3.411-2

This consciousness of what other people say may be a characteristic of all noble women, but in this case I think Helen is unwilling to go because she feels responsible for the war she has embroiled all Trojans in. Thus, in this case, this sentiment is more likely to be an element of characterization.

Helen is interesting in one respect - that she fulfils the role of sister to Hector, although she is, in fact, only a sister-in-law, and not a proper one at that. For in Bks 6 and 24 of the Iliad, she appears where we would expect a sister of Hector's to appear - she tries to restrain him from going to battle and she laments for him in terms which imply a close and understanding friendship. I shall deal with Helen and the puzzle she is later, but here, at any rate, she plays a traditional role.

Penelope and Arete are both puzzling in certain respects, but in other ways they too reflect the life-style of the aristocratic woman. Penelope feels some guilt at not having been as good a hostess as she might, for she feels that part of her reputation rests on this. Her main virtue is her loyalty to Odysseus. Loyalty was expected of wives, and adultery a very serious offence. Her loyalty and obedience extend so far that she is prepared to follow out Odysseus' orders which are loathsome to her: for before he left he gave her these instructions:

σοὶ δ' ἐνθάδε πάντα μελόντων...
...αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ παῖδα γενειήσαντα ἴδηαι,
γήμασθ' ᾧ κ' ἐθέλησθα, τεὸν κατὰ δῶμα λιποῦσα.

Od. 18.267 269-70.

In accordance with these commands, she has run the household affairs for the duration of Odysseus' absence and is now about to start selecting a new husband, although this will be a στυγερὸς γάμος for her (18.272). Penelope became the ideal in faithfulness for later generations.

Again, she reflects the normal custom of the non-participation of noble women in men's feasting. She never takes part in the feasting, remaining upstairs doing some woman's work, and if she does descend, it is for a special purpose, for example, to declare that she will choose her new husband soon (Bk.18). And as I have already remarked, she does not come down unaccompanied but with two slave-women.

Perhaps the most important point about Penelope is her obedience to the men of her family. I have already described her outstanding loyalty to Odysseus. (I think Athene's words to Telemachus at Od. 15. 20-23, about the fickleness and forgetfulness of women, are just a

ruse to speed him on his way and do not apply to Penelope at all.) In two places in the Odyssey, Penelope meekly obeys Telemachus' orders, withdrawing from the feast to her loom:

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
ἱστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι. μῦθος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει
πασι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοι. τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ. Od.1.356-9.

At 21.350-3 he repeats these lines entire, substituting the word τόξον for μῦθος , again asserting that he is the master of the house.

In two places Telemachus speaks in such a way as to show that he has the power to send her back to her father or not as he chooses. He says:

Ἀντινο', οὔ πως ἔστι δομων ἀεκούσαν ἀπῶσαι
ἥ μ' ἔτεχ', ἥ μ' ἔθρεψε. Od. 2.130-1.

Again:

αἰδέομαι δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀπὸ μεγάροιο δίεσθαι
μύθῳ ἀναγκαίῳ. Od. 20. 343-4.

But Penelope does not have to obey only her son. Her father and brothers can put constraint on her:

ἤδη γάρ ῥα πατήρ τε κασίγνητοί τε κέλονται
Εὐρυμάχῳ γῆμασθαι. Od. 15. 16-7.

She admits this herself:

νῦν δ' οὔτ' ἐκφυγέειν δύναμαι γάμον οὔτε τιν' ἄλλην
μῆτιν ἔθ' εὑρίσκω. μάλα δ' ὀτρύνουσι τοκῆες
γῆμασθ', ἀσχαλάᾳ δὲ πάις βίοτον κατεδόντων,
γιγνώσκων... Od. 19. 157-160.

Thus we see that as daughter, wife and mother, Penelope has to obey her menfolk. This was the normal pattern in Homeric society.

In the same way, Arete is, or should be, ruled by Alcinous. Thus a Paeacian noble reminds her:

Ἀλκινοου δ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρχεται ἔργον τε ἔπος τε. Od. 11.345-6

It appears that one of the most important tasks of aristocratic women is weaving. This craft is mentioned very frequently. Just efore she hears of Hector's death, Andromache is engaged in this activity:

ἀλλ' ἥ γ' ἱστὸν ὕφαινε μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσε. Il.22. 440-1.

Similarly, of Helen: ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων. Il. 3.125-7.

In the Odyssey, the nymph Calypso and the witch Circe, who are divine but are represented in anthropomorphic terms, are both first pictured as wearing:

ἡ δ' ἔνδον ἀοιδίαουσα' ὀπὶ καλῇ,
ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένη χρυσείν κερκίδ' ὕφαινεν. Od. 5.61-2

Similarly, of Circe:

Κίρκης δ' ἔνδον ἄκουσον ἀειδούσης ὀπὶ καλῇ,
ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένης μέγαν ἄμβροτον, οἷα θεάων
λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα πέλονται. Od. 10.221-3.

Even Arete weaves - Od. 6.306.

Penelope is, of course, the prime example of the woman who weaves. Not only does she (pretend to) weave the shroud of Laertes, but when Telemachus tells her to return to her quarters he tells her to go back to her loom.

Her skill in weaving may be connected with her cunning attempts at putting off the suitors. A similar combination is found in the goddess Athene of the Odyssey, who is both skilful with her hands:

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ
ἴδρις, ὃν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει,
ὣς ἄρα τῷ κατέχεθε χάριν κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ὤμοις. Od.6.32-5.

and cunning with her brain:

εἰδότες ἄμφω (she and Od.)
κέρδε', ἐπεὶ οὐ μέν ἔσσι βροτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἁπάντων
βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐν πᾶσι θεοῖσι
μήτι τε κλέομαι καὶ κέρδεσιν. Od.13. 296-9.

Thus it is from Athene that Penelope has these gifts:

ἔργα ἐπίστασθαι περικαλλέα καὶ φρένας ἐσθλὰς,
κέρδεά θ'... Od. 2. 117-8

Connected with this is the thought Athene gives to Nausicaa that to go ahead and do the washing is the sort of deed -

ἐκ γάρ τοι τούτων φάτις ἀνθρώπους, ὀναβαίνει
ἐσθλή, χαίρουσιν δὲ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ. Od. 6. 29-30.

Embracing all these ideas of skill in handicrafts and hard work (but not, I think, of cunning) is the adjective κεδνή, frequently applied to women in Homer.

So we see that the aristocratic woman led a sheltered life and was brought up to obey her father and her husband. She was head of the household affairs, in charge of all the work of the slave-women. She herself did participate in the work to a certain extent, probably at the loom more than anything else, and she delegated responsibility to the most trust-worthy and hard-working slave-woman or -women. All Homer's aristocratic women who are portrayed weaving seem to be making a special or ornamental garment. Thus the basic, menial tasks would have been left to the slaves, while the mistress of the household merely directed their work and created not-so-essential items.

Before I consider the exceptions to this way of life - and the exceptions are all aristocratic women, Penelope, Arete and Helen - I shall try to clarify what marriage was and meant to the man and the woman.

Alcinous offers Odysseus his daughter in marriage thus:

αἴ γὰρ...
παῖδα τ' ἐμὴν ἐχέμεν καὶ ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι
αὖθι μένων. Od. 7. 313-4.

This is not a wholly typical offer of marriage, but it illustrates the fact that it was the girl's father who was responsible for finding and choosing the husband. Normally, he would announce that he wanted to marry his daughter, he would entertain the suitors and choose the one who gave the most expensive gifts or possibly the one who excelled most highly in athletic and martial contests. So we read of Eurymachus:

ὁ γὰρ περιβάλλει ἅπαντας
μνηστῆρας δώροισι καὶ ἐξώρελλεν ἔεδνα.
Od. 15 17-18.

When the wedding took place, the bride went to her husband's house and brought with her a dowry in some form, whether land or precious objects. This was a very solemn exchange and united aristocrats from different areas (for this applies to aristocrats; presumably, other free women took a dowry with them, but would marry locally: however, there is no evidence in Homer for this).

Monogamy was the rule, and nearly everyone married (except slaves) for the only role for the unmarried person in archaic Greece was priesthood. Although monogamy was the rule, this did not impose monogamous sexuality on the male, although it did on the female. The master of the household slept with his wife or with any of the slave-women he liked. Some noble women disliked this - Phoenix's mother, for example (Il. 9) - and many will not have approved - Penelope cannot have been delighted to learn of Odysseus' sojourns with Calypso and Circe, although these are goddesses, not slaves. But whether they liked it or not, noble women had to accept the fact that their husbands slept with other women. Calypso, speaking to Hermes, complains that there is one morality for men but another for women (a thought common today), and she could well be expressing the feelings felt by many

aristocratic women who resented their husband's freedom:

> Ἐχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοί, ζηλήμονες ἔξοχον ἄλλων,
> οἵ τε θεαῖς ἀγάασθε παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνάζεσθαι
> ἀμφαδίην, ἥν τίς τε φίλον ποιήσετ' ἀκοίτην.
> ὡς μὲν δτ' Ὠρίωνα ἕλετο ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
> τόφρα οἱ ἠγάασθε θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζώοντες... Od. 5. 118-22.

But I imagine most noble women accepted such treatment as wholly natural and did not rebel against it or even resent it.

The next point about marriage is that it meant different things to the male and the female. Broadly speaking, the husband meant more to the wife than the wife to the husband. This is due to many reasons. The wife was faithful to her husband alone, whereas the man had many women. The wife was dependent on the man - if he was killed in battle and the city taken, she would become a slave. On the other hand, a slave-woman or a wife could cope just as well as one another and ensure the smooth running of home affairs from the man's point of view. The most important reason is that male-to-male relationships were more highly valued than male-to-female. We can see that Achilles and Patroklus meant a great deal to one another, that Odysseus and Telemachus work together. The male-mate relationship was much inferior to these others, because woman was thought inferior to man. Their social usefulness consisted in the production of children and the management of household affairs. The strong and deep relationships were always between males.

This is true from the male point of view at least. For example, Penelope is not mentioned often when Odysseus speaks of returning home. On the other hand, Penelope loves Odysseus with great loyalty and devotion, and misses him more than he misses her. It is because she loves him so deeply and is afraid of trickery (23. 215ff.) that she needs so many "signs", so much proof that Odysseus really is Odysseus. For a woman's entire existence depended on her husband.

Now I shall examine those women who in some respects are exceptions to the normal pattern of the aristocratic woman. First, Arete. Nausicaa advises Odysseus to approach Arete before Alcinous in his supplication (6. 313-5). Athene describes her to Odysseus as a woman who is greatly honoured.

> οὐ μὲν γάρ τι νόου γε καὶ αὐτῇ δέδεται ἐσθλοῦ
> οἵσιν τ' εὖ φρονέῃσι καὶ ἀνδράσι νείκεα λύει. Od. 7.73-4.

Later, she participates fully at the feast - normally a male preserve - even calling Odysseus ξεῖνος...ἐμός (11.338). So Arete appears to do things which men normally do. How should we interpret this? I think Phaeacia is meant to be a rather strange and lovely place. Therefore if the Queen of that land, who is a person loved and honoured by her husband, children and people, has greater freedom than we expect, we should not be surprised. She is wise, and Alcinous allows her to use that wisdom. She is Queen, and as such Alcinous allows her to participate in the feast. She is a woman with some sort of charisma and is part

of the other-world atmosphere which sometimes prevails in the part of the poem dealing with Phaeacia.

Next, Penelope. On the whole, Phenelope is a fairly typical aristocratic wife. The problem lies in her powers in Odysseus' absence - Why does the decision about her remarriage lie in her hands? And what power does she exercise while Odysseus is away? There is a considerable amount of confusion in the poem as regards her remarriage. Odysseus' final instructions to her imply that remarriage will mean that she goes to her new husband's home -

τεὸν κάτα δῶμα λιποῦσα (18.2.70)

This seems to be what she thinks too:

μάλα δ' ὀτρύνουσι τοκῆες
γήμασθ', ἀσχαλάᾳ δὲ παις βίοτον κατεδόντων,
γιγνώσκων. ἤδη γὰρ ἀνὴρ οἷος τε μάλιστα
οἴκου κήδεσθαι, τῷ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει. (19. 158-61.)

Then she says of the man who wins the Archery Contest:

τῷ κεν δὴ ἔσποίμην νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα
κουρίδιον, μάλα καλόν...
Od. 21. 77-8.

She seems to think that it is her the suitors are after. But if this were so, the normal procedure would be for the suitors to approach her father with gifts, and he would then choose the highest bidder. Athene suggests this course of action to Telemachus, if Penelope wants to remarry, again implying that it is the woman and not the property the suitors are after (1.275-8). Telemachus is averse to this idea because he would have to return the dowry (2.132-3). Anyway, Penelope does not want to remarry. So what is it the suitors want?

They do not go to Penelope's father, because then the highest bidder would gain a wife and a dowry, but not a kingdom. It seems that the nobles on and around Ithaca have decided that Odysseus is no longer king, since he has been absent for so long, and that the man who marries Penelope becomes king. Whether or not he takes over Odysseus' is not clear - the suitors appear to concede Telemachus' inheritance to him. This is the best sense I can make of a situation which seems to have been hopelessly muddled in transmission.

Scholars have sometimes wondered why the suitors did not kill Telemachus and Laertes and take the place by force. If the suitors conceded Telemachus' claim to his οἶκος and it was just the kingship they were after, there would be no reason to use violence. And even if they did use force, they would have had to have been united, for the moment one suitor became prominent and took the initiative, all the others would turn on him. This same point applies when we consider why it was Penelope who had to make the choice. If any one suitor had pushed himself forward and was obviously making headway with her, the others may well have turned on him. The choice had to come from her - and she eventually chose to test their strength with Odysseus' bow.

The other problem with Penelope is how much power lay in her hands. I should imagine she ran the household as she had done when Odysseus was there, but that matters over which he had presided were looked after by someone else - Mentor perhaps ? But Odysseus' final words before he left are ambiguous:

σοὶ δ' ἐνὶ δῶμα πᾶντα μελόντων. (Od. 18.266)

Since it is difficult to interpret this words I suggest we use our common sense - for it is not likely that Penelope presided as ruler. She makes no mention of doing so, and if, someone inefficient - or no-one - was acting in Odysseus' stead this is a good reason for the dissatisfaction of the suitors with the situation and their desire to remedy it by appointing a new king. Thus they were wooing Penelope.

Helen presents us with one of the greatest puzzles. She seems to conform with very few of the usual characteristics of noble women. Like Arete, she participates in the feast and, in addition, makes a speech there (Od.4). More startling, she is considered to have committed adultery - a very serious crime - but is punished in no way for it, neither in Troy nor at Sparta, afterwards. Of course, this matter is affected by whether we consider that she committed adultery or that she was raped. Let us consider what could be called the second rape of Helen - Aphrodite tells Helen to go to Paris but she refuses:

κεῖσε δ' ἐγὼν οὐκ εἶμι-νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη -
κείνου παραινέουσα λέχος. (Il 3.410-1.

But Aphrodite forces her to go, unwilling though she is. Aphrodite is clearly responsible in this case. Was she the first time? At Od. 4. 260-4 Helen says that Aphrodite blinded her and lured her out to Troy - but that she repented the infatuation she had experienced. Here we have the problem of the Homeric gods - is Aphrodite just a personification of Lust or Desire? I think she is here. Helen means that a powerful infatuation came over her which made her leave her husband and her home - a senseless infatuation which passed. Then, in Troy, she still experienced a physical desire for Paris, although she disliked the man and longed to return home. This partly accounts for Menelaus' lenient treatment of her.

Her semi-divinity accounts for the rest - Zeus was her father. She is something special and apart, a treasure. In some ways, she is like Achilles - she is lonely in Troy, where Hector is her only friend, and is to a certain extent cut off from normal relationships. She is marked out by her divine descent and by her beauty, and cannot live a normal life. She lives in some ways as a normal aristocratic woman, but she is set apart, something different, in other ways. I think this adequately explains why she does not conform to the "norm".

Finally, a note on Athene of the Odyssey. In many ways she is typical of Homer's gods: she is very biased for her favourite and pleads with Zeus on his behalf, just as Thetis does for Achilles. As a deity, she is goddess of skills of the hands and of cunning. She not only instils these things in others (Penelope Od. 2.117-8, Odysseus 13.291ff) but is full of them herself. It is in her close relationship with Odysseus that she maybe goes beyond what is usual between immortals and mortals. After all, she is not his mother.

Odysseus and Athene have a very close relationship, which is like that between comrade and comrade. That is, it is like a male-male relationship. This we see, for instance, on Odysseus' landing on Ithaca (Bk.13).

There is a simple explanation for this. Athene is in no way a feminine goddess. She was not born of woman; she is a virgin; her medium is battle. She is very different from Aphrodite and Hera, epitomies of Desire and Femininity. Because she is so maculine, she can have a close relationship with Odysseus, without, I think, any secual overtones. And thus Athene, is a rather unusual goddess - almost a male deity.

In conclusion: I hope that in this essay I have used what information Homer gives us to show what life was like for slave-women and aristocratic women living in archaic Greece in the house of a noble. I have also dealt with the exceptions to the general rule and tried to explain the reasons for these women being different. As a result of this study, we can see that society was completely male-dominated and male-orientated, and that most women accepted this. It was a man's world, in which a woman could not get anywhere unless she practically made herself into a man - just as Athene is more masculine than feminine. And as this was pretty well impossible, the fair sex stayed the weaker sex, while men ruled in every matter.

SUSAN PRESCOTT

P. Od.9.40-42: 'I sacked the town and I killed the men. As for the women and all the chattels that we took, we divided them amongst us..'

P. Il.6.454-8:
when some bronze-armoured
Achaian leads you off, taking away your day of liberty,
in tears; and in Argos you must work at the loom of another,
and carry water from the spring Messeis or Hypereia,
all unwilling, but strong will be the necessity upon you.

P. Od.15.24-6: 'with your own hands entrust this or that prized possession to whichever maidservant seems to you the trustiest, until the gods grant you the sight of a noble bride.'

P. Od.1.433: 'but he never lay with her in love, lest the queen should be indignant with him.'

P. Il.1.112-5:
and indeed I wish greatly to have her
in my own house; since I like her better than Klytaimnestra
my own wife, for in truth she is in no way inferior,
neither in build nor stature nor wit, nor in accomplishment.

P. Il.9.336-7:
he has taken and keeps the bride of my heart.
Let him lie beside her
and be happy.

P. Il.9.341-3: Since any who is a good man, and careful, loves her who is his own and cares for her, even as I now loved this one from my heart, though it was my spear that won her.

P. Od.18.184: 'I will not join the suitors alone; I shrink from that.'

P. Od.6.223: 'The girls withdrew and told their mistress.'

P. Il.22.473:
And about her stood thronging her husband's sisters and the wives of his brothers.

P. Od.6.66-7: 'too shy in the presence of her father to speak of her own happy bridal day.'

PP. Od.6.273-7, 285-8:
'Such are my people; and now I am on my guard against harsh judgements from them; I fear I may be found fault with later. There are bigoted minds among us here, and some ill-bred man might say at the sight of us: 'Who is this that we see beside Nausicaa - who is this tall and handsome stranger?....So they will speak, and this would be a reproach to me. And indeed I too should take it ill if another girl acted so - if with father and mother still alive she accepted the company of men before she married in sight of all.'

P. Il.3.410: 'It would be too shameful....

P. Il.3.411-2: ... the Trojan women hereafter would laugh at me, all.

P. Od.18.267, 269-70: 'Everything here must be your concern... But when you see this son of ours grown to bearded manhood, then leave your own palace and marry whom you will.'

P. In text: στυγερογαμος 'hated marriage'.

P. Od.1.356-9: 'No, go up to your room again and look to your own province, distaff and loom, and tell your women to ply their task; publish speech shall be men's concern, and my concern most of all; authority in this house is mine.'

P. Od.2.130-1: 'Antinous, I cannot unhouse against her will the mother who bore me and who bred me.'

P. Od.20.343-4: 'But I shrink from driving her from this house with words that would thwart and force her will.'

P. Od.15.16-7: 'becuase already her father and her brothers are urging her to marry Eurymachus.'

P. Od.19.157-159: 'and now I cannot escape a marriage; I can think of no other subterfuge. My parents press me to marry again, and my son chafes at this wasting of our wealth.'

P. Od.11.345-6: 'Do as she says - though it is on Alcinous here that speech and action alike depend.'

P. Il.22.440-1:
but she was weavi g a web in the inner room of the high house,
a red folding robe, and inworking elaborate figures.

P. Il.3.125-7: she was weaving a great web,
a red folding robe, and working into it the numerous struggles
of Trojans, breakers of horses, and bronze-armoured Achaians.

P. Od.5.61-2: 'In the space within was the goddess herself,
singing with a lovely voice, moving to and fro at her loom and
weaving with a shuttle of gold.'

P. Od.10.221-3: 'And now they coud hear Circe within, singing with
her beautiful voice as she moved to and fro at the wide web that
was more than earthly - delicate, gleaming, delectable, as a
goddess's handiwork needs must be.'

P. Od.6.232-5: 'It was as when a man adds gold to a silver vessel,
a craftsman taught by Hephaestus and Athene to master his art
through all its range, so that everything that he makes is
beautiful; just so the goddess gave added beauty to the head
and shoulders of Odysseus.'

P. Od13.296-9: 'Both of us [she and Odysseus] are subtle anough -
you excel all mankind in stratagem and well-chosen words, I am
renowned among all the gods for wiles and wisdom.'

P. Od.2.117-8: 'skill in exquisite workmanship, a keen mind, subtlety.'

P. Od.6.29-30: 'Such things as these make a bride well spoken of with the
people and bring her father and mother joy.'

P. Od.7.313-4: 'how well contented I should be if you should wed my
daughter, should be acclaimed as my son-in-law and should stay here.'

P. Od.15.17-18: 'who outbids all the other suitors with presents to
her and has offered her kinsmen richer and richer gifts.'

P. Od.5.118-22: 'You are merciless, you gods, resentful beyond all
other beings; you are jealous if without disguise a goddess makes
a man her bedfellow, her beloved husband. So it was when Dawn of the
rosy fingers chose out Orion; you gods who live in such ease
yourselves were jealous of her...'

P. Od.7.73-4: 'she is full of unprompted wisdom. If she takes
kindly to anyone - to a man no less than to a woman - she will be
a peacemaker in his feuds.'

P. ξεινος εμος (Od.11.338): 'my own guest .

P. Od.18.270: 'leaving your own palace'.

P. Od.19.158-61: 'My parents press me to marry again, and my son
chafes at this wasting of our wealth. He observes such things now;
he is a man, he is of an age to take due care of such a house that
Zeus makes glorious.'

P. Od.21.77-8: 'that man I will follow, forsaking then this house that I came to as a bride, a house so beautiful...'

P. Od.18.266: 'Everything here must be your concern.'

P. Il.3.410-1:

Not I. I am not going to him. It would be too shameful. I will not serve his bed.

Answers to Crossword

Across

1. Demosthenes
3. Dee
7. Germania
9. Wren
10. ecce
11. si
12. Isaeus
14. sis
15. id
16. res
17. apud
20. cacofonix
21. Volvo
24 Isis
25. est
27. cup
30. Niger
32. Bacchus
34. Lucus
35. Chester

Down

1. deer
2. magnus
3. Tomis
4. Ennie
6. Euclid
8. Aesop
9. Hiseman
12. Ismene
13. at
18. Rome
19. Ixion
21. Virgil
22. os
23. Oileus
26. sacks
28. ob
29. path
31. race
33. ure