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P E G A S U S

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EDITORIAL

As we go to press this year, we feel that this edition of Pegasus continues our established tradition of appealing to as wide an audience as possible. We have included a number of thought-provoking articles and an interesting perspective on the story of the Sabine Women by Simon Drew, along with a poem by an up-and-coming playwright/poet. Res Gestae continues for its third successive year, providing information about past friends and colleagues and a new occasional series - "Twenty-five Years Ago" - makes its debut in this issue. No matter what your taste or level of interest is in the Classical world, we are sure you will find something here to take your fancy!

Chris Hole
Jo Haselden

EDITORS

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W H O IS C A T U L L U S ? W H A T I S S H E ?

Deborah Eaton

Introduction

Among the many critics who deal with the relationship between Catullus and Lesbia as expressed in his poetry, two take a distinctly original standpoint and base their analyses on psychological tenets [1]. A V Rankin [2] uses the criteria set out by Sigmund Freud in his paper "A special type of choice object made by men" [3] to explain how Catullus could love such an immoral woman as Lesbia. E Adler [4], although not referring to texts on psychiatry, employs what one can only call a psychoanalytical framework to dissect Catullus' attitude first of all to personal relationships, and then specifically to his affair with Lesbia, showing that Catullus conceives of both his friendships and his love for Lesbia as "total possession of and total surrender to the other", and that as a result these relationships are "frequently treated in terms of a masculine/feminine opposition" [5], where Catullus enacts the woman's part. The purpose of this paper is to carry the analysis of Catullus' character one step further, and, using Jung's concept of *animus/anima*, which are the gender archetypes of the psyche, to examine Catullus' love for his friends and for Lesbia.

In such a discussion the question of whether Catullus' poetry is of an autobiographical nature is of some importance. Throughout Catullan criticism mention is made of how vivid and sincere his work is [6]. The majority assumption, both explicit and implicit, has always been that Catullus was describing real events in his life [7]. However, some critics have cautioned against this, saying that the seemingly personal revelations are more likely to be artistically contrived scenarios [8]. Yet, no matter whether the episodes portrayed by Catullus are representative of actual moments in his life or not, the terms he used to express friendship and love would still show the actual state of his psyche.

Love as an Illness

To the Romans, passionate love, romantic love, was a disease. Lucretius calls it a "festering sore", a "frenzy" (4 1068-9:*ulcus, furor*). Catullus describes the symptoms of this disease at 51 9-12 [9]:

lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
flamma demanat, sonitu suopte
tintinant aures, gemina teguntur
lumina nocte.

That there was a sexual drive which needed fulfillment was never denied, but it was considered healthy to satisfy these desires only via occasional encounters [10]. It was held that the cause of this disease, love fixated on one woman, was *otium*: "that a person is ready for love when time and energy are not taken up by ambition or some other worthwhile interest; ... from weakness ... a man would refuse to serve the public good or the patrimony of his family ... This same laxity meant that love could be caught like a disease" [11]. So passionate love for the Romans was a middle-class or patrician failure to conform to social mores; it was, as it were, a cultural, an anthropological disease.

Catullus was himself of just this convention-bound upper middle class. Born in northern Italy, in the Transpadana, a well-populated and wealthy region between the River Po and the Alps, he came of a local aristocracy that was self-confident, mercantile, and adhered strongly to traditional morality; whose youth, when they resided in Rome, were willing prey to the enticements of the vices with which the urban aristocracy was riddled [12]. However, the range of decadence, as detailed by, for example, Sallust (*Catilina 13.3, 14.2*), does not include, where sexual over-indulgence is mentioned, single-minded, adulterous devotion; the implication is of resort to prostitutes. And, as we have seen, concourse with harlots, when exercised in moderation, was commonplace and

acceptable.

What, then, would cause a middle-class Roman, or patrician, to defy all the moral education absorbed from his earliest years, and conduct a passionate, continuing liaison with one woman? There is no evidence, either historical or literary, of a general rebellion in late Republican Rome against this etiquette of love. Therefore it must be to the individual himself, who loves in such a way, and to his character that one must turn for the answer.

Psychological archetypes:
animus/anima

As we saw in the introduction, Catullus' love for Lesbia has been described as an example of a form of Freudian neurosis. The characteristics of this neurosis are (a) that the love object is either already married to, or close friends with someone else; (b) that she has a stained sexual reputation; (c) that the lover is constantly unsure of her loyalty to him, and so is beset by jealousies towards these real or imagined rivals; and (d) that the lover has a greatly inflated estimate of the love-object. Freud ascribes the reason for this syndrome to a man's partial or even complete dependence or fixation on his mother, and the resultant conflict with his father, well beyond puberty. If such a strong motivational force were the cause of Catullus' behaviour, reference of some kind to his parents might be expected in his poetry. However, there is none. This lack cannot be taken as proof that Catullus did not suffer from this neurosis, but prompts a search for further psychological material which can be applied to Catullus' character as it appears in his poetry, and which may have points in common with Freud's syndrome.

The psychologist Carl Gustav Jung in his concept of universal archetypes provides just such material. According to Jung each individual possesses a Self, which, in order to achieve its greatest fulfillment, as each circumstance in life requires, organizes and balances the conscious awareness of the ego and the subconscious primordial experience stored in the soul. This supply of ancestral awareness is imprinted on the living human organic complex as a series of archetypes, that is, systems which carry the physical and psychological characteristics fundamental to the species, as they have been accumulated over the millennia.

Of these one of the most important is that which participates in relationships with members of the opposite sex. "Every man carries within him the eternal image of woman, not the image of this or that particular woman, but a definite feminine image. This image is fundamentally unconscious, ... a deposit, as it were, of all the impressions ever made by woman. ... Since this image is unconscious, it is always unconsciously projected upon the person of the beloved, and is one of the chief reasons for passionate attraction or aversion" [13]. Jung called this the *anima* [14], and said that it had an erotic emotional character, and that a man's *anima*-projection governs what he says about the emotional life of women [15]. Those men in whose Self the *anima* is dominant are those who in childhood have identified strongly with their mothers. These men are moody and emotional, tending to have as *anima*-projections women who are elusive, of questionable character, and of doubtful chastity [16]. This cause for *anima*-dominance is the same that Freud posits for his neurosis. The evidence for both syndromes that will be shown to have existed in Catullus' character indicates that he was likely to have been prey to some form of mother-fixation.

Who is Catullus? What is she?

Catullus was a man who in his poems concerning love and friendship showed himself to be both sympathetic to and empathetic with the role that women played. This aspect of his nature was taken up even in his own day by Furius and Aurelius, as we see in poem 16. Being unable to comprehend such an attitude or to recognize it for what it really was; they twisted it to conform with their

own understanding, and then threw it at him in an accusation of effeminacy:

Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi,
qui me ex versiculis meis putastis,
quod sunt molliculi, parem pudicum.
nam castum esse decet pium poetam
ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est;
qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,
si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici,
et quod pruriat incitare possunt,
non dico pueris, sed his pilosis
quod duros nequeunt movere lumbos.

If Catullus' poetry, whether strictly autobiographical or not, is a general indication of how he lived, he was undoubtedly virile. Therefore Furius and Aurelius were wrong to call him unmanly. And yet they were correct in a way, for they had noticed Catullus' feminine approach to love, even as expressed indirectly in poem 5, whose style they were criticising. Catullus' vehement defense against this charge of writing namby-pamby verse and so being less than a man might possibly be taken as an indication that such an allegation had been made more than once, perhaps by several different people. It does, at any rate, certainly mean that for Catullus his manner of expressing love in poetry was the proper way. So Catullus' own hand has produced the first evidence for this important facet of his personality: that he was seen to be woman-like in his appreciation of love.

This identification with woman manifests itself in two distinct ways in Catullus' poetry. The first can be found in those poems in which he describes the various episodes in a woman's life. Here, in some of his finest lines, Catullus shows by his language that hi is vividly aware, almost as if it were by first-hand experience, of what the woman is going through [17].

At 65 20-4 he describes how a young maiden's secret lover is found out from a gift which *procurrit casto virginis e gremio;* at 62 39-45 he expresses the qualities of virginity by comparing it with a flower in a secret garden; and at 66 13-5 he contemplates its loss as the spoil of "nightly battle". Ariadne's speech in poem 64 depicts a woman when she meets betrayal:

immemor a! devota domum periuria portas?
nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis consilium? ...promissa ...
quae cuncta aerii discernunt irrita venti.
nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat,
nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles; ...
sed simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libido est,
dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant...
non tamen ante mihi languescent lumina morte,
nec prius a fesso secedent corpore sensus,
quam iustam a divis exposcam prodita multam
caelestumque fidem postrema comprecer hora.

The second way appears when Catullus speaks of his close personal feelings; of his love for his friends and for Lesbia. Now from having a sensitive understanding of female attitudes, he dons the cloak of womanhood, and he actually takes her part. Here he carries the words and metaphors that expressed his sympathy over into his descriptions of his personal life. So he sees the loss of his love for Lesbia in the same way that a maiden views the loss of her virginity (11 21-4); so he too is betrayed in his concept of the bond of friendship by Alfenus in poem 30 [18].

Besides these examples of extreme emotion there is in Catullus' poetry more subtle evidence of his behaving in love as a woman would. For a woman, lasting love must have purpose. In addition to proceeding towards the ultimate aim of marriage and children, a woman adopts varying levels of involvement in her man's life in order to show her total commitment to him, that she exists for him alone. This goes beyond the experiencing of events together as a couple and encompasses her sharing in a vicarious, second-hand way her beloved's joys and woes. Also,

through this, that is by embracing and absorbing all aspects of her man, a woman defuses the threat to her absolute commitment presented by events outside her immediate relationship with him.

In poem 9, Catullus rejoices in his friend Veranius' return from Spain and imagines their first meeting [19]: in poem 96 he grieves at the death of his closest friend Calvus' wife [20]. Catullus forgives his friends' love affairs, saying that they will not affect his love for them. Here, although there may be a sense of rivalry with the third party, jealousy is not apparent [21]:

quare quidquid habes boni malique,
dic nobis. volo te ac tuos amores
ad caelum lepido vocare versu.

How Catullus shows his female attitude to love where Lesbia is concerned is complicated by the psychological pathology of that relationship. It is easy to establish that Lesbia both fulfills the criteria of Freud's "choice object" and has the characteristics which Jung defined for women who commonly become *anima*-projections. She is married (68 145-6;poem 83); she is immoral (11 17-20; poems 37 and 58); her attentions to other men make Catullus jealous, from the wistfulness of 51 1-6:

Ille mi par esse deo videtur
ille, si fas est, superare divos,
qui sedens adversus identidem te
spectat et audit
dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis
eripit sensus mihi ...

to the harshness of 77 5-6:

..heu heu nostrae crudele venenum
vitae, heu heu nistrae pestis
amicitiae.

And she is the standard against which all other women are judged [22]:

Nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere
amatam
vere, quantum a me Lesbia amata
mea est.

And among Catullus' poems about their affair can be found those which show his enacting through the catalysis of his *anima* the submissive role of woman. The pathos of his despair at 8 15-8 has very much the tone of an abandoned woman:

scelesta, vae to, quae tibi manet
vita?
quis nunc te adibit? cui videberis
bella?
quem nunc amabis? cuius esse diceris?
quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis?

His equation of his loss of Lesbia's love with the loss of a maiden's virginity at 11 21-4 has already been mentioned. Several aspects of Lesbia's dominant position in the relationship can be seen in poem 68. At lines 70-2:

quo mea se molli candida diva pede
intulit et trito fulgentem in limine
plantam
innixa arguta constituit solea

she is presented as a goddess, and therefore, by implication, is one to whom obedience is due. And at lines 138-40:

saepe etiam Juno, maxima caelicolum,
conjugis in culpa flagrantem concoquit
iram,
noscens omnivoli plurima furta Iovis

Catullus describes Lesbia's unfaithfulness, and implies by the comparison that he is Juno, the wife, and Lesbia Jupiter, the husband.

Thus the combined character traits of Jung's *anima*-dominated male and Freud's neurotic can be found encapsulated in Catullus' personality. Catullus, as male, motivated by his neurosis which is reinforced by his *anima*, chose Lesbia as the object of his love, and then as female-within-male he interacted with her. Because the strength of his neurosis outweighed that of his *anima*, the majority of his poems abut their affair deal with aspects of its pathology. Yet among those which express moments ranging from sublime happiness to utter despair there are also a significant number which show evidence of his female essence. Where

his friends are concerned, because there is no intervening syndrome, Catullus' feminine aspects come strongly into play. And, were it not for the fact that Catullus was so sincere, honest and open about his feelings in his poetry, and, if he had been a slave to the conventions, revolutionary though they were, of late Republican poetry, it would not be possible to gain this psychological insight into Who is Catullus? What is she?

Deborah Hayward Eaton: what is she? Librarian of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, formerly at St Anne's. She has happy memories of hospitalization in Devon!

FOOTNOTES

1 Although J P Elder in "Notes on some conscious and subconscious elements in Catullus' poetry", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 60 (1951) uses the terms psychology, conscious, subconscious and unconscious, he is applying these to Catullus' poetic technique rather than to his choice of content, and, although stylistics may be affected by a poet's psyche, they are governed more by what is the cultural norm than by motivations from the poet's Self. E A Havelock in "The Lyric Genius of Catullus (New York 1939) 117-8 uses the word psychology in its scientific sense, but only *en passant*.
2 "Odi et amo", American Imago 17 (1960) 437-48. See also J P Sullivan, "Propertius, a critical introduction (Cambridge 1990) 91-101, where the same argument, though more circumspectly expressed, is applied to Propertius and Cynthia.
3 In "Collected Papers IV"(London 1953) 192-202.
4 "Catullan Self Revelation" (New York 1981).
5 Adler, op. cit. (note 4 avove) 97-8.
6 For examples, see H Steele Commager, "Notes on some poems of Catullus", HSCP 70 (1965) at p82, whith the list of references in note 3 on p83.
7 *Inter alios*, F O Copley, "Emotional conflict and its significance in the Lesbia-poems of Catullus", "American Journal of Philology 70" (1949); Elder, op. cit. (note 1); Steele Commager, op. cit. (note 6); K Quinn, "Catullus: an interpretation" (London 1972); T P Wiseman, "Catullus and his World" (Cambridge 1985).
8 Eg P Veyne, "Roman Erotic Elegy" (Chicago 1988) 173-88, who argues lucidly for this view. K Quinn, "Texts and Contexts" (London 1979) ch 4, comes close to this position, but seems reluctant to let the idea of autobiography go (eg p161).
9 This is a loose translation of the well-known lines of Sappho, fr 31 *lobel-Page*. Lucretius 3 154-6 is also obviously influenced by Sappho's words, but refers the symptoms to mental disturbance rather than to love.
10 Lucretius 4 1051-1154, esp 1063-7.
11 Veyne, op. cit. (note 8) 162; eg Ovid, "Remedia amoris" 139-41, Catullus 51 13-16.
12 Wiseman, op. cit. (note 7) 107-11.
13 Jung, "Complete Works XVII"(London 1977) 198.
14 The similar architype for the woman is the *animus*.
15 Jung loc. cit. (note 13).
16 A Stevens, "On Jung" (London 1990) 46; Jung, op. cit. (note 13) 199.
17 Wiseman, op. cit. (note &) 121, which concerns only the loss of virginity.
18 For further examples of betrayal in friendship see poems 30,38,73,77.
19 See also poems 13 & 28.
20 Poems 14 and 50 paint vivid pictures of their relationship.
21 6.15-17; cf. poems 35 & 55.
22 87.1-2; cf. poems 43,86,110,111, where Catullus holds other women in contempt; and poems 6,10,35,55,96,100, where wives and mistresses of his friends exist only as their extensions and have no identity of their own.

THE NIGHT'S TALE

Matthew McGuinness

This is true,
that Duke Theseus
lit Arcite's
ample pomp
from temple lamps
and swallowed whole
his gorgeous corpse.

This we know,
that nymphs and spirits
breaking cover
fled their odd
rocks and jinky
rills, left them
much like any
other spot.

This I saw,
the toddling child
lurks about
his small world,
lifts a stone,
opens cracks
in brick to brake
the careful wings
from flying things.

We do not know
that soon we will
not listen for
the sudden drum
on window panes,
the pulse of body
parts on carpet,
careful feelers
in our beds,
back to take
my sleeping child
before I wake.

Matthew McGuinness is a second year English student at Exeter. He has written a large amount of poetry and has given recitations at the student "Arts Cabaret". He is also an accomplished amateur actor, having performed in Midsummer Night's Dream at the Northcott; he will soon feature in Cyrano De Bergerac.

THE IMPORT OF WINE IN PRE-ROMAN BRITAIN

Rob Johnson

Where there is evidence for Britons drinking wine, they must have enjoyed a special relationship with Rome.

The only people thus favoured lived north of the Thames and are remembered by a cluster of aristocratic graves in which the dead sought to take wine with them to the other world.

Stead (1967) has outlined two phases which stand out from previous burials in this country by their wealth; these phases extend over a century, beginning in c. 50 BC. The dead were also cremated, and may therefore represent Belgic elements in the tribes of Britain. The first phase includes the grave at Welwyn Garden City which contained five Dressel 1B amphorae - the type of container used for transporting and storing wine at this date - standing in one corner, unearthed in 1965 by workmen digging a trench. The vessels had to be saved from the contractor who thought they would make useful garden ornaments. Unfortunately many other graves have suffered even more badly and cannot be assigned to either group. Apart from amphorae, Welwyn A and B and Welwyn Garden City also contained imported bronze vessels, and Welwyn B and Welwyn Garden City produced Italian silver cups of Augustan date. Hertford Heath yielded an imported glass bowl and Welwyn B had an iron frame in which to stand the amphorae (fig.1).

Clearly then, an entire aspect of Mediterranean life was being imitated. Such burials have close parallels on the continent, at Arras and St. Audebert, which seem to be fairly contemporary, because the first phase at Welwyn is dated to between about 50 BC and 10 BC and the second right up to the conquest. Examples come from Mount Bures, Stanfordbury (A and B), Lexden and Snailwell and are characterised by the presence of fine tableware. It is noticeable that the first group of graves is situated near to rivers (fig.2) such as the Lea.

It is as if in life, the occupants had supervised the passage of goods along these rivers, from the Chilterns and beyond to the Essex coast where the amphorae must have arrived. The Lexden phase is more dispersed but may have controlled the Ouse-Ivel confluence. The picture is reminiscent of the graves of the Hallstatt D chieftains, as if there had been there a similar response to living on the edges of the Roman empire. We should, however, be careful in seeing the Welwyn aristocrats as the only group, because survival of evidence depends heavily on burial custom and uses to which empty amphorae could be put.

The basic reason for importing wine was that the Britons enjoyed its taste and cultural associations. But wine also fitted the requirements of the tribal aristocracies, as it could be given to one's followers to preserve and encourage their loyalty. Gift-giving was a fundamental feature of Celtic society and was not unlike the Roman system of patronage, uncodified yet vital in order to hold everything together. Caesar said that there were only two classes in Gallic society - the free such as the Knights and the Druids, and the rest who were little better than slaves. This is no doubt an over-simplification, but Cunliffe (1988) sees a possible distinction between those who were food producers and the nobles who were not. A noble would invest cattle with his farming client who in return would give a tithe and make war with his patron when he needed help, such as in protecting another client and in raiding. With successful raids and tithes, the noble would have a large amount of booty to hand out to his followers whose numbers would depend on his prowess. The most successful noble would usually become the king and warfare would be endemic.

In all this, the most important factor was loyalty to the leader and as there was no written set of rules, one's followers had to be rewarded in order to secure their co-operation and, as a gift, wine would suit very well. In spite of what some sources

say, the quantities of wine handed out could not have been great and the very rarity of the substance may have given it a more precious appeal. such a donation was best given conspicuously, accompanied by the praises of a bard, in order that others watching would want to achieve the same reward and be struck not only by the leader's generosity but by his ability to be so. This is what is termed by anthropologists the "potlach" and was often the occasion of a feast, as described, with some seeming exaggeration, by Poseidonios (quoted by Athenaeus). A certain chieftain called Louvernius,

in an attempt to win popular favour, rode in a chariot over the plains distributing pieces of gold and silver to the tens of thousands of Belts who followed him: moreover, he made a square enclosure one and a half miles each way, within which he placed vats filled with expensive liquor. (Tierney 1960, 248).

This process had been going on for centuries when the "expensive liquor" had been merely a local drink, but now it was wine. Poseidonios was referring to a chieftain in Gaul but this type of feast seems to have been a feature of all Celtic societies. It has parallels in the Irish vernacular literature, such as the story of Bricriu's Feast, which was not written down until the eighth century AD and later. When we refer back to the graves north of the Thames, the significance of what were entire drinking sets becomes apparent. They included iron fire-dogs which may have been used in warming the amphorae. Food vessels from the Mediterranean such as *mortaria* are rare in barbarian graves but drinking always has some special significance to all peoples, not least because of its intoxicating effects.

It is noticeable that the imports from Campania were not accompanied by the black-ware cups from the same region. Martial (Epigrams XIV. CII, CVIII) and Pliny (Natural History XLVI, 160-161) speak of the suitability of such cups for drinking and they are found in wrecks in association with Dressel 1 amphorae. Moreover, Samian ware is not found in Britain until c. 15 BC, after which there are large amounts around Chichester (Dannell 1978) and Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981).

Although it had taken some time, it seems as if the adoption of Roman ways had now spread to the lower orders of society. In about 50 BC wine had been drunk only by people with silver cups such as those at Welwyn. But, inter alia, by the process of gift-giving within society, this foreign trait had permeated throughout British society.

Roman tableware was therefore no longer an unusual sight in this country. Moreover, the demand for it could be met in the later period because of the changing political situation on the Continent which made trading easier. For Gaul was becoming more and more civilized, and the Rhineland armies were drawing such commodities into this part of Europe through their purchasing power and their improvement of transport routes (Tacitus, Annals II. 8, XI. 20 and XIII. 53).

There is, however, some debate about what objects are to be associated with the consumption of wine. Bronze vessels, for example, could obviously have had other functions. Strainers might have been used to strain beer, which sometimes contained additives such as fruit, although they do seem to imitate the contemporary Italian designs (Ulbert 1985, 87-9). It is the same as suggesting that when they died, the Welwyn elite took with them fish sauce. In attributing a function to any particular object, it is vital to take account of its archaeological context and, specifically, any associated objects. The fact that strainers are more widespread in their distribution than amphorae throughout central Europe (Waldhauser 1983, 335, Orb 1; Svobodova 1985, 664-5, Orb 2, 10-12) can be taken either as evidence of widespread beer-drinking or of the wine having been transferred into non-durable containers. Wine-drinking is also suggested by the presence of *Ornovasso* jugs and perhaps buckets like the ones from Aylesford, Baldock and possibly Lexden (Stead 1971, 276-78).

Athenaeus (Deipnosophistae IV, 6), Diodorus (Bibliotheca Historica V, 26) and Strabo (Geography IV, 5) all mention beer and this must have remained the most popular everyday drink because it was cheap and perhaps more to some peoples' taste. Beer had its own pottery cups, butt beakers and flagons which are found in quite poor graves, and drinking vessels made in Gaul are found both inside and outside the wine distribution zones. Also, some tribes were rarely visited by merchants selling foreign luxuries (Caesar, De Bello Gallico 1.1) perhaps for geographical reasons and also because they felt that wine and other luxuries "took the edge off their courage" (ibid. 11,15). In Germany,

the Suebi give access to traders, to secure buyers for what they have captured in war rather than to satisfy any craving for imports...They absolutely forbid the importation of wine, because they think that it makes men soft and incapable of enduring hard toil (ibid. IV,2).

This seems to have become part of the standard formula for describing tough barbarians (Strabo VIII, 3.1 also uses it), but it does suggest that not everyone wanted wine. Certain tribes may have had taboos on wine, as they had with hares, fowls and geese (Caesar V,12). They may have preferred beer, as Athenaeus (quoting Poseidonios) tells us did some Gauls:

The drink of the wealthy classes is wine imported from Italy or from the territory of Marseilles. This is unadulterated, but sometimes a little water is added. The lower classes drink wheaten beer prepared with honey, but most people drink it plain (Tierney 247).

This seems to reinforce what the Welwyn graves tell us, although as we have seem there was much passing of goods, and perhaps habits, up and down the social order.

In one sense then, wine could have fitted neatly into a long-standing system, by being just another currency used in tribal relations. But what was different about wine was that it was so prestigious, coming as it did from so far away. And the associations with Rome meant that the elite who could acquire it were elevated in a way they had never really been before. To maintain this position, they would have to have made changes in their society to pay for their drink, thereby becoming the more dependent on the flow of wine the more they changed. This was a fact that the merchants would have exploited if they could. Trade, however, was not the only form of contact with Rome.

There is a possibility that some of the objects in the Welwyn graves, including amphorae, were gifts from the Roman state. For Rome was concerned to make alliances with kings on its frontiers (Braund 1984), such as the Trinovantes (De Bello Gallico V, 20). The wish to maintain his supply of wine would be one more reason for a king to remain friendly and would recommend Roman friendship to others. Moreover, alliances were made with the leaders rather than the tribes in general, so that the security of that king's position within his own society was of concern to the Romans. As we have seen, wine was a significant factor in ensuring tribal loyalties. Moreover, as David Braund has highlighted (1989, 17), Rome would not want one pro-Roman tribe to attack another, so that in a more peaceful society, a friendly king might have need of subsidies to compensate his men for the resulting loss of booty. But equally there would be cases where the Romans would wish tribes to squabble amongst themselves, as we know they did in Germany.

Therefore, for political reasons the Roman state may well have directed the traders to deal only with certain specified tribes; the traders would anyway avoid those who were hostile. The literature contains several references to merchants being manipulated by the Roman state, as for example when, before Caesar's invasion of Britain, he informs us that they were used to leak official propaganda (V, 21). This may have been facilitated by native credulity (ibid IV, 5). Apart from the purely political and fiscal advantages, it seems that Roman generals were often

alive to the commercial potential of a situation (Pliny, Natural History XXVI, 19).

That the import of wine could have a certain diplomatic aspect is supported by the finding of an Augustan medallion at Fitzwalter Road, Colchester in the Lexden tumulus. This is a denarius of 17 BC which bears the head of the emperor and does not appear to be the sort of object which would have been an article of trade. It therefore seems possible that it was a diplomatic gift, in the tradition of the Vix crater and Hildesheim treasure (Todd 1975, 26), made directly from Augustus to a British king. Another parallel can perhaps be seen in Cambyses, because he sent valuables to an Ethiopian king in order to secure his friendship and among the gifts was "an earthenware jar of palm wine" (Herodotus, Histories III, 20-1). In Germany, said Tacitus,

money and gifts are the only means of seducing them (Histories 4, 76).

Addedomarus, by present dating, has been put forward as a likely occupant of the Lexden tumulus. If he was not exiled by Dubnovellaunus, he may well have died here in about AD 1 and that he had interests in wine is supported by the distribution so his coins which agrees with that of Dressel 1 amphorae. But the medallion does have rather home-made appearance. One completely speculative explanation might be that the medallion was manufactured by Roman traders who thought such an object would facilitate dealings with a king more accustomed to dealing with his Roman counterpart.

Wine, however, should not be viewed in isolation from other influences. After Caesar there is evidence for contact of many kinds between the two worlds, as for example the adoption by the British of a system of coinage. In the early stages wine had been the main import, but by the first century AD, there is more general evidence of "romanisation" in British sites. At Skeleton Green, *mortaria* are found with Samian, and the foot-ringed dish appears in both Samian and Gallo-Belgic form as if foreign food habits were the next to be adopted after wine. Strabo (Geography 4. 5. 2-3) records that British kings set up offerings on the Capitol and he regarded the country as "virtually Roman" although Claudius' troops thought otherwise as, in AD 43, they stood waiting to invade.

The importation of Mediterranean wine involved profound implications for British society, for it brought them into contact with the Roman state. The Romans needed raw materials and, in spite of what Cicero told Trebatius, Britain had them. However, until an invasion could be organized the Romans were going to have to pay for those raw materials; but with what? Comparatively primitive peoples, from the Africans to the Red Indians, might be seduced by "petty trifles" that more developed nations could produce and these certainly came into the country now, but there would not be a great market for such items. Of basic metals the British had all they needed and Roman food was not a great attraction to them. But in the chilly latitudes over the sea, best Italian wine was of massive appeal and was soon arriving, perhaps direct from Italy.

Just how the trade was organized is not clear. Perhaps at first everything was opportunist, but as the barbarians became dependent on the flow, agreements with the merchants may have become quite formal. Whether the Roman state initiated trading contracts or merely made use of them, the political situation, both in this country and in the Empire, was of paramount importance to trade. Britain was becoming more Roman in a number of ways, which would have suited the Romans very well as they had long been intending to invade. It therefore seems highly likely that "romanisation" through the wine trade, in particular, was encouraged for political and not just economic reasons. The latter were always of peripheral interest to the Roman state. But the Channel remained a psychological barrier for them and so the trade may have been carried out by the Belgic tribes, thereby bringing

the two regions closer together and forming what was, in cultural terms, almost a single area.

It is possible that many of the amphorae found in Britain were gifts, or items that the Roman state saw fit to subsidize. But although manipulated, the merchants seem to have remained independent and profit-seeking, otherwise they might not have pursued their business in this far-away region. If the main contact was indeed trade, then the tribal aristocracies would have had to organize their people to procure the raw materials for export. There is here a certain assumption that the native societies were not already organized for previous exchanges, but previous dealings had not been on such a scale as this, and the procurement of slaves in particular, may have led to society putting increasing emphasis into warfare.

The implications of importing wine may have been of bewildering complexity. The regular introduction of the potter's wheel could account for the native improvements in ceramics during this period, and it is not unlikely that the metalwork, associated with amphorae, inspired artists in some small way. It may have seemed pointless to distinguish wine from the other imports arriving in this country, especially in the later period. But wine was the first, and in terms of sheer bulk was the most important to British society. In the future, improved recognition of amphora sherds and quantitive studies will no doubt shed more light on the importance of wine down the social scale.

THIS YEAR'S INCREDIBLE OFFER: MAGIC PENCILS

Hazel Harvey has kindly drawn the editors' attention to the following news item (*Guardian*, 15 Feb. 91):

"A man in Jakarta, Indonesia, who sold pencils which he claimed would automatically produce correct answers in university entrance exams, has been charged with fraud after dozens of students complained that they failed the exams despite using them. They had paid £220 a pencil."

Pegasus is delighted to offer its readers similar pencils, *without the fraudulent guarantee*, at a mere £210 (certificate of non-infallibility £50 extra). Please send payment (in used £5 notes) to Ripoff Retail, c/o **Pegasus**, Swindleham 2XS.

MANY A FALSE WORD IS SPOKEN IN JEST:

a review of Ross Leckie, "Bluff your Way in the Classics" (Ravette Books, 1989)

David Harvey

It's no joke writing about a funny book, so I'll be fairly serious about this one; and I shall exercise the right of a pedestrian to be pedantic, too.

Some of you have no doubt come across the Bluffers' Guides, presumably known in the trade as the Bee-gees. There are now several dozen titles, ranging from *Accountancy* to *Teaching* via *Sex*. Each costs a very reasonable £1.95 (March 1991), and each contains 62 pages - except for the present volume, which contains lxii - a nice touch.

Rachel Hewitt of Blackwell's Music Shop recommended Peter Gammond's *Bluff your way in Music*, which I found so amusing that I annoyed many of my friends by giving them copies of it. *Bluff your way in Archaeology* by Paul Bahn had me laughing aloud in public. These two deserve an alpha. *Bluff your way in Opera* (also by Peter Gammond) was less successful, I thought (beta double plus), but better than Robert Ainsley's *Bluff your way at University* (beta query plus). *Bluff your way in feminism* (Constance Leoff) was informative but not entertaining: beta minus? What about *Classics*?

I: Is it funny?

A difficult question. Charis Gray (*Oxford Today* 3.2 [1991]) found it "always witty and occasionally inspired", whereas I placed it rather low - mid-way between *University* and *Feminism* - when I first read it. On re-reading, it seemed much less entertaining - whereas *Archaeology* and *Music* stood up very well indeed to repeated dips.

Of course, what strikes one person as hilarious may leave another untickled: others, I'm sure, would put the volumes I've just mentioned in quite a different order of merit.

Again, expectations affect one's judgment: if you believe the back cover of one of Barbara Pym's novels, and imagine that you're about to read "the Jane Austen *de nos jours*", you'll be disappointed, because your expectations will have been too highly aroused (or ALRowsed). But if you're told that she's a highly entertaining and accomplished light novelist, you'll enjoy her much more.

Finally, mood: I've often read a book when I've been off-colour, and not thought much of it; then I'll realise that I've underrated it; my opinion of it will gradually rise, and sometimes I'll even re-read it.

So personality, expectations, and mood all play a greater part in one's judgment of a book than many critics might admit. Perhaps this is particularly true of a humorous book. And now that I've put Mr. Leckie's book under the scalpel in order to write this review, I no longer know whether I think it's funny or not.

II: Will it help you to bluff?

Bluffing is rather a complicated notion. To bluff, says *Chambers*, is "to deceive or seek to deceive by concealment of weakness or show of self-confidence". Will this book enable you to do that?

Let's start by pursuing trivia. What do the following have in common?: Attilius Regulus, Calomodunum, Catalina, the Eleusian Mysteries, hypercaust, labotomised, Litterae Humaniores, H.B. Meyer, Niebelungenleid, and Sergovium? Answer: they're all misspelt. Ignorance, or sloppy proof-reading? Either way, you're not likely to impress anyone if you make howlers like that. It's Zeus' father that makes me suspect that they're not misprints: he's consistently spelt Chronos. But even though he caries a formidable sickle, Old Father Time never used it to castrate his father, as Kronos did. *Exemplo gratia* comes twice, too. On the other hand, I

rather like *Morning Becomes Electra*, and look forward to its sequel *Evening becomes Aphrodite*.

Misprints disfigure the Greek and Latin, too: *telei* for *pelei*; Atlas is derived from *a-plan*; *potnia tharoon*; *vixere fortes ante Agamenmnon*; and even *ho epi Xponou bios*. A caesura appears instead of an anceps in the encomiologicum (no, I'm not bluffing). And why aren't Greek and Latin words printed in italics? How is the average reader going to pronounce breve? Or ate and tuche?

Now consider the following phrases: "No-one knows what Aristotle meant"; "no-one understands von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's German"; "Republican Roman literature (there was none), art (there was none, architecture (there was none)"; "democracy flourished" at Rome; "Soli, an Athenian colony whose language was incomprehensible"; "Darius determined to annihilate the Greeks at Marathon"; during the colonizing period "Athens hoped the land problem would go away"; "Sparta - no temples, not even the odd vase"; "Alcman wrote *Obey and breed*"; "Spartiates (some 4000) [when?] and semi-serfs (Perioecoi [sic])"; Spartans "killed most female babies at birth"; "an appointment outside Rome was as popular as the Welsh Office"; "it is as a beast that Artemis was worshipped"; "Stravinsky's 1934 opera *Persephone*"; "Aeschylus won the dramatic festivals so often that there were moves to ban him from entering"; "Cicero wrote speeches without main verbs"; "Poussin painted nothing else [than illustrations to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*] from 1629-42"; "homosexual is from the Greek *homoios*"; "the original Greek goddess was Gaia"; "the Vestal Virgins were actually prostitutes"; "the regular Greek verb has 10 participles". Alas, not one of them is true. You're not going to bluff anyone that way. Nor did Plotinus live from 205 to 270 BC, fascinating though that notion and its implications may be.

Again, think about this one: "Praise the men of a Greek century", says Mr. Leckie: "Aeschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Socrates, Pericles, Isocrates, Protagoras, Pheidias, Xenophon - and compare these with the products of a more recent century - Goethe, Shelley, Wordsworth, Beethoven, Schubert, Coleridge. The Greek list is drawn from Athens; a comparable modern list must draw on many nations. With the exception of Socrates, everyone on the Greek list lived longer than anyone on the modern list." But Goethe was 83 when he died, and Wordsworth 80, whereas Pericles was 66, Protagoras (who came from Abdera, not Athens) 70, Pheidias about 60, and Xenophon 76. And all in a "single century"? Aeschylus was born in 525; Isocrates went on and on and on until 338 - that makes a century of 187 years.

A rather odder muddle concerns A.U.C., "which allows wonderful bluff, since no-one knows when Rome was founded". But the Romans decided on 753 B.C., and calculated accordingly. No-one knows when Jesus was born, but that doesn't invalidate our own dating system (which is based on an error).

Further grumbles: "The Classics ends with the death of Hadrian": so much for the later Roman empire? "Michelangelo's marvellous drawing of Leda and the swan" is, I suspect, the work of Leonardo. Believe it or not, Aeschylus is said to be the author of the *Oresteia* as well as of the *Agamemnon*. Are Catullus' epithalamia smutty? Is the modern addition of the word "situation" the contemporary equivalent of the Homeric epithet? The account of Plato's Theory of Forms is a poor joke, and will certainly not enable anyone to bluff about it. Even though Pythagoras didn't write a word, we can be sure he believed in metempsychosis: he was ridiculed for it by his contemporary Xenophanes. Virgil *Aen.* 1.463: "*sunt lachrymae rerum*: How you feel when depressed": untrue, whether depression is taken in the colloquial or the medical sense. Anyone searching for Alcaeus' odes to boys' bottoms will be sorely disappointed. *Tabula rasa* isn't an ablative absolute, and Terence wrote *quot homines, tot sententiae*, not *opiniones*. And how about this splendidly ill-turned phrase: "With 91 of his Companions, he [Alexander] married an Iranian". Poor girl!

Finally, value judgments. The author begins with a gratuitous sneer

at Peace Studies, and often praises tyranny (a joke?). He regards Democracy, Justice, Wisdom and Freedom as fallacies. How on earth can a single word be a fallacy?

The lowest point is reached at page xlix, on democracy: he claims that the nearest the Classical world came to it was for 20-30 years in Athens; invented by Thucydides, it was a disaster. It was always in the hands of unbelievably dense aristocratic strategoi, or ill-bred demagogues. When the late Dacre Balsdon read his first essay on ancient history to his tutor, B.W. Henderson, Henderson is alleged to have torn it up, thrown it on the fire, and told him to go away and write a proper one. I suggest that Mr. Leckie might do the same with this stuff: a glance at JACT's *World of Athens* would do him the world of good. However, let's be fair: turn over the page, and you'll find some very sensible remarks about slavery.

I've said very little in favour of this little book (you noticed?): let me hasten to add that there *are* a lot more good jokes in it than my niggling would suggest, and plenty of correct facts, too. And I've learnt a few things: "Augustus was born Gaius Octavius Thurinus". Really? Yes: not only Suetonius but even Peter Wiseman concur. I'm prepared to give Hadrian's predilection for donkeys the benefit of the doubt, though I'd welcome more information. It reminds me of the student who once told me that Marcus Aurelius was the author of The Golden Ass.

III: The value of bluffing

On my first evening as an undergraduate at Oriel, the freshmen were addressed by the Provost, Sir George Clark. "If there's something that you don't know, or don't understand, never be ashamed to admit it", he said. "Otherwise you'll never learn anything." Admirable advice.

The sequel, however, was somewhat unfortunate. A few weeks later, Sir George gave a party. "Do you know", he said, "the other day I came across a young man who didn't understand the difference between organic and inorganic chemistry". Eager to follow his advice, and hoping for enlightenment, I replied: "I'm afraid I don't either". "Good God!", exclaimed the Provost.

Let's forget the sequel. The advice, as I said, was admirable, and I'd commend it to all my readers. I've taken many seminars that would have been much more successful if those taking part had only asked for information or explanations; they seemed afraid to admit their ignorance in case someone thought they were foolish. Anyone who is genuinely shy in this way can always approach a lecturer in private; but the odds are that if you are baffled, then everyone else in the room is as well. It may take a litle courage to admit ignorance; but it's the only way to learn.

Now all this is the very opposite of bluffing. Bluffing can be fun: it's a way of impressing your mates; but if you're really going to understand your subject, there's no point in pretending to know what you don't. Indeed, bluff prevents the acquisition of knowledge. Furthermore, it is a kind of *deception*, as we've seen. Philosophers, and ordinary human beings too, argue about the circumstances in which deception can be justified; most of us (with the exception of professional con-men) would agree that it should be employed as rarely as possible.

These thoughts may seem an odd reaction to a light-hearted book. But when we're dealing with something that matters, something that we care about, we must abandon pretence, and do our best to arrive at a genuine knowledge and understanding of it, and a genuine sympathy with it.

D A V I D H A R V E Y has been a lecturer in the Department of Classics for eighty-six terms. He is the world's leading authority on Psittakos of Isca (bluff).

PUBLICATION ANNOUNCEMENT:

JOHN WILKINS - An Intellectual Biography. Barbera Shapiro.

Theologian, scientific experimenter, Warden of an Oxford College, science-ficton writer, linguist, encyclopedist, bishop, politician and preacher, John Wilkins was also a founding member of the Royal Society, a leading popularizer of the new science and a leade of the latitudinarian churchmen seeking a "natural religion". The extent of Wilkins' participation in the intellectual life of his time is reflected in this biography.

John Wilkins is now a leading authority on food and diet in the ancient world. He is presently teaching at the University of Exeter after his relocation from Aberdeen, having redirected his intellectual prowess from the above fields to furthering man's knowledge of antiquity.

THE RITUALS OF BAAL-HAMMON AT SALAMMBO, CARTHAGE.

Christopher Hole

"Moloch horrid king besmeared with blood
of human sacrifice, and parents tears,
Though for the noyse of Drums and Timbrels loud
Thir childrens cries unheard that past through fire
To his grim Idol." Paradise Lost, I.392-396.

Milton was quite right to name Moloch as the angel of blood in his epic poem; from what we know of this Carthaginian cult, it appears that human sacrifice, specifically that of young children and especially the first born, was regularly practised. The purpose of this article is to outline the details of the cult's rituals, and show how they would have been performed, given the meagre literary, historical and archaeological evidence that has come down to us, a topic which seems to be out of the standard field of the study of antiquity.

The religion practised by the Carthaginians from their earliest times was that of the Canaanites, that fanatical religion which exerted such a degree of fascination over the Hebrew races. Baal, or Moloch, the names are interchangeable, was the god of the sun and also of fire; in line with these two attributes, Baal implied both creation and destruction, or perhaps more properly creation arising from destruction. As children were sacrificed in times of great danger, so it was believed that their deaths would propitiate the god, and persuade him to grant the city a new lease of life.

But it is important to realise that Baal was not the only major deity of the Carthaginians. While Baal was the sun-god, the malignant devourer of children who was later to be identified with the Greek Kronos and Roman Saturn, his consort was Tanit, a goddes of war, husbandry and wedded love, identified variously with Ceres, Juno and Diana. These deities were predominant throughout Carthage's history, and to a great extent were the cause of Carthage's reputation for barbarity, as the rest of the civilised world, (particularly the Greeks and Romans) regarded them with abhorrence. For example Justin, in his abridgement of the history of Trogus Pompeius records that Darius, while soliciting aid from the Carthaginians for his war against Greece also sent an edict:

"by which the Carthaginians were to cease to offer human sacrifices" (Justin, XIX.C.i)

which seems to have had little effect. Even under Roman rule, and later with the rise of Christianity, the practice would not be stamped out, as Tertullian, himself a Christian Carthaginian priest, notes that when the pro-consul Tiberius hanged the priests of Baal on the trees of their sacred grove even this did no good - the sacrifices continued in secret, such power did the fanaticism of Baal's cult hold over the Carthaginians.

The slaughter was not a regular occurence however, as is the case with many sacrifice-based religions which have special dates in their respective calenders. It seems that Baal was neglected in times of happiness and prosperity, but as Diodorus Siculus tells us, when dep[ressed by a crushing defeat or indeed elated by a victory, the fanaticism already mentioned would assert itself and demand human blood as a reparation or thanks-giving.

The fanaticism was particularly manifested in the ritual itself where the followers of Baal, in the course of performing the sacrifices, would whip themselves up in to a frenzy, akin to the delirium we see in many early religions, e.g. the Greek cult of Bacchus. As the priests cut the throats of the victims they offered to the god, they would also gash and mutilate themselves.

The actual procedure of the sacrifice was as follows - the victims would be led to the centre of the temple, which was circular as far as we can tell from the remains at

Salammbo (figure 1. shows a ground plan that reconstructs the organisation of the temple) and it was here that the huge bronze idol described by Diodorus (XX.14) was situated.

The statue featured outstretched arms, in order that gifts might be received, or following the parallel with Saturn mentioned above, I suggest that it might be in order that the god might clasp his children to his breast as a father. Before receiving the embrace of the god however, the victims' throats were cut. When I visited the site, a local historian showed me how this would have been performed. Dotted around the site as it is today are many stelai, each marking the passing of a victim, and numbering several hundred. There are one or two near the pit at the centre of the temple however, that are oddly shaped at the top, which I have attempted to illustrate in figure 2, and strand about four feet tall. The top was a flat block with a curved recess at the front. It appears that the children were led up to this pillar, and their heads thrust down into the recess, so that they would be bending over the pillar, whereupon the priests would cut their throats, and in this way let the blood cover the pillar, themselves and the sacred ground of Baal's sanctuary. Only then could the victims be hoisted into the idol's arms. But these arms were treacherously inclined downwards, so that when the child-victim was placed upon them, they would roll downwards, off into the pit of fire that was kept continuously alight at the feet of the god. I think it reasonable to assume, given that Baal was the fire-god, that the fire in the pit was seen as having the special property of providing a gateway to the god for the victims, and that once the victim's life-force was released and consecrated to Baal by the leting of blood in his sanctuary, the victim was cast into the fire and consumed by the flames, which surely must have signified the god's acceptance. All the while, in accordance with the ecstatic nature of the worship, the cries of the victims and, perhaps the weeping of parents, would be drowned out by the drums, trumpets, and worshippers cries, as the blood flowed from both victims and worshippers.

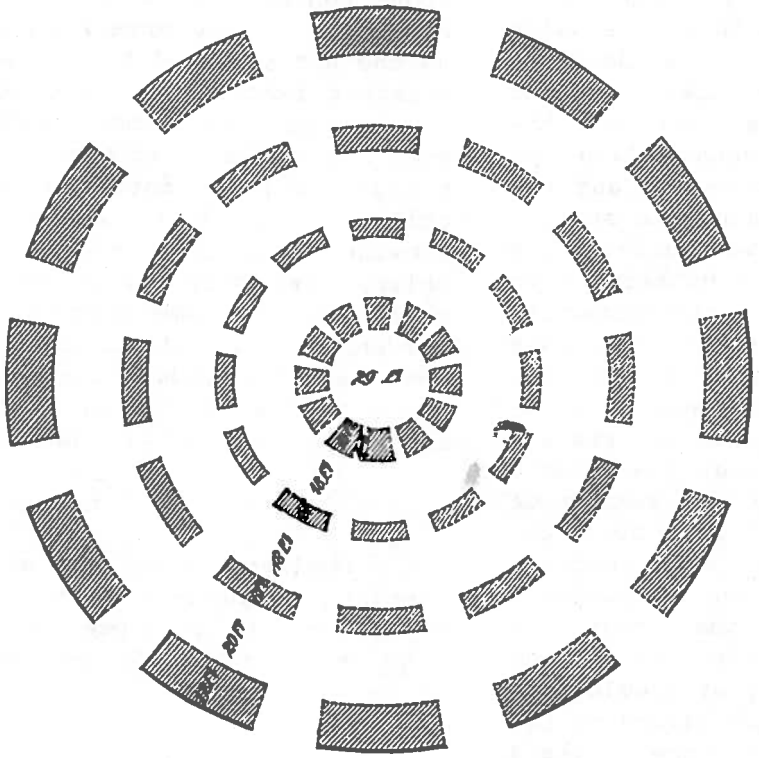
Widespread as this slaughter was, it was not wanton; when Diodorus mentions the sacrifices, he is careful to stress that the selection of the victims was of supreme importance. As he reports, when Agathocles was threatening to overwhelm the city, two hundred of the noblest Carthaginian children were sacrificed, and only the finest of all that the city could offer were picked. Furthermore, three hundred more men voluntarily sacrificed themselves. Such a large scale of carnage indicates the degree of fanaticism involved, but I emphasise again that only the best available victims were sacrificed. In common with many other ancient religions, only the best and the purest are considered worthy of the god's attention: this is the same principle that operates in numerous Greek fertility rites, but on a much more brutal scale. We are told further in Diodorus that when victorious, the Carthaginians selected the most beautiful captives as offerings to Baal, which I think accentuates the dual nature of creation and destruction of the god. The power of the god to create (i.e. to save from disaster) is either courted or worshipped by the destruction of that which is most precious; by showing your love for the god in giving up what you love, you in turn earn the god's favour.

No substitutes or slaves were acceptable - only beauty, wealth, nobility or the first-born qualified for the divine embrace, which as we see, could be either to propitiate a malignant god or give thanks for deliverance - the duality of Baal meant that the same sacrifices were performed for different reasons.

Therefore we may infer that creation and destruction were perceived as a cycle by the Carthaginians, and this is precisely why the temple as we reconstruct it (figure 1) is circular. The circle may well also relate incidentally to the constant cycle of the rising and setting sun with which Baal was associated, but the former explanation

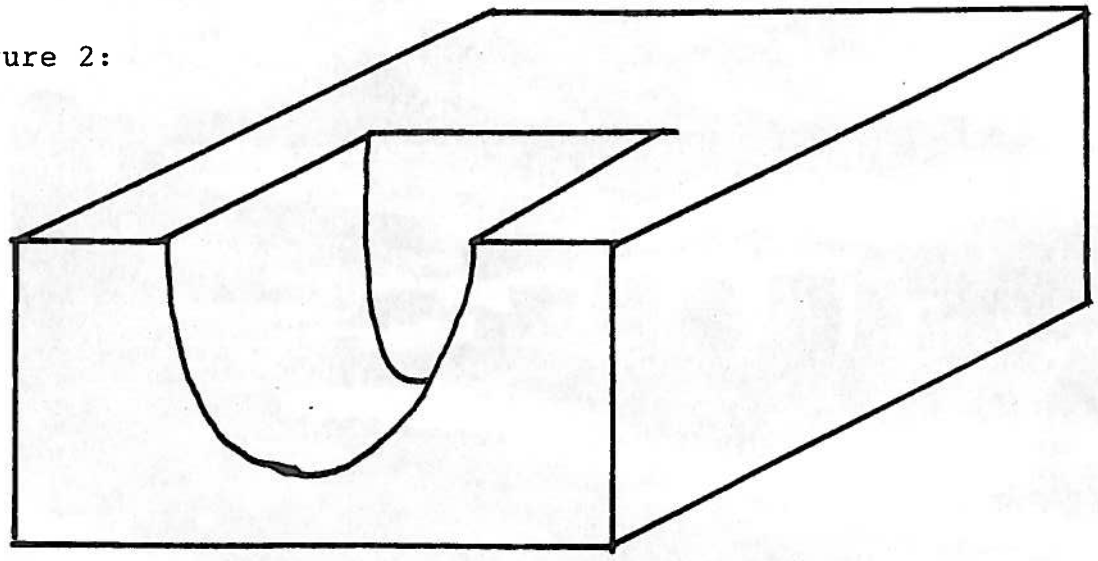
Illustrations:

Figure 1:



Ground Plan of the Temple of Baal-Hammon/Moloch.

Figure 2:



The "Chopping Block"

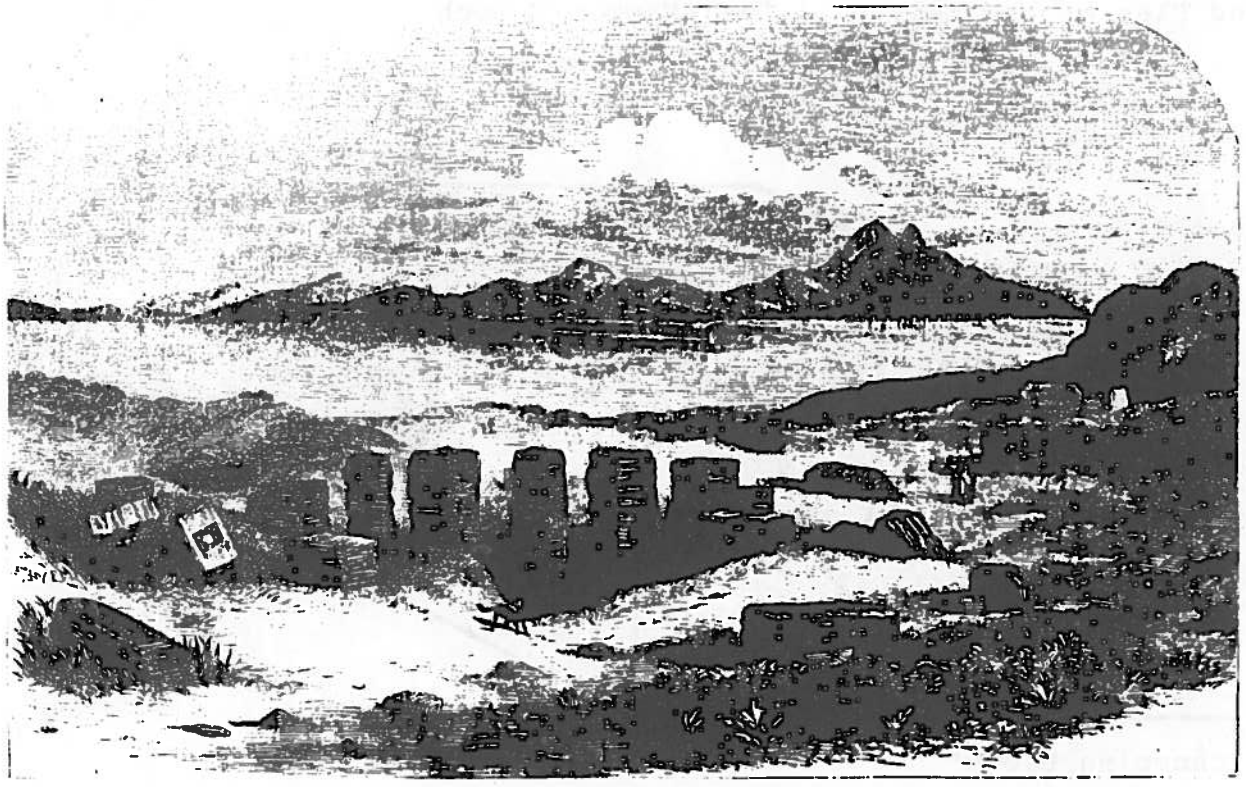
seems more likely as it was to these attributes of creation and destruction that the cultists most often prayed.

After the sacrifice, the ashes of the victims would be collected in an urn and then buried in a hole which was then marked with a stele. Needless to say, as the sacrifices were so numerous, the space around the immediate temple was soon filled up; and so the area was covered, and the priests would start again with another layer. The whole area was collectively known as the Tophet, a biblical term for a shrine, which in the Canaanite context means an austere and bare place, where supernatural forces are marked as manifesting themselves by the erection of pillars or stelai, which in effect was what the temple itself was. Because of the nature of its construction, the land near the remains of the temple, which because of ths layering is on a slightly higher level than the rest of Salammbo, cannot be excavated without being ruined, but today archaeologists have restored one of the layers of the urns, which shows how the priests disposed of the remains of their victims.

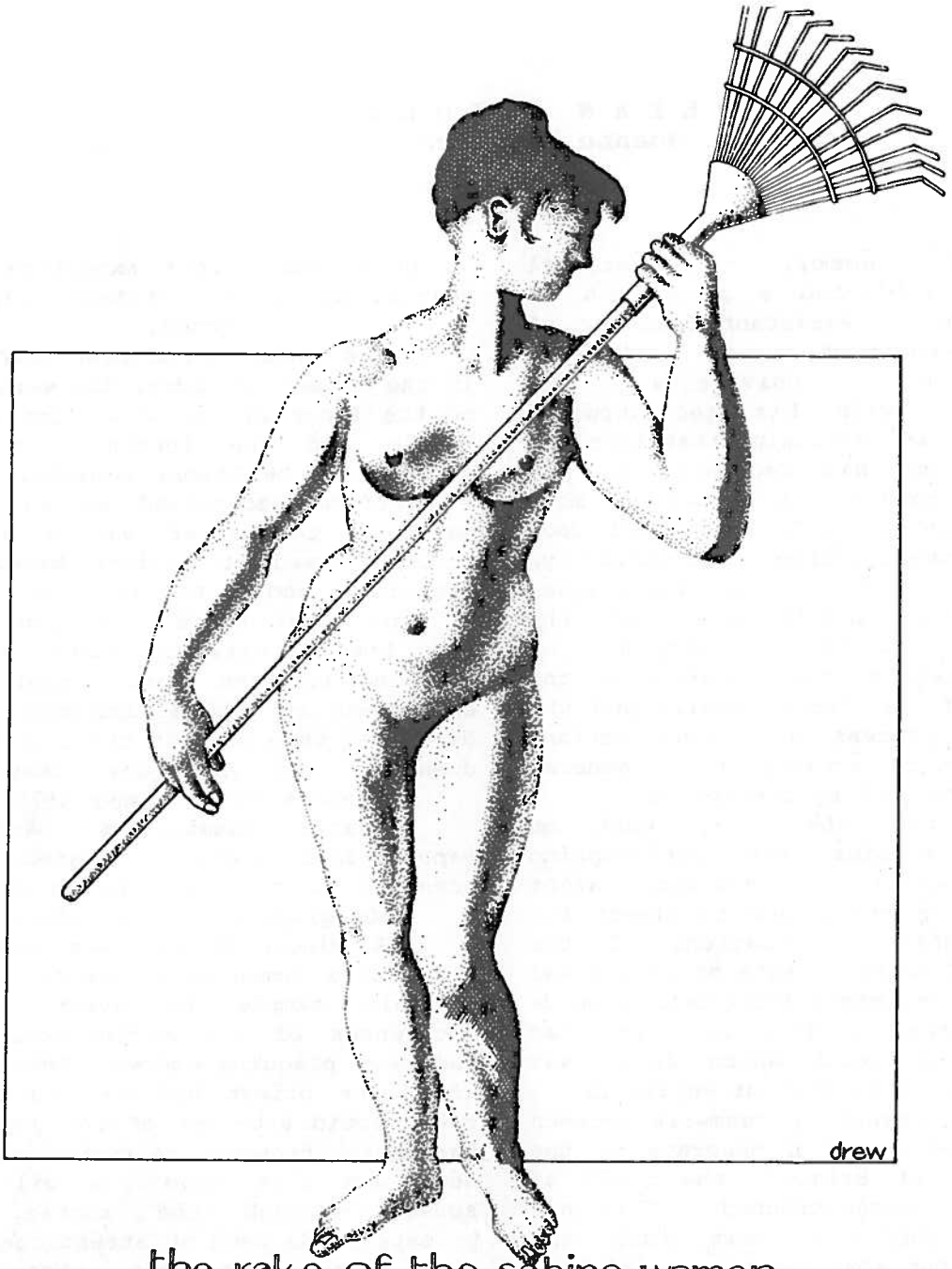
Today, one may walk through the sacred grove of Baal, now a fenced-off compound little more than an acre in area, set out in a wild and over-grown grove behind the quiet narrow streets that make up the modern Salammbo, now on the outskirts of Tunis. Despite the constant reminders of the stelai that litter the site, some engraved, e.g. with a scene showing a priest about to plunge his knife into the throat of a child, it is hard to imagine blood flowing here. Birds sing and crickets chirp, the only noise on the site which is now something of a flower garden, as the hot Tunisian sun beats down, and the modern visitor can only guess at the horrors of long ago from the meagre remains he can see today.

Christopher Hole is a final year combined honours student in the department: he is a previous editor of Pegasus (no.33. 1990) and is co-editor of this issue.

Figure 1a:



Artist's impression of the temple of Baal-Hammon/Moloch as it appears today.



the rake of the sabine women

"In the early days of Rome there was a shortage of women resulting in attempts to kidnap the neighbouring Sabine women. This caused a battle between the two cities: the story was then described by Livy under the title The Rake of the Sabine Women"

Simon Drew
Dartmouth
Devon

C R E T A N S K U L L S

Joanne Haselden

Last summer, a national newspaper published a photograph of Richard Neave, Assistant Director of the Department of Medical Illustration, University of Manchester, with his reconstructed Cretan skulls. Realizing that this was the man who had reconstructed the skulls of both Philip II and the more recent "Lindow Man", I decided upon further investigation. Subsequently, I arranged two informal interviews, one with Neave and the other with John Prag of Manchester Museum; my intention was to learn more about the history of the Cretan skulls and the technical process of reconstruction. The following article is a general summary of my discoveries.

In the mid '70s, work on Egyptian mummies was preoccupying Prag's thoughts. However, after receiving an invitation to Greece for the centenary celebrations of the Hellenic Society, Prag's attention was turned by Professor Andronicos towards ancient Greek skulls, in particular towards the skull which later was believed to be that of Philip II.

As a result of teamwork between Prag, Neave and J H Musgrave of the University of Bristol, the skull of Philip was reconstructed. This not only brought the team into the limelight but also led to a rethink of certain theories concerning the extent of Philip's facial injuries. Neave admitted in his interview that he quite enjoyed stirring up the complacency which had arisen about Philip's physical features.

After the publicity about Philip, Neave's skill in the technicalities of reconstruction naturally were in great demand; therefore, it was not surprising when he was asked to undertake work on skulls discovered in Arkhanes, Crete. For many years there had been important discoveries in and around the village of Arkhanes, but the discovery of the most interest to Prag and Neave was that of a rock-walled temple looking north towards Knossos. In this temple four skeletons, some vessels and other artifacts had been found.

One skeleton had been discovered in the temple corridor, two were found on the floor of the west room of the temple and the fourth,, initially believed to be animal remains, was on a platform recognised as an altar. Next to the altar was a trough, probably used to collect blood from the altar, and on the altar itself was a sacrificial knife. The skeletons had been preserved under rubble, believed to have been caused by an earthquake in 1450 BC and nothing had disturbed them between the time of the disaster and the day they were discovered in summer 1979.

Yannis Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki related the scenario as they saw it in National Geographic February 1981.

A Minoan priest was about to offer up a human sacrifice to the god of his temple to avert further occurences of the earthquakes which had been plaguing Crete. Immediately after the priest had severed one of the carotid arteries of the youth, an earthquake brought the temple crashing down and fire from the oil lamps spread through the rubble. A priestess had been in attendance along with another attendant, whose badly battered bones were discovered in the corridor, next to a broken "blood bowl". Although the idea of human sacrifice seems shocking, incidences of it have been documented and it is a prevalent feature of mythology, for instance the Minotaur and Athenian youths.

After receiving the relevant information, Neave, Prag and Musgrave set to work on the smashed bones using an "aircrash technique". Neave informed me that the piecing-together of a single skull generally covers one day and the basic reconstruction a mere three days. The reconstruction process is virtually identical to that used for skulls in forensic science today, but there is more artistic licence.

The team had already worked together on Philip's skull, using a Canadian lumberjack with a similar eye injury to Philip's as a "model". Now their talents were focused upon the skulls of the skeletons believed to belong to a priest and a priestess. Due to the delicate nature of precious remains it is necessary to use radiographs and photographs to aid reconstruction. There are certain predetermined guidelines. Wooden pegs are usually inserted into a plaster cast of the skull at a number of specific points, projecting by a fixed amount. The pegs limit the thickness of soft tissue which is gradually built up. Glass eyes are inserted into the socket until the basic reconstruction has been completed. Then, information about hair and eye colourings is gathered from ancient paintings and frescoes so alterations can be continually made to the model skulls. This is a very general summary of the process which will have been used for the Cretan skulls.

When I viewed the reconstructed heads of the priest and priestess involved in the human sacrifice, it had been decided that the hair and the beard of the priest were incorrect and they were in the process of adaptation. However, the heads still convey and accurate impression of how the priest and priests may have looked. Unfortunately, I have neither a photograph nor a drawing to complement this account of the exciting discovery in Arkhanes and the intriguing process or head reconstruction. I can only agree with Richard Heave in saying that the restored face of the priests is a perfect example of "Classical beauty".

Joanne Haselden is a final year Classics student at Exeter. She is joint student editor of *Pegasus* this year.

AN ODE TO COMMEMORATE THE RELINQUISHMENT BY T P WISEMAN MA, D PHIL, HON D LITT, FBA, FSA, OF THE HEADSHIP OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EXETER IN DEVON IN THE YEAR 1990

Constantine McGonagall Trethowan

'Twas in the never to be forgotten year of 1977
That Dr. T.P. Wiseman was appointed Professor of Classics in the University of
Exeter in Devon,
Which in the not particularly beautiful city of Leicester caused much gnashing
and wailing of teeth
For reasons that will become apparent in the lines that are to follow beneath.
It threw Professor A.D. Fitton Brown into almost as much dismay
As is felt by any man unfortunate enough never to have seen the beautiful
railway bridge of the Silvery Tay.
At Exeter the department of Classics like a ship in madly raging waves was bobbing
Though keeping its head above water thanks to the brave efforts of Robin,
Who had been placed in charge of its uncertain fate on
The resignation of Professor F.W. Clayton.

Now T.P. Wiseman Esq. was born in the famous town
Of Manchester, to which he has added lustre, also renown.
In his cradle, ere most bairns are able to speak,
He was able to bawl in both Latin and Greek,
While in his earliest years under Mrs. Horsfield at school
He showed himself, if I may make so bold as to say so, no fool.
Then he proceeded to th' illustrious M.G.S.,
Where of his work he never, or at least very rarely, I'm sure, made a mess.
After that he became an undergraduate at Balliol College,
Where what whose members, like Jowett, don't know isn't knowledge.
Research he then did pursue upon New Men in the Roman Senate,
Which, when published, caused scholars to exclaim "Gordon Bennett!".

Down here he was head of Classics for years thirteen, unlucky for some,
But not for Exeter, where with activity his department he has caused to hum.
As soon as he was appointed, perceiving a certain lack in us,
He introduced some new courses, the ***primum novi principatus facinus***.
And upon Ancient History he placed a new stress,
As well as introducing the much needed GRS.
When he arrived, Classics was not a large department, though most beautiful to
see,
Consisting only of Robin, Hugh, David, Alan, and John G.
Now, besides Peter, there are 2 Richards, 2 Davids, 2 Normans, 2 Johns, Alan,
Chris and Su,
A collection of creatures that is almost as remarkable as that in the

beauti-
ful Dundee zoo.
And while in the departmental hot seat he has sat
He has proved himself to be a most admirable diplomat.

He gets on well with students, even those whose intelligence, as H.W. Stubbs
Esq. used to say, is of the meanest.
His conversation is entertaining, his jokes not of the obscenest.
He never says he can't see someone because he's in a hurry,
Which relieves us all of many a nagging worry.
Who has ever heard a complaint about him from a student, either briliant or thick?
Except a few, I must confess, who have wailed that for taking notes he does lecture too quick.
His harshest verdict on a pupil when writing a reference was: "He's better at
football than Latin -
No, that implies he knows the language: I'd better not put *that* in".

Once, or so the story in the University goes,
He was asked by a student to buy a Red Nose.
"No thanks, I'm trying to give them up", he replied -
An answer in which both his ready wit and his tact may be espied;
At the same time he quietly gave a donation
To delight the hearts of those living in an unfortunate situation.

And, most wonderful to relate, he's written rather a lot of books
As will be apparent to whomsoever at his entry in *Who's Who* looks.
For example, there's *Cinna the Poet*, and another about Clio's facial decoration,
Which have both met with considerable scholarly approbation.
Also he has translated the Gallic Wars of Caesar together with Anne his wife,
Not to mention editing a volume on *Roman Political Life*.
His *Roman Literary and Historical Studies*
Proves indubitably that Professor T.P. Wiseman is not to be reckoned among fuddy-duddies.

Now C. Valerius Catullus loved Lesbia, and a thousand times he kissed her,
So Professor T.P. Wiseman has discussed whether she was this Clodia, or that
Clodia, or the other one's sister.
And also on Rome he has lectured, starting with a view taken from a great height
Of that noble city, a photograph produced, I surmise, by a satellite.
Indeed, I declare, he knows ancient Rome so well that if transported there by
some goblin or elf,
He would certainly not reply to an enquirer, "Sorry, I'm a stranger here myself".
In a word, one might make so bold as to say that ancient Rome
For Professor T.P. Wiseman, M.A., D.Phil., etc., etc., is his spiritual home.

He is President of the Classical Association's branch down here in the South-
West,
Which, needless to say, of all in the world is one of the best.
And often after the lectures he will partake of the beanos,
Speaking Italian fluently to the waiters at Gino's.

Now Durham has bestowed upon him an honorary Litt.D.,
And he has been Lansdowne Lecturer in the University of Victoria, B.C.
Moreover in 1986 he was elected Fellow of the British Academy,
Which not to mention would be most dreadful and bad of me.

His figure it is tall, also lean and athletic,
And makes most of the rest of us look rather pathetic,
Though at one time a certain Miss G. Smith thought
That his trousers were very slightly too short.
In vacations he goes walking with Anne over the hills,
Which, it cannot be gainsaid, must be good for his health and must save him from many ills.
When lecturing he strides up and down with his chalk; he
Might almost be described as a living walkie-talkie.
He also has another method of relaxation, I do declare,
Which consists of rocking back and forth on the back legs of his chair.

Once he did vouchsafe that the name "Wiseman" means trickster or wizard,
An explanation which most uncomfortably doth stick in my gizzard.
It would, in my humble opinion, be much neater
To suppose that he's one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece: Solon, Thales, Bias,
Pittakos, Periander, Chilon and Peter.
But the Evil Eye him will harm if all criticism I suppress,
So I will add that he often says "Absolutely" when he means "Yes".

But alack and alas, he decided to resign through weariness and frustration
From a position that involved ever-increasing administration.
Though fortunately the department has found a capable successor
In the person of Dr. Susanna Braund, God bless her.

Quite rightly when he concluded his headship he was given a party,
And we all hope that for many years he will enjoy *goateeum cum dignitate*.

CONSTANTINE McGONAGALL TRETHOWAN is the author of several dozen unpublished limericks, and two or three unwritten novels. He is a member of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Exeter, but also works in the *Scuola Normale di Studi Superiori* (the usual untidiness of his study upstairs).

OH NO, NOT ANOTHER COMPETITION

"Tell me", said Professor Noah Tall, "do you recognise the following quotation: "...whom I shall ever regard as the best and wisest man I have ever known"?"

"Easy" replied Dr. Alec Smart. "It's the closing words of Plato's Phaedo."

"Are you sure?"

"Er..um.. well..it's not quite complete, maybe."

"It's not quite Plato", said Professor tall with a malicious smile. "It is in fact the closing words of a well-known nineteenth-century work of fiction."

Pegasus offers a free copy of Pegasus:the book to the first reader to send in the right answer to Professor Tall's question.

Entries to: The Editors, **Pegasus**, Dept. of Classics, Queen's Buliding, The University, Exeter, EX4 4QJ.

MOSAIC MYSTERY

In **Pegasus 33** we offered a prize for the best explanation of this curious mosaic:

I

It comes from the floor of an early 2nd-century villa, near Antioch, to which it gives its name: the House of the Evil Eye. The following account is adapted from the description in Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947), 33-4:

"The Evil Eye itself is represented, and against it the most powerful talismans are in action. Above it a raven pecks at it, a trident and a sword wound it, a scorpion attacks it; below are a serpent, a barking dog, a centipede; to the left, a panther rushes upon it. These elements are weapons for wounding, animals with bills and claws for tearing, or with prongs for stinging. They all appear frequently in ancient apotropaic representations: the snake and the scorpion are especially common.

A naked ithyphallic goblin moves away to the left, while his apotropaic element [what a splendid euphemism! Thank goodness that nowadays we may boldly call it his *membrum virile*] is still turned against the Eye. The goblin is baldish, and hunch-backed: the earliest example of the "lucky hunchback" superstition still widespread in Mediterranean countries and beyond. He holds some twigs, which like the other pointed objects are capable of wounding the Evil One. The inscription ***kai su*** ["You too"/"Even you"], says Levi, has "a certain apotropaic meaning"; Liddell and Scott offer no help on this.

The ithyphallic hunchback, with phallus turned backwards and uncovered buttocks, persisted as late as the 12th or 13th century: he can be seen on the façade of S. Maria a Mare near Giulianova (Teramo)."

II

By far the best entry for the competition - indeed the only one - came from **PETER HOLSON**, who writes:

"I think the mosaic was found in the house of a wealthy Roman freedman. The large eye is the bugbear of early Mediterranean superstition, the Evil Eye. This represents the blind [? - FDH] malignant forces of Nature over which humans have no control. Representatives of all the branches of the animal kingdom are fighting back with obvious enthusiasm; Man's defiance is shown by the sword and trident both stuck well in.

One method of averting the Evil Eye was to set up another eye to stare back unblinkingly at it. As this is beyond the capability of any mammal, an eye was often painted on a convenient exterior surface. Ships are often shown on Greek vases with an eye painted close to the bows.

Another method was to spit three times at the beginning of any new undertaking. This custom found its way into the Christian church: candidates for baptism were required to renounce Satan by spitting three times outwards across the threshold of the church. [Did *you* know that? - FDH] All this ostentatious expectoration struck the Reformers as a trifle un-British, as well as uncouth; the whole procedure was replaced in the Book of Common Prayer baptism service by a question and answer:

"Dost thou, in the name of this Child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?" *Answer:* "I renounce them all.""

SCENES OF MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT GREEK ART

DI TURNER

Scenes of marriage - preparing the bride, and the wedding procession - become increasingly popular from 475 onwards. Only three have been attributed to the years 500-475 (Sutton, 1981, 235). Between 450 and 425 they were at their most popular, decreasing by almost 50% by the end of the fifth century.

The scenes appear on vessels used in wedding rituals, such as *loutrophoroi* and *lebetes gamikoi*, both used for carrying and storing water for the bridal bath. The bath probably involved the pouring of water over the bride, as in a libation, rather than immersion (Boardman, 1989, 240). Both types of vessel were popularly decorated with wedding themes, as too, were *phialai* and *oinochoai*, used for libation, and other articles solely used by women, such as *pyxides* and *epinetra*, knee-covers used when working wool. Most have been found in Athens and Attica (Sutton, lists 38 [1981, 236]) and one each at Spina, Bologna, Vulci, Cumae and Nola. Clearly they were an Athenian favourite, with the export market being extremely poor.

Marriage in Greece was a private arrangement between the two families involved. The state had no part, nor indeed did priests, and there was no formal ceremony or official procedure, although a formal agreement *engue* was undertaken between the men involved, i.e. the father and the groom.

As a result of this lack of governing formality, the wedding procession formed the traditional expression of the new union and represented the transition of the bride from the *oikos* of her father to that of her new husband. It also acted as a way of announcing the marriage publicly, and for family and friends to celebrate. It is this procession together with the pre-nuptial bridal preparations which form the basis of the representation of weddings on painted pottery.

On the day of the wedding the bride took a ritual purifying bath, as too, did the guests, although less formally, and in a separate ceremony from the bride. Thucyidides mentions the spring in Athens "which is now called the Nine Fountains...the people in those days, used to use this spring for all purposes...and from this ancient habit of theirs is derived the custom of using it for ceremonies before marriage" (2.16).

After her bath, the bride was carefully prepared and dressed by her friends.

Figure 1 (Richter & Hall, 1936, fig.144), shows a scene from a *lebes gamikos* by the Washing Painter of c.430-422. Here, the bride sits in the centre, while Eros, god of love and romance, hovers above, offering a necklace and fruit, perhaps a pomegranate. Quinces and pomegranates were offered to brides because of their symbolism of fertility and the hope of a fruitful union. On the extreme left, a girl holds a torch to light the way, so it is already evening, while another prepares to tie a headband in the bride's hair. On the right, another friend lends a helping hand to Eros, and holds a casket, while a shorter (younger?) girl carries more caskets containing, perhaps, items of the dowry. Although this girl is shown smaller in size than the others (a convention sometimes used to depict slaves), her hair is long so she may be a younger sister of the bride. Mortals were also shown on a smaller scale when depicted alongside gods and goddesses, but there is no indication that a mythical scene is represented here. It is worth noting that in this and similar scenes we see groups of girls together. Unless they all live in the same house, which seems unlikely, they must have left their own houses to visit the bride, thus suggesting more freedom of movement than that allowed in only attending the wedding procession.

Figure 2 (BM.E774) a *pyxis* of

Figure one: Preparing the bride - from a Lebes Gamikos

c.455, an earlier work of the Eretria painter, again shows the bedecking of the bride. Here the seated bride looks a little pensive; perhaps contemplating the new and unknown, even terrifying, experience she will undergo that night, as well as her future role of wife and mother. In this scene, the women have been given the names of goddesses, although it is equally applicable to scenes of reality.

The procession of the bride to her new home was already popular on sixth century BF vessels, where she was seen carried in a mule-drawn cart. By the fifth century, the major iconographical tradition in RF was to show the procession travelling on foot, although in reality, and still in some scenes, the cart or in upper-class families a chariot was still in use. The bride was led or her new home from her father's house, accompanied by the groom and friends. In figure 3 (BM.1920.12-21.1), a *pyxis* by the Marlay painter, dated to the closing decades of the fifth century, the procession has just left the bride's house.

woman looks out of an open door, perhaps the bride's mother. Next to her a woman carries a *lebes gamikos*, which after use in the pre-nuptial libations may now be a present for the bride and accompany her to her new home. Another friend is seen carrying a large chest containing perhaps, the dowry. The groom's best man walks behind, wearing a festive garland in his hair and lighting the way with a torch, and in the cart stand the groom holding the reins and the bride herself. To the right another woman, perhaps her new mother-in-law, stands with a torch, accompanied by another friend making a welcoming gesture. This is a concise and detailed depiction of the wedding procession, and it should be noted that it was in processions such as this, that young men and women had one of their rare opportunities to catch a glimpse of each other and perhaps exchange a flirtatious glance.

The earliest known example of a RF scene is on a *kylix* by Euphronios, dated to the late sixth century and found in the Acropolis at Athens. (Art Bulletin, 21, 1939, figs.6-7).

In figure 4 (Boardman, 1989, 134), a *loutrophoros* by Polygnotos, of c 440, shows more closely the symbolism of the new union. The man grasps the bride's wrist, a commonly depicted gesture, which suggests possession, authority and guidance. The bride carries a fruit, probably a pomegranate or quince, symbols of fertility and fecundity, and her robe is loosely tied, her virgin's girdle having been dedicated to Artemis before her marriage (Lacey, 1968, figs.24-25). Figure 5 is another example of the symbolic wrist-clasping gesture. This *loutrophoros* of the mid-fifth century by the Painter of London (BM.1923.1.18.1) shows the newly-weds; she in finely-decorated *chiton* and *himation*, a festive garland on the wall between them. To the right a friend holds a torch, and to the left another friend adjusts the bride's dress. On the scenes we have looked at, it is notable that the difference in ages between the bride and groom are not noticeably shown. Although at the time of marriage the bride was usually in her early teens, and the groom in his thirties (Lacey, 1968, 162), they are usually depicted as being equal in age, an artistic convention sue perhaps to the desire to present a romantic picture.

Loutrophoroi, decorated with wedding scenes such as this, were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Braurania in Attica, together with miniature nuptial *lebetes gamikoi* and *epinetra*. The sanctuary was the home of young girls, under twelve years of age, who lived in the precinct serving the goddess' cult until they married. A full discussion of the cult and the girls, known as "little bears", is beyond the scope of this discussion, but a brief but comprehensive survey can be found in Papadimitriou (1963, 110-120). The shrine of the nymphs beneath the southern slopes of the Acropolis at Athens has also yielded *loutrophoroi* with wedding scenes, both BF and RF, with a wide range of dates from the seventh century to the fourth century.

Loutrophoroi, some with wedding scenes, were also used as funeral dedications for women who died unwed,

either as spinsters or young betrothed girls who did not live to see their wedding day (Webster, 1979, 106).

The increased interest in wedding scenes in the fifth century, and the romantic representation of an attractive bride and groom, indicate a direct appeal to women, confirmed by the types of vessels - *loutrophoroi, pyxides,* nuptial *lebes* -on which they are found. their use is most clearly attributed to Attica, with a few coming from other Greek areas, particularly Eretria.

Although there is no supporting evidence, I would suggest that the popularity of such scenes representing a new interest in "respectable" women both in the depiction of marriage ritual, and of domestic pursuits, is not unconnected with Pericles' citizenship reforms of 451.

However, whether the scenes of domestic industry signify a virtuous woman has proved a bone of contention for many years.

Fig.4: Loutrophos, c.440.
Bride & Groom.

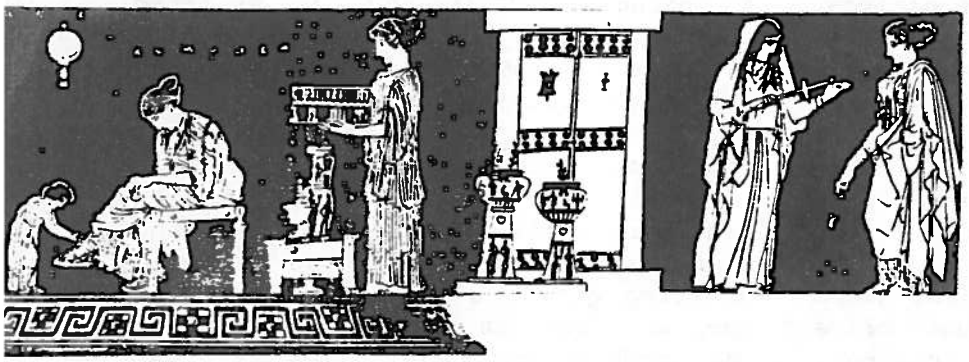


Fig.2: Pyxis, mid-5th century: preparing the bride

Fig.3: Pyxis, mid-5th century - wedding procession.

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Fig.5: Loutrophos, mid-5th century. Bride & groom.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANTIQUITY

The following history is an extract from the soon-to-be-published *magnum opus* of the international workshop of student bloopers. Pegasus can reveal that this is an entirely genuine and original piece of work, pasted together from a number of learned contributors. The observant reader will notice some startling reappraisals of orthodox opinions.

Pharoah forced the Hebrew slaves to make bread without straw. Moses led them to the Red sea, where they made unleavened bread, which is bread made without any ingredients.

Without the Greeks we would'nt have history. The Greeks inented three kinds of columns - Corinthian, Doric and Ironic. They also had myth. A myth is a female moth. One myth says that the mother of Achilles dipped him in the river Styx until he became intolerable. Achilles appears in the *Iliad*, by Homer. Homer also wrote the Oddity, in which Penelope was the last hardship that Ulysses endured on his journey. Actually, Homer was not written by Homer, but by another man of that name.

Socrates was a famous Greek teacher who went around givng people advice. They killed him. Socrates died from an overdose of wedlock.

The govenment of Athens was democratic because the people took the law into their own hands. There were no wars in Greece, as the mountains were so high that they could'nt climb over to see what their neighbours were doing. When they fought with the Persians, the Greeks were outnumbered because the Persians had more men.

Eventually the Ramona conquered the Geeks. History calls people Romans because they never stayed in one place for very long. Julius Caesar extinguished himself on the battlefields of Gaul. The Ides of March murdered him because they thought he was going to be made king. Nero was a cruel tyranny who would torture his poor subjects by playing the fiddle to them.

T W E N T Y - F I V E Y E A R S A G O

As one of the older-established Classical journals, Pegasus looks back, in what may become a regular feature, to its back numbers of a quarter-century ago. This inaugural offering consists of a couple of paragraphs from H W Stubbs' article "Troubles of a Lexicographer" in volume 5 (February 1966), followed by Robin Matthewson's account of the rediscovery of the Latin original of "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow..." in volume 6 (June 1966). They don't write 'em like that any more!

I should perhaps say what has been my attitude as an Oxford man to classical scholarship.

Antiquity has always been, to me, a radiant world, to be visited on a kind of time-machine, mainly on the wings of poetry; a world of brightness, vigour, wisdom, heroism, yes; a world, too, in which there is laughter. Plenty of hard work, certainly; whether it is a matter of learning what is already written, or going out and discovering more; or criticizing; or applying one's knowledge to the strange world in which, as in Plato's cave, we are compelled to live our daily lives. In Oxford it has been, I believe, generally accepted that the path of study was a had one, but the world that it showed us was a delightful and an inspiring one. That did not prevent us accepting the fact, indeed an almost self-evident one, that there was a streak of the most amiable asininity in the character of Cicero; that myth, and history, provided bathos as well as pathos, villainy as well as virtue; that the ancients, like ourselves, were all too human, and that their feelings, and their experiences, were not so very unlike ours. One would not, indeed, deride Aeschylus, though one might sometimes be exasperated by Euripides; some fifth-century Athenian characters and events had a timeless familiarity about them, and even in Homer there was Homeric laughter, but we would not ridicule Hector's farewell to Andromache. Above all, there was more to the classics than the deciphering of tombstones and the working-out of tax returns, though even these things had their uses; inscriptions might tell us a great deal that the literary sources did not mention, but an inscription could lie as shamelessly as a Court propagandist...

Here another point arises. What is classical antiquity, what does it involve, and where does it stop?

There is something, of course, to be said for the traditional view, that it is a closed capsule, beginning in 776 BC, or perhaps with Linear A or Early Minoan I, and ending with Constantine, or perhaps with Alaric; and that it concerns Greeks and Romans, and those who adopted the Greek and Roman way of life, only. But neither time nor space, culture nor creed nor birth, can fairly be compartmented like that; especially if one is trying to show what relationship these things had to what preceded them, what surrounded them, and, above all, what is derived from them. Justinian, for example, is outside the classical age - but how can one omit him? We must (I feel) also deal with the Byzantine afterglow (if only because so many of our authorities belong to it). And that Byzantine afterglow -should we not point out that the lights of Byzantium shone on our own King Arthur, that Byzantine in partibus infidelium, and even on Alfred, who wrote to Constantinople to ask for "some of the wisdom of the East", and whose art follows the Byzantine models? And does the classical world include Christianity - apart, of course, from a few harassed figures in Nero's amphitheatres? To me, there is something both touching and impressive in the thought that so many ill-comprehended formulae in our own prayerbooks were compounded in the crucible of violent debates at Imperial councils, and sometimes indeed of savage street-fighting in Alexandria or Constantinople; but there are some scholars who react to the name of an early Christian Bishop much as the Devil reacts to a touch of holy water.

The discovery in 1899 of the O fragment of Juvenal's sixth satire, if it did little to enhance the poet's reputation, had at least the salutary effect of ruffling the complacency of his editors, who had never suspected that the work as they had it was incomplete. That Winstedt's discovery may not have been unique is suggested by a note found among the papers of Dr Holofern (ob 1870) of Hilltop School in Warwickshire. Holofern, whose early Prolusiones Academicae (*"De Aristotole animi in rem publicam nimis paterni"*and*"Horatius quo se modo cuilibet quidlibet praestiterit nec tamen non incolumis evaserit"*) caused something of a stir, was disappointed by the cool reception accorded to his more ambitious ventures in historical criticism, *"Thucydides Reprobatus' de Justissima Atheniensium in Melios Vindicta"* 1839 (which led to a heated controversy with Dr Arnold) and *"De Lycanthropis: Graecorum Historia Funditus Retractata"* 1847. This, and his failure to obtain the preferment that had been confidently predicted, led him to eschew further publication, resign his fellowship, and betake himself to school-keeping. His interest in scholarship remained, however, unabated, and he left behind him a number of meticulously composed papers remarkable for their fresh and unconventional approach to Classical literature, and expressed in vigorous and lucid language.

Holofern's claim to have discovered some lines of Juvenal in a country rectory (the full circumstances remain unknown) was never communicated to a world *"desidia* (as he expresses it) *et socordia obtorpescentem"* and he did not (alas) live to complete his edition of the fragment, which he had intended for posthumous publication. He was certainly assured of the authenticity of his find which (disregarding, it would seem, the possibility of a Doppelrezenzion of Satire X) he supposed to have been part of an early, and probably uncompleted, satire. That the fragment was actually committed to writing by Juvenal while serving with Agricola in the Scottish campaign of AD 84, and independently preserved and transmitted in this country (possibly, as he hints elsewhere, in the little-known *Bibliotheca Godivensis*) is a bold and provocative hypothesis, typical of the man, though unlikely, it may be, to win immediate acceptance in a less confident and robust epoch.

The present whereabouts of the MS is unknown and the text has been transcribed as it stands, with Holofern's introductory note, from the impeccable calligraphy of his autograph notebook.

RM

Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow...

Crastina quid spectas? aliud manet, inde aliud cras.
Proxima quaeque dies tardum atque ignobile repit
Segnis iter, donec serissima linea claudat
Ingentem historiam, et series praelonga dierum
Hesternarum ideo tantum eluxisse videtur
Ut fatuos ad pulvereum deduceret Orcum.
Candelam ergo brevem quidni restinguimus, umbrae
Quippe vagae, aerumnas velut histrio Pacuvianas
Turpis ubi evomuit, fregitque impulsa cothurno
Pulpita, conticuit? Deliras nempe fabellas
Hic agimus, quales pulmone phreneticus aegro
Effutiat, sine mente sonos et inania verba.

RES GESTAE III

compiled by DAVID HARVEY

Many thanks again to all those whose letters have enabled me to piece together this instalment of **Res Gestae**.

I've followed the same conventions as in previous years, but let me remind you about abbreviations. All dates are shorn of their first two digits; the figure following a person's name indicates the year they entered the department. Three dots ... denote lack of up-to-date news. Postal districts (e.g. SW49) always refer to London. I'll gladly send addresses on request.

It would be a great help if those whose names fall into the next alphabetical group (H to about K) would send me brief autobiographies without being asked - and news of friends - preferably by January 1992.

In **Res Gestae II**, please read "Sidcup" for "Sicup".

NEW MEMBER OF STAFF

Norman POSTLETHWAITE transferred to Exeter in Aug. '90 after the closure of Leicester's Classics Dept., one more victim of the scythe which the Univ. Grants Cttee. took to Classics. His main scholarly interests are in Greek & Roman Epic, especially Homer, and the prehistory of Crete & Greece. Leisure time is given over to music, especially Wagner, contemporary fiction, rugby & walking. He's married, with two children; his wife Margaret works in the Univ. Library. He is grateful to all colleagues & students, who have been so welcoming & have greatly eased his habilitation.

FORMER MEMBER OF STAFF

John HERINGTON was lecturer at Smith College, Mass., & professor at Toronto, Texas (Austin), & Stanford Universities between '60 & '72. He is now at Yale, where he's Talcott Professor of Greek. He was Sather Lecturer at Berkeley in '78, & has published books & articles on early Greek poetry, Aeschylus & Seneca.

FORMER STUDENTS

Kate CHAPPLE ('82) was a fashion PR for a couple of years, but since 89 has been working for *Country Life*, on which she is now a sub-editor. She loves her job, & says she finds that the knowledge of syntax she gained while studying for her degree is proving invaluable. She lives in N1.

Ray CLARK ('60) is Professor of Classics in the Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland. In '64 he took his PGCE at Exeter, & married Vivien Brown (Lopes '61-4; BSc; now research assistant in Chemistry, Univ. of Newfoundland). Both taught in schools at Redditch, '64-66. Ray gained his Exeter Ph.D. in '69 for his thesis on the Underworld, supervised by Hugh Stubbs. He went to Newfoundland in '69; full Professor '80. Chief publication: *Catabasis: Vergil & the Wisdom-Tradition* ('79). Vice-President, Class. Assocn. of Canada, '81-3; sometime member of editorial board of *Phoenix*. Three daughters, Sandra (21), Suzie (21) & Sally (16). Now on leave in Paris.

Nicholas CLEE ('76) is Book News editor of *The Bookseller*, unless he's a homonym; he lives in Beckenham.

John CLEMENT ('81): PGCE at the Univ. College of Wales, '84 ...

Sarah-Jane CLIFFORD-JONES ('81), described as a "Sloane punk" at her first interview, was Advertisement Manager on *Encounter* from '85 to '88; she featured in an article on "Careers for Classicists" in *Omnibus* 14 ('87). With admirable discernment, she once preferred to have lunch with FDH rather than with Auberon Waugh. After *Encounter*, she worked for a while as Assistant Editor for the Institute of Policy Studies. Finding politics

uncongenial, she resigned, & spent most of '90 travelling around the world. She's now in the publishing branch of Richard Branson's Virgin Group. She lives in W14, her hobbies include travel, skiing & the cinema, & she still has ambitions to become a stunt-woman.

Michael CLIVE ('60) is living at Hayes, Kent, & is responsible for the administration of GCE A-levels in Classical, Oriental & African languages (some 15 of the two latter, ranging alphabetically from Arabic via Sanskrit to Urdu) for the Univ. of London School Examinations Board (Russell Square). He says that A-level classics is holding its position fairly well, though its future is uncertain. He's in contact with several Exeter teachers (e.g. **Norman Shiel** & **Anne Wiseman**), & would be very pleased to hear from his contemporaries.

Charlotte CLOUGH ('80) studied for an MA in Industrial Archaeology at the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Institute (affiliated to the Univ. of Birmingham). She then worked as an archaeologist at Aberdulais Falls (Vale of Neath). She's now sitting on a gold-mine: she's employed by the National Trust as an Administrator of the Roman mines at Dolaucothi (Dyfed). She has lived in S. Wales for over five years now, & has been renovating a 200-year-old cottage near Carmarthen.

Carolyn CLUBLEY ('72), now REEVY, took an MA in Contemporary Classical Studies at Southampton in '75-6 (& put Valerius Flaccus onto computer too); she took exams in accountancy & was a budgeting specialist for Abbey Life in Bournemouth, '76-82. She married Joe, an Exeter psychology graduate, in '77. They travelled so frequently to Exeter City FC home games that they moved to Devon (Bovey Tracey) in '82. Briefly financial controller for Exeter City FC before birth of Robert ('84) & Susan ('86). Has fond memories of madrigals & punch at Robin Mathewson's.

Gayle COBB ('79), now **NORRIS**, took her PGCE at Nottingham, then taught at a private school in Northwood. Married in '85; now settled near Edinburgh (?).

Tony COLLINSSPLATT ('59) is a freelance EFL teacher & translator. After leaving Exeter, he took a Cert. Ed., a year's inconclusive research at Cambridge, & nine years' teaching in prep schools. He changed to TEFL in '74 (one year in France), & since '75 has been in the province of Modena, Italy; he lives at Carpi (*sic*). At first he was co-director & teacher at a language school, but since '82 he's been freelance, with contracts at the Military Academy of Modena, & the Dept. of Economics at Modena Univ. He edits the journal *Vector*.

Margaret COMERFORD ('74) is a social worker at Halstead, Essex.

Simon COOK ('84) was working on the Stock Exchange (BP shares) ...

Nic COOMBER ('84) writes: "In '88 I joined a Life Assurance Co. in Haywards Heath, specializing in pensions. I survived until Aug. '89, when I finally realized that it wasn't for me. Believe it or not, I'm in the beauty trade now, specializing in nail extensions for women. I spent 3 months in Germany learning the job, then two in the USA. I'm now in Charlottesville, Virginia, establishing 'Light Concept Nails' in the States."

Jane CREECH ('81) (married name not revealed) formerly flourished as a PA in London; she is now married to a fruit-machine millionaire.

Oliver CULLEN ('78) writes: "I studied law for two years - loathed it. Re-studied Greek, took PGCE, & taught for four years in Cheltenham. Recently ('89) moved to Clifton College, Bristol, where I teach Classics, run the hockey, help with cricket, & generally do everything a school-master should. I'm *loving* it."

Richard CUMMING-BRUCE ('83): investment analyst, Leopold Joseph, '86 ...

Andrew DAVID ('78) at first TEFLed at private establishments in London & elsewhere; since '84 he's specialized in teaching English to *resident* speakers of other languages, both for local authorities & in industry. He's travelled in France, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey & Albania; his interests include music, theatre &

puppetry. He lives in Walthamstow, & works in Tower Hamlets. Now imbarbate.

Keren DAY ('84), formerly an estate agent, is now alleged to be really big in insurance. She lives in Surrey.

Stephen DAY ('80) was training as a chartered accountant in '83 ...

Paul DENNY ('74) was with Nestlé's (catering, buying, selling) in '78 ...

Cherry DONOVAN ('79): with a Building Conservation Trust in '82 ...

Sarah DRAPER ('84) is an underwater archaeologist. She worked briefly in the psychiatric ward of the Royal Free Hospital, Hampstead, then spent most of '89 diving in (or off) Australia, working with various maritime archaeologists, & with Adelaide Univ. After that, she read for an MPhil. in marine archaeology at St. Andrew's, & investigated a 16th-c. wreck at Poole. She is now Diving Archaeologist at the Maritime Museum at Greenwich, working on Roman boats found in the Thames.

Frances DRAUGHN ('79), now **Mrs. Henry CUBBON**, worked in advertising & studied art history in the early '80s. From '87-90 she lived in Paris (the Rue de Rivoli, no less) where she was accounts manager for Burson Marsteller, then *directrice des rélations publiques* with the international advertising agency Lintas. She's now PR manager for Prestige & Collections, the fragrance group of l'Oréal, & for Helena Rubinstein. She lives in SW19, & is expecting a baby in April '91.

Penny DUGDALE ('76), now **JENNER**, worked with horses ('76-82) in Kent, Derby & Notts., where she helped set up the Hon. Mrs. Chaworth Musters' Thoroughbred Stud. Then secretarial course, '82; temping '83-4; stud hand in Sussex '84; married '85; apple-picker '85; more work with horses for Australian bushman in Kent, '86; secretary with estate agents, '87; living at Newmarket & secretary with bloodstock agent there since '88. No children, 3 Labradors. Would like to contact U.S. friends **Nelda** & **Mary-Lou** (Lopes).

Ruth EDMONSON ('84), now **PRIOR**, worked from Feb. '88 at the Museum of London, first as a field archaeologist, then supervising finds retrieval & processing on various Roman sites in London. In Oct. '90 she was made redundant along with some 300 others. She married Andrew (an Economics graduate from Exeter) in Aug. '90; they live in SE3.

Lucy EDWARDES-EVANS ('80) lived in Greece from '84 to '87, engaged in research on the *Oktoechos*, a Greek Orthodox hymnbook. During that period she also took lessons in Byzantine chant, helped with a Byzantine survey on Kythera & with restoration & recording in the Zagoria mountains near Ioannina, was involved with many activities of the British School (subsequently student representative on the Cttee. in London), & worked in the Agora Museum at Athens. On returning to England she was completing her MPhil. thesis for Manchester Univ. when her research materials were stolen ('89). Hence a change of career: she's now a silversmith, attending courses at the Sir John Cass College, London, & working in London with the silversmith designer Jocelyn Burton. She lives in SE8, & in Kent.

Gill EDWARDS ('74), now **MATTHEWS**, was a milkman ("milkmaid"?) for six months, but gave it up because it was so boring & mucky. She now lives in Surrey, & is a freelance translator (German into English), specializing in translating pharmaceutical research papers. She married John on a Wings "Wedding in Paradise" holiday on a beach in the Seychelles in Nov. '86; their daughter Holly was born in '89.

Carol EVANS ('63), now **Mrs. John GLUCKER (Res Gestae II**, 1990): MA in Classics, Tel-Aviv, '86; her thesis on Roman & Byzantine Gaza was subsequently published in the *B.A.R.* series (Oxford '87); whence also a lecture given at Exeter in '86. In Tel-Aviv she has worked as research assistant to a professor of classical archaeology, written abstracts of articles on the Middle East for *Mid-East File*, excavated at Apollonia, & worked in the Univ. library. She has also translated a number of books & articles, mainly on historical subjects, from Hebrew into English. She lives at Kfar Saba, but is in England this year. Their elder daughter Ruth married **Ivor Ludlam (Res**

Gestae V, 1993) in '87; she's now in her third year of a General BA at Tel-Aviv. Their younger daughter Ilana finished high school in '90 & is now starting her 2 years' national service in the Israeli army.

Simon EVANS ('78) taught Classics & organized tennis & badminton at Watford Boys' Grammar School, '83-7. He enjoyed teaching, but resigned chiefly because the National Curriculum was causing a decline of classics in state schools. He then worked briefly in local government before TEFLing in Spain ('88), where he taught in Valls, a small town in Catalunya. He returned to local govt. in '89: now committee co-ordinator for Kingston-upon-Thames, & studying for the Inst. of Chartered Secretaries & Administrators exams. He lives in Wimbledon.

Alison FARROW ('76): PGCE '80 ...

Neil FERGUSON ('83) has travelled round most of the US states, learning to ski in Colorado, working on a fishing-boat in the tropical waters of Florida, & finally visiting Hawaii. In '88 he returned to London, where he found that "everybody seems to be selling things, intangible unlovely things". CPE in Law (we think) '88-9.

Amelia FITZALAN-HOWARD ('82) lives in W12, & is a client services administrator with Christie's the auctioneers, dealing with their overseas offices & foreign customers - a varied & interesting job. Last year she spent a sabbatical in India & Zimbabwe, where she taught O-level English: "all very rural in tribal trust-land; wonderful people, lots of sun". She's now back in the smog of London.

Sue FOOTE ('83), now **ALBON,** lives in E18, & is the mother of Jonathan (born Aug. '90); before his arrival she was a primary-school teacher.

Michael FREWIN ('69) was living near Southampton in the '70s; his job has been described as "suspiciously akin to Chemical Engineering" ...

Pippa GILL ('72) **wed Dave ROBINS,** formerly lecturer in the German dept. here; no longer in the district ...

Liz GODBEER ('83) is an assiduous & entertaining correspondent: who would like to edit her *Collected Letters,* which discuss *inter alia* brains in buckets & Lady Beazley's knicker-elastic? MLitt. Bristol, where she did research under John Betts from '86 to '89 on Minoan & Mycenean sealstones (including an interlude at the *Siegelcorpus,* Marburg); she has been advised to publish her thesis. Then she worked in Lewes Museum (**Pegasus** 33 [1990] for lurid details); her contract expired in late '90, so she's now searching for another museum job. **She** lives in Hove.

Jenny GODFRAY ('79) took a secretarial diploma at Brighton Technical College ages ago ...

John GOLDFINCH ('72): librarian at the British Library.

Jill GRAHAM ('77): **took her** PGCE **at** St. Luke's in '80 ...

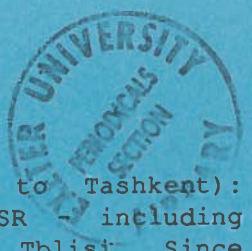
Di GRANT ('79) worked briefly at Poole Potteries & was teaching riding in '84; then did a PA course at Bristol Poly. In '87 she was twice made redundant because of companies that folded (was the mysterious *X NOVELTY TOYS* one of them?), acquired a flat, lost one horse & bought another. She also has a rather hedonistic cat named Oscar. She still lives at Poole, & is now running the accounts dept. of a lively Bournemouth advertising agency. "Busy, impecunious, & happy; still very much involved with riding", she says; & in July she'll be marrying Chris (an Exeter graduate).

Laura GRANT ('83), now **BEVIR,** is taking an MA in Library & Information Studies at Loughborough, after working in an Oxford library. She married Mark (an Exeter politics graduate) in April '90, & they're off to Madras for two years, where Mark has a post-doctoral fellowship.

Alison GRATTIDGE ('79), now **WADDINGTON,** embarked on accountancy in '82, but didn't enjoy it. So in '84 she took a PGCE at the London Institute of Education (primary & middle school). She married John in '83(?); they live in Cambridgeshire, & had one daughter when last heard of ...

Tom GREEN ('75) is working for South-West Gas in Exeter; he used to live almost next door to the **Braunds.**

Ed GRIFFITHS ('77) was a computer



programmer for the RAF in '83 ...

William GRIFFITHS ('83) lives at Wallsend; he is an archaeologist, at present supervising excavations at Arbeia Roman fort, South Shields.

Hilary GURNEY ('79), now **STEVENS**, took her PGCE at Cambridge, & taught Latin & English for three years at Putney High School. In '85 she married Mark, an Exeter Philosophy & English graduate; they live near Tunbridge Wells. She's continued to travel widely (Kent to Tashkent): Scandinavia, Peru, USSR - including that haunt of Exonians, Tblisi. Since '88 she's been taking a part-time MA in English ("classical training very useful for style & analysis") at Sussex Univ., as well as teaching English & Classics at Kent College. Last Christmas she was expecting (a) to write a 20,000-word dissertation and (b) a baby.

PEGASUS: Back Numbers.

24 historic issues of the first series of *Pegasus* are still available. Nos. I, II, IX, XX, XXII and XXIV are out of print, but while stocks last you can have any of the others for £1 each including postage (special discount, 5 for £4!). So have a look at Terry Hunt's index (*Pegasus* no31, 1988) and decide which ones you'd like!

Not only that, but there's...

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T.P. Wiseman, "Titus Flavius and the Indivisible Subject" (an inaugural lecture on Vespasian, with some Exeter departmental history thrown in!);

F.D. Harvey, "Pegasus: a Cup, a Coin and a Context" (the winged horse on an Italian Greek vase in the Exeter museum);

J.W Fitton, "Menander and Euripides: Theme and Treatment" (Euripides as a model for New Comedy);

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);

R.A.S. Seaford, "The Mysteries of Dionysos at Pompeii" (terror and bliss in the Villa of the Mysteries mural);

F.W. Clayton and I.R.D. Mathewson, "Versions and Imitations" (of Pope, Congreve, Wordsworth, Arnold, Hardy; also Horace in quatrains, Lucretius on modern physics and Lady Mary Wortley on epitaphs);

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