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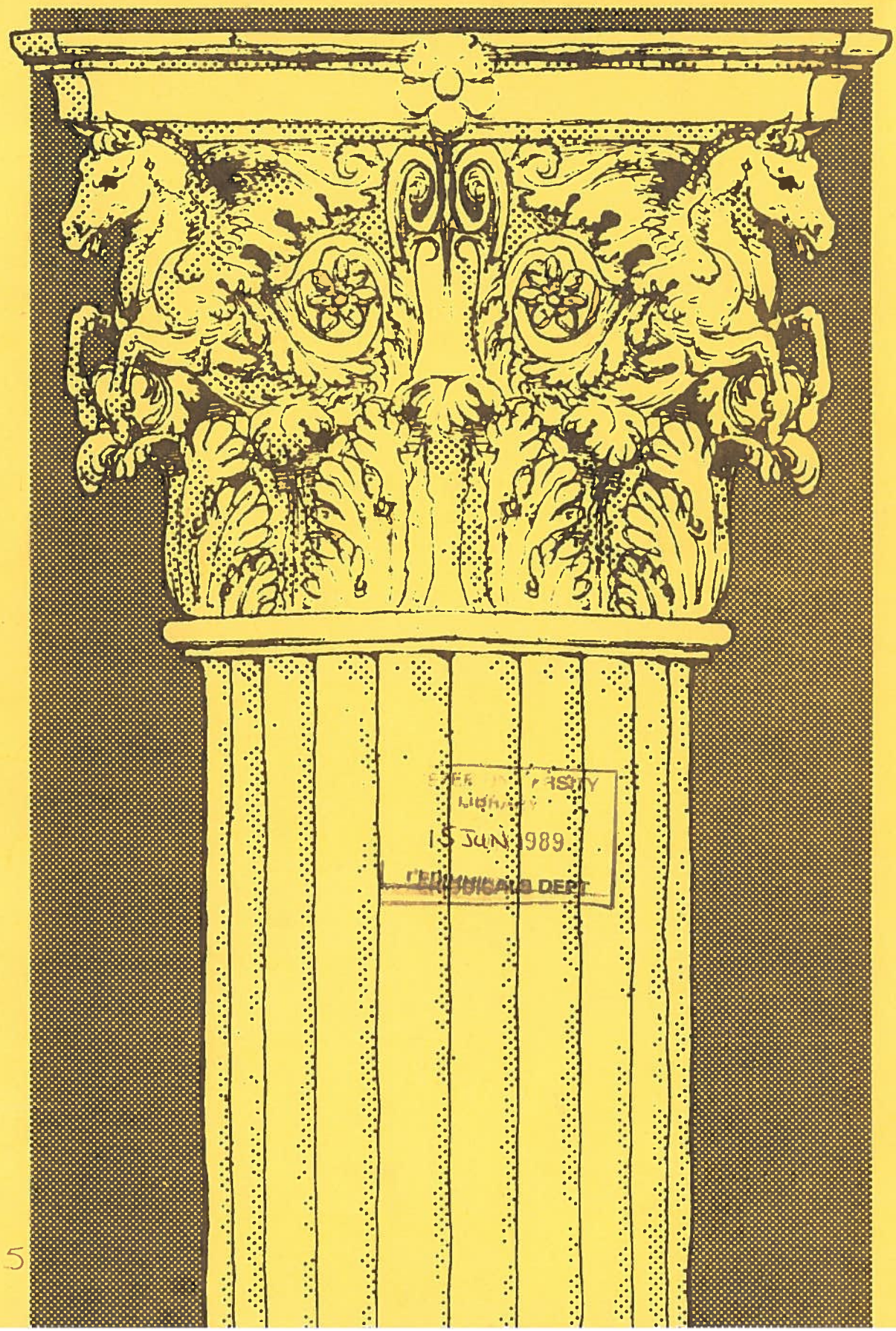

All correspondence to:

The Editor,
Pegasus,
Department of Classics,
Queen's Building,
Queen's Drive,
Exeter.
EX4 4QH

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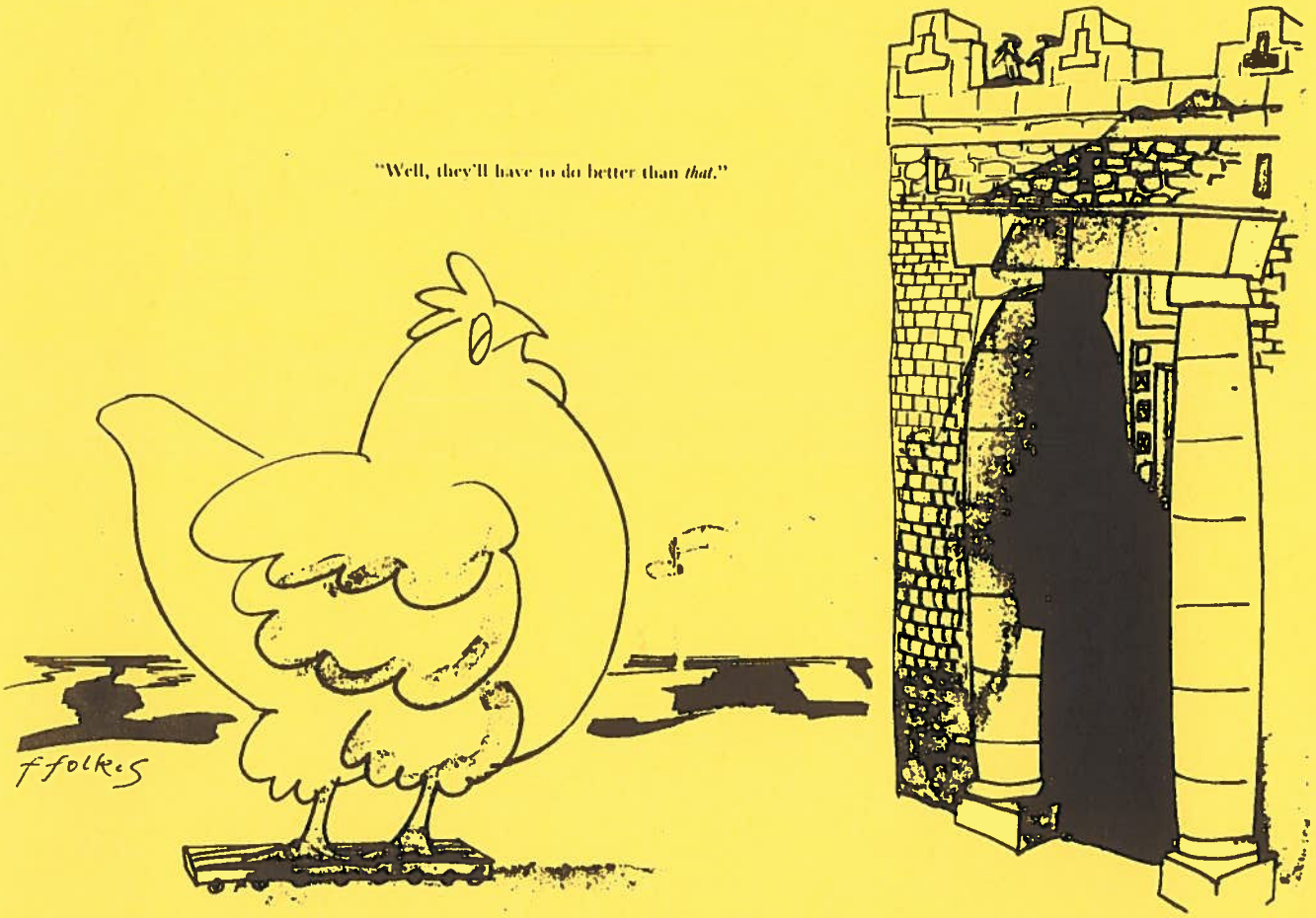
Thank you to David and Charles, the publishers of 'ffolkes' Cartoon Companion To Classical Mythology' for kindly allowing us to reproduce some of Michael Ffolkes' amusing cartoons.

A very large thank you to Cathy Booth and all the computer assistants who have borne with me throughout my computer crises! That is Brad, Neil, Neil, Natalie, John, Mike, Rob , Pete and Janet Crook. I would also like to thank all the contributors to this year's addition of *Pegasus*, as well as numerous friends who have advised Jane and I on format and ideas, namely Ann James, Wendy Lines, Felicity Pontin, Pete Townsley and Liz Moore.



The cover design by James Gould is based on a drawing by Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481-1536) of one of the capitals from the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus at Rome.

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The Journal of The Classics Society

Editorial

This is the second edition of the new *Pegasus* format and as previewed we have included the first installment of *Res Gestae*: a news column from ex–members of the Exeter Classics Department.

On the whole I have tried to make this magazine as diverse as possible, so that there is something to interest everyone; from the slavish intellectual to the light–hearted philistine. Included are articles on theology and archaeology, female prostitution and Ancient Greek homosexuality, literature and comedy, as well as discussions on the place of Latin in education today.

I hope you find this magazine both entertaining and provocative!

Samantha Hutchins

EDITOR

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AN EPINICION
for
Anne Brierley of Malvern

Great is the might of one who has been victorious with the
four-horsed chariot at the Pythian games,
but greater still is the intelligence of one who has taken the
victory in the contests of wits.
Let it be known in Isca, and let the news be carried far and wide by
the famous swift-winged steed Pegasus,
from Britannia, which lies beyond the land of the Hyperboreans, to
the heavenly source of the Egyptian Nile,
and to yon lofty pillars of Heracles, Alcmene's son, and the ebbing
of the Euxine at the river Phasis,
that Anne Brierley of Malvern, of whom the Muse of dance and choral
song, Terpsichore, has inspired me to sing,
has taken the first prize in Classics, together with other valiant
contenders: David Morley and Helen Wybrew.

Sweet Modesty prevails upon her lips, as upon those of king
Alcinous' daughter Nausicaa who,
having found the shipwrecked Odysseus, told him to hold his distance
lest he stir envy among the Phaeacians.
She spake such winged words to the Greek hero: "Stranger, so long as
we are passing along the fields and farms of men,
do thou fare quickly with the maidens behind the mules and the
chariot, and I will lead the way.
But when we set foot within the city, linger thou behind; and when
thou deemest that we have arrived at the palace,
then betake thyself to the palace of my father Alcinous, high of
heart, and ask for my mother who will welcome you.
I beseech thee, stranger, that you do this, for I wish to avoid the
ungracious speech of my suitors who might say:
'Verily, she holds in no regard the Phaeacians in this country, the
many and noble men who are her wooers'."

To Anne Brierley, a spiritual creation of untold talents, may there
be yet greater victories in years to come,
and these, too, will be celebrated in song when family and friends
gather around in harmonious spirit;
for full oft has a pure fountain of immortal music flowed from the
rippling chords of a deftly carven cithern,
bringing the joy of song and dance to everyone and joining in
youthful happiness yearning souls.

Eugene Benoit comes from Louisiana and was a post-graduate student here in 1987-8. He studied Classics and is now doing Classical research at Mainz University in West Germany.

VIRGIL'S UNFINISHED 'AENEID'

by
Dr. Alan H.F. Griffin

In the middle of September 19 BC, Virgil lay dying at the age of 51. He was at Brundisium on the southern heel of Italy. He called again and again for a box of his because this contained his papyrus rolls on which he had written his *Aeneid*. He wanted to have the poem burned in his presence but no one brought him the box. He died on the 21st September.

When his will was read it contained instructions to his literary executors not to publish any of his writings whose publication he had not sanctioned. Augustus intervened at this point. The executors were told to tidy up the manuscript of the *Aeneid* and publish it as soon as possible.

A poem 1, probably written not long after the event, records the drama. "Virgil had ordered to be devoured by flames this poem in which is told the story of the Phrygian prince. Tucca and Varius refuse and you, O Caesar, forbid that it be done, careful for the honour of Roman history. Ill-fated Pergamon came near to falling twice by fire, and Troy was threatened with a second burning."

Augustus' role in the production of the *Aeneid* was like that of a modern professor urging a brilliant colleague into print and then, when the colleague dies, arranging the posthumous publication of his unfinished work. Everyone knew that Virgil had been working on the *Aeneid* for twelve years – since 30 B.C. In 26 B.C. Propertius wrote expectantly that "a greater work than the *Iliad* is in the making" (2.34.66). In the same year Augustus, while he was away campaigning in Northern Spain, began to pester Virgil by letter asking for either an 'outline' (ὑπογραφή) or a 'specimen passage' (κῶλον) of his poem about Aeneas. Virgil's refusal is preserved (Macrobius 1.24.11) 2, 'I am getting many letters from you' he wrote 'and if I had anything fit for your ears I would gladly send it, but I feel that it was almost by a mental aberration that I entered upon so vast an undertaking especially since, as you know, I must engage in very important research work for the project.' That's the voice of a scrupulous scholar: he can't consider a preliminary draft, much less publication, until the background research is thoroughly done.

During the rest of the 20's B.C. Virgil continued to work on the *Aeneid* and even agreed to recite exerpts in public, though only from books 2, 4 and 6.

In 19 B.C. Virgil decided to travel to Greece and Asia Minor and devote himself entirely to revising his poem. He thought this would take him three years. Why go to Greece and Asia Minor? Book 3 supplies a plausible explanation. That book describes the first stages of Aeneas' journey from Troy to become the founder of the new world. There is a tradition that Virgil originally planned to have Book 3 as the first book of the *Aeneid* (*Vita Donati, 42*): that makes sense, it's a natural starting point for the *Aeneid*.

As it stands, however, Book 3 does not seem fully worked up or integrated into the poem. There are more problems connected with Book 3 than any other book. There's only one simile, for example, and there is no way the events described in Book 3 can be stretched to fill the seven years Virgil gives to them.

So the likelihood is that Virgil set off for Greece and Asia Minor in 19 B.C. to get local colour for the episodes described in Book 3 and to iron out geographical and other problems related to Aeneas' journey from Troy to Thrace, Delos, Crete, the Strophades islands, Actium, Buthrotum, and Acroceraunia (from where Aeneas crossed to Italy). For example, Virgil has

confused the southern promontory of the island of Leucas with Actium some forty miles away (3.274f) – he thinks they are the same place. A visit would soon have put him right.

Soon after his arrival in Greece, Virgil ran into Augustus in Athens. They went sight-seeing together and Virgil caught a fever. He decided to return home to Italy with Augustus, but only got as far as Brundisium where he died.

In his last few days the only thing Virgil wanted to do was to destroy the *Aeneid.* Why? I think there are two possibilities. The first is that Virgil was dissatisfied with the whole poem – feeling, perhaps, that it failed to convey adequately his view of Roman history. The second possibility is that Virgil's dissatisfaction was of a more limited kind, a dissatisfaction with imperfections, inconsistencies and incompleteness. These two types of dissatisfaction are not mutually exclusive, but we may be able to come down in favour of one rather than the other.

Hermann Broch, in his novel *The Death of Virgil* opts for the first possibility and represents the dying poet as disillusioned with poetry and the *Aeneid.* He pictures Virgil saying to Augustus (page 274) , "There is no need of poetry, Caesar, to understand life...Sallust and Livy are more competent with regard to the extent and time of Rome ... than are my songs." This, of course, is only a novelist's description of the deathbed, but there is evidence in the *Eclogues* (6.3–5) and *Georgics* (3.10–48) that Virgil, over a long period, had agonized over, and experimented with, the possibility of writing long–scale epic on *Roman History*, or some aspect of it.

Donatus deserves credence when he tells us that Virgil gave up a first attempt at an epic on *Roman History* because he found the material intractable. 3. A few years later Virgil was planning a second attempt at an epic on *Roman History* – the subject was Augustus and his Trojan ancestors. This plan also came to nothing because, as Jasper Griffin points out (*Virgil*,61-2), Augustus' career could not be treated in a traditional epic manner: Augustus conversing with gods and fighting like a swashbuckling Achilles would just be absurd. So the *Aeneid* was Virgil's third idea for an epic on *Roman History* The first seven lines of the *Aeneid* show that the poem is indeed about *Roman History.* These lines are modelled on the first seven lines of Homer's *Iliad* where the theme is presented in an A.B.A. pattern (Achilles, Zeus, Achilles). Virgil expects his reader, on the basis of his knowledge of Homer to discern a similar A.B.A. pattern at the start of the *Aeneid* (Troy and Italy, Juno, Italy and Rome)4. This intertextual reference tells us that the *Aeneid* is about Rome and its Trojan origins. It is certainly conceivable, as Broch suggests, that Virgil was no more pleased with this third attempt at an epic on *Roman History* than he had been with previous attempts. Perhaps he was disillusioned with the whole work. Dying people are often depressed and gloomy: Virgil's general dissatisfaction with the poem may have been compounded with clinical pessimism and fatigue as he faced death.

The other possibility is that Virgil was dissatisfied with the *Aeneid* in a less grandiose way, because the poem contained many imperfections which revision and polish would remove. Virgil had spent about twelve years producing the *Aeneid* bit by bit, he estimated that he could complete the revision process in three more years, he had publicly read exerpts from the poem – these three facts argue against a view that the dying poet regarded the *Aeneid* as a write–off, a dead duck. Donatus' assessment is probably correct – in 19 B.C. the poem was 'substantially complete' (perfecta.. ..materia, *Vita Donati* 32 : cf. 'offensus materia' at *Vita Donati* 19) but lacked 'final polish' (summam manum, *Vita Donati* 35)

A French scholar, Jacques Perret, refuses to acknowledge that the *Aeneid* lacks final polish. He regards the poem as virtually perfect and talks of 'pretended imperfections' (*Virgile*,142). He attributes some

problems to 'impudent editors' (*Virgile*,143) who tampered with Virgil's text. Let us look at six examples of what Perret calls 'pretended imperfections'.

1

The ghost of Aeneas' wife (Creusa) appears to him as he is escaping from Troy to tell him that his future home will be in Italy (2.781). When he reaches Crete, however, he settles there and learns, as if for the first time, that his destination is Italy (3.163ff).

2

A bit further on (at Buthrotum) a priest of Apollo (Helenus) tells Aeneas that when he reaches Cumae in Italy the Sibyl will tell him about 'the nations of Italy, the wars you must fight and how you may escape and endure each of the ordeals to come' (3.459–60). These precise details come eventually, not from the Sibyl, but from Aeneas' father in the Underworld (6.890ff). Jacques Perret says that the priest could not name Aeneas' father as the future source of this information, because Aeneas would have thereby received preknowledge of his father's death. That does not explain why the information is falsely attributed to the Sibyl : the natural explanation is that Virgil had forgotten the earlier attribution when he made the later.

3

When the Trojans reach Carthage they are said to be in the seventh summer of their wanderings (1.755). Aeneas spent the following winter canoodling with Dido in Carthage (4.193; 4.309) and when he reaches Sicily the next year the Trojans are still said to be in the seventh summer of their wanderings (5.626).

4

On arrival at the mouth of the Tiber the Trojans fulfil a prophesy that they will 'eat their tables'. This turns out to mean simply that they eat the thin platters of bread, the wafer cakes, on which they heap their food (7.116). Aeneas attributes the prophesy, incorrectly, to his father (7.122–3) : it had been given to him by the Harpy Celaeno (3.250ff).

5

Virgil tells us that the Latins had long been at peace until Juno stirred them up on Aeneas' arrival in Italy (7.45ff ; 7.288ff). However, when Aeneas visits the Arcadians, neighbours of the Latins, he learns that the Arcadians 'wage war ceaselessly with the Latin race' (8.55). Clearly the traditions about the state of primitive Italy varied. Virgil emphasises the peacefulness of Italy before Aeneas' arrival, but has not eliminated contradictory traces of strife (e.g. 9.607–9, 'our youth... shakes cities in battle...All our life is lived out with weapons'. The Rutulian Numanus is speaking).

6

A Trojan soldier, Amycus, is killed by Turnus (9.772). A few books later Turnus kills Amycus again (12.509ff).

You may consider that these inconsistencies and contradictions are only loose ends which needed tidying up. I agree : They are excusable in a long poem. But they exist, and it is not good enough simply to dismiss them, as Perret does, on the grounds that the *Aeneid* is a 'poem' and not a 'history book' (p.143f). This poet was a historian.

Some inconsistencies are trivial : others are more serious. When the Greeks enter Troy on its final night Helen hides away. As the cause of the war she fears reprisals from both the Greeks and the Trojans. Aeneas sees her and thinks of killing her on the spot (2.567–87). Later we are told that she spent the night making love with her husband, then leading a fine dance round Troy's walls as a signal to the Greeks, and finally making the preparations for her husband's murder in order to ingratiate herself with the victorious Greeks (6.513–27). The two descriptions of Helen's behaviour on Troy's last night are clearly inconsistant – the first looks like an early draft awaiting revision when Virgil died.

On the voyage from Sicily to Italy the helmsman Palinurus falls asleep at the tiller on a calm night and is lost overboard (5.843ff). But when Aeneas meets Palin-

urus in the underworld the helmsman tells him that a violent storm caused him to fall overboard (6.347ff).

Perret is right to warn us not to get worked up because of geographical and topographical inconsistancies (p.143). It is not serious that we cannot trace Aeneas' journey from the mouth of the Tiber to the palace of king Latinus a few miles away (7.148–60), cannot always locate the military manoeuvres of the Trojans and Rutulians, cannot say precisely where Turnus planned to ambush Aeneas (11.522ff). But we need to distinguish between geographical inconsistancies, which might never have been removed and more serious inconsistencies (such as those concerning Helen and Palinurus) which show a failure of logic. The point to grasp is that no epic poem, Greek or Latin, contains as many inconsistencies as Virgil's *Aeneid*. From the fourth century B.C. onwards Greek and Alexandrian scholars went in for niggling criticism of any flaws or inconsistencies they found in Homer's epics (e.g. Zoilus nicknamed μαστιξ). If inconsistencies were not acceptable in oral epic, they were even less acceptable in written epic. We saw earlier that Virgil's approach to research on the *Aeneid* was that of a painstaking scholar. It is inconceivable that he was unaware of the inconsistencies in his poem or willing to leave them there.

Inconsistencies are not the only indications that the *Aeneid* is incomplete. There are also the 'props' and the 'half–lines' to consider. Donatus tells us that Virgil composed the *Aeneid* piecemeal, bit by bit, as the fancy took him (*Vita* 23–4). "To avoid checking the flow of his thought" says Donatus "Virgil left some passages unfinished, and, so to speak, bolstered up others with trivial verses, which, as he humorously used to say, were put in like props to support the structure until the solid columns should arise". The props are temporary verses or temporary passages which Virgil used as links, intending to alter or remove them in the process of revision. Spotting the 'props' in the *Aeneid* is a game which Mackail plays in his commentary, though only with moderate success.

Two examples of 'props' will suffice. When Aeneas goes back into Troy on its final night, looking for his lost wife, there are five and a half lines describing the plunder and the captives which the Greeks have collected in Juno's temple. This detailed description of the Greek depot for the loot is awkwardly inserted into Aeneas' search (2.761–7). The last line is unfinished. The passage looks like a stop–gap.

There is another 'prop' when Dido prepares a banquet to welcome Aeneas to Carthage (1.633–6). Aeneas had left his companions on the shore while he visited the city. It suddenly occurs to Virgil that they must be hungry. So Dido sends them a picnic – 20 bulls, 100 huge pigs, 100 fat lambs and 100 ewes. The amount of food seems excessive for what is called 'a day's merriment'. This three and a half line stop–gap also ends in an unfinished line.

Unfinished lines – often called 'half–lines'– are metrically incomplete verses varying from one foot to four feet in length. Even Book 2, one of the most polished books, has 9 incomplete lines, and there are examples in every book, 59 in all. Ancient critics regarded the incomplete lines as the consequence of the unrevised state of the poem. This seems right. The half-lines were hardly a deliberate artistic device: if they had been some of Virgil's imitators would have copied The Master's example. No–one did. Donatus (*Vita* 34) tells us that Virgil completed 2 half–lines impromptu at a recital (6.164; 6.165), thereby indicating that he did not intend incomplete lines to remain incomplete. One unfinished line is destitute of sense (3.340): Conington comments, 'If we cannot complete [the line] satisfactorily, we may console ourselves with thinking that [Virgil] could not either'. Jacques Perret refuses to accept the commonsense view that the unfinished lines indicate incompleteness. He points out that Lucretius' *Nature of Things* and Lucan's *Civil War* are also unfinished hexame-

ter poems. Since neither of these unfinished poems contains any half–lines he concludes that half–lines do not indicate incompleteness in the *Aeneid.* Perret prefers, yet again, to attribute the half–lines to those 'imprudent editors' who, he imagines, tampered with Virgil's text after his death.

I have not drawn your attention to what is only a selection of the imperfections, inconsistencies, discrepancies and lapses of memory in the *Aeneid* in a spirit of fault–finding. There were plenty of ancient critics only too pleased to produce lists of Virgil's *Thefts* (Furta) and *Faults* (Vitia) (Macrobius, *The Saturnalia* ed. P.V.Davies,17). What we want to decide is the most likely reason for Virgil's own dissatisfaction with the *Aeneid*, as a result of which he did not wish the poem to survive. The answer is staring us in the face and can be put in two words – Callimachean scruples.

Callimachus was a third century B.C. scholar–poet of Alexandria who had a decisive influence on poetic technique. He rejected loosely written conventional epics in favour of shortish poems. In particular he preached an aesthetic theory which demanded meticulous, scholarly attention to detail and 'exquisite technique' (J. Griffin, *Virgil*,30). For the first time poetry was written for readers, not heroes, for the educated few, not for the many. Poetry was never the same again. Callimachus was largely unknown at Rome until Virgil's boyhood when Parthenius of Nicaea introduced his work. Who taught Virgil Greek? Parthenius. (Wendell Clausen, 'Callimachus and Latin Poetry', *Approaches to Catullus*, ed. K.Quinn)

Ultimately Virgil's poetic sympathies became much broader than Callimachus' had been. In particular Virgil overcame his own and his contemporaries' Callimachean disenchantment with heroic epic. When it came to poetic craftsmanship, however, Virgil remained a Callimachean throughout his career. Callimacheans did not find occasional lapses acceptable in verse: they looked for technical refinement, for perfection of form and detail.

Like Callimachus, Virgil wrote for the sort of people who read Homer with commentaries (Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid* 31–2). The standards of scholarship and craftsmanship preached and reached by Callimachus in Hellenistic Alexandria were accepted and continued by Virgil (Hardie, *op. cit* 127–8). Virgil's readership was an elite capable of grasping learned allusions and recalling the feats of predecessors who Virgil was constantly imitating, re–interpreting and adapting.

That makes the *Aeneid* a very different kind of poem from what people nowadays regard as poetry. We expect poets to be spontaneous and novel, to fire us with a message of revolution, to present life in the raw and to pour out emotion. Virgil's *Aeneid* did not spring directly from his heart or from his emotions. It was a public not a personal utterance, a laboriously achieved construction made by fitting together words in an appropriate order, within a fixed metre and in a particular literary genre whose conventions went back for hundreds of years. The story was well–known – at least in outline – and its chief characters were familiar to his readers. The success of the *Aeneid* depended on Virgil's skill in two areas: (1) his skill with vocabulary, word order and diction, rhythm and sound, and (2) his skill at imitating, adapting and transcending the works of previous epic poets.

Robin Mathewson aptly described Virgil as the greatest "chemist or alchemist of literature" (*Pegasus* 23). Virgil is all the time drawing on previous writers and synthesizing borrowed elements. You will probably not find more than a dozen consecutive original lines in the *Aeneid.* Professor Porter told me that he had not had an original idea since he was 14: Virgil might have sympathized. He always needed someone else to inspire him and provide a starting point. Then he took off and improved on his model. He was the supreme plagiarist.

Where Virgil's models survive we can see the process at work. Virgil describes

Turnus eagerly preparing to fight in a simile which Homer and Ennius had used before him. Of course it is possible to appreciate Homer's simile, or Ennius' or Virgil's, on their own, independently of each other. But Virgil wrote for readers who knew all three and who were alive to the complete literary relationships and resonances between them.

Homer uses the simile to describe Paris, laughing and gleeful at the prospect of a fight... '...like a stallion who breaks his halter at the manger where they keep and fatten him, and gallops off across the fields in triumph to his usual bathing-place in the delightful river. He tosses up his head; his mane flies back along his shoulders; he knows how beautiful he is; and away he goes, skimming the ground with his feet, to the haunts and pastures of the mares.'

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων,
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐηφι πεποιθώς,
ῥίμφα ἑ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·

(Homer, *Iliad* 6 506–11)

This simile suits Paris to a T – he is also strong, frivolous, full of energy and vain. The stallion has a bath first and then heads for the females – just what we would expect Paris to do. There is no lack of self–confidence here – the stallion, like Paris, is completely self–centred and glories in his own handsome appearance. He knows that females find him irresistible.

Centuries later Ennius, the first Latin epic poet, adapted this simile to describe a prominent fighter, probably a tribune, going into battle (Otto Skutsch, *Annals*, 683–5). In Ennius the context is historical – a real fighter, a real battle. Above all the fighter is a Roman: he is a model for Roman youth to admire and follow. Ennius was very patriotic. He loved Rome and her tough heroes and his patriotism made a great impression on Virgil.

'...and then just as a horse which, full fattened from the stalls, has burst his tether in his high fettle, and away with breast uplifted bears himself over the rich grey–green meadows of the plain; and withal again and again tosses his mane on high; and his breath born of his hot temper flings out white froth.'

et tum sicut equos qui de praesepibus fartus
uincla suis magnis animis abrumpit et inde
fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata
celso pectore; saepe iubam quassat simul altam
spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas.

(Ennius, *Annals* 535–39, ed. O.Skutsch)

This is no self–admiring Paris. So Ennius has omitted the picturesque details about the bathing–place and the mares, thereby shortening the simile. The stallion's qualities – power, strength and energy – are just those which suit a macho Roman soldier. There is nothing effeminate about this chap and so Ennius has added a significant and down–to–earth detail about the foam on the stallion's mouth. Ennius has also brought in references to colour not found in Homer ('caerula' and 'albas'). I cannot think why, except that Ennius seems to like adjectives and colour adjectives in particular.

With Homer and Ennius in mind Virgil uses the simile to describe Turnus. Turnus is longing to meet Aeneas in a decisive duel (11.438–44): his wish will not be long postponed. When the Trojans launch an attack Turnus is delighted that the talking must stop (11.459–67). He is not a talker, but a fighter, and, at last, he is free to fight, *tandem liber*, to do the one thing that is as much a pleasure to him as bathing and mares are to a stallion... '...like some stallion which has broken his tether and, free at last, gallops from his stall with all the open plains before him, hastening towards the pasture where herds of mares are feeding, or perhaps goes to bathe once again in the water of some favourite river, and afterwards leaps ahead lifts his neck and neighs in delight, his mane dancing over withers and shoulders.'

qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia uinclis
tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto

aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum
aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto
emicat arrectisque fremit ceruicibus alte
luxurians, luduntque iubae per colla, per armos.

(Virgil, *Aeneid* 11. 492–7.)

Virgil brings back Homer's picturesque details about the mares and the bathing–place. But whereas the mares provided the climax in Homer, they are only one alternative in Virgil and less important because mentioned first. A certain amount of love interest is not inappropriate – after all Turnus' fiancee is at stake – but the love interest is a minor factor in the situation. The simile gives a picture of Turnus' 'confidence' in his fighting activities – there is even a hint of vanity, but not of effeminacy, in the last line. As a fighter Turnus is more like Ennius' tribune than Homer's Paris. It is significant that Virgil attributes to Turnus – soon to be defeated by Aeneas – that manly self–confidence which for Ennius characterized 'Roman' military character. Virgil's sympathies in the *Aeneid* are not partisan. Though confident here, Turnus will soon go to pieces, though Roman here, he will become the victim of a foreigner who establishes a new Italy.

Virgil adds a fine detail – he alone refers to sound. The stallion neighs with delight, *fremit*. This detail suits Turnus, eager for action. But there is a certain irony when we remember that Aeneas will soon be described as 'fremens' (*acerba fremens*, 12.398) and that Turnus' final utterances will be a pitiful plea for his life and a moan as his spirit descends to the shades.

Virgil's simile resonates with its context and with its models. Virgil's readers would have seen it in its literary–historical perspective and appreciated its complex literary texture. The simile transcends all that the most scrupulous follower of Callimachus could require. The fact remains, however, that in 19 B.C. Virgil, who had produced the most carefully crafted hexameter poem in Latin (*The Georgics*), was also responsible for the most unfinished (*The Aeneid*). This knowledge caused the dying poet great mental distress. Nothing could be done at the time. Afterwards Augustus ordered the publication of the unfinished poem – a wise decision which preserved the work which Hugh Trevor Roper chose to take with him to his Desert Island.

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1. Iusserat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis
Vergilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.
Tucca vetat Variusque; simul tu, maxime Caesar,
Non sinis et Latiae consulis historiae.
Infelix gemino cecidit prope Pergamon igni,
Et paene est alio Troia cremata rogo.

A. Baehrens,*Poetae Latini Minores* vol. IV, p. 182.

2. .....paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar, cum praesertim ut scis, alia quoque studia ad id opus multoque potiora inpertiar.

Macrobius *Sat.* 1.24.11.

3. mox cum res Romanas incohasset, *offensus materia* ad Bucolica transiit...,

Vita Donati, 19.

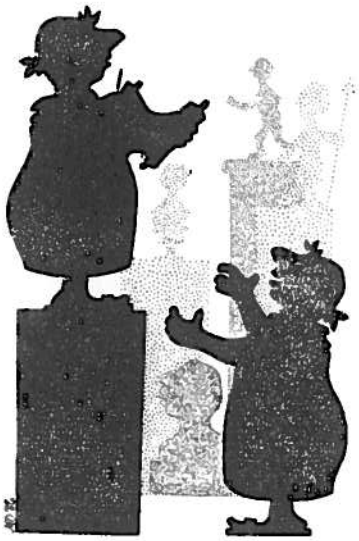
Donatus' *Life* (4th century A.D.) was probably based on an earlier *Life of Virgil* by Suetonius (1st century A.D.). Servius (commenting on it Ecl.6. 3-5 in the 4th century A.D.) says that Virgil's subject was the deeds of the kings of Alba Longa.

4. Arma virumque cano, it Troiae qui primus ab oris
it Italiam fato profugus it Laviniaque venit
litora, multam ille at terris iactatus et alto

vi superum, saevae memorem it Iunonis ob iram.
multa quoque at bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio; genus unde it Latinum
it Albanique patres atque altae moenia it Romae.

Dr. Alan H.F. Griffin has been a lecturer in the Classics department at Exeter University since 1969 and is also honorary assistant chaplain at the University.

When an ancient Greek and Roman student went to school, he was usually attended by the eldest and least useful of his family's slaves. It was this slave, lacking any viable skill, yet semi-educated by having overheard the daily classes, who ventured into teaching on being set free - and represented the original Western source of elementary teachers.



In ancient times scribal ability afforded one a position of great respect, importance and security. Men of note often chose, when posing for a statue, to have themselves shown in scribal work, whether or not they were ever actually involved in it.

Marc Drogin is known internationally as a distinguished and entertaining calligrapher, illuminator, mediaevalist, author, teacher and cartoonist. His books include 'Mediaeval Calligraphy', 'Yours Truly, King Arthur', 'Anathema' and 'Biblioclasm'.

We are very grateful to Mr. Drogin for allowing us to reproduce a number of his silhouettes from his forthcoming volume 'Letter Imperfect'.

EXETER'S ROMAN EXCAVATIONS

by
Samantha Hutchins

ISCA: 'the final westward outpost of Roman Civilisation...a frontier post and a fiscal centre.' (R. N. Worth — 1891 — Presidential address to the Devonshire Association.)

In the past twenty years there has been a quantum leap in our knowledge about Roman Exeter. Since the war important discoveries have been made by Lady Aileen Fox who directed the excavations of war-damaged areas in the city. Most interesting, were the discoveries of South Street where a market place adjoining the forum was found. Further work by Lady Fox investigated the defences of the town, the South Gate, the public baths, houses and streets.

In 1964 work at the South Gate revealed, for the first time, recognisable traces of early military occupation and thus Exeter, like many other Romano-British towns, could be shown to have owed its origins to the pressence of a military establishment. Yet it was not until 1971 that it first came to light that Exeter had been the site of a legionary fortress. In 1971 the Exeter Museum's Archaeology Field Unit was established by Exeter City Council with support from the Department of the Environment and the University of Exeter. Excavations immediately began on two important sites: the church of St. Mary Major in Cathedral Close, which revealed a Neronian bath house, underneath the Basilica complex, which had been built around 60 AD, and the proposed Guildhall shopping centre where timber barrack-blocks of legionary type and part of a workshop were found.

Since then the road from the fort to Topsham has also been excavated; a recent section of which was excavated at the Acorn roundabout at the bottom of South Street, where a possible military supply depot was found. At Topsham, Valerie Maxfield, lecturer in Roman History at Exeter University, excavated a small area from which a great deal of Samian ware has been trawled up. However, the port still remains undiscovered and is probably to be found under the built-up area of Topsham.

What is now known about Roman Exeter is that it was occupied by the Second Augustan Legion, which arrived at Exeter between 55 and 60 AD, and probably also had bases at Chichester and Lake Farm, near Wimbourne. Then using auxiliary base forts around Devon it set out to complete the conquest of the Dumnonii tribe. The legion then moved to Caerleon in South Wales, constructing another legionary fort, which may have been built in 75 AD, a date inferred from Tacitus. The abandoned legionary base of Isca then became a town.

In the pipeline at the moment is a proposal to re-open excavations in Cathedral Close. The excavation finished in 1974. The site, however, could not be displayed due to a shortage of funds. It was filled in with sand and cobbled over. The Bath House is recognisable as one of the most impressive Roman monuments in Britain and both Exeter City Council and the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral are committed to its re-excavation and display. The Archaeology Unit and Exeter City Council have carried out a preliminary feasibility study to see if the development of the site is possible and it is hoped that a Bath House museum can be set up with an underground viewing gallery of the remains, similar to that outside Notre Dame in Paris.

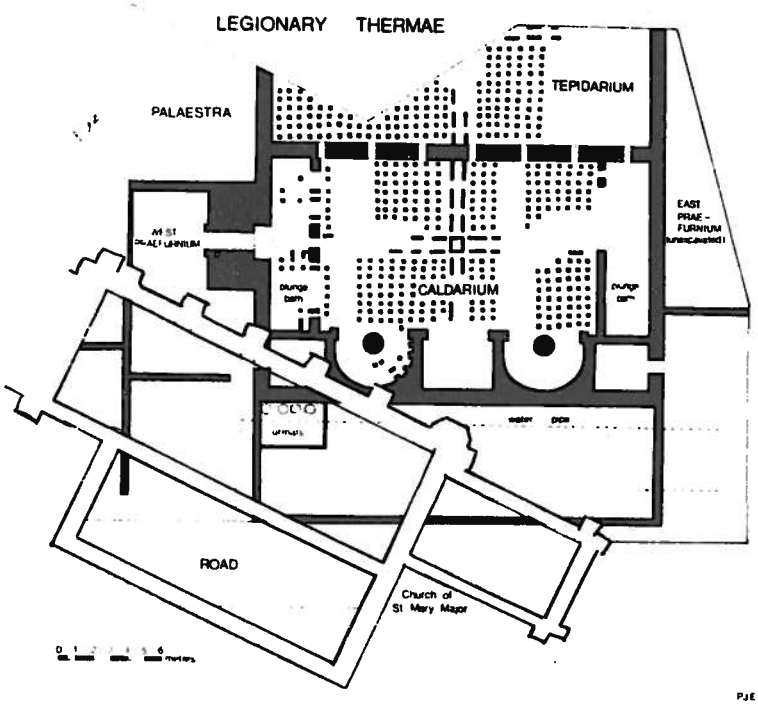
Exeter City Council recognises the opportunities for economic growth which may arise from the development of tourism, but is also anxious to ensure that both residents and visitors are presented with an attractive and well-maintained environment.

The major focus of the museum will

naturally be the impressive remains of the Roman Legionary Bath House. However, it is considered essential that interpretative displays, reconstructions or special effects should also be introduced. The bath house and basilica complex is particularly important; as a ruin for public display it is probably the best preserved in Britain. architectural terms it was almost certainly one of the first two or three monumental stone buildings erected in the British Isles (only the Temple of Claudius at Colchester is known to be older) and at the time of its construction its design was at the very forefront of architectural innovation.

Another addition to the display might be a reconstruction of some aspect of the baths in use, for example, a re–creation of part of the Caldarium both physically and environmentally so that the visitor would experience the hot humid atmosphere, dank smell, the sounds and comparative darkness of the bath house in use similar to the environmental reconstruction of the Jorvik Viking centre in York.

Additional archaeological excavation might eventually enable the whole of the bath house complex to be put on display. If these proposals are accepted then excavation of Cathedral Close would begin in about two or three years and this would be the largest excavation ever to take place in a British town.



The Baths

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'Roman Exeter; fortress and Town' (1980) - by Paul Bidwell.

My thanks to Neil Holbrook, the Assistant Field Archaeologist at the Archaeology Field Unit, for his time and interest in speaking to me.

From the BANKOLIDAID, book 1

Charmer virumque cano, Jack plumigeramque Arabellam.
Costermonger erat Jack Jones, asinumque agitabat,
In Covent Garden sprouts vendidit asparagumque.
Vendidit in Circo to the toffs Arabella the donah,
Qua Picadilly propinquat to Shaftesbury Avenue, flores.
Iam Whitmonday adest; ex Newington Causeway the costers
Erumpunt multi celebrare their annual beano;
Quisque suum billycock habuere, et donah ferentes,
Impositique rotis, popularia carmina singing,
Happy with ale omnes - exceptis excipiendis.
Gloomily drives Jack Jones, inconsolabilis heros;
No companion habet, solus sine virgine coster.
Per Boro', per Fleet Street, per Strand, sic itur ad "Empire".
Illinc Coventry Street peragunt in a merry procession,
Qua Piccadilly propinquat to Shaftesbury Avenue; tandem
Gloomily Jack vehitur. Sed amet qui never amavit.
En! Subito fugiunt dark thoughts; Arabella videtur!
Quum subit illius pulcherrima bloomin' imago,
Corde iuvat Jack Jones; exclamat loudly, "What oh, there!".
Maiden ait, "Deus, ecce Deus", floresque relinquit.
Post asinum sedet illa; petunt Welsh Harp prope Hendon.
O fons Brent Reservoir; recubans sub tegmine brolli,
Bracchia amplexus (yum yum!) Jack kissed Arabella;
"Garn!" ait illa rubens, et "garn" reboatur ab Echo;
Propositique tenax Jack "Swelp me lummy, I loves yer";
Hinc illae lacrimae; "Jest one!" et "Saucy, give over!"
Tempora iam mutantur, et "hats", * caligine cinctus
Oscula Jones iterat, mokoque inmittit habenas.
Concertina manu sixteen discrimina vocum
Obloquitur; cantant (ne saevi, magne policeman)
Nectem in Old Kent Road. Sic transit gloria Monday.

* The editors were puzzled by the exclamation "Hats!" towards the end of this poem. Professor White writes: " I assume that the 'feather-boa'-decorated affairs worn by Arabella and her 'sister Donah' would have been taken off before the rougher (?) part of the celebrations began." He adds ruefully that this is an excellent example of the explanation of a joke destroying its impact.

On stylistic grounds, we would assign this annonymous piece of erotic macaroni to the 19th or early 20th century. Professor K.D. White unearthed it (the metaphor seems appropriate to our foremost authority on Roman agriculture), and kindly submitted it to *Pegasus*.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE IN CATULLUS' *PELEUS AND THETIS*

by
Jane Lofthouse

Catullus' poem 64 involved two separate stories about two contrasting relationships; Peleus and Thetis, and Ariadne and Theseus. The people who were likely to read these poems would already know the stories; this is why Catullus used them to symbolize his own experiences and feelings. In adapting well-known stories, the reader could see what undertones the poet was adding and in what respects they to him. In Rome at that time, the education system involved rhetoric and the pupil putting himself into the 'persona' of a character; therefore, it was unavoidable that a poet would involve at least some of his own experiences in his work. Indeed, we see personal feelings coming through in much of Virgil's work, especially the *Eclogues*, which contains many political allusions, coming from the experiences he had been through in his lifetime.

Poem 64 contains, in the elaborate design which epic allows, the same situations and emotions from which the lyrics grew. Inspiration for Catullus is drawn from the experience of the events of real life. Catullus was the kind of poet who could never cut himself off from his themes and indeed, the proposition that a poet with an obviously intense emotional life should have been influenced by it in his choice and treatment of mythological themes is not in itself a thought that should be ignored, especially when there is evidence in the fact that he repeats specific phrases and images in both personal and narrative poems.

The writing of poem 64 appears detached because the story centres on remote mythology, but in fact Catullus has left his mark on each line and shows, no less than in his shorter poems, that this poem is written in a very personal way. He speaks through the characters, but very much for himself. Because it is an epic, Catullus can give his thoughts a freer rein than usual, just because he is writing under the cover of symbolic poetry. The belief that Lesbia and Catullus' brother are very much involved in the poem springs from the fact that he exhibits the opposition of past and present, ideal and real spread out in narrative detail.

Poem 64 shows Catullus writing of himself in the figures of Ariadne and Aegeus, and of the way he had hoped his relationship would have evolved in the story of Peleus and Thetis.

The opening of the poem is concerned with the meeting of Peleus and Thetis, leading us to expect a great tale of their love and marriage, but 50 lines later, in the middle of the description, the digression starts first with the description of the coverlet on the wedding-bed into the tale of Ariadne's desertion by Theseus:

haec vestis priscis hominum variata figuris
eroum mira virtutes indicat arte.

(lines 50–1)

This takes up more than half the poem and then the happy wedding description returns as a balance to the sadness of the previous episode. Although even then not all is perfect, as in the song of the Fates where the bliss of the happy pair is illustrated by their war-like, death-dealing son ,Achilles:

nascetur vobis expers terroris Achilles,
hostibus haud tergo, sed forti pectore notus.

(lines 338–9)

It is hard to know why this episode was written at all. Perhaps because of the bitterness Troy holds for Catullus after one event of great importance – the death of his brother. The poem describes the prowess of Achilles, but the personal events of Catullus' life could well be why he treated the subject so elaborately and viciously.

We first meet Ariadne in line 52, looking out to sea from the shore, watching Theseus sailing away. She is in the grip of love

for him which, even now, is as strong as it ever was. She is woken from a sleep which is *fallax* because it lulled her into a confidence, as false as Theseus, her lover.

immemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis.
irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae
(lines 58–9)

The picture of the departure seems to haunt Catullus, meaning to him almost as much as desertion. He exploits Ariadne's situation to the fullest. Theseus' promises were only meant to gain the satisfaction of the moment, remaining invalid afterwards:

sed simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libidost,
dicta nihil meminere, nihil periuria curant.
(lines 147–8)

The shore which Ariadne is now deserted on is a reflection of her pitiful heart. She is cut off from her love, home and family, surrounded by the unfriendly sea. Poem 64 is an epic version of Catullus' relationship and feelings for Lesbia. She has acted as Theseus, fleeing from him and leaving him love-sick. Ariadne was passionately in love with Theseus as was Catullus with Lesbia. She was attracted by his good looks and charm and hoped he had the inner values to match, although he obviously did not as it showed all too late. Theseus only wanted the sexual rewards of the moment. Ariadne cries:

nec malus haec celans dulci crudelia forma
consilia in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes!
(lines 175–6)

Her awakening to the wickedness he has shown is immediate, and she portrays Catullus' view when he had woken up to the deceit of Lesbia, having denied it for so long, which he showed in his elegiac poems (72.5). Ariadne's speech is clearly Catullus' own disillusionment coming to the surface.

Line 73 begins the story of Theseus' journey from Athens to kill the Minotaur, and Ariadne leaving her home and family to go with him. The focus on her primary feelings of love for Theseus adds to the poignancy of her plight and makes way for her speech. Catullus says little about Theseus but concentrates on Ariadne's love:

hunc simul ac cupido conspexit lumine virgo.

There is no desire on Theseus' part, but what he did was merely in the heat of the moment. Again, Catullus is writing of his own feelings, as he rarely wrote of Lesbia's feelings for him. Ariadne experienced the joy of love with someone, only to find herself betrayed. At the end of her soliloquy, she curses Theseus:

vos nolite pati nostrum vanescere luctum,
sed quali solum Theseus me mentem reliquit,
tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque.
(lines 199–201)

The result of this is that he forgets to hoist the sign to show his father that he is still alive, thus Aegeus laments the apparent death of his son. In this episode, Catullus becomes the mourning father, looking back to the death of his beloved brother, in this speech of sadness for eternal seperation:

nate, mihi longe iucundior unice vita.
(line 215)

Catullus often claimed that Lesbia was dearer to him than life itself. Then:

nate, ego quem in dubios cogor dimittere casus
(line 216)

This, perhaps, echoes the feelings he felt on the departure of his brother and subsequent death in the East. Aegeus had asked his son to hoist a white flag on his return:

quam primum cernens ut laeta gaudia mente
agnoscam, cum te reductem fors prospera sistet.
(lines 236–7)

When the old man realized his son had died, all wish for life escaped him, as it had escaped Catullus on the death of his brother. When Theseus realized the result of his forgetfulness:

sic funesta domus ingressus tecta paterna
morte, ferox Theseus, qualem Minoidi luctum
obtulerat mente immemori, talem ipse recepit.
(lines 246–8)

In Theseus, the cause of grief to Ariadne and Aegeus' death, Catullus shows the double suffering he went through with the death of his brother and Lesbia's faithlessness.

In the Peleus and Thetis episode, we are presented with a seemingly perfect marriage: a dream of Catullus' as to what his relationship with Lesbia would be. In other poems, Catullus tells us that Lesbia had said she would prefer to marry him even more than Jupiter and in lines 26-7, Peleus is allowed to marry Thetis, permitted by Jupiter:

Thessaliae columen, Peleu, cui Juppiter ipse,
ipse suos divum genitor concessit amores.

(lines 26–7)

Momentarily, he surpassed even Jupiter in his happiness, as did Catullus when Lesbia said she loved him.

The relevance to our understanding of the *Peleus and Thetis* of Catullus' personal experience is not as important as a knowledge of the myths he writes of. However, knowing of Catullus' trials and tribulations does enhance the enjoyment of the poem and one's sympathies towards the poet. It is important to remember that the genre of love-elegy, at this time, was still not completely developed; therefore the only way that Catullus could express his personal feelings was through a short, epic tale, an epyllion. In this way, it was also possible for him to disguise the true identity of Lesbia without causing any trouble or embarrassement to himself or her.

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Jane Lofthouse is a third year single honours Latin student at Exeter University and is sub-editor of *Pegasus*.

The Bible as an Historical Document

By
David Woolls

Although intended as light relief in this year's addition of 'Pegasus', this article has some serious intent. In the study of Classics, with the wealth of literature of different styles available, the thought of another language and another culture may make the heart sink. However, the collection of books we know as the Bible offer the classicist the opportunity to exercise Latin or Greek in a different context, or the challenge of learning Hebrew during coffee breaks. For the less enthusiastic or downright lazy the text is available in a variety of translations to suit most tastes.

Within the pages of the Old Testament can be found examples of most types of literature; narrative "history", poetry, wisdom, prophetic utterances and legal documents. The timespan of the contents of the book covers at least the ten centuries before Christ, with a large bulk of the historical narrative formulated during a period of exile in the 6th century BC. This early use of history in a didactic role should awaken echoes in those who have discovered the difficulty of discerning real historical content in the writings of the classical authors.

The distinctive aspect of the writing is that the majority of it emanates from times of severe national stress, as the Israelites were frequently attacked, conquered or exiled during the period covered by the books. The viewpoint of the underdog, both in times of prosperity and times of suffering, can act as a counterpoint to the literature of the empires surrounding or engulfing them. The authors attempt to interpret their beliefs in the light of the changing circumstances, and it is possible to trace the evolution of their religious and social understanding through the underlying editorial style of interweaving later thinking with earlier ideas. The study of redaction has flowered in the fertile ground of the history and law books.

The unifying feature of the books of the Old Testament is the development of ethical monotheism as the fundamental religious belief. This belief survives the loss of the central shrine of Yahwism, exiled from a land considered by earlier generations to be promised in perpetuity, restoration to that homeland under conditions of severe hardship and constant internal and external attack. The continuous re-evaluation of previously held beliefs about their god, their society and their neighbours, provides a fascinating insight into the development of one nation's understanding of personal and national responsibility for individual and collective action.

The concept of history as something affected by people rather than at the whim of divine beings comes clearly through all the writings. The conclusion is reached frequently that if events do not follow the expected pattern the fault lies either with the actions or understanding of the human beings involved rather than arbitrary actions of gods involved in some power play of their own. The exploration of the existence of this attitude in the classical world where both mythological and philosophical ideas of the meaning of existence could prove fruitful.

It will have been noted that the contents of the Old Testament have been viewed as the recording of the view of a particular people of their place in the world at various stages of their history, rather than as a prescriptive religious document. The books were undoubtedly written with a religious intent, and are still used in such a way by Jew and Christian alike, but this should not preclude a view of the books as a body of literature with a relevance to the place, time and circumstances of the writing. A full picture of the classical world should include as many of the various extant sources, taking account of their provenance, influence and purpose where this can be ascertained. In short, a classicist should find much of relevance in the study of literary technique, approaches to history and the development of thought in a different theological and philosophical environment.

David Woolls is a lecturer in information processing at North Oxfordshire Technical College. He qualified as a chartered accountant at the age of 21. As a mature student he later took a degree in theology at Oxford University and has kindly donated this article for this year's addition of *pegasus*.

LATIN? YOU MUST BE JOKING!

by
Patrick Spence

'Latin is not yet dead, but dying'. 'What is remarkable is not that it is disappearing from schools, but that it has hung on for so long'. 'You do Latin? How...er...interesting'.

Kenneth Baker's recent core curriculum proposals, restricting Latin's place in the school timetable, have thrust an already exhausted debate back into the spotlight through sacred articles in the media, leading many of us to really question the role of Latin as a study at ANY level. Arguments against Latin have been terse in their logic and predictable in their critisism of its relevance to modern thinking; and many prominent statesment have shown their loyalty by entering the forum in its defence. This article sets forth the points 'pro' and 'contra', and suggests another possible angle of approach to this concern.

So what is wrong with Latin? Does it deserve prominence in an education today? The most frequent objection concerns the valuable time it occupies which could be spent on more practical and valuable subjects: after all, philosophy, modern languages, history and geography, to name but a few, teach us to 'think', and Mathematics and computing are vastly superior in the training of 'Logical Thought'. Today these subjects would command greater respect in the eyes of employers – for their applicability and general value. Moreover, though it is admitted that Latin does provide a valuable insight into the study of modern languages, law or mathematics, does it however require the logic of a Classicist to realize that the time spent learning latin grammar and vocabulary ('to help us with other subjects') would surely be employed better in the more detailed application of the very subjects themselves in the first place?

A.E.Housemann, poet and professor at London University expanded the theory that the study of Classics might 'transform and beautify our inner nature' and qualified this by 'a quickened appreciation of excellence, and a refined discrimination between what is excellent and what is not'. John Graham was one of several who argued against this It is supposed to relate to literature such as that of John Milton. True, the Classics did form his style, though they certainly did not transform or beautify his inner nature – 'they did not sweeten his naturally disagreeable temper; they did not enable him to conduct controversy with urbanity or even with decency'. And what of Shakespeare? – he could not even spell properly. So it is not essential in the pursuit of wisdom: 'with five billion people in the world, how can understanding be restricted, by definition, to the few Classisists around?'

Finally, to claim that Latin provides us with a 'rounded education' is patently absurd: does Horace teach us to type or use a computer? An understanding of the Roman constitution to sell a product? Does Cicero set us on the right road to grasping entrepreneurial skills, acknowledging equality of sex and preparing us for complaints from a disenchanted workforce? Of course not.

These arguments do logically strip away the 'value' and 'relevance' of Latin: there are more worthwhile subjects to concentrate on. So how can we defend its position? Recent articles have blown the cobwebs off the traditional stance: without some knowledge of Latin, an Englishman will not be literate in the fullest sense. He will not be able to speak or write his own language well and the Classics of literature will hold no meaning for him. Will he not confuse words, such as misfortune with tragedy, or irritation with aggravation? Apparently, the 'semi-literacy of a growing proportion of the population' can be attributed

to the demise of learning by heart and other Latin exercises which require effort and concentration, so that children indulge now in symbol and metaphor without regard for grammar and syntax. If the first aim of English teaching is to develop mastery of one's own language, then translating into and out of a foreign language is the ideal vehicle for this; it must be learnt that words have precise and inalienable meanings, effort must be exerted in the analysis of structure of sentence and phrase. What better than a fixed language, then, precise in its vocabulary and different from English in its structure?

And, of course, the culture which over centuries has grown up in Britain is based on Latin culture. For a thousand years in most of Europe, Latin was the language of government and law, learning and reflection, prayer and doctrine, culture and history: of the church, the schools and universities.

Does an education in latin help solve problems? 'Latin is a complex and structured language. It yields only to stubborn intellectual pressure. Mastering it develops a tenacious and orderly mind, an excellent memory, and a discriminating use of words. It also develops what might be called intellectual guts (John Rae). In his enthusiastic and insistent defence of Latin, Dr. Peter Jones claims that ironically Latin solves more problems than this: its study provides a chance to 'break out of the mould', if that is what a student wants – 'its a matter of freedom, flexibility and choice, all the Thatcherian ideas that Mr. Baker claims to uphold.'

Would it not, then, be a philistine act in itself to bar from schools such a potent source of high literary skills, and one that gives us the edge in the time's crossword? The answer is, of course, yes – we should be purturbed by the extinction of such a language. This, however, is not likely to happen in the first place, and besides it is not the most important issue with which we should be concerning ourselves: the arguments detailed here in defense of Latin can convince nobody except those who are already convinced: they are set forth by men attempting to impose their favourite pursuits on others. It is symbolic that these articles all appeared in the Times, where one might point to a propensity for patronising ideals concerning 'what is best' for a nation of apparent philistines: (When I was young it was different etc etc'). It is ironic that the people who are now defending Latin – those who gained much by its study – are probably the very ones to whom we should by attributing blame for its demise. By attempting to impose on the majority of pupils a subject that is generally enjoyed by so few, they are suffocating an already weakened language.

As a student I know nothing about education, its techniques or its aims – moreover this article will show that the high degree of literacy attained by a Classicist does not manifest itself in every case: My grammar and spelling are appalling. I do suggest, however, that latin should not be forced on anyone (in this one respect I agree with Mr. Baker), but encouraged by its positive aspects. Two important arguements are ignored in every article I read: Firstly, Latin is employable, if that is the only concern of those who attack it: the facts speak for themselves. Secondly, Latin is enjoyable: if a study is worth while in every sense, there must be a sense of experience, achievement and fun in the time spent on it. One journalist portrayed Latin as an unadventurous, tedious and excessive jig-saw puzzle as we struggle with the complexities of grammar and syntax; he never suggested that perhaps with continuing archaeology we might be filling in the background so that the picture becomes less out of focus, more vivid. If Latin does not entertain, then its use is limited and the time spent on it often very boring; but why do we find ourselves in a position, with our backs against the wall, where we seem obliged to defend our choice of study, when the answer should be simple, quick and logical? Latin can be fun and that makes it all worth while.

Patrick Spence is a third year Single Honours Latin student at this University.

The medieval Latin poet who called himself Archipoeta (roughly "the super-poet") lived in the Rhineland in the twelfth century . But it seems that his spirit has been floating around Exeter, and taking an interest in recent developments in academic life. He contributed the following piece to *Staff Forum* in February 1987, and *Pegasus* offers the following free translation, with apologies for the inevitable failure to catch the elegance of the original:

DE LAUDE NOVAE SCIENTIAE

Obmittamus veritates
Ut regnet nugacitas!
Desolemus facultates:
Adoremus machinas!

Professores exquisiti
Novos deos adulant;
Olim operis obliti
Nunc in vitro fecundant.

Ante televisionem
Tangunt claves magicas
Et post adorationem
Surgit infantilitas.

Vos laudemus, inventores,
Spem aeternam studii!
Universitatis duces
Invasores spatii.

Never mind the search for knowledge,
Read the rubbish off a screen:
Brains aren't needed at this college,
Here we worship the machine.

Trendy dons in adoration
Blindly bow before the New.
(It's like test-tube procreation –
They've forgotten what to do.)

In a trance that's catatonic,
Tapping on the magic keys,
From the godhead electronic
They extract banalities.

These adepts of the computer
Rule the universe(ity);
They're the scholars of the future –
Space Invaders, PhD.

"You've certainly got a nice day for it."

THE ATHENIAN PROSTITUTE *i*

by
Jane McGarry

There are few reliable statistics for classical Athens, and none concerning prostitutes. What evidence there is, however, suggests that many of these women were slaves or ex–slaves. For example both Lais the Elder and Younger, according to Athenaeus *ii* (588a, 570e), started their professional lives as slaves. Neaera (a *hetaira* whose career was detailed in a court speech) was one of a string of slave girls bought by Nicarete and trained by her to attract top–class custom (Demosthenes 59.22). Pythionice, the mistress of Harpalus, was allegedly the slave of Bacchis, herself the slave of a Thracian prostitute Sinope (Ath. 588c). These women were *hetairai.* At the lower end of the market we hear of a retired slave–prostitute managing a tenement building for a rich Athenian Euctemon (Isaeus 6.19) and of a slave–concubine who discovers that her master–lover intends to sell her to a brothel (Antiphon *Against the Stepmother*). In Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusai* (1195) it is the old woman ("Euripides") who strikes the bargain with the Scythian for the services of the dancing girl, not the girl herself, and finally the women in Solon's state brothels were represented as slaves by the comic poet Philemon (Ath.569e)

Some prostitutes were freeborn aliens. Phryne, for instance, came from Thespiae (Ath. 591c), Nicarete of Megara was a "*hetaira* of no mean birth" (Ath. 596ef) and Bilistiche of Argos traced her descent from the Atreidae (ibid). Freeborn prostitutes could apparently demand higher prices (Demosth. 59.22,41) so of course there was an incentive for the less well–born to be inventive about their backgrounds.

In Athens one imagines the law would deter most citizen women from taking up the profession since they could be sold into slavery if they were found to be unchaste (Plutarch, *Life of Solon* , 23). Similarly, procuring a citizen boy or woman for prostitution was punishable by death (Aeschines 1.12). However, from 431 until the end of the Classical era Greece was devastated by war and Athens was at the centre of much of it. All levels of Athenian society were affected. Aristarchus, an Athenian, tells Socrates (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.7) that because of the Peloponnesian war he has had to take in fourteen female relatives who look to him for protection and support. What of those women who had lost all their male relatives? Or whose surviving men simply could not afford to support them? Some may have had to turn to prostitution; at least this is the situation described in Antiphanes' comedy *The Waterjar* (Ath.572a). Nor need it have been entirely a last resort. A study of Victorian prostitutes has suggested that a major factor which turned some young girls onto the streets while others scraped a living from more respectable occupations was the lack of at least one parent, with a corresponding weakening of familial restraint *iii.* In Athenian society the loss of a *kyrios* would have had much greater significance. Perhaps some of the more imaginative (lazy? ambitious? stupid?) girls aspired to be an Aspasia or a Lais, just as Victorian girls cited "living the life of a lady" as one of the reasons for turning to prostution for a living *iv.* The reality for the majority no doubt fell short of the ideal.

Many prostitutes were likely to take their first lessons in 'love' at a tender age. "Neaera was already working with her body, young as she was, for she was not yet old enough" (Demosth.59.22) according to her accuser Apollodorus; and a fragment of an Aristophanic comedy mentions a *'hypoparthenos hetaira'*, that is a not-yet-maiden *hetaira* (frag.141–trans E.Keuls) which is perhaps what Apollodorus is get-

ting at. Comic poets speak of "young flute girls just biginning to be ripe" (Ath. 571b) and Hypereides' speech *Against Athenogenes* mentions a freedwoman who allegedly made 300 drachmae on the sale of a boy prostitute *v*.

The appearance and dress of prostitutes will have depended of their clientele. Xenophon's woman of easy virtue (*Mem* 2.1 – 22) may well be representative of a rather blowsy type of *hetaira*: "well developed to the point of fleshiness and sensuality ...," brazen faced and dressed to reveal "as much as possible of her charms". Theodote (*Mem* 3.11) is perhaps a classier example: at least Xenophon's Socrates is impressed by her clothes and establishment. Less kind descriptions might be expected from the comic poets and we hear of women "plastered over with white lead" and with "jowls smeared with mulberry juice" (Eubulus, cited by Ath. 551). Alexis, a middle comedy poet, lists the "elaborate devices of prostitutes" which include built–up shoes, false buttocks and some pretty elaborate corsetry. Good features are emphasised: "she has pretty teeth, she must, of course, laugh" (Ath. 568 a-d).

Vase paintings show women who may be prostitutes in clothes ranging from the elaborate to the non–existent. Women are depicted with cropped hair (and they must, therefore, be slaves). Others wear their hair long and held up in a band or in a chignon or net. Neither the expensive clothes nor the longer hair can be seen as proof that these are free women. Nicarete, for instance (Dem.59), claimed that her girls were her daughters, so she would certainly not have cropped their hair in the style of a slave.

The day–to–day existence of *pornai* seems to be parodied in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusai*; for instance a woman stands posturing at her door...

My skin I've stained with beauty and ceruse
To seem the skin of roses: dressed in yellow
looking lazy, singing red-lipped to myself
Softly and lewdly, and shifting everytime
Into a poise of more fidgety desire
To catch the eye of someone, anyone.
(trans. Jack Lindsay)

Other comic descriptions speak of "pretty lasses in the brothel ... stripped for action and posted in battle line" (Ath.569b). Brothels presumably existed before Solon allegedly introduced state–owned establishments (Ath.569d) but no record of them survives. How Solon's 'nationalised' versions differed from privately owned ventures is unknown. Originally the profits were supposedly used to found the temple to Aphrodite Pandemus. Whatever the truth of the tradition, Solon's brothels are praised by the new comedy poet Philemon for he says ... "their door stands open. Price one obol, hop in! There isn't a bit of prudishness or nonsense ... but straight to it and as you wish ... you come out, you can tell her to go hang. She is nothing to you" *vi*

A private brothel is probably being described in Isaeus 6.19. Euctemon "had a freedwoman ... who managed a tenement in the Piraeus and kept prostitutes." Another property owned by Euctemon was situated in the Kerameikos district, the potter's quarter, near the Dipylon gate, and this was managed by a retired slave–prostitute. It may well have been another brothel. Both buildings would have been well sited, the one to profit from the clients, provided by a busy port, which included sailors and traders as well as the 'home market', and the other at a busy thoroughfare.

Brothels have been nororiously difficult to recognise archaeologically when only the foundations remain. This is not doubt because many were ordinary buildings indistinguishable architecturally from other houses. Even so the site of a brothel has been proposed near the Kerameikos in Athens *vii*. Our only other visual clue as to how brothels may have looked comes from vase paintings. Unfortunately buildings tend to be stylised, or only partially shown, so that the hydria by the Harrow painter, which may depict the entrance to a brothel (fig. 1) is less informative than we might hope. *viii*

The prices charged by prostitutes in Athenaeus range from one obol (in Solon's brothels – [Ath.569f]) to ten thousand drachmae for a Hellenistic *hetaira* (Ath. 581b *ix*). Solon's obol may be comic exaggeration (see note 6), indeed Solon's brothels may be comic invention! Still, Aristophanes' 'Euripides' demands a drachma from the Scythian for the dancing girl (one drachma = six obols) and she sounds young, pretty and able to dance (*Thesm.* 1195). Less talented or less attractive types will surely have been available for less. Few men will have been unable to afford the services of a common *porne* and slaves may have made up a sizeable proportion of the custom of the cheaper women, especially if their masters were like Xenophon's Ischomachus who made arrangements to stop his slaves "from making babies without [his] knowledge" (*Oec.* 9.5). The Scythian in *Thesmophoriazusai* was a public slave and was able to produce the drachma required – but this, of course, is comedy.

There is some evidence for the way the city taxed its prostitutes although only the barest details are available. There was a brothel tax, the *pornikon telos* which is mentioned in the context of male prostitutes but was presumably levied on both sexes (Aeschines 1.119). A collector of taxes on prostitutes, a *pornotelones* is mentioned in a comic fragment in a list of insults (Philonides fr.5). Some kind of register of prostitutes is implied in Aeschines' speech "the senate farms out the tax on prostitutes and... the men who buy this tax do not guess but know precisely who they are that follow this profession" (119). We do not know, however, whether the tax was applied to the individual or to the brothel owners, or both. What is clear is that the city profited from prostitution.

Much of the preceding concerns both *hetairai* and *pornai*, but with the emphasis on the *pornai* end of the market. I would now like to look at *hetairai*: those women whom later generations considered part of a golden age of strumpetry.

Classical Greek *hetairai* are remarkable not least because they are almost the only women of the period whose names we know. Their backgrounds may have been identical to that of their *pornai* sisters, but these women managed by their beauty, wit, and no doubt some shrewd self–advertising to find a place in the upper levels of society amongst the influential and wealthy.

Human nature it seems often equates 'expensive' with 'best'. Certainly part of the allure of courtesans x in any society appears to lie in their extravagance and their high price tag. In Classical Greece there were few men of fabulous wealth by later standards, but the *hetarai* of the period made the most of what was available. So we hear Demosthenes (19.229) accusing a young man of wasting his (ill–gotten) fortune on "prostitutes and fish" and another young man in a comic fragment complaining to his *hetaira* "I have squandered my patrimony on you" (Eupolis fr.44). Phryne became so rich that it was alleged that she used to promise to rebuild the walls of Thebes if they would inscribe them "whereas Alexander demolished it, Phryne the *hetaira* restored it" (Ath.591d). What better way to advertise her success?

A successful *hetaira* might hope to have her entire household supported by a wealthy lover (Ath. 590d cf.588e). If the *hetaira* was a slave this could mean her owner's household (Dem. 59.29). Others kept up their own establishments. Theodote's home is greatly admired by Socrates who asks, with his customary assumed naivety, if her wealth comes from some farm, or other innocent source. Theodote informs him "if anyone wants to get friendly with me, and wants to be generous, that's how I get my living" (Xen. *Mem.* 3.11). This generosity often took the form of gifts. Gnathaena's admirer, the comic poet Diphilus, brought to her party six wine jars "perfume, wreaths, nuts and raisins, a kid, ribbons, relishes, a cook and after all that an aulos girl" (Ath. 579e). When Neaera left Phrynion she took some household goods, two per-

sonal slaves "and all the clothing and jewellery with which he had adorned her person" (Dem. 59.35). Money was, of course, acceptable. Gnathaena's granddaughter expected at least 100 drachmae as the price of her favours (Ath. 5.84e), the same sum as that demanded of Moerichus by Phryne (Ath. 583c).

Hetairai were part of the symposium scene described in one speech as "revelry, sex, and drinking" (Dem. 47.19) *xi*. At these gatherings *hetairai* could flaunt and be flaunted. Very early in her career Lais the Younger was brought to a symposium by Apelles the painter, who was jeered at by his fellow banqueters for bringing such an unpolished specimen (Ath. 588cd). Later, of course, her fame rivalled that of Phryne. Courtesans of all eras have found it advantageous to get to know the artists of the day *xii* since these have often been welcome at the tables of the wealthy, even if relatively indigent themselves. They could provide essential publicity and with luck, wealthy clients. Phryne and Lais were both used as models by the artists of the day. Phryne was the model for Praxiteles, nude statue of Aphrodite at Cnidus, and had a gold statue set up in her honour at Delphi (Ath.591ab). Such visible marks of success can only have enhanced the model's reputations and enabled them to charge the highest prices and to expect the most extravagant gifts.

An artist could apparently damage reputations: at least Gnathaena is concerned that her lover Diphilus should not ridicule her in his plays (Ath. 579ef) *xiii*. Generally though one can imagine the maxim 'no publicity is bad publicity' operating, and a mention in a play being worth a considerable sum to the *hetaira* named. Theodote is posing for a painter when Socrates calls and he is quick to point out who will get most benefit from such attentions (Xen. *Mem* 3.11).

The famous *hetairai* were as feted as the movie stars of our own century and Phryne, we are told, with an almost Garboesque gesture "always wore a tunic which wrapped her body closely and she did not resort to the public baths" (Ath. 590f) *xiv*. She clearly had a taste for the dramatic. At the festival of Poseidon at Eleusis "in full view of the whole Greek world she removed only her cloak and let down her long hair before stepping into the sea" (ibid), thus, no doubt, disappointing those members of the Athenian masses who couldn't afford Phryne or the fares to Cnidus.

Hetairai were famous not only for their beauty. At Symposia they were expected to be able to contribute to the conversation. Indeed we are told that some *hetairai* "thought very highly of themselves, going in for culture and apportioning their time to learned studies" (Ath.583f). Gnathaena was supposed to have written a book entitled *Rules for Dining in Company* in imitation of the philosophers (585b), and a work of which fragments survive was reputedly written by Philaenis, a Samian *hetairai*, on the techniques of love.*xv*. The fact that Gnathaena's ability to write is taken for granted strongly suggests that she was not alone in her ability.

Our picture of the lives of prostitutes is inevitably distorted by the media through which they are recorded. Contemporary comedy called Aspania a whore and blamed her for starting the Peloponnesian War (Plut.*Per.* Aristoph.*Acharnians*) but philosophers praised her political acumen and intelligence according to Plutarch *xvi*, and these people were not usually so generous to prostitutes (Plato, Rep.8.559c; Xen.*mem.* 1.5.4). Aspasia in fact stands out as the only woman in Classical Athens who could compete with men on their own terms, and her relationship with Pericles was unique in that it was apparently based on mutual respect and affection. As such she should probably not be classed with *hetairai* at all.

Forensic speeches tell us much about society's attitude to prostitution since, whatever the truth of the individual case, the composer is concerned to make it believable to the jury and his efforts to gain the jury's sympathy will give an indication

of what is acceptable and what is not. The case against Neaera (Dem.59) is, therefore, very informative and is worth summarising. Neaera had been bought as a child by Nicarete and trained and hired out as a *hetaira* at a very early age (22). She enjoyed a fair degree of celebrity in Corinth and Athens (25) and travelled throughout Greece (107). At some point two of her lovers had bought her outright and shared her until they wanted to marry (30). They then offered to let her buy her freedom for 20 minae (two–thirds of the price they had paid for her). She was able to raise this money from ex–lovers and in particular from Phrynion, an Athenian (31). Once free she settled in Athens with Phrynion, but he behaved badly (33) "without decency or restraint" having "intercourse with her openly". Worse still whilst in a drunken stupor Phrynion did not prevent many men from having intercourse with her, including some of the slaves in the house (33). Neaera, therefore, left Phrynion and set herself up in Megara (35) but business was bad so she returned to Athens, this time with another Athenian Stephanus as her protector (38). Neaera and Stephanus lived together, largely off Neaera's earnings as a prostitute and also from a lucrative sideline which involved extorting money from foreigners on the pretext that they had committed adultery with a citizen woman (41). Eventually Phrynion reappeared and demanded reparation for the loss of Neaera and the goods she took with her when she left him (45). After arbitration Phrynion and Stephanus agreed to the return of some of Phrynion's goods and to him having the use of Neaera on alternate days (47). The prosecution continued that Neaera and Stephanus had twice married Neaera's daughter, Phano, to Athenian citizens, claiming that she was Stephanus' daughter and, therefore, a citizen. The charge against Neaera was that she had usurped citizen rights and had lived as the wife of an Athenian citizen "contrary to the laws", since she was an alien. If found guilty Neaera could have been sold back into slavery and Stephanus fined one thousand drachmae. Unfortunately we do not know the outcome of the case.

The speech highlights some striking differences between Athenian morality and our own. Neaera had no choice in her profession. She had been bought as a child and used to serve "all the lusts of those who [dealt] with her" (108), but these circumstances arouse no hint of sympathy, or surely they would not have been stated so bluntly by the prosecution. Aristotle was presumably finding some moral justification in such attitudes by concluding that slaves were slaves by nature (*Politics* 1.6) and that all women were lustful, particularly those introduced to sex at an early age (ibid. 1335ab).

Some insight is given into the consensus of opinion regarding public sexual behaviour. Vase paintings give the impression that Greeks felt no compunction against fornicating in public, but the tone of the accusations against Phrynion's behaviour (Dem 59.33) suggests that it was not considered acceptable, even with a *hetaira*.

Possibly the most incomprehensible section of the speech concerns the terms of arbitration between Phrynion and Stephanus. Neaera is declared a free woman, but she is only free to be at the disposal of Stephanus and Phrynion on alternate days. Neaera had not been the slave of either man yet the terms suggest she was owned by both. One wonders how the settlement worked out in practical terms. Still, Neaera had been shared before and the settlement may have had some benefits: Phrynion was after all a wealthy man.

Her case shows how difficult it was for a woman to live without the protection of a man. Neaera's attempt at total independence failed. It must also be said that the protection she received was, at least, limited.

So what were the prospects for prostitutes in Athens? A career in prostitution today would raise the spectre of sexually transmitted diseases, but there is apparently no secure evidence of veneral dis-

ease in the ancient world. Even so for the less attractive and untalented slave, prostitute life may have been very grim and sordid. One of the names for a *porne* in Greece was *chamaitype* 'earth striker', which hardly makes their lives sound like a feather bed. Even the more famous women were not exempt from death, disease and old age. Lais the Elder allegedly died from "excess commerce" (Ath.587e) and other great names are mercilessly satirised by the comic poets (ibid). On the more positive side, some slaves may have been given their freedom as their earning power decreased; others more successful would have had to have bought theirs. Some *pornai* may have set up home with one and lived off their earnings. Mothers and daughters are mentioned in connection with prostitutes; not surprisingly, since for most people in the ancient world the best insurance for old age was a family.

Some *hetairai* retired whilst still young (Ath. 58be), perhaps they married wealthy metics or freedmen and lived on in unassuming luxury. It was associations with Athenian citizens that seemed to end in the law-courts. Neaera's life story illustates how precarious *hetairai'* lives could be. To end on a high note, Phryne was reputedly filthy rich at the height of her fame, and this fame lived on after her death. Most Athenian men would have settled for far less.

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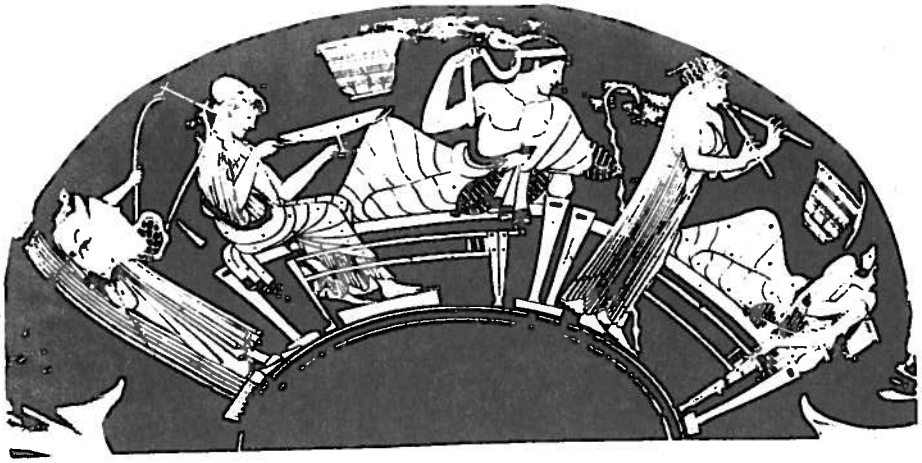
i. I have used the term prostitute to cover both *pornai* and *hetairai*. A *porne* was a common prostitute, someone hired for single sessions at a rate which made them available to all levels of society. A *hetaira* was a 'companion' who, for a price, entertained the wealthier classes. This entertainment extended beyond that of mere sex; ideally *hetairai* were beautiful, intelligent and amusing, "the only women in all the world who are addressed by the title friendly", according to one commentator (Ath.571c.572b).The distinction was not always strictly observed by Greek writers (Ath 572 ef for example) and in any case often depended on the viewpoint of the speaker. ii. Athenaeus of Naucratis preserves more information in Book 13 of his *Deiphosophistae* about Greek prostitutes than any other author. Although he was writing in.200 AD. he names his sources so that we can assess their reliability, and he quotes them verbatim. iii. Walkowitz.J.R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (1980).20. iv. ibid 21n.50. v. See J.Henderson *The Maculate Muse* (1975), for a general discussion. vi. There was no coinage in Athens in Solon's time; Philemon must have been using his imagination. vii. Wycherley *The Athenian Agora* 22.2. viii. See D.Williams in A.Kuhrt and A.Cameron (eds) *Images of Women in Aniquity* (1983). ix. This was the price asked for, but probably not received. x. There are no modern equivalents to the Greek *hetairai*. They were high-class prostitutes but, like the French *grandes horizontales* of the second half of the 19th century, could be celebrities in their own right. xi. Plato's Socrates felt that sex detracted from the true symposium (*Protag.*347cd) but his may have been a minority view. xii. See M.Harrison *A Fanfare of Strumpets* (1971) 11. Lily Langtree, for instance, found the friendship of Oscar Wilde, Whistler, Ruskin and Millais (who painted her as the 'jersey Lily') a useful introduction to the Prince of Wales. xiii. Georgina Masson *Courtesans of the Italian Renaissance* (1975) 28. An Italian courtesan of the 16th century warns her daughter who is about to take up the profession, against poets and writers. xiv. This suggests that others did, and may perhaps explain who the swimmers are on the Belly amphora by the Andokides painter?? xv. K.Tsantsanoglou 'The Memoirs of a Lady from Samos' in *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik 12 (1973).* xvi. Plutarch quotes Aeschines the Socratic and Plato's Menexenus as his sources.

Jane McGarry graduated in Classics at Exeter University in 1988. Her third year dissertation was on Greek prostitutes, and she hopes to produce a book on the subject.

Fig 1. Hydria by the Harrow Painter

Fig. 2. Kalpis by the Dikaios Painter

Fig 3. Cup by the Brygos Painter



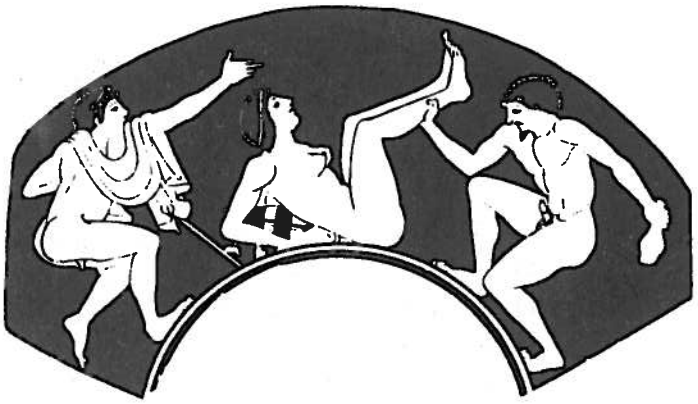


Fig 4. Cup by the Antiphon Painter

Fig. 5. Cup by the Brygos Painter

Fig. 6. Cup by the Brygos Painter

LATIN IN GUADELOUPE

by

Felicity Pontin

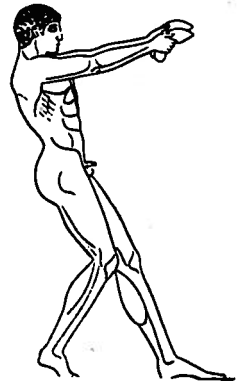
Last December I visited an island where 60% of the babies born are illegitimate, where most of its inhabitants work on enormous banana plantations and where the local population think nothing of getting in a cold bath with a couple of dozen leeches to 'cleanse' their blood. Yet the children on this island, Guadeloupe, and its sister, Martinique, who live thousands of miles away from the Mediterranean and its ancient society, in a different continent and with a singularly different culture, all have the opportunity to learn Latin and Greek.

Guadeloupe and Martinique are part of France and its people are, on paper at least, as French as those living rather nearer the Champs-Elysees and the Eiffel Tower. Their 'classical' education system is loosely based on that of France, although students in Guadeloupe start their Latin a little later than in Paris.

In the second year, being roughly thirteen years old, all children in mainland France receive a basic grounding in Latin, a compulsory introductory year during which students are taught grammar fundamentals and a broad picture of ancient civilisation. In the following year those who wish to may carry on with Latin or Greek plus a modern language, or alternatively concentrate solely on modern languages. It seems an ideal system. Having studied the language for a year the student is surely in a much better position to reject what he or she might feel to be a personal waste of time. In this country most children won't get a chance to do even that. If the student does reject the Latin course he or she will at least have had the benefit of a year's Latin, a language which forms the core of many European languages which hardly seems an obsolete requirement in the years before 1992. Much more attention is now being paid to the teaching of modern foreign languages in the National Curriculum but Latin has stayed firmly out of favour over here. Where, I wonder, do they think the word 'curriculum' comes from?

Am I being over ambitious in hoping that Classics will ever be introduced into this country on any kind of nationwide scale? I fear I am. Few people nowadays even know what is meant by the term Classics. "Do you mean music?" I am asked. Most booksellers, waving aside my doubtful query as to whether they have a classics section, confidently direct me to a certain confusingly named section of Penguin books. I despair. I also despaired when I telephoned the Department of Education and Science for statistics about the teaching of Latin in French state schools. Having conducted major educational research so very recently, I felt sure that there would have been at least some elementary research comparing the systems adopted by our closest European neighbours. But no. "Have you tried the French Embassy, dear?"

Felicity Pontin is a third year Classics student in the department and also contributed a piece to last year's addition of *Pegasus* entitled 'Hazy Days in Greece'.



THE EFFECTS OF THE HADRIAN'S WALL COMPLEX ON THE AREA THROUGH WHICH IT RAN

by
Mark Preston

Hadrian's Wall influenced the activities of both Romans and natives, to the south and north of the complex respectively, although there was considerable interaction between the two groups. The Wall had marked economic and social effects, although archaeology tends to reveal the former to the greatest extent. Let us examine the influence of the Wall system on the Romans first, then the natives.

The Roman source of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Hadriani,* describes the function of the Wall as '...to separate the Romans from the barbarians'. Closer examination reveals that this was not strictly true. The aim was not to prevent north-south movement but to enable the Roman army to control it. To this end, gates were provided liberally although the initial number was reduced significantly by the later addition of the Vallum from seventy-nine to around fourteen, enabling the Romans to maintain stricter control over access through the system. In addition to this, the Wall did not imbue the Roman army with a static 'frontier mentality'. The Romans did not regard the Wall as a fixed border line; their patrols operated beyond the Wall and forts were maintained north of the complex. Hadrian's successor immediately pushed the frontier forward to the Forth-Clyde line. Thus, Hadrian's Wall was designed to channel contacts between Roman and barbarian rather than to seal the empire against external contamination.

Although the Tyne-Solway line was topographically suitable for the frontier, Hadrian's Wall remained an artificial barrier. The largest provincial army in the empire, which Breeze [1] estimates at thirty thousand men in the first two centuries A.D., was maintained in an area that had been sparsely populated before the Romans arrived. The presence of a large body of well-paid men in this region represented the primary economic motor for the development of the southern hinterland of the Wall complex. The army had enormous supply needs which drew civilians to the region while civil settlement along the line of the Wall was fuelled by the payment of Roman military salaries in cash.

The purchasing power of the army introduced the Roman monetary economy into an area that had previously known only a prehistoric bartering system. This change had a major economic effect on the region south of the Wall. Civilians arrived in the area, establishing inns, shops and brothels to meet the soldiers' demands for variety of food and drink, material goods and women. Archaeology has revealed extensive evidence of Roman civil settlement to the south of the Wall. The introduction of an urban civilisation into this area was a distinctive result of the presence of the Wall and its troops. Flourishing towns developed at Carlisle, Corbridge and South Shields with cosmopolitan inhabitants and religions. Traders arrived to sell goods to the natives north of the Wall. The urban prosperity of the region was founded upon commerce.

Although the Wall brought security to the region south of the complex – itself a fact of considerable significance for economic growth – there is little evidence for the development of a landowning aristocracy with villas and agricultural estates. The harsh climate and rugged terrain probably dissuaded landowners as pleasanter land was available in the milder south of the island. Such climatic factors probably explain the relative lack of veteran settlement along the frontier in comparison with other imperial borders. Many farms were founded

on the Cumberland Plain, providing food for ready markets such as Carlisle and the army. The commercial basis of agriculture that this represented marked a clear change from the prehistoric farming patterns in the area and was ultimately attributable to the economic power of the Roman army.

In addition to servicing the economic needs of the army, the civil settlements provided a ready source of recruits. Britons were recruited into the auxiliary regiments from at least the Flavian period although evidence for the recruitment of Britons into the legions is meagre. Local recruitment for the legions has been postulated by Dobson and Mann [2] from the mid-second century. Local families in the frontier zone tended to become hereditary military families and it is likely that Britain was supplying the manpower needed for its army by the third century at the latest. The presence of the army created an attractive job opportunity that was introduced into the area by the presence of the Wall complex.

The effects of Hadrian's Wall on the Romans reflected the influence of other imperial linear frontiers on their hinterlands. The impact of the Wall complex on the natives of northern Britain was harsher as they came into contact with a sophisticated alien culture. The precise tribal boundaries of the Britons who lived in the Wall area are unknown. The territory of the Brigantes was split by the construction of the Wall. The disruption of earlier patterns of communication must have been a significant result of the Hadrianic frontier system. Free north-south movement was curtailed by the presence of Roman troops at the gateways in the Wall. The Vallum made covert native movement across the Wall line harder as it delineated a purely military zone of frontier control, preventing accidental access of unauthorised personnel into the immediate vicinity of the Wall itself. Trade between different tribes was now subject to Roman inspection and the possible imposition of customs dues if it passed through the border complex.

The tribes north of Hadrian's Wall found their communications with the south severely restricted by the Wall. Archaeology suggests that the Wall and the Roman presence in southern Scotland may have had even more far-reaching effects on the pattern of native settlement. Prior to the arrival of the Romans, native settlement was concentrated in defended sites. The Roman period bore witness to a growth in undefended enclosures. The defensive clustering of the earlier pattern gave way to a broader spread of population, in smaller individual units, across the countryside. The increased security that this pattern implies is usually seen as a result of the *pax Romana* established over the lands immediately north of the Wall. The Roman period was also marked by a transition from predominantly timber to predominantly stone construction although the extent to which this was due to Roman influence is uncertain. The change in the nature of native settlement in the Tyne-Forth region, from nucleated defensive sites to a dispersed, undefended pattern, suggests that the Votadini were pro-Roman, protected from the anti-Roman Caledonian tribes by the aegis of Roman military activity north of the Wall. The Brigantine territory that lay to the north of the Wall was shielded by the Roman forts of Birrens, Netherly and Bewcastle. Breeze [3] suggests that the disposition of Roman forces along Hadrian's Wall, concentrating on the central sector overlooking the sparsely-populated Bewcastle Fells, implies that little trouble was anticipated from the Brigantes in the west or the Votadini in the east. These pro-Roman tribes gained security from the Wall complex and its troops which archaeology suggests that they did not enjoy prior to the establishment of Hadrian's Wall.

The retention of the fortified site of Traprain Law by the Votadini implies that they enjoyed friendly relations with the Romans. Close contact between Briton and Roman were indicated by the sheer quantity of Roman material found at this site. Traprain Law continued as a great tribal

focus, fulfilling the role of a trading and redistribution centre for merchandise, as Macinnes [4] suggests. While it is possible that some Roman material found on native sites resulted from looting, the volume of such material implies that a healthy trading relationship existed. Roman materials could have passed to the Britons as diplomatic subsidies; coins could also have been used for this. Celtic finds on Roman sites, such as glass amulets and swords found at Newstead, indicate that the natives had items that Romans wished to possess; undermining the image of one-way trade from Roman to barbarian. Roman coins were widely distributed to the north of the Wall and they may have become the conventional currency for trade with the Romans. This marks an important step away from the pre-Roman barter system towards integration into the Roman monetary economy. This trend is hinted at by the dense concentration of settlement south of the Tweed. This area became self-sufficient in food production, possibly producing a surplus to meet Roman military needs.

It is likely that the natives north of the Wall were drawn by the magnet of service in the Roman army. *Numeri* were recruited from tribesmen while it is feasible that recruits for the *auxilia* could have formed part of the tribute due to the Romans. Natives who joined the army would certainly have enjoyed a higher standard of living than that of a prehistoric farmer or herder.

The economic and social effects of Hadrian's Wall were felt both to the north and the south of the complex. In both cases, the army provided the motor for change by providing security and a source of ready cash. The needs of the army drew civilians into the area, bringing Roman culture and a monetary economy. The army recruited from Romans and natives within the hinterland of the Wall. North of the Wall, security stimulated a dispersion of population and cash fuelled trade. The effect of the Hadrian's Wall complex were far-reaching and they resulted ultimately from the unnatural presence of a large army in a hitherto sparsely-populated area.

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1. Breeze D.J., *Roman Forces and native populations* (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1985)

2. Dobson B. and Mann J.C., *The Roman Army in Britain and Britains in the Roman Army* (Britannia, 4, 1973)

3. Breeze D.J., ibid.

4. Macinnes L., *Settlement and Economy : East Lothian and the Tyne-Forth Province* (from Miket R. and Burgess C. (Eds.) – *Between and Beyond the Walls*, 1984

Mark Preston graduated in History from Exeter University in 1988 and is now researching the fortifications of the Knights of St. John in the Dodecanese.

In *Pegasus* 31 (1988) we referred to the new journal, *Bulletin of Obscenity* (preferred abbreviation: B.O.) The editors of that journal may be interested in the following publication:

Publications in Archaeology

from the Institute of Archaeology

University of California, Los Angeles

The Transition to Mycenaen by J B and S H Rutter. A Middle Helladic ii to Late Helladic iiA pottery sequence from Ayios Stephanos in Laconia analized. Hb, 83pp, (1976). *£9.50*

"ERASTAI AND EROMENOI"

by
Tim Baxter

There are not many aspects of the ancient world which arouse such strong feelings for or against as the subject of homosexuality. Living in a society obsessed with the fear of Aids – a disease initially prevalent amongst male homosexuals – the general public's attitude towards homosexuality has hardened. However, the danger of imposing twentieth century attitudes and prejudices on this topic are lessened slightly by the fact that the ancient Greeks had no special words for 'homosexual' or 'heterosexual'*i*. but instead believed, correctly, that both feelings existed within individuals and that at different times of one's life, each would manifest itself. By comprehending this idea, one can immediately discard the whole plethora of pejorative catagorizations so ruthlessly employed by modern society and can, hopefully, begin to understand how such a sensitive topical issue was viewed in ancient Greece.

Indeed, such was the moral sensitivity of the subject that for many years classicists refused to even comment on homosexuality in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greece, preferring to ignore the mass of evidence available. With the exception of a few German classicists during the nineteen–twenties and thirties, so complete a boycott was staged by academia that it was as if homosexuality had never existed in ancient Greece. The main bone of contention was an unwillingness to accept any connection between the great civilised city states so admired by the historians, and the comprehensive evidence for homosexuality – a pursuit regarded as morally degrading by those very same academics. In 1923 Theodor Däubler wrote: –"anyone who is unable to regard the love of the Hellene for boys ... denies it in the face of Greece", obviously reflecting on the block academic resistance of the day. Any classicists that did attempt to review the evidence for homosexuality in ancient Greece did their best to keep reputations untarnished in an era hostile to such feelings. The best work of the period covering sexual aspects was written by Professor Paul Brandt under the pseudonym Hans Licht *ii*. However, a proper airing of the subject would only be achieved with a lessening of restrictive moral inhibitions within society. This occurred in the late nineteen–sixties and from that period until the present day there have been a great number of books published covering the subject of homosexuality in ancient Greece.

With a few exceptions – for instance the Lesbian poetess Sappho – all the evidence for homosexuality relates to men. In a male dominated world like ancient Greece, women were very much seen as secondary characters and play little or no part in the media which provides the classicist with his evidence.

There are five main sources of evidence for homosexuality in ancient Greece which are relevant to a discussion on this topic. Firstly, Archaic–Early Classical and Hellenistic poetry, secondly, pottery evidence on both black–figure and red–figure vase painting; Attic comedies; Plato *iii*.; and finally Aeschines *iv*. As with most topics about ancient Greece, the bulk of the evidence is Attic. This reflects its period of literary and artistic dominance over the Greek world but poses the problem that it is not truly representative of the many different cultures and states that made up Greece. Problems relating to the material other than its geographical origins must also be borne in mind throughout. The great majority of source evidence was either produced by, or commisioned for the elite *v*. and makes any interpretation of attitudes towards, or participation in, homosexual pursuits by the majority of city state populations very dif-

ficult. Thus interpretation of the demos' *vi.* feelings towards the subject can only be attempted via the media of those writing to the masses. For example, one can assume by the great number of vulgar jokes contained in an Aristophanes play, that elements of homosexual relationships certainly afforded much ridicule and hilarity amongst the citizen body. If this were not the case, his comedies would not have recieved the acclaim and fame that they still enjoy today.

"Male homosexuality – or more precisely pederasty ... was a social institution deeply embedded in the structure of many Greek societies" *vii.* It is impossible to trace the origins of homosexuality in the Greek world to one influence. However, it is worth making the comment that when confronted by other alien cultures, the Greeks were not adverse to selecting and developing certain parts of them which appealed to them. Obviously this stretched to sexual aspects as well, since as Dover points out, during the Archaic and Classical periods, the Greeks did not nurture any belief that a divine power had presented a 'code of laws for the regulation of sexual behavior' *viii.* Early examples from eighth century Greece show both passive and active homosexuality and one may presume that this pursuit was practiced prior to the advent of the new alphabetical script, which was developing during this century. The famous example of Zeus carrying Ganymede off and eventually installing him as cup bearer to the gods is first mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad ix.*, but here there is no hint of overt homosexuality in his narration of the events. This first occurs in a fragment from Ibykos where the actions of Zeus are put in the same context as the rape of Tithonos by Dawn. There is much further comment on the subject from classical writers and vase painters who tend to side with the Ibykos fragment. Whether homosexual overtones were part of the original myth or Homer preferred to disregard this side of it is unknown. Homer's *Iliad* again becomes a source of classical argument over whether he is suggesting an *erastes–eromenos* relationship between Patroclus and Achilles. This stems mainly from the scenario of Achilles having seen his friend Patroclus die in the Greek camp situated outside Troy's city walls. Xenophon is adamant that Homer did not intend any erotic element between the pair and claims that they are "celebrated not for sleeping together but because they admired each other for their accomplishment of the noblest achievements in joint endeavor" *x.*

However, Aeschylus *xi.* in his play, *Myrmidons*, implies quite the contrary: "You didn't respect the awesome ritual of our thighs, most ungrateful for our kisses". The tragedian refers quite explicitly to the act of intercrural sex *xii* – something certainly not originally concieved of by the epic poet for his two characters. Both mythological examples may contain indicators of male homosexuality in ancient Greece but classical commentary distorts them and more blatant evidence should be studied. This is provided by early archaic graffiti (or rock art) on the island of Thera and take the form of boasting about sexual conquests : "by Delphinios, Krimon here copulated with a boy, brother of Bathykles". The examples are straightforward and explicit, especially in contrast to the possible shrouded suggestions of Homer and the early date of their execution. It prompts the question, what sort of person in this period would be able to write and presumes the answer, a member of the educated elite. Graffiti of this kind also appear in a much later context, on the island of Thasos as well as on the Acropolis in Athens itself.

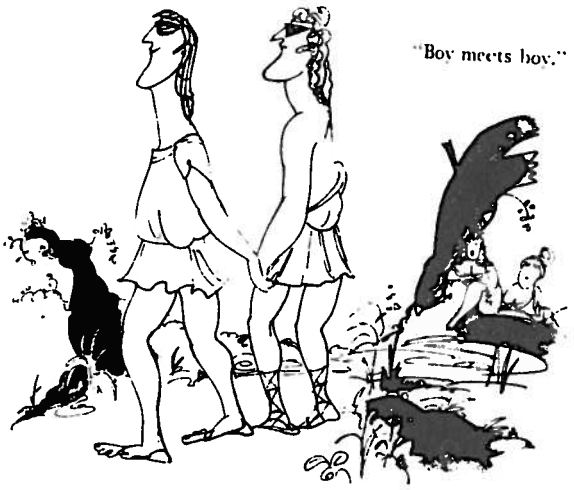
The evidence for Sparta is more sparse and is somewhat clouded by Spartan sympathizers of the classical period. Men like Xenophon, an Athenian but great believer in the Spartan lifestyle and organisation, did their best to quell any accusations of widespread anal intercourse in Sparta – a custom that would certainly be scorned by the Athenian population. However, it is possible that Spartan homosexual pursuits were similar to those of Crete where a rit-

ual rape of the *eromenos* occurred and then he left his male colleagues *xiii.* and cohabited with his *erastes* for some time before returning. Probably anal copulation did occur and was seen as a further bond between the two. Carpenter asserted that this action and the physical passing of sperm from the *erastes* into the body of *eromenos* was symbolic of the excellence and virtues, specifically military ones, being transmitted from the warrior to his young protege *xiv.*

This indicates an element of social grooming and it is interesting to note that the only explicitly attested instance of a Spartan *erastes–eromenos* relationship is between lysander and the young Agesilaos. Plutarch in his biography of the king categorically states that as regards looks and physique, Agesilaos was not a perfect specimen of manhood, but was a very talented individual. That Lysander chose him as an *eromenos* may again point towards education of the elite placed above sexual stimulation. As Plutarch notes; "*erastai* began to frequent the company of those of the reputable boys who had reached that age" *xv.* This seems to imply that such relationships may have again been restricted to those of aristocratic upbringing. Although Agesilaos is a late fifth century example it may be typical of a tradition stretching way back into archaic Greece.

However, with the advent of public gymnasia and possibly baths, the citizen body was, in theory, allowed to enjoy what had been, up until that time, purely aristocratic pursuits. It is also plausible that other aspects of noble lifestyle might have been adopted – homosexuality for instance. It seems that the convention of elitist homosexuality did spread to other wealthy citizens of ignoble birth. Our best evidence for this is undoubtedly the varied and numerous vases of black and red figure type, which depict paintings of pederastic scenes.

Cup by the Brygos Painter



i. The Greeks had "no nouns corresponding to the English nouns 'a homosexual' and 'hetrosexual'" – K.J.Dover. (1978) *Greek Homosexuality* ii. H.Licht *Sexual life in Ancient Greece* (1932). iii. Plato: c.427 – 347 BC. iv. Aeschines: c.390 – 315 BC. v. One possible exception being some vase painting. vi. In this case, the common people of the city state. vii. P.Cartledge, 'In their own write: Literacy in Ancient Greece'. *Pegasus* 31 (1988) 23 –28. viii. K.J.Dover, (1978). ix. Homer, *Iliad* XX 231 –235. x. Xenophon (430 – 354 BC), *Symposium* 8.31 xi. Aeschylus c. 525 – 456 BC. xii. Copulation between the legs of the partner. xiii. As in Sparta, men and women were segregated. xiv. E.Carpenter, *Intermediate Types Among Primitive Folk. A study in social evolution' (1919).* xv. Plutarch, 'Life of Lykourgos'. 16 – 21.

Tim Baxter is a third year student in archaeology and ancient history at Exeter University and has written his dissertation on Greek sexuality.

WHOOPS AGAIN!

by
David Harvey

In *Pegasus* 30 (1987) I published some of the more startling pieces of information that candidates committed to paper under the stress of examination conditions. Friends tell me that this caused amusement on at least three continents, so I am encouraged to offer you some more. No malice is intended: after all, a lecturer who informed a class that the relationship between Achilles and Patroklos in Homer was not homosexual – "they were just close friends, like David and Goliath" – is hardly in a position to cast the first stone. My own comments are enclosed between square brackets.

Archaic Greece:

Dark Age

'The Dark age occurred due to several possible factors; Firstly there might have been some freak change in weather, though there is no archeological evidence for this. The splendid buildings of the Mycenaean age etc. might simply have choroded and fallen to ruin. There ensued a period of remarkable ull illiteracy and alliteracy was of which little therefore can be known cf. Dark Ages in Britian.' [That was an entire Greek History paper. More succinctly:] 'Without food existence is minimal '

Colonisation

'There were colonies at Al Mina, on the river Orestes in Africa, and at Naukratis, where the Egyptian king Amasis had a certain foothold over the inhabitants. Colonists included men from Ubea, and Archilochos, the son of Paris.'

Hoplites

'There is much controversy not only about when hoplite armour was introduced, but also about the date of its introduction. In a phalank, the Greeks had a heavy sword which they could fall back on when they had lost their spear.'

Sparta

'The duties of Spartan kings included problems over heiresses, if the person was a virgin and mending the road. Spartan children were trained in fighting from the moment they were born. A young Spartan boy would be taken at the age of seven and given a rigorous education in hardship, marriage and discipline. The helots, or surfs, hated, as they would, to eat their masters' flesh raw.'

Solon

'In Attica there was much disrest and slaverly before Solon. Citizens were divided into Eupatrids and Patrids. There are two theories about the *hektemoroi*, one of which is sported by Professor Andrewes. Solon divided the Athenians into Pentakosiomedimnoi, Hippias, Zeugitai and Thetes; the Pentakosiomedimnoi were those whose annual income was over five hundred measures of imnoi. Solon formed a new Boule, which was made up of one man from each spartan tribe. Decisions of the magistrates could be overturned by the Heliaia in favour of the plaintive.'

Peisistratos

'Peisistratos founded a new party, the Hyperperioikoi. He instituted the Panathenaia festival from Africa, but his building programme included much superfluous trinketry. It is highly likely that Miltiades had a hand in the glove of Peisistratos. Another example of tyranny is the Samoan tyranny under Polykrates.'

Kleisthenes

'In Kleisthenes' system, each trittys might consist of perhaps as many as one deme. It was the demarch's duty to overlook the behaviour of the deme assembly.'

Some notes on Herodotus:

Nicholas of Damascus was librarian to

Herodotus the Great. Herodotus himself lived some thirty or forty years before the events he describes. Some of his stories are little more than fairy tails.

Book 1:

In the story of Atys, the vegetarian god of Asia Minor is made into the son of the Lydian king. [Megakles apparently wore a jock–strap, since] as a result of the way that Peisistratos made love to his daughter, Megakles withdrew his support.

Book 2:

Herodotos states that the crocodile has the eyes of a pig. This is incorrect: it has the eyes of a crocodile. After the embalmers had finished their job, the relatives of the dead would return with an oesophagus in which to put the body.

Book 5.16:

Herodotos mentions two kinds of fish called Paprika.

Book 7.210:

Xerxes ordered the Greeks to be taken alive and brought to his office *es opsin ten heoutou.*

Book 8:

Xerxes wanted to fight on ground suitable to the speed and manoeuvrability of his ships.

* * * * *

Addenda to "Whoops!" 1987:

The Maeceneans:

The city walls at Mycenae and Tiryns were further fortified, indicating that they were desperately trying to impregnate themselves.

Women in the ancient world:

Divorce was done simply by mutual consent, usually the man's.

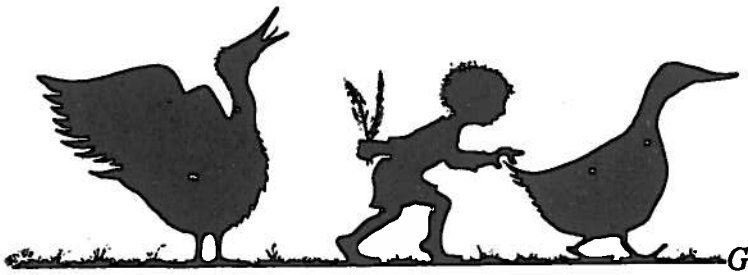
* * * * *

But even Hippocrates made mistakes:

Nature of Women 98

If a woman does not want to become pregnant, make as thick a mixture of beans and water as you can, make her drink it, and she will not become pregnant for a year.

"She's in love with a minor deity but I say wait for Mr Right."



Gathering writing instruments

What need had the nobility and upper classes to read and write: news travelled by word-of mouth, hired scribes or clerics handled the paperwork, and for entertainment no book could best the songs and stories of a lively troubador.

Three of the early Christian saints were martyred when their classes of barbarian students, who could tolerate no more, rose up and stabbed their teachers to death with their styli.

Answers to Crossword on Back Cover.

Across:

1. Pegasus. 4. Nero. 7. Rome. 8. May 10. Ape
12. Erasmus. 15. Onus. 16. Greek tart. 17. Homer
19. Day. 20. Ovid. 22. Notes. 23. Se. 24. Spa
26. Iran. 27. Tan. 29. Tu. 30. Ego.

Down:

2. Persephone. 2. Gamma. 3. Sun. 5. Eumenides.
6. Odyssey. 9. Ambrosia. 11. Po. 13. Rio.
14. Sullis. 18. Matri. 21. Deity. 25. Argo. 28. Ne.

RES GESTAE I
compiled by David Harvey

Here at last is the first installment of news of former members of Exeter Classics Department, with information on present members of staff, and on former students whose names come at the beginning of the alphabet. Next year we shall publish news of former members of staff, additions (plenty, I hope) and corrections (few, I hope) to this year's entries, and progress beyond the letter B.

Students are listed under the names by which they were known when they were at Exeter: thus Mrs. Trish AVERY appears under A, but Mrs. Peter WRIGHT is listed as Rosemary ARUNDEL. All dates are shorn of their first two digits; the figure immediately following a person's name represents the date when they entered the Department (NOT their age!). Three dots ... indicate lack of up-to-date news. I'll be happy to send addresses (if I have them) on request.

The success of this feature depends on YOU. Please continue to send me news of yourselves and your friends; and please don't stop talking and writing to me for fear of what I may publish in PEGASUS.

STAFF

Dave and Su BRAUND

resigned from Thomas Hall in Dec.87; they are now living at Hele. In autumn 88 they visited Turkey and Georgia (USSR): they both lectured at Ankara, and Dave continued his research in Georgia. Su's book on Juvenal, *Beyond Anger*, was published in late 88; she is now on study leave, translating Lucan for the Oxford World's Classics and writing a commentary on Juvenal book I for the Cambridge Press.

Janet CROOKS

took over as Departmental Secretary in Oct.88. She came to us from Exeter College (Exeter).

Alan GRIFFIN

spent part of summer 88 studying at Yale. He has written an article entitled 'Virgil's Unfinished Aeneid' for *Pegasus* this year (cf. page 3).

David HARVEY

took early retirement in 87, but continues to teach part-time. He is working on a commentary on Herodotos I.1-93, in connection with which he revisited Turkey in summer 88, meeting the American archaeologists at Sardis and following Croesus' route beyond the Halys. He suffered from fatigue (presumably M.E.) for half of 88, and from Nov. 88 onwards: this has brought everything to a halt; teaching, the joint translation of Heinze's *Virgil* and all.

John MARR

after teaching at the Univ. College of Wales, Aberystwyth, for 20 years, was relocated to Exeter in autumn 88. He's teaching Greek history and Latin poetry *inter alia*, and is living in St. Leonard's. Dire warnings by ex-colleagues about Green Wellies and Sloanes have thankfully not been fulfilled among the students he's met so far. However, assorted academics and administrators have not made his mid-life transmogrification any easier. Likes: Wigan RLFC, Raymond Chandler, Mozart and Italian wine. Dislikes: see his forthcoming article in *Staff Forum*

Richard SEAFORD

Artemis Mary was born to Richard and Voula in July 87. Richard was also promoted to Senior Lecturer in that year - a rare distinction nowadays. He visited the USA twice last year: he lectured at Harvard and to the American Philological Association at New York. He continues to commute between Exeter and Ioannina, where he and Voula have moved from the smallest to the largest dwelling in the city.

Norman SHIEL

of Exeter School still does some teaching for us: he is now a JP.

Peter WISEMAN

has been Lansdown Lecturer at the Univ. of Victoria (British Columbia) in 87, and Whitney J. Oates Fellow at Princeton in 88. In Dec. 88 he was awarded an honorary DLitt. by the Univ. of Durham. Don't miss his *Catullus and his World* (Cambridge Univ. Press), now in paperback.

Vanda ZAJKO

teaches part-time for the Department, and is now sub-warden of Hope Hall. She is in the throes of completeing her Exeter PhD. thesis on Female rejection of sex and marriage in Greek mythology.

FORMER STUDENTS

Ren ABBOTT (64)

took his Dip. Ed. at Oxford 67-8, and taught Classics at Northern Grammar School, Portsmouth 68-73. When classical languages began to be squeezed out of the syllabus, he escaped to Lincs., where he was appointed Head of Classics at Boston Grammar School, and where he still lives. He re-trained to teach information technology (Advanced Diploma in Computer Education, Univ of Birmingham 85-6) as demand for Greek fell. But Latin survives, and he is now (uniquely?) head of Classics and Information Technology at Boston. He is still interested in football, and broadcasts commentries live for BBC Radio Lincolnshire. In photography - his pictures have appeared in text-books, holiday brochures, etc. - and in foreign travel.

Nick APPLEBY (78)

did his PGCE at Exeter (81-2), and now teaches Latin, Ancient History and Classical Civilization for A-level and GCSE at St. Austell Sixth Form College, Cornwall, though his work is fairly peripatetic and includes some primary schools even. He's married to a lecturer in Russian.

Conrad ARTRO-MORRIS (82)

was organising sporting holidays and expeditions in France, 87.

Rosemary ARUNDEL (WRIGHT)

MA London, B. Litt. Oxford, lectured n Classics at the University of Queensland, Australia, was a Junior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington DC., and is at present Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth; she moves to the University of Reading in October. 89. She has Published *"Empedocles: the Extant Fragments" (Yale 81), "The Presocratics" (Bristol 85)* and numerous articles, reviews etc. on ancient Philosophy; her *"Cicero: On Stoic Good and Evil"* is to be published soon by Aris and Phillips. She organizes and directs the Aberystwyth Summer Workshop in Greek and Latin, Which has been held (and will continue to be held) annually since 84. She is married to Dr. Moorhead Wright and has two sons and two daughters. The elder son is reading Physics at Bath and the elder daughter French and German at King's College, Cambridge.

Bill ASH (77)

did his PGCE at Exeter in 80-1. Since 81 he has been at Downside School, Somerset, First as a housemaster in the prep. school (81-3), then teaching Classics to pupils of all ages (10 to 18). In 83 he married Kim Morris, an Exeter Physics graduate who teaches at Brimsham Green School, Avon. He has been fighting cancer since March 88. They have no children, two cats and live at Keynsham.

Tracey ATKINS (81)

was involved in administation with Andrew Maconie, the British agent for Incasfilm Ltd. in 84...

Dellon ATTWOOD-BLOOMFIELD (77)

we think he was, and may still be, teaching in a private school in London NW3.

Trish AVERY (79)

is still living in a mediaeval hall-house at Venn Ottery (Devon), splendidly restored by her husband (the house that is) ,and doing research on Roman *collegia* (trade guilds) for an MPhil. Skiing injuries in 86 have kept her off the snowy slopes, but she plays bridge, and has joined the *Alliance Francaise* and the Franco–British Society. In the winter of 88 she accompanied her husband to Kansas and Dallas, which she discovered was somewhat different from Venn Ottery.

Penny Aylwin–Foster (84)

was a secretary at the British Academy for a while; she was last heard of heading for israel.

Cathy Badcock (81)

was at first undecided whether to enter museus work, or care for young children. She worked for a while in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where FDH discovered her behind a very large jar. She was (and perhaps still is) involved in pastoral work at St. Cassian's Centre, a dynamic Roman Catholic pastoral and retreat centre at Kintbury, near Newbury.

Martin Bainton (77)

was temporary secretary to the Committee of Vice–Chancellors and Principals in 8o...

Gillian Baly (80)

took a secretarial course at the city of London Polytechnic in 83–4. In winter 84 she was a "roaming secretary" at the BBC (TV), and was attached for six weeks to the Domesday Project, an updated computerized version of Domesday Book – an entertaining but chaotic enterprise, which brought her into contact with Professor Ted Wragg. She now lives in Ealing and is still working for the BBC.

Andrew BAMPFIELD (80)

went abroad (we're not sure where) to do research, and is now at King's College, Cambridge.

Rosemary BANCROFT (66)

now Mrs. Marcus, did research on Cretan renaissance literature at Athens and Oxford during the 70s. At Oxford she worked for the University Press (English Dictionaries), met and married Fred, an American physicist, and gained her Ph.D in 79. In 81 they moved to California (where they met Penny HYDER, now HAWKINS), and set up a mini-farm. Rosemary published some articles, and embarked on a bilingual edition of the plays of Chortatsis. In 83 Fred took a job at Lausanne; Rosemary has taught English locally, and Cretan Theatre at the University of Geneva. Publication of her work on Chortatsis has been delayed. They now live at St.Sulpice, Vaud (Switz.), but will be moving in mid-89.

Sarah BARKER (84)

is still living and working near Newbury. She's taught English to foreign students and has also been involved in part-time theatre management.

Judy BARNES (77)

married Randy Hall at Williamsburg, Virginia, in 79. In 81 she was living in Washington DC, where her husband was an archaeologist...

Julie BASKWILL (74)

now Mrs. Arnold. Was at one time teaching Latin at Oakdene School, Beaconsfield, Berks...

Jane BARRACLOUGH (71)

now Mrs. Fabian KING, visited the USA twice after leaving Exeter, as well as Mexico, where she taught English at the University of Tuxtla Gutierrez. Other jobs include helping Annie RICE (now BLUETT; editor of *Pegasus* nos 16 and 17) to run a guest-house in Scotland; working in the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum; and tending sheep. In 77 she joined the World University Service to organise assistance for refugee Chilean academics and students. She married Fabian, a ship designer, in 79, and settled in Newcastle, where she learnt carpentry. Their son Daniel was born in 80, and twin boys in 82. The family moved to London in the early 80s.

Hugh BARTON (82)

was a youth worker for a while; then he travelled and worked in Central America for seven months. Since then he's been engaged in voluntary work for Central American affairs. He lives in London SW9.

Andrea BASDEN (85)

is an industrial relations officer with British Telecom in Holborn, and is also studying part-time for an M.Phil. on Hadrian at Exeter University. At prsent she's living at St. Leonards, Sussex – but is moving when she gets married in August 89 to Stephen MORTON, an Exeter Physics graduate.

Ian BEAVIS (78)

was awarded his PhD by Exeter University in 86; his thesis has now been published as a book *Insects and other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* Exeter 1988, (cf. *Pegasus* 26 [1983]) and has received excellent reviews. He is now Assistant Curator at Tunbridge Wells Museum.

Eugene BENOIT (87)

of Louisiana, who catches alligators and speaks Chinese, continues his research on Greek tragedy at the University of Mainz, Germany.

"More trouble. Something called the Romans."

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A.H.F. Griffin, 'Ceyx and Alcyone in Hesiod, Nicander and Ovid' (on love, hybris and metamorphosis);

W.F. Jackson Knight, 'Roman Ideas about Death' (the editor calls it a characteristically Jacksonian lecture on a characteristically Jacksonian mystery);

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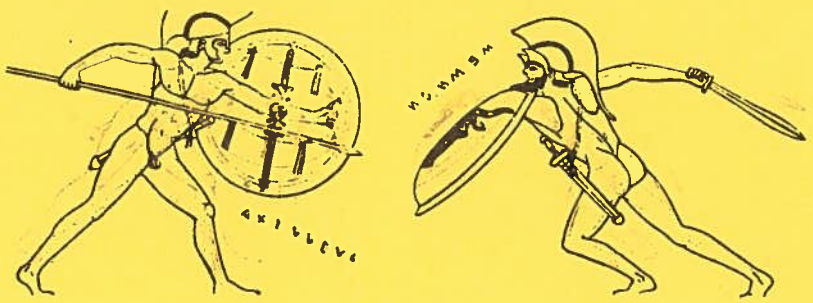

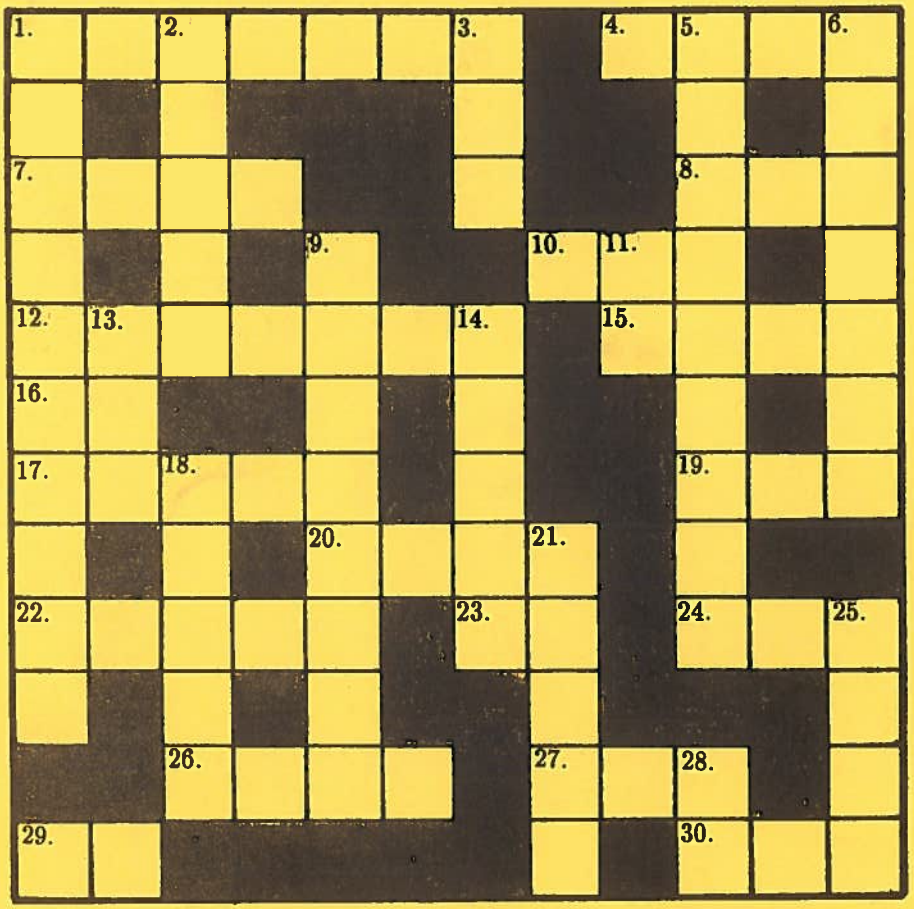

ACROSS:

1. Untamed; symbol of Corinth.
4. Qualis artifex pereo- 'What an artist dies in me'.
7. More about wandering.
8. Shortest month.
10. Mixed pea.
12. An humanist thinker and author of 'Sileni Alcibiades'.
15. A bit of a burden!
16. Greek tart.
17. Poetic pigeon.
19. 'One in the life of Ivan Denisovitch'.
20. Poet who displeased Augustus.
22. Student makes alot of them.
23. Reflexive pronoun.
24. Watering hole.
26. Modern day Persia.
27. To give a hiding.
29. And Brutus too!
30. I, myself.

DOWN:

1. At centre of fruit?
2. High level radiation.
3. To be or not to be!
5. 'The kindly ones' who haunt Orestes.
6. Homer's space voyage perhaps.
9. Food for the gods.
11. Italian valley.
13. Spanish river.
14. Patron of Bath.
18. A word to mum.
21. 'Little Boots' turned himself into one.
25. It carried a golden cargo.
28. Positively not.