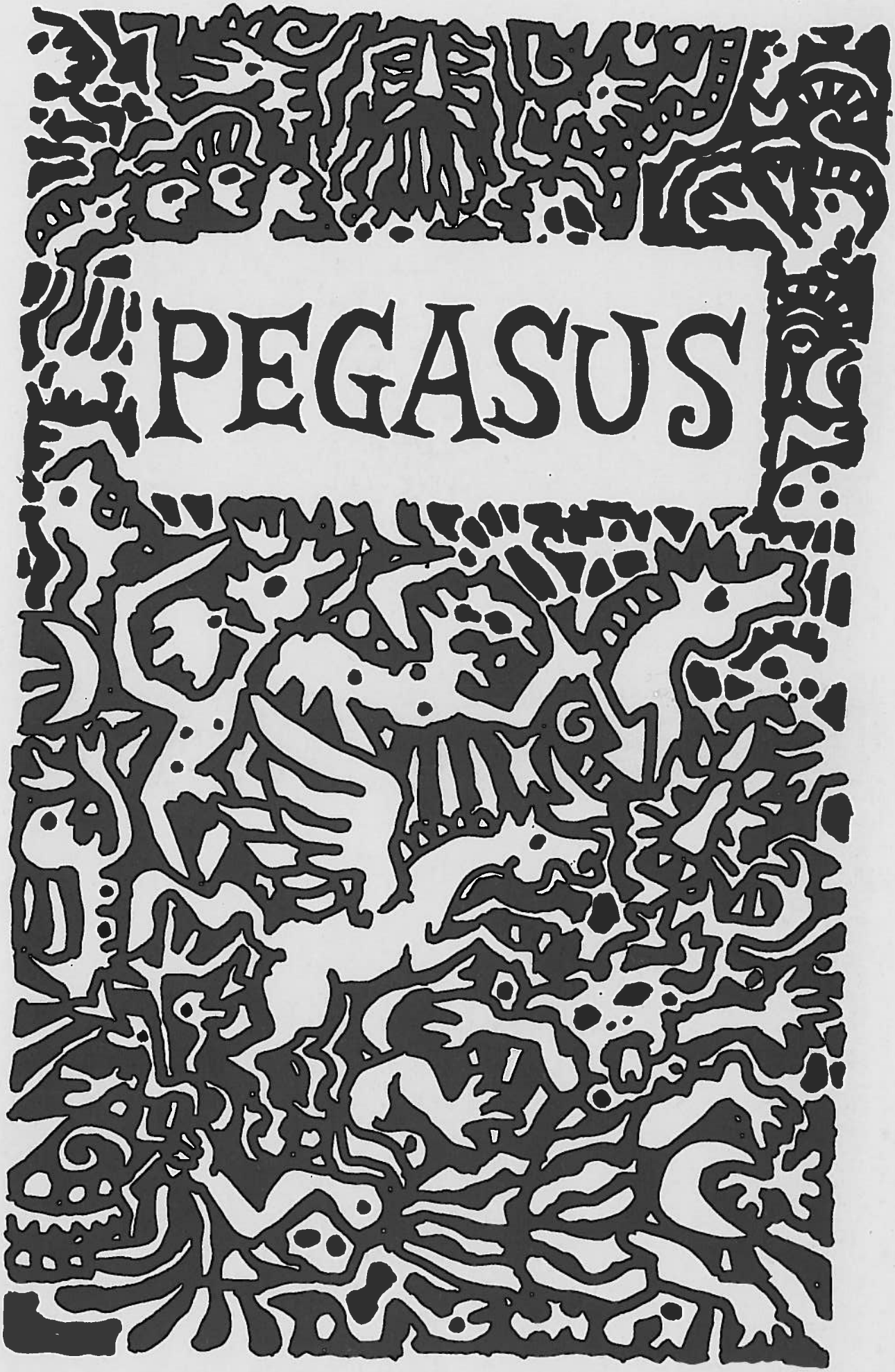

No. 35, 1992

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks to: Janet Crooks for her patience and help in transferring computer files; Rob Orwin for his superb technical assistance, the use of his Desktop Publishing software, and moreover his exceptional ability for putting up with my incoherent babblings; all of those at Project Pallas who know one end of their postscript files from the other (unlike myself); all the proof-readers; and above all, everybody who submitted articles for consideration.

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Kenneth Bass, who designed our cover as well as our full-page illustrations is an artist who farms at Sampford Peverell, near Tiverton, Devon. His interest in myth will be apparent from his contributions to this issue. He was at school with one of the editors, who renewed contact with him after a gap of 35 years, in order to secure illustrations for ***Pegasus,*** thus initiating a fascinating idiosyncratic correspondence.

ISSN 0308-2431

Typeset on an Acorn Archimedes running Impression II

Printed by Exeter University Guild Print Unit.

PEGASUS

The Journal of the Exeter University Classics Society

EDITORIAL

Editing Pegasus during election year suddenly reveals to the Editor that there are striking parallels between journalism and general elections - namely that they both never turn out as you expected. So although I set out with good intentions to make this as balanced a magazine as possible, both Greek and Roman, serious and humorous, the end result is perhaps not as balanced as it could have been. There are many articles on Greece, and comparatively few on Roman history, whilst the serious outnumbers the humorous.

For those who approve of continuity, there is another short article in the occasional series Twenty-five Years Ago, whilst Res Gestae again makes its customary appearance.

This year also sees Pegasus take a somewhat new direction in terms of an anthology; the three articles Cheese in the Ancient World, The Diet of the Roman Soldier, and Food in Greek Religion are three of the essays written as part of Dr. John Wilkins' Food Special Subject offered as a third-year option. His foreword to the anthology appears on page 7.

Above all I hope that this issue of Pegasus provides stimulating reading, whatever your taste or academic interest.

Julian Wilson
(Editor)

CONTENTS:

THE MURDER OF HIPPARKHOS: BLACK PROPAGANDA IN ANCIENT ATHENS

NOEL WORSWICK

Our earliest extant source for the tale of Hipparkhos' murder, Herodotos, makes no mention of a version known to Thucydides and repeated by the author of the *Ath. Pol.*, viz. that the murder was prompted by homosexual jealousy. Since, with one or two embellishments, *Ath. Pol.* seems largely to derive from Thucydides, I shall concentrate mainly on his version in comparison with that of Herodotos.

We know from Herodotos that there was an intense rivalry between the Alkmeonidai and the Gephyraioi, the family of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, for the credit for expelling the tyrant family of the Peisistratidai. It is felt by most that Herodotos received his information from the Alkmeonidai themselves. He insists that they should have the credit; that they were the most vehement tyrant-haters; and implies that the family left Athens shortly after Peisistratus' final seizure of power in 546, not to return until 510. Elsewhere three times Herodotos denies that the Alkmeonidai had any part in flashing the shield signal at the battle of Marathon. The Athenian public was convinced that it "knew" otherwise and showed that on its *ostraka*. Why, then, did the family not promptly feed Herodotos the juiciest possible piece of scandal to denigrate their rivals? It is akin to believing that the editors of various tabloid newspapers would tastefully suppress photographs of a politician in bed with a boy-scout. We may justly infer that when the Alkmeonidai were talking to Herodotos, the story of the homosexual love affair was not current; possibly not even known. Yet Thucydides both in book I and book VI is evidently, with some air of superiority, correcting an earlier version, perhaps to some extent Herodotos, but more probably an author lost to us who clearly thought that Hipparkhos was older than Hippias and the senior tyrant, which is not what Herodotos says.

There are, however, fundamental weaknesses in Thucydides' version. He is sure that there was a plot involving several conspirators. One may conspire to murder a Julius Caesar or an Ephialtes, but no-one conspires to help murder a jealous "gay". One might help to cover up afterwards, but *crime passionelle* does not lend itself to conspiracy. Hipparkhos, *Ath. Pol.* tells us, was marshalling the Panathenaic procession which Hippias was waiting to receive on the Akropolis; but Hipparkhos was probably in the Kerameikos, which would involve the two Gephyraioi having powerful binoculars and the ability to see round corners if, as Thucydides also states, they saw a fellow conspirator talking to Hippias, thought he was blowing the gaffe and acted precipitately. News of Hipparkhos' murder had to be taken to Hippias. Harmodios was struck down instantly, but the ordinary people chased and arrested Aristogeiton. Hippias was popular; he was *euprosodos*, accessible to all; Thucydides admits it. The murderers of 514 were not popular in 514. We also learn from the evidence that in 514 there was a battle/skirmish between some Eupatridai exiles and forces loyal to Hippias at Leipsydrion, where Hippias won. Almost certainly the leaders of the "rebel" forces were the ringleaders of the conspiracy who fled. It must be remembered that the plotters were meant to kill both Hippias and Hipparkhos, not just one, though we may allow that the Gephyraioi asked to be allowed to deal with Hipparkhos on personal grounds. What was really going on? I shall return with my hypothesis later.

What became and remained enshrined as Athenian lore? Some time between 509 and 500 statues were erected to the two Gephyraioi. Carried off by Xerxes, they were smartly replaced in 477 by a new pair of statues by Kritios and Nesiotes. At some point in the 430s a decree proposed by a man named - - - - kles gave to the eldest descendant of Harmodios and Aristogeiton in perpetuity the same rights as Olympic victors of attending all state banquets and many other rights of honour. (Does this also imply that both the tyrannicides were married or were the descendants collateral?) Even after the forcible overthrow of the democracy by Antipater after Alexander's death, the Athenians voted that the families of the tyrannicides alone should keep this honour. Interestingly though, Hypereides, the orator, remarks in one of his speeches that it is against the law to slander Harmodios and Aristogeiton or compose rude songs about them - though the subject of the speech is forcibly reminded that the Athenians don't even forbid drunks to slander their ancestors. As a rule there was no law of slander for individuals in Athens, so why were those two men,

long dead, a special case? Who might wish to slander them and what form might such a slander take?

The claim of the Alkmeonidai to be tyrant-banishers rested principally on the account that they had won influence at Delphi through rebuilding the temple at their own expense and thus the Pythoness was persuaded to tell any Spartan consulting the oracle that Sparta "should free Athens first". Herodotos attributes this directly to Kleisthenes the lawgiver. The Alkmeonidai backed this claim with the spurious story about having left Athens for good, which is contradicted by an inscription which clearly declares Kleisthenes to have been archon in 525/4, and therefore resident in Athens. In general the Alkmeonidai would have been fortunate at any time, in that their claim automatically linked Athenian freedom with Spartan intervention in their affairs. After 479, if not before, any reminders of this would not have been at all popular, nor its connection with the fact that the Spartans only got the Peisistratidai out because the family children fell into their hands, thus suggesting that the Peisistratidai still had a healthy popular following.

A further piece in our jigsaw: Dikaiogenes, head of a wealthy and distinguished family of democratic persuasion, had several children, and there is a strong case for accepting that one of them married Kleon, and that another married Proxenos, the leading Gephyraios of his generation. Plutarch suggests that some time between 435 and 431, amidst other attacks, Perikles was attacked or prosecuted by Kleon on a financial charge. If a harassed Perikles wished to appease the democratic left, the political heartland of the Gephyraioi, Dikaiogenes' family and Kleon, and to disavow his unwanted ties with the Alkmeonidai with an eye to Spartan propaganda, would it not have made good sense for - - - - kles to propose honours in favour of the Gephyraioi and further belittle Alkmeonid claims? Some time later in the 420s Kleon tightened up the Athenian laws against homosexuality.

The hypothesis. In 514 there was a conspiracy. It involved Gephyraioi, Alkmeonidai and others. Why else did Alkmeonidai flee in 514? Why else a battle at Leipsydrion? In the conspiracy the Gephyraioi were to knife Hipparkhos, and others, possibly the Alkmeonidai, were to knife Hippias. Something went wrong. Someone gave the wrong signal, or at the wrong time; or someone misinterpreted the signal. Did the Gephyraioi move too soon or did someone, such as the Alkmeonidai, "bottle out"? What were the recriminations in exile? Did Aristogeiton under torture, as the *Ath. Pol.* addition says, reveal names? If this is a possibility, one may deduce the bad blood betwen two powerful families and future rivals. One may imagine Alkmeonid fury at the setting up of statues; more fury later as they become again "accursed" and medisers, and yet more statues go up. Bankrupt of political credit after Marathon whatever they may tell Herodotos, hearts sink even further after the legislation of Ephialtes, and the increasing influence of their hated rivals, amongst others, in the 450s. Still, Perikles was "one of their boys"; but Perikles didn't want to be. What is more he wanted the support of the Gephyraioi and their allies; no-one wanted the albatross of the Alkmeonidai round his political neck. However, in the 420s, one moment of joy: Kleon, probably the most influential spokesman of the group, not a smart, young *neos*, but an old-fashioned, lapsed Primitive Methodist socialist, has got fed up with bright young aristos "tarting about" and passes his restrictive legislation. What hypocrisy! - a favourite political smear. Everyone knows that Harmodios was *kalos* to Aristogeiton; really good propaganda must have a tinge or hint of the truth. We all know why they *really* killed Hipparkhos. Thucydides does not like Kleon or "socialists". However, Harmodios and Aristogeition have descendants, honoured descendants. They were married, and not to each other. Athenians feel insulted and outraged, so there is a law forbidding anyone to slander the great tyrannicides. The evidence is very slender, but the hypothesis does encompass all aspects of our three main versions.

TRAVELS IN NORTHERN GREECE

DIANE TURNER

When the unplundered tomb of King Philip II was discovered in 1977, the finds were cleaned and put on display within a year, but it was another fourteen years before I was to visit them.

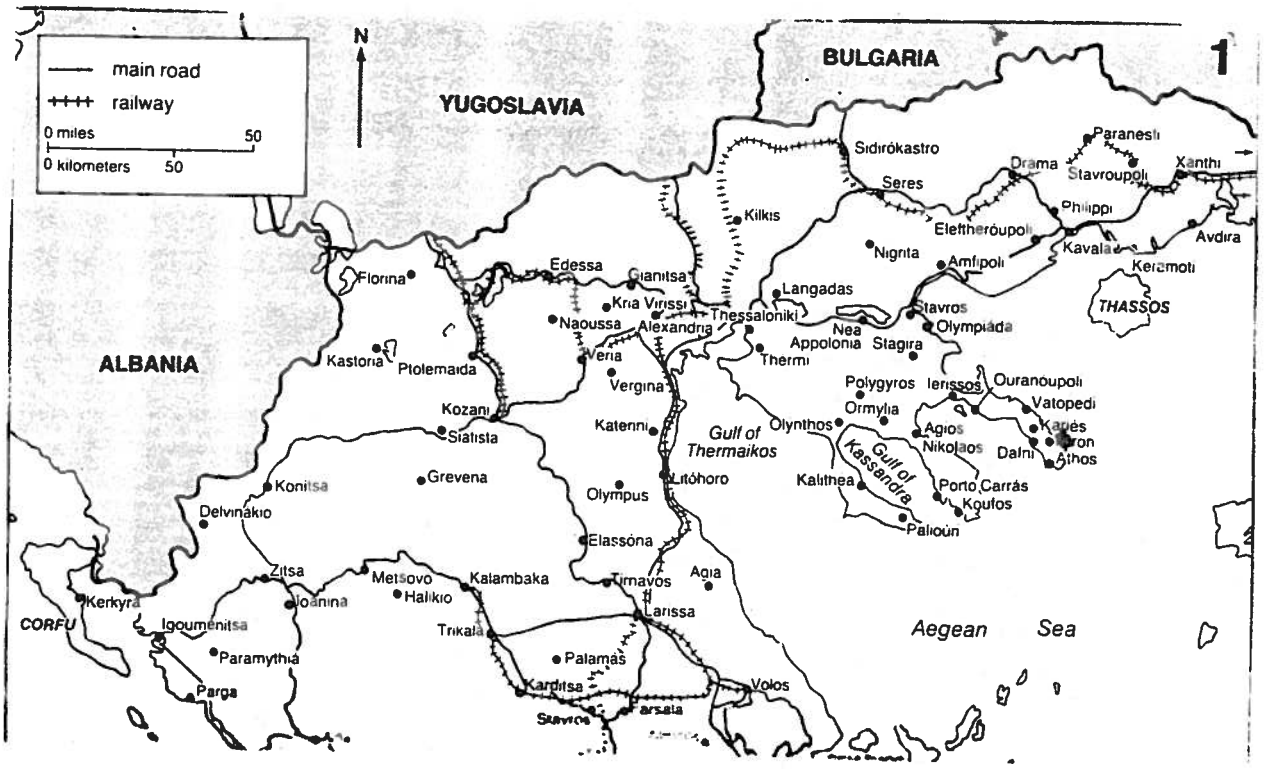
My plan was to visit as many of the ancient sites in Northern Greece as possible, during a brief ten-day holiday, and after a night in Athens I flew to Thessaloniki. Still recovering from a delayed Gatwick night flight and an 8.00 a.m. take-off to Thessaloniki, I decided to go immediately by bus to Verria, rather than stay in the noisy, albeit elegant city. Verria is a busy, unlovely town, whose redeeming feature is its beautiful view over a fertile plain of olive and fruit trees, and a small museum with good displays of local finds, Hellenistic and Roman. However, the main reason for staying there is its proximity to Vergina, a short bus ride away.

The journey from Verria to Vergina takes about half an hour, and goes through a rich agricultural area of fruit and vines. The countryside is at its best in April and May - a mass of wild flowers, most notably poppies - their colour spreading a bright red carpet across fields and roadside verges, and blooming haphazardly amongst the stones of ancient sites. The small village of Vergina is the site of the tomb of Philip II, father of Alexander the Great, and of the Royal Palace. The plain stretching to the village edge is freckled with more than 300 tumuli, a cemetery which was in use from about 1100 BC for some 800 years. It was here that three royal tombs of the fourth century BC were discovered. The uppermost one had been previously looted, but the first complete ancient Greek painting to be found, the Rape of Persephone by Hades, was perfectly preserved. Next, at a depth of 5 metres, a larger tomb, in the form of a Doric temple, contained some of the most spectacular finds of this century: a marble sarcophagus enclosed in a gold casket whose lid bore an engraved gold sunburst - the emblem of the Macedonian kings. Inside was found a beautifully wrought, delicate wreath of gold oak leaves and acorns. Silver vessels, armour, gold, bronze and ivory shields, and five small marble heads were also found in the tomb; the heads are claimed by the archaeologist, Manolis Andronikos, to be of Philip and his family. All of these treasures are now in the National Museum in Thessanloniki, along with silver and bronze vessels from Derveni, and exquisite gold jewellery from Pella. Although the museum entrance charge is one of the highest in Greece, a reduction of 50% is given to students in production of an NUS card, and entrance is free to all on Sundays.

Thessaloniki, Greece's second largest city, lies on the beautiful, but polluted, Thermaic Gulf. It has an elegant promenade lined with shops and cafes which is very popular for the evening volta, and the city itself has smart shops and restaurants. As it is laid out on a grid pattern, it is very easy to find your way about. The city's 2500-year history means that the remains include Hellenistic, Roman, early Christian, Byztantine, Venetian and Turkish. The Venetian White Tower, built under the Turkish occupation, is the city's most famous landmark, and is now an excellent museum containing many early Christian finds, mosaics and icons. Unfortunately, very little of labelling of the finds is in English, Nearby the magnificent arch of Galerius has detailed and well preserved depictions of Roman victories, and a little further on, the Roman agora and Exedra can be seen. The great number of early Christian Churches with their well-preserved wall paintings and the walk up to the old city walls and the old Turkish quarter will provide enough of interest for several days if you have the time. Make time, though to treat yourself to the best loukoumades (doughnuts and honey) in Greece in Aristotle Square.

From Thessaloniki, I took a bus to Kavala (two and a half hours - £2.50 at 1991 prices). I was travelling in mid-May when the weather was mild and warm, and on this particular afternoon, the temperature was in the mid-70s, but unusually overcast and humid. Every window was closed, the one next to me jammed tight. All the local people were bundled up in jumpers and furry boots, whilst I, the obvious tourist in T-shirt and shorts, almost passed out from the heat and the suffocating atmosphere. The scenery, however, took my mind off it: magnificent plains of fruit and olives against a backdrop of fir-covered mountains topped with swirling mist, and everywhere, poppies.

Kavala, bigger than I expected, started out as a fishing port, above which the houses of the town cluster precariously, tier upon tier,



overlooking the harbour. Now, though, the town has expanded in the manner of many Greek towns, with many ugly concrete office blocks and shops surrounding the occasional once beautiful, now dilapidated, old mansion, whose shutters swing against the windows of empty rooms. I was staying near the harbour, where you can rent rooms cheaply in the old Turkish Quarter above. A walk up through the narrow streets passes old Turkish houses with overhanging balconies, and the original Turkish baths, now used as a pleasant cafe, where the tables are set around the old courtyard. At the top off the hill are the remains of a Byzantine castle, only standing walls now, overgrown with weeds, but offering magnificent views over the town to the sea. Nearby is the eighteenth-century house of Mehmet Ali, a Turkish merchant, and founder of the Egyptian Royal dynasty, whose last remaining member was King Farouk. The house is now a museum, and although disappointingly devoid of furniture, it is interesting for its architectural features, notably the Women's Quarters, with their wooden lattice screens from behind which the women could look out from the harem without being seen. There is also a dumb waiter, so that meals could be sent up to them without contact with the male staff. Leaving the house, and walking back down to the harbour, you pass the aqueduct built on the Roman model, but much later - dating from the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, in the sixteenth century.

Kavala is close to Philippi - less than half an hour by bus. Together with Pella and Amphipolis, Philippi was one of the three major cities of the Macedonian kings. Today, most of the remains are Roman, and indeed the city guarded the narrow gap between hill and marsh through which the Via Egnatia passed, the trade-route between Constantinople and Rome. The same road today passes through the excavated area. The bus stops at the entrance, but the site is sign-posted at least a mile before you reach it, so don't panic as I did, and shout frantically for the driver to stop. He knows what he is doing and will drop you at the right place.

On the left of the road lies the forum of the Roman city and to the right is a delightful small theatre, well reconstructed, and used for Summer Festival performances of ancient Greek drama. To the south of the forum are the remains of an early Christian basilica - one of the architectural failures, however, which marked the slow transition from the true basilica to the cruciform church with dome. The sixth century architect tried to cover the eastern end of the basilica with a brick cupola, but the eastern wall collapsed under its weight, with the result that the sanctuary was never dedicated.

The museum, a few minutes' walk along the road, has early Christian finds and much Neolithic material from Dikili Tash - the site where wheat was first cultivated in Greece. Unfortunately, the Hellenistic finds were closed to visitors when I was there; disappointed, I questioned the curator, who told me the roof leaked and the upper floor had been closed for three years with no immediate

prospect of re-opening. I walked back to the bus stop, passing a wild tortoise lunching on dandelions by the roadside, and was delighted to find I had missed the hordes of noisy local schoolchildren now scrambling over the forum. The advantage of visiting Greece early or late in the season is the lack of other tourists, and in the North I came across only three others. On my last day in Kavala I took the ferry to the island of Thassos, a short distance away. Rich in archaeological sites, both Classical and Roman, Thassos is also a well-wooded island with a developed tourist infrastructure, but it still retains a great deal of local character. Near to the town is the Roman agora, and conveniently next to it is the museum. A walk around the walls of the Classical city reveals ancient gateways decorated with well-preserved bas-reliefs contemporary with the walls (494 BC). One represents Artemis in her chariot, the other, not in such good repair, shows Hermes and the Graces. It is also possible to see the remains beneath the sea of the moles of the ancient commercial harbour. Thassos is also an ideal place to spend a few days relaxing on the clean beaches, or visiting the hill villages where foreign visitors are given the hospitable welcome so typical of the Greeks.

The north of Greece has so much to offer; the landscape is varied and beautiful enough to warrant a prolonged visit, and the wealth of Classical, Hellenistic, and Byzantine remains promise a rewarding and enjoyable holiday.

Di Turner is a part-time research student in the department of Classics, working on gift-giving in ancient Greece. She is also manager of an Exeter travel agents, and Business Editor of *Pegasus*.

FOREWORD TO THE FOOD ANTHOLOGY

The food option appeals to people for various reasons. Gluttony is not one since we have no practicals. What the course offers everyone though is a completely different perspective on the ancient world. Printed here are three essays from 1990-91, two of which, Sharon Sowray's on the diet of the Roman army, and Connie Anthony's on cheese, are concerned with familiar topics from unfamiliar points of view. Perhaps 95% of Greeks and Romans ate cheese at least several times a week. Normally we do not study that. It is too ordinary. We study what a tiny majority did, the poets and the generals and the aristocracy. Here the peasants have their say.

John Wilkins.

THE DIET OF THE ROMAN SOLDIER

SHARON SOWRAY

The Roman army was arguably the most renowned war machine in antiquity, inspiring admiration in both contemporaries and those of a more recent date. The Roman empire was forged in the blood and sweat of the individual Roman soldier, physically toughened by the vigorous training which he received. However, such training would have been pointless if the soldier himself was physically unfit because of the food he was consuming. Diet had long been recognised as fundamental in maintaining one's health. An achievement of such magnitude as the Roman empire would never have been realised if the Roman army had consisted of physically unfit men, suffering from dietary-related diseases. The Roman military diet could thus be said to be integral to the sustained success of the Roman army.

The diet of the Roman soldier during periods of active campaigning and periods of peace can be reconstructed by employing archaeological and literary evidence, though both are subject to limitations and distortions.

Literary evidence is enlightening on the Roman military diet in both a direct and indirect context. Military matters aroused the interest of antiquarian writers, such as Vegetius. Although he was writing in the later Empire, during the reign of the Emperor Theodosius I (AD 378-395), we may infer that his comments are applicable to the early principate. The fact that diet was of recognised importance is demonstrated by Vegetius' discussion of the concern which military commanders must devote to the provision of adequate supplies in his *De Re Militari*. Indirect references to the military diet exist, particularly in the context of the numerous military campaigns undertaken by the army, and are most illuminating on how active service affected the daily diet of the Roman soldier.

Literary evidence may be supplemented by archaeological. The stores lists from Vindolanda, together with the engravings on Trajan's column, can be considered in conjunction with the archaeological fauna recovered from the various military forts. The latter is most diagnostic on the diet available to the garrisoned Roman troops during peaceful periods, although possible distortions may arise due to the nature of preservation of environmental evidence.

During peaceful periods, the Roman soldier was supplied with his basic ration, payment for which being automatically deducted from his wages. Vegetius recommended (III.3) that the troops should have "corn, sour wine, vintage wine and also salt". The basic military diet during periods of peace probably included corn, bacon, cheese, lard, vegetables, sour wine, salt and olive oil, although archaeology testifies to a more varied diet, and this also formed the basic diet ration during war. Such a diet is striking not only for its similarity to the civilian diet, but also its frugality. Indeed, the training was intended to produce a formidable military force able to adapt to circumstances of hardship. In order to drill endurance into the men, Vegetius says (I.3): "Their food must be frugal and simple". Such a diet was thus an integral part of training, important from a practical point of view.

It could also be argued that such food had almost heroic associations. The Romans were obsessed with their idealisation of the high moral standards of the early Roman, symbolised in the food he consumed, characterised by its self-sufficient, simple, Roman nature. The expansion of the empire was regarded as being associated with moral decline, one of its manifestations being the importation of luxury food items: Pescennius Niger "forbade pastry cooks to follow the expedition, and ordered the soldiers to be content with hard tack".[1] The Emperor Hadrian maintained his troops fully trained and "used to live a soldier's life ... and following the example of Scipio Aemilianus, ... he cheerfully ate in the open such camp food as bacon, cheese and sour wine."[2]

The constant supply of provisions in peace time was a colossal task, efficiently administered. A constant supply had to be ensured, not just for daily rations, but for storage in the fort in the event of an emergency, as in Tacitus' *Agricola* where (ch. 22) the fort garrisons, "were secured against protracted siege by having supplies sufficient for a whole year." The official demands of the Roman army were primarily met by the civilian population of the land whose territory the army was occupying. Corn in particular was either requisitioned or purchased from the civilians at a pre-arranged price. Papyrus evidence from Egypt, referring to wheat, lentils, hams, cattle, calves, goats and pigs, as well as radish oil for cooking,

suggests that payment in kind was an additional official source.

The Roman soldier, however, supplemented his official ration from varied sources. Additional supplies were purchased from the civilian populations of the *vici*, whose growth was stimulated by the foundation of the fort, a direct response to the lucrative profits to be made in supplying the needs of the garrison. Within *vici* such as Vindolanda, inns and shops have been discovered, and from Tacitus' comment that "they had forgotten to arrange for the conveyance of the food supplies into the camp" (*Annals*, IV.22), one may infer that the services of the *vicus* were important on both an official and private level.

Inferential evidence on the hunting of wild animals is provided by faunal remains from forts (see Table I), which imply an alternative private food source. It is impossible to tell whether hunting was the prerogative of the military elite, although from the comment of an auxiliary soldier, "we have been hunting all species of wild animals and birds... under the orders of the prefects"[3], one may infer that official sanction was necessary for the lower orders of the military.

In addition to hunting and private purchase, literary evidence, in particular from Wadi Fawakhir in Egypt, suggests that the individual soldier requested food supplies from friends and relations. Typical of such was that made by

Table I : Animals

Unit	Fort	Ox	Sheep	Goat	Pig	Red deer	Roe deer	Boar	Hare	Miscellaneous
	A: Altenstadt	×	×	×	×	×			×	Wild ox
	A: Bar Hill	×	×		×	×		×		Fox
	A: Benwell	×	×		×	×				
	A: Binchester	×	×	×	×	×		×		
	A: Brecon	×	×		×	×	×			
	A: Butzbach	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	Elk, fox, wolf
	L: Caerleon	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Fox, wolf
	A: Caernarvon	×	×		×	×			×	Wolf
	L: Chester	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
	A: Chesters	×	×	×		×	×	×		
A	L: Corbridge	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	Fox, badger, beaver, vole, wild ox, mole
	A: Elslack	×	×		×	×			×	
	A: High Rochester	×	×		×	×		×		Fox, badger
A	L: Hod Hill	×	×		×	×			×	
	A: Hofheim	×		×	×	×	×			Bear, wild ox
	L: Holt	×	×		×	×		×		
	A: Housesteads	×	×		×	×				
	A: Mumrills	×	×		×	×				Wolf
A	L: Newstead	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	Elk, fox, badger, vole
	N: Niederbieber	×		×		×		×	×	
	A: Red House	×	×	×	×	×	×			
A / N	Ribchester	×	×	×	×	×	×			
	A: Rödgen	×	×	×	×	×	×			
	A: Rudchester	×	×		×	×				
	A: Saalburg	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Fox, wolf, beaver, bear, wild ox
	A: South Shields	×	×	×	×	×		×		Elk
	A: Stockstadt	×			×	×	×	×		Wild ox
	N: Turrets of H. W.	×	×		×					
	A: Valkenburg	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Elk, fox, beaver, bear, otter
	L: Vindonissa	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Elk, ibex
	A: Waddon Hill	×	×	×	×				×	Fox
	A: Wiesbaden	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
A / N	Zugmantel	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	
	Totals	33	30	20	31	31	17	14	14	

L = legion; A = auxiliary unit; N = numerus; / = mixed garrison or successive types of unit in occupation

Terentianus, asking for radish oil and fresh asparagus from his sister[4].

The basic military diet in times of peace may be inferred from Vegetius' comment that at the slightest suspicion of enemy invasion (IV.7) provision is to be made for the transportation of fodder for the horses, and vintage wine, sour wine and fruit for the men, into the fort, whilst pigs are to be killed and turned into bacon, and other animals that cannot be kept alive are to be slaughtered and preserved. Anything extra which the soldier required would have been acquired independently: indeed on the Vindolanda stores list, *per privatum* was inscribed against several entries, suggesting that individuals had specially ordered foods. It may be questioned why the individual found it necessary to supplement his official ration. The answer in the case of game animals may be recreation. A further motive may be the provision of variation in what must have been a somewhat monotonous diet, or the provision of food which could not be obtained locally.

The organisation of the catering and cooking is somewhat elusive. Vegetius does not refer to kitchen staff, nor do any surviving duty rotas refer to kitchen duties. Epigraphic and papyrus evidence suggests that a large number of men were involved in the collection of food supplies. Records from Dura-Europos[5] on the Euphrates refer to men purchasing, obtaining or escorting supplies of food, corn and barley, and looking after animals. Other troops will have been involved in making bread, cheese and curing meat. The provision of food supplies was an important aspect of the daily routine.

The basic dietary requirement of the military, and indeed of the civilians, was corn, during peace and war. Corn could be obtained from the civilian population and stored within the *horrea*, or granaries, which have been archaeologically attested at a number of forts, such as The Lunt. Further, corn could be used to form the basis of a number of dishes in addition to bread, such as soup, porridge and pasta. By corn, wheat is normally implied, although evidence for other cereal crops has been recovered: spelt from Caerleon, and barley from lists discovered at Vindonissa (Switzerland). Barley was usually considered to be of inferior quality, reserved for horse fodder and the punishment of troops, including those who had not made enough progress in their preliminary training[6].

Corn was used in the making of bread. Pliny refers to *panis militaris* as being wholemeal bread (*Nat. Hist.*, 18.67). Archaeology suggests that each century was probably responsible for the grinding of corn, and its own baking ovens. Inferential evidence for the milling, drying and storage of grain comes from Valkenburg (Holland), from the detached end-buildings of the barracks. The recovery of millstones from Saalburg (Germany) and Great Chesters points to the possibility of a corn mill, whilst ovens cut into the *intervallum* at the bank of the rampart have been attested at a number of sites, including Caerleon and Corbridge.

The fact that meat was consumed can be deduced from the meat receipts on the Vindolanda tablets, in conjunction with the deposits from military forts. However, there are problems. First, the archaeological evidence may be unrepresentative because of the difficulties associated with environmental evidence. Further, it is impossible to conjecture when this meat was eaten and by whom. Evidence from Vindolanda points to the consumption of young pig, ham, venison and goat. Did this form part of the regular soldiers' diet, or was it reserved for officers only? Davies (1971; 1989) has made a study of the faunal evidence from British forts (see Table I). From this it can be seen that both wild animals - roe and red deer, boar, hare, elk, fox, wolf, badger, bear and beaver - and domesticated ones are represented. Wild beasts in the context of hunting have already been discussed. It is impossible to say whether all the wild animals attested were in fact eaten, in particular beaver and fox. Of the the domesticated animals, ox was most represented, then sheep and goat, whilst pig too was popular. Possibly the evidence for meat represents special commodities purchased for a feast. That meat was eaten during sacrifice for festivals during the military calendar, or at celebrations, is illustrated by Josephus (*BJ.*, 7.16): "A great number of bullocks were herded around the altars: all these he sacrificed and divided among the troops for a victory feast." Such sacrifices would have played an important and regular role in the official calendar, and it could be said that bacon was eaten as part of the daily diet, whilst oxen, sheep and goat, or a portion of those represented among the skeletal remains, were special rations reserved for celebratory meals.

Domesticated animals were important for their milk, which was then turned into cheese, which formed an important part of the daily and campaigning diet, being a portable source of nutrition (see Connie Anthony's article in this issue).

Variation in the military diet can be illustrated by the apparent popularity of seafood (see Table II). Shellfish in particular have been attested not only in forts in close proximity to the sea, such as Maryport, but also at inland forts too, such as Brecon. Such was the desirability of

Table II : Molluscs

Unit	Fort	Oyster	Mussel	Limpet	Whelk	Cockle	Edible snail	Miscellaneous
A:	Benwell	×	×				×	Fresh-water mussel
A:	Brecon	×	×				×	Second variety of edible snail
L:	Caerleon	×	×	×		×		
L:	Chester	×	×					
A:	Chesters	×	×	×		×	•	
A L:	Hod Hill	×					×	
L:	Holt	×	×				×	Swan mussel
A:	Maryport	×	×				×	
A:	Mumrills	×			×			
A:	Rudchester	×					×	
A:	South Shields	×	×	×			×	Winkle
A:	Valkenburg	×			×			Fresh-water mussel
L:	Vindonissa	×					×	
A:	Waddon Hill	×				×	×	Venerupis
A:	Wiesbaden	×						Fresh-water mussel

shellfish as a delicacy that the army was prepared to arrange for their transportation inland. Again, how often was such food eaten? Did they form a part of the regular soldier's diet, were they reserved for the officers' tables, or were they eaten during festivals?

Poultry was a recommended provision in the likelihood of a siege because of its inexpense and benefit to the sick (Vegetius, 4.7). Chicken remains have been recovered from South Shields, Chester and Caernarfon (see Table III) for example. Duck and goose are also well represented, whilst pheasant and guinea-fowl were also eaten. In addition to their meat, poultry provided eggs, and at Vindonissa egg-shells have been discovered.

Vegetables and fruit undoubtedly existed in the Roman military diet, though the former are difficult to recognise archaeologically. However, cabbage was consumed at Chesterholm, and Egyptian papyri make specific references to lentils as being eaten by the army; lentils and beans seem to have been the soldiers' main source of vegetables, the latter having been identified in amphorae at Vindonissa, together with peas and carrots.

Vegetius recommended the consumption of fruit by the army (IV.7), and it is evidenced by the recovery of pips in a faunal context, indicating the variety of fruits available. At Vindonissa, the legionaries ate pears, apples, plums, cherries, peaches, walnuts and beechnuts. Many of these fruits would have been obtained in the locality, although evidence suggests the importation of fruit from foreigners, exemplified at Brough-on-Noe, where an amphora of plums was sent from Spain.

Water was required by troops and horses alike, and the purity of water was a recognised health necessity, stressed by Vegetius (III.2): "The water must be wholesome and not marshy... [which] is a kind of poison, the cause of epidemics." Wine was, however, the most popular beverage. Much of this wine, as attested by graffiti on amphorae, was imported, for climates such as Britain were not conducive to the successful propagation of grapes.

The Roman soldier thus had a varied range of food available to him, although whether this was available on a daily basis, or reserved for important days in the military calendar, is unclear. Provision was made for the soldiers' diet when healthy, and special provision when he was sick. The few recorded cases of illness directly related to diet in peace-time are usually connected with food poisoning. For example, when Terentius wrote to his father about sickness among the troops, it was food poisoning from which he and his comrades had been suffering[7].

When a soldier fell sick, he was prescribed a specific diet to assist in his recuperation. Vegetius (4.7) recommends that the sick should be provided with a diet of poultry. At the military hospital at Neuss (Germany), in addition to medicinal herbs, remains of lentils, garden peas and figs have been found, which one may infer were prescribed by the medical authorities to the invalids.

The diet of the Roman soldier during periods of active campaign is more difficult to reconstruct, since we are impeded by the dearth of archaeological evidence. Literary and epigraphic

Table III : Fowls

Unit	Fort	Chicken	Duck	Goose	Miscellaneous
L:	Chester	×	×	×	Pheasant, swan
A L:	Hod Hill	×			Mallard, woodcock, woodpigeon, coot, unidentified game
A:	Hofheim	×		×	Heron
A L:	Newstead	×	×		Crane, raven
A N:	Ribchester	×		×	Swan
A:	Saalburg	×		×	Guinea-fowl
A:	Valkenburg	×	×	×	Petrel, cormorant, heron, great white heron, spoonbill, mallard, teal, grey lag-goose, white-fronted goose, brent goose, barnacle goose, white-tailed eagle, crane, crow
A:	Waddon Hill	×	×		Mallard, wader, rock dove or domestic pigeon, redwing, bantam, raven

evidence do, however, present a diet greatly different from that available to the garrisoned soldier in peace-time. The Roman soldier on campaign was presented with a different set of circumstances, reflected in his adapted diet.

The normal supply lines operational in peace-time were disrupted by the situation of war. Part of the essential soldier's war kit thus included the means to obtain food for himself, as depicted on Trajan's column (see illustration). There the legionary is depicted as carrying a kit which consisted of a string bag for foraging, a metal cooking pot, and a mess tin. Josephus (*BJ.*, 3.95) refers to the legionaries being equipped with sickles to reap the crops "and three days' ration".

Whilst on campaign, the troops requisitioned supplies from defeated tribes or towns, or received them from allies. Julius Caesar tells us that he did not cease to "importune the Boii and the Aedui in the matter of the corn supply" (*BG*, 7.17). The major source of food was, though, provided by foraging enemy territory. Caesar tells us that "Vercingetorix ... kept all our foraging and corn-collecting parties under observation" (*BG*, 7:16).

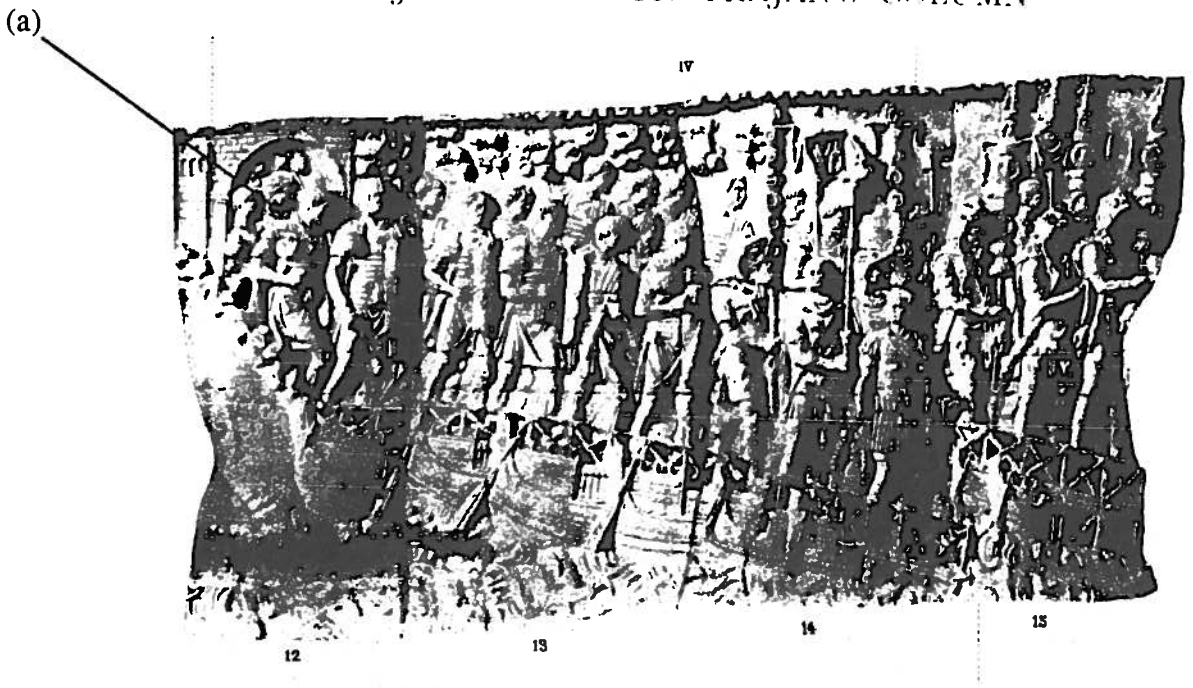
Whilst on campaign, however, the Roman soldier was not always assured of a constant supply of food. During the Civil War Caesar informs us that "all the corn far and wide ... [had] been used up" (*BC*, III.47), whilst the Pompeians were suffering from an "extreme scarcity of water" (*BC*, III.49). Vigorous military training was intended to produce a Roman soldier able to survive in extreme conditions of hardship. In extraordinary circumstances, when the prospect of starvation was a reality to be faced, extraordinary sources of food had to be found. In AD 16, Tacitus tells us that the troops of Germanicus, when shipwrecked on hostile shores, resorted to eating horse-meat, as no other food source was available[8]. In his life of Mark Anthony, Plutarch refers to Anthony's men "eating wild fruits and roots. Bark was also eaten" (17).

Despite such emergency measures, however, the Roman soldier did suffer from a lack of sufficient nourishing food. Tacitus describes how Corbulo and his army, in the face of starvation, were forced to eat "the flesh of animals" (*Annals*, XIV.24) despite inadequate cooking provisions, thereby risking food infection. That the Roman army on campaign was susceptible to diet-related disease can be inferred from Pliny's account at the apparent affliction of Germanicus' troops with scurvy[9].

In conclusion, it is possible to reconstruct the military diet of the garrisoned soldier as well as the soldier on campaign. In the main, it can be said that the soldier had a plain, sensible, if somewhat monotonous diet, supplemented by his own means. It is probable that the food of the private and officer was different. What is most striking is the similarity between the military and civilian diet. Such a similarity is hardly surprising, however. The troops' food would have been supplied by the locals, hence there is a direct reflection: the troops would have adopted the local diet. The military diet was also important in an ideological context: the eating of communal meals inspired comradeship among the men. This can be further illustrated by the numerous references to generals eating the same meals as their men. Mark Anthony is described as setting an example to his

men by "drinking foul water contentedly" (Plut., 17). Anthony was a particularly popular general; undoubtedly he inspired the troops by sharing their hardships, which included a lack of food. Food was thus important as a morale booster; indeed, a modern analogy can be drawn with the sending of food to British troops in the Gulf War for the same reason. Army food may not have been the most desirable in the world, but the army would have been more inclined to fight on a full stomach than on an empty one.

TRAJAN'S ARMY ON TRAJAN'S COLUMN



Roman soldiers equipped for war, from I.A. Richmond, "Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column", in Pap. Brit. School at Rome, 1935, p.7. Note the man (a) carrying his kit - string bag, cooking pot and mess-tin - on a pole over his left shoulder.

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ENDNOTES

1. HA Pescennius Niger 10.3-4; see Davies, 1989, p.188
2. HA Hadrian 10.2; *ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p.193.
4. *Ibid.*, p.52.
5. Davies, 1989, p.52.
6. Vegetius, I.13.
7. Davies, 1989, p.105
8. *Annals* II.24.
9. *Nat. Hist.*, XXV.18

CHEESE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

CONNIE ANTHONY

The production of cheese was an essential part and practical necessity of ancient civilisations. It was a form of preserving milk, as wine was of grapes, and so was a practical food in the Mediterranean climate. It contained the nutrition of milk, could keep for varying lengths of time, and was comparatively easy to transport. It could also be made in summer when milk yields were high, and stored for use in winter when food was more scarce.

The *Moretum*, attributed to Virgil, illustrates the frugal existence of the peasant farmer. Instead of preserved meat hanging over the hearth, old cheeses are suspended in baskets of fennel. His bullocks are kept for ploughing, and so cheese is his only source of protein. Although this poem seeks to romanticise the peasant, a similar diet might have been common amongst small-scale farmers. Meat was usually from animals that had fulfilled their working life, and so was not a continuously available food. For the small-holder and shepherd, cheese was also a valuable commodity. Joan Frayn argues that milk and cheese were probably more important to them than any kind of meat production. Cheese was a more practical foodstuff: Columella says that cheese-making was a necessary task, particularly in distant parts of the country where it was not convenient to take milk to the market in pails (VII.8). The use of cheese in local exchanges of goods is exemplified by Strabo. The Carni, a settlement of people in the Alps, travel down to the plains to swap their cheese, resin and pitch, products readily available in mountainous areas, for essentials that could not be produced in their habitat.

Pliny the Elder also attests the importation of cheese, not only from the neighbouring districts of Rome, but also from provinces as far away as Bithynia. The trade in cheese is exemplified by Apuleius. The cheese-merchant in *The Golden Ass* says that he makes his living travelling through Thessaly, Boeotia and Aetolia trading in cheese with innkeepers. Cheese was thus most probably also an ideal food for travellers. This cheese-merchant is a small scale trader, who, having rushed to Hypata to buy some fresh cheese, finds it has all been bought up by a wholesale dealer. Though the trading of cheese was for most people very localised, the ability of cheese to stay fresh for several days or to be preserved made it a food widely transported. Thus the nature of cheese gave it an important role in the economy of the ancient world.

Furthermore, cheese was a food eaten by all classes in society, and, moreover, one admitted by ancient sources to be so. Their attitude to cheese in fact seems to be very positive. In ancient literature cheese is often associated with the golden age, the earliest and best period of their history. The origins of cheese are ascribed to Apollo by Tibullus (II.3.5), and it is a feature of his romantic portrayal of pre-Romulan Rome (II.5.23ff). Cheese is also used in association with the idealisation of the self-sufficient peasant and his rural life: the humble farmer in the *Moretum* is a good example.

In the *Odyssey* Homer carefully describes the Cyclops, Polyphemus, making cheese (IX.219ff). This evokes a sympathetic attitude towards the Cyclops, before his barbarism is indicated when Homer says that he intends to drink half the milk. Although cheese and milk are essentially the same food, there seems to be a prevalent view amongst ancient authorities that drinking milk is barbaric, whilst turning it into cheese is an act of a civilised society. For example, Strabo illustrates how barbaric the Britons are compared to the Celts by saying that despite a plentiful supply of milk, they did not make cheese. Yet the remains of what appear to be colanders, for the straining of whey from the curd, have been found on several Bronze Age sites in Britain. It might therefore be argued that, in making their sweeping generalisations about "foreign" peoples, ancient writers used the production of cheese as a symbol of "civilisation". Yet it seems improbable that any race capable of making such products such as butter and butter-milk (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XI.241) should not have made cheese too. Judging from ancient sources, then, it appears that cheese was a food held in high esteem. It had romantic associations with the golden age, it exemplified the ideal of self-sufficiency and also represented the civilised state.

The actual process of making cheese has changed very little over the eons of its existence. Similar methods, in varying detail, are described in Homer, Tibullus, Columella and Varro. According to Varro, cheese production began in May and continued throughout the summer. It occurred

during transhumance when cheese-making became the principal task of the shepherd or farmer. Cows'-milk cheeses seem to have been the most esteemed. Pliny says that twice as much cheese could be made from cows' milk as opposed to that of goats, and Varro says it has the greatest nutritional value. Cheese from sheep's milk came second, whilst goats'-milk cheese was regarded as the least nutritious and most laxative. The latter two, however, were probably far more common in the Mediterranean world, for much of the habitation was just not suited to cattle. Cheese production was based in mountainous regions where only goats and sheep would thrive. In Greece particularly, there seem to have been few cattle - Polyphemus' cheese is made from the milk of his goats and sheep. Perhaps the rarity of cows'-milk cheese had some influence on the opinions conveyed by the upper-class writers.

Cheese was made on a small scale, in pails, even on the large estates owned by Columella. The attention he gives to the process of cheese-making implies its importance in ancient society. He says the milk should be pure and as fresh as possible, for it turns sour if left to stand or mixed with water. The milk was curdled using a small amount of rennet. Varro says rennet the size of an olive should be used to one-and-a-half gallons of milk. Rennet came from the stomachs of young animals. Columella says lambs and kids were used, and this was probably usual since goats and sheep were the most common animals in antiquity. Varro says that the rennet from the kid or hare was better than that from the lamb, and Pliny echoes this view, adding that rennet from the fawn was also highly esteemed. However, a rennet could also be procured from the flower of the wild thistle, the seeds of the safflower, or the sap from a fig tree. The latter is also attested by Varro as well as Pliny, who refers to the sap as a milky substance which has the property to curdle milk to produce cheese (XVI.181). Although Columella says that cheese solidified using the sap of the fig tree has a very pleasant flavour (VII.8.3), the use of such plants probably reflects necessity rather than choice. For amongst the peasant farmers in particular, the constant availability of a young animal for rennet must have been limited, and thus a vegetarian cheese was probably more common in the ancient world.

Once the rennet had been added, the milk was heated to thicken it. According to Columella, it should not be brought into direct contact with flames, but placed near the fire. Then, when thickened, it was transferred to wicker baskets or moulds to let the whey drain away from solid curds. The early use of woven baskets in cheese-making is attested by Homer who describes Polyphemus gathering the curd and placing it in plaited baskets. In rural areas, Columella says weights were put on top of the cheese to press out the whey and thus speed up the process.

At this point, cheese either remained as a soft fresh variety, or was made into a hard, dry cheese. It seems that the former was preferred in the ancient world. Polyphemus makes this type of cheese in the *Odyssey*. Varro says that it is more nutritious and less constipating than hard cheese. It was easy to make, simply being removed from the baskets, dipped into salt and brine, and dried for a short while in the sun. However, it had to be eaten within a few days. Hard cheese kept well, but its preparation was more time-consuming. Once taken out of the moulds, it was put on boards sprinkled with salt to absorb the acid liquid. Next it was put in a shady place to harden without putrefying in the sun. It was compressed with weights, treated with salt, and again compressed. This was repeated for nine days and then it was washed with water. It was next set in rows on wicker-work trays in the shade to become moderately dry, and were finally packed on shelves in an enclosed place. This elaborate process must have paid dividends for the capitalist. Columella was an estate-owner producing cheese for a wide market, and says that this type of cheese could be exported overseas. It is probable that this type was generally eaten in towns, whilst either a soft cheese, or a much simpler hardened cheese, was made in the country.

Even when cheese had become stale, methods for restoring freshness were in common use. Columella describes a recipe for preserving a sheep's-milk cheese that is up to a year old. Large slices are cut up and put in a vessel treated with pitch. The cheese is then covered well with a good quality muslin, and the vessel plastered up. After twenty days it would be opened and either used on its own or with seasonings added. The method of soaking to preserve the flavour of cheese is echoed by Pliny who says that a mixture of thyme and vinegar for the purpose is well known. In addition, cheese was flavoured and preserved by smoking. Cheese could also be flavoured in the early stages of its making. For example, pine-nuts could be placed in the pail and the goat milked over them. They were removed when the curdled milk was transferred to the moulds. Otherwise, the pine kernels were crushed and mixed with the milk which was then curdled. Columella also cites thyme as a flavouring which was pounded through a sieve to coagulate with the milk, but in fact any seasoning could be, and probably was, used.

The variety of cheeses in the ancient world was enormous. Not only were flavourings in wide use, but the taste of cheese is naturally affected by differing pasturage, climate and season. Thus

cheeses not only differed in taste between regions, but varied during the year. Furthermore the authority of ancient authors can only be reliable for the time at which they were writing. Moreover, the popularity of types of cheeses that ancient sources refer to is limited to certain classes. The majority of people knew only their local cheese. The elite, however, could try varieties from far and wide because they were willing to pay the additional costs of transportation. Pliny gives a comprehensive list of such cheeses popular amongst the elite of the first century AD Rome. The best cheese he says is the smoked goats' cheese made in Velabra, the district on the west slope of the Palatine. Further from Rome, in central Italy, the cheese of Vestinum, particularly from the Caedican Plain, was popular. Other cheeses imported into Rome were, judging from Pliny, largely from distant mountainous regions. From the Dalmatic Alps came Docleatian cheese, and a Vatuscian sort came from the Centronian Alps. Cheeses from the Appenines, from Ceba in Liguria, and Luna, between Liguria and Etruria, were also specialities. The latter type were famous for their vast size. A single cheese, so Pliny writes, weighed up to a thousand pounds, and Martial reiterates this, saying that one cheese will provide a thousand lunches for your slaves (*Epigrams*, XIII.30). Likewise, cheese from Sarsina in Umbria was unusual, for it was cone-shaped or like a pyramid, a feature which Martial again highlights; the novelty of these cheeses probably accounts for their popularity. Referring to contemporary France, Jane Grigson writes that variety "consists in new shape and new name rather than an entirely new type of cheese". Pliny's account therefore does not necessarily mean that these were the best-tasting cheeses in Rome, but were very appealing. Gallic cheeses were also appreciated in ancient Rome. Those from modern Nîmes, Lozère and Gevaudan are said to be excellent though only short-lived. It seems amazing that these reached Rome in a condition that merited their reputation. Likewise, cheese was imported from Salon in Bithynia. This cheese was made from cows' milk. Strabo talks of the territory around Salon, where Salonian cheese comes from, as having the best pasturage for cattle (XII.4.7). Such were the cheeses favoured amongst the elite in Rome. Surprisingly, those mentioned by Greek sources are different. Athenaeus, in his *Deipnosophists*, expounds the merits of the Tromilic cheese, a fine goats' cheese from Achaia. Sicilian cheese is also extensively praised by the Greeks, but Sicilian food was in general highly esteemed in the ancient world. The correlation between good cheese and good food in modern society is argued by Jane Grigson. She says that "good cheese-making seems to occur in good gastronomic regions", using charcuterie to exemplify this, for pigs are fed on the whey. This practice may well have taken place in the ancient world too, though it is impossible to make a certain argument from the sparse information given by ancient sources.

As in contemporary society, cheese was eaten on its own and used widely in cookery. Bread and cheese were eaten for breakfast and lunch, and Athenaeus says that fine cheese is brought out at the end of a synposium. Cheese is also referred to as a first course at a dinner party described in the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius (66). Cheese was added to flavour bread, and cheese-cakes (where cheese was used instead of flour) seem to have been common. Apicius describes recipes for salads, fish dishes, and barley-based meals all using cheese as a prominent ingredient. The Appendix Virgiliana has preserved a recipe for the *moretum*. A hard cheese is pounded together with garlic, parsley, rue and coriander sprinkled with oil and vinegar. This is eaten as a relish with bread by the peasant farmer. Cheese, therefore, was eaten plain, flavoured, or used as a flavouring in dishes throughout society.

In addition, Pliny describes medical uses for cheese. For example, fresh cheese with honey heals bruises, and sour cheese with oxymel is applied in the bath alternately with oil to remove spots.

Thus cheese was a food widely eaten and antiquity is manifest. It was a staple diet for most, but expensive varieties made it a luxurious food too. It was widely transported and many types known, though the experience of them was limited to a minority in society. It was a highly esteemed food which affected both the diet and income of the majority of those in the ancient world.

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FOOD IN GREEK RELIGION:
The Significance of First-Fruits Offerings and their Role in the Anthesteria Festival.

CRISTOPHER HOLE

Food and wine permeate nearly all aspects of the religion of the ancient Greeks, and are particularly prominent in the festivals. Part of the reason for this is that one of the most distinctive, and possibly one of the most important, features of Greek religion is the solidarity that it encourages amongst worshippers; and therefore food and drink become symbols of this solidarity, since they represent a part of life that is universal to everybody. Wine and grain are especially important, since they are seen as god-given foods: Dionysus giving man wine, and Demeter corn, through the medium of Triptolemos - hence the thanksgiving celebrations in the Thesmophoria and Anthesteria, examined below.

The giving of first-fruits is a common feature of Greek worship, and plays a central part in the Anthesteria. The most basic reason for the giving of a gift to a god is to forge a bond - in giving the first and hence the best of his stock, man is recognising the superiority and authority of the god. The actual sacrifice matters less than what it represents. As far as the god is concerned the giving of first-fruits is no different from the blood sacrifice where the god receives his portion before men start eating - it is merely the occasions that differ. The offering of fruit or vegetables is much more of an everyday occurrence than the blood sacrifice; not least because fruit and vegetables are more easily available than meat, but also because the offering of fruit carries connotations of the golden age in the distant past, where men could share food with gods, and there was provision of food in abundance. This is why in certain cases the giving of first-fruits is complete in itself. For example, in Arcadia, which has many archaic and mythological associations, it was customary, as Pausanias relates (VIII.42.11), to lay out the fruit of cultivated trees, including the vine, and honeycombs and wool, and then to pour oil over them to consecrate them to Demeter; no mention is made of a blood sacrifice, which is perhaps seen as a trait of the present tainted and corrupted race of man.

This idea of corruption is seen in Hesiod's poem *Works and Days*, where the declining ages of man are described. The golden age:

> "both gods and men began the same... like the gods they lived with happy hearts, untouched by work or sorrow... all good things were theirs; ungrudgingly, the fertile land gave up their fruits unasked" (108ff.; Penguin trans.)

is contrasted sharply with the present age of men:

> "Now, by day, men work and grieve unceasingly, by night they die" (176ff.).

Furthermore, the blood sacrifice carries with it a connotation of the mortality of man, since not only is death involved, but the sacrifice is also connected to the fall of man from perfection and the entrance of evils into the world via the Prometheus myth that ends with Pandora being given as a curse to man, as related in the *Theogony*, 1535ff. Therefore, the offerings of first-fruits taken directly from the earth are the most basic (and hence optimum) forms of uncorrupted piety, and are the best symbol of the gift of god to man. When man sacrifices an animal, he is sacrificing a friend - the beast always has to give a sign indicative of his consent - and has actively to take life, as opposed to returning part of the god's gifts. In effect, he is giving away something that he has not previously been given - the act of taking life is impure compared with the picking of an olive, as the beast must be made to consent by the trick of sprinkling barley on its head: no such ritual exists, or can exist, regarding fruit. Animal sacrifice actually takes place on more special occasions, for instance at festivals, when consulting oracles, or when extending hospitality, as in the *Odyssey* (XIV.72 ff.), when Eumaios welcomes Odysseus into his hut: it is never done habitually, as a matter of course, as fruits of the earth are offered in rustic religion.

This is the reason for the Greek practice of continually leaving small offerings of natural

products to minor deities in rural shrines: offerings such as figs, olives, grapes, ears of corn, milk or wine, to rustic deities such as Pan, the local nymphs and heroes, Demeter, or Dionysus. The gifts are, of course, seasonal, and so a perpetual communication with the god is maintained, as the deity receives the first pickings of each fruit as it seasons. Such a practice is a constant feature of Greek pastoral poetry, and there are many examples in the Greek Anthology:

"Sheep folds, holy spring of the nymphs,
streams under the rock, fir tree by the water,
four-cornered Hermes, flock-god,
son of Maia,
Pan, god of the goat-nibbled rock,
accept cakes and a jug filled with wine
from Neoptolemos Aiakades."

(6.334: Penguin trans. p.99)

In the same way, we see that the act of giving is more important than the gift itself: the whole point of a sacrifice is that it is the giving up of a valued possession, and so in the idealised rustic context, rustic fodder is quite acceptable; and as will be seen below, rustic food continues to be important in the festival. The importance of rusticity in piety is illustrated from an example from Theopompos, *On Abstinence*, II.16, where a story is told of a rich man, who having extravagantly sacrificed a hecatomb (one hundred cattle) to the gods, was told by the Delphic oracle that there was another man more pious than himself. On tracing this man, called Klearchos, we find that he is an insignificant nobody, who simply performs all the sacrifices at the relevant times, and worships the gods "not by slaughtering and butchering beasts, but by sacrificing whatever he happened to have, preferably some of the available seasonable fruits which he received from the earth, and rendering first-fruits to the gods".

Food is simply the most valuable commodity that is available to man, and first-fruits are the most precious part of this commodity, and therefore the most appropriate gift. First-fruit offerings also play a part in the way religion defines society, as is shown by Xenophon in the

Anabasis V.3.: Xenophon collects a tithe, and uses it to found a temple, dedicating all the grain received to the goddess Artemis - but everyone shares in the festivities, and partakes of this grain, as gift from the goddess. Therefore, the perception of food as a divine gift ensures equal shares; and by giving the deity an offering, the worshippers give thanks for what is received, and by eating her gifts simultaneously, they express appreciation, according to the laws of hospitality, and show their reliance upon her continued favour. This is what happens in the local harvest festivals, the *thalysia*, which are spontaneous celebrations of the receipt of the harvest, as each community harvests its food, not specifically scheduled, as are the Anthesteria and Thesmophoria. The *thalysia* are a sort of public holiday, where the sacrificing of the first-fruits signals the end of a period of hard work, as Aristotle comments in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (VIII.1160a23ff.):

> "sacrifices and meetings were held... following the gathering of the crops, since they had most leisure at those seasons".

As with other festivals, the offerings, in this case the first-fruits, are brought to the sanctuary. Everyone is present to share in the solidarity that the food represents: the food is a both a token of everybody's labours, as well as the divine blessing bestowed upon the community. As food affects everybody, so this reflects the omnipresent pervasiveness of divine power; hence the need for continual communication through the rural cults discussed above. The communality of the *thalysia* is emphasised in the seventh Idyll of Theocritus, which opens with a description of how all the people of the district converge on a specified location where "Demeter was to be given the first-fruits of harvest", and we are told that as well as a feast in honour of Demeter, "they have set aside the first-fruits as an offering/to thank her for a threshing floor heaped with grain" (3,31-4; Penguin trans.). This is simply the giving of thanks at a local level in the idealised simplicity of a rustic community - the reasoning behind it is no more complex than the *thalysia* in the real world.

First-fruits have a far greater significance than this in the more formally organised festivals however; festivals such as the Anthesteria mark the passing of time, and acknowledge a stage in life. For example, the Anthesteria is concerned with the opening of the previous year's wine, and is set in the spring, thus remembering the old and looking forward to the new.

The Anthesteria takes place over three days, the *pithoigia* (jar-opening), *choes* (wine-jugs), and *chytroi* (jars), and features simple necessities as far as food is concerned - wine is drunk, and a rustic meal of pottage is eaten. The first day differs little from any other thanksgiving festival involving the first-fruits: the jars are opened and libations of the first wine opened are poured for the god Dionysus.

The second day is given over to a ritualised drinking contest of the first wine of the season; wine is evidently seen as a central symbol of civilisation, as everyone (including the women, children and slaves) is given wine to drink in the contest. Participation in the day of the *choes* is seen as a milestone in life, on a par with marriage; if an infant died before it attained the minimum age for competing in this festival, a jug of the sort used in the competition would be placed upon its grave as a sort of token gesture of inclusion in the rite. This ritual was important enough for Aristophanes to refer to in the *Acharnians*, where the hero Dikaiopolis wins the contest at the end of the play:

> "Behold the empty jug! Will you acclaim me as champion of Bacchus' festival?... True to the rules I drank the wine unmixed and drained the whole in one continuous draught" (1227-9).

One of the problems that the comic hero was experiencing was a lack of unity in the city; and by using the festival as a motif, Aristophanes conveys the message that there is once again unity and happiness within the city, as the characters drink and feast to their hearts' content - contentment is equated with communal drinking.

However, although this is true, the first sampling of the wine in the Anthesteria proper is performed in silence, with each participant at an individual table. This is done because the *choes* is a day of defilement; the aetiological myth takes the ritual back to the exploits of Orestes. According to the myth, at one point during his travels after killing Clytaemnestra, Orestes was given shelter, but his host, for fear of contamination from the matricide, could not eat or speak with him. This part of the festival recalls this, as a darker age that was left behind, perhaps when Orestes was acquitted at the Areopagus, and the civilising force of law was given to man; this would be consistent with the celebratory feast on the next day, and with the end of Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, where peace is restored.

Significantly, on the second day before the evening of the drinking contest, all the families would gather together behind doors smeared with pitch, symbolising guilt: as everyone would participate in the festival and receive the benefits,

so it was important that everyone should share the guilt, which again ties in with the aetiology of Orestes. The offering of first-fruits in the spring-time becomes important here, as a metaphor for the community's emergence from inherited guilt and barbarism to civilisation and law.

The day of *choes* also had a function as a day of remembrance for the dead, which would explain the silence: the opening of jars was seen as the release of spirits who would share the festival until commanded to leave on the third day. It was then that the more cheerful festivities would begin, and the feast, with all its associations with life, would be eaten. In either case, wine may be seen as being fundamental as a symbol of hospitality, sharing and companionship - rights dictated by religion.

After the drinking contest, the participants would be thoroughly intoxicated - a kind of divine ecstasy, as it was brought on by the gift of the god; only then would they be in a fit state to truly give thanks to the god, and so at that point all would go out to the shrine in the marsh.

On the final day of the festival, the *chytroi*, a type of porridge would be boiled up, consisting of all kinds of grain and honey. As with all religious food, this is basic, for the reasons outlined above. The aetiology for this meal is that it represents the meal eaten by the virtuous survivors of the Flood, who put all they had into one pot to make a meal. The idea was that the Flood was brought on by a cannibalistic meal (which would be another link with the myth of Orestes, in that part of the barbaric past from which he was purged involved the eating of human flesh), and so the vegetarian meal is a kind of apology.

The festival was greatly concerned with the ideas of rebirth and a fresh start, both of mankind and the individual; hence its concern with first-fruits. In becoming one with the god through wine, one is purged - and this is followed by eating: this act, at which the god would be supposed to be present, indeed invited, acknowledges his powers through the laws of hospitality. True to these, everyone would be able and invited to participate; it is bad form not to offer someone a place at your table, and equally bad form not to accept. Food becomes a common denominator for all men, which is why religion uses it, possibly as a reminder of the all-pervasiveness of divine power, particularly as some foods are seen as especially god-given. At its most basic, however, food is life-giving and seasonal, and these are the most important reasons for its prominence in a festival whose principal concern is with rebirth and life.

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Chris Hole studied John Wilkins' 3rd year food option whilst an undergraduate. He is currently engaged in the M.A. course Ancient Drama and Society at Exeter University. In the past he has edited Pegasus (for a record three times!) and continues to be a valued member of the editorial committee.

A CHIOTIC GUIDE

DAVID HARVEY

In the outerior of the fortress the tomb of Mitrodoros the tomn and the columu mere at the firtress until 1888. Now this columu is at theOmuseum of Berlin. The column id high 0,895 m and midth 0,48 m. On this columu exists the iuseription: "Mitrodoros son of Theogirolos" On a side of this columu me eau see Mitrodoros who shoots mith bow. The cohemu was made siring the century B.C.[1]

Do not adjust your set - and please don't complain about our proof-reading. Let me explain. In 1984 I attended a conference on Chios, at which I noticed several people enjoying a local guidebook. I wasn't able to get hold of a copy myself for love or money - at least not for money; I never thought of offering the former to the hairy character in the bookshop. I was therefore delighted when my friend Mary Rutter sent me a copy of this unique work, and I'd like to share my pleasure with our readers.

So what is it? In 1971 Ioannis Haniotis published a translation of his CHIOS ISLAND WALKING AROUND - a lovely title - alias YOUR CUDE TO CHIOS. It was the work of his three daughters, whose grasp of the *Eglish lauguage* left something to be desired. They seem to have presented a hand-written version to the printer; and he was just as much at sea as they were (Chiots are, after all, famous sailors). Someone hastily stuck a bit of red paper with GUIDE printed on it over the word CUDE, and *this litlle intecllettuall offer* was made available both to *stangers* and *Chios Vips* (I do like *vips*, being only a *pup* [pretty unimportant person] myself).

One particularly charming feature of this book about the *island of the extremely smart mosaics* is the new words that it contains. We've already met *columu*: say it aloud - doesn't it convey the idea of an elegant, slender pillar much more clearly than the dull, lumpish *column*? Again, *tomb*, like *womb*, sounds warm and comfy; the clammy, chilly *tomp* is a good deal more appropriate. I like *workshiped*, *amelgamated*, *seasmore*, *archades* (suggesting their shape), *biteuman*, and *a comfotable steampship*, too. Doesn't *suscculent* sound juicier? Isn't *exeursion* often more apt, particularly in the heat of Greece, than *excursion*? *Great Interpreter Gragoman* - what a splendid title! - but *Kings, Ruleri, Nobles, Archybishops* are even better. *Sckolar* is an ideal epithet for a colleague you despise, and *spititual* an inspired adjective for venomous theological debate. And no-one could improve on *callitechnical inspiritation.*

Furthermore, the guide shows a refreshing variety in its spelling of names. This exemplifies the modern Greek abhorrence of excessive precision (Richard Seaford will tell you about this); their bus time-tables are another instance. Thus the adjective from *bysandion* appears as *Bysantine, Byzantian, Bysantian, Byzantic, Bysantic, buysantian* and *Vizantine*, and the inhabitants of Genoa can be *Genovates, genoses, Genouates, Genovege, Genoveses, Genouate, Genevesos, Geneveves, Genouats, Genoveze*, or *Genouatic.*

It's good, too, to get away from conventional spellings: thus we meet *Libius Andronicus, Irodotos, Titio Libio, Nicius Crussus*, and *Zenovions*; and - more variants - *Stefanios Vizantion* and *Stef. Bysandios, Stravon* and *Stravroon, Voupalo, Voipalos* and *Voupolos*, not to mention *Ieronimos* or *Ieronimo* or *Ieronimoa* or *Jeronimo* or *Geronimo* or *Jerome Ioustiniani* or *Ioystinianis* or *Ioustinianios* or *Ioustinianiani* or *Jewistinian.* Do you recognize *Virgir Marv* (the *Virfgin Mary*)? More recent characters include *ERLE BRAD FORD, GENERAL DE CAUL, HUGU LLOYD-JONES* (author's capitals), the *Duke of Savong, Sliman* (who excavated Troy), *G. Thampson, Vourdelmentis* (Buondelmonte), and *Willamowitz Melladorf.* I'll leave you with one to think about: *The excavations of Sinclair Hunt and John Barntam brought out important findings.*[2]

PREHISTORY

Fossils first (including *stony remains of insects): During the excavations which took place near Thimiama village in 1967, Paleontological fossils were Mastodont angustidiens founded, which are considering the most important from that, which were founded in the world up to now. An elephant head was founded and a jaw of breasttooht, one and a half meter length and 15 millions years of age. Archeologists called these teeth breast-teeth because these were big as breast and the elephands two today times bigger than the fotayones. The above mentioned have been sent to Germany for testing, but unfortunately have not been turned back yet.*

Then came the period of *cooper*, followed by the *epoch of Brass*, when *Minos and his grand son* reigned.

HOMMER

One author receives special attention: Homer - or *Hommer, Hamer, Omiros* - you know who I mean, the man who wrote the *Ilyad* and the *Odessey*, as well as the *Margitin*. Haniotis, a fervent patriot, believes that Homer was born on Chios: *Traditionally we hear that the immoral Homer was born at Volissos. Here he wrote his works "Fishfight" and "Frogfight". The seat where Homer taught is made of ashes of Titanic stone.* As for chronology: *It is not well known when Homer had been lived. At any rate after Troyan war. The historical Theopombos writes about 800 B.C. Herodotos who lived in 484 B.C. and wrote the Homer's vitae is accepted that Homer was one up on Isiodou date.* But he also gives 900 B.C. as the date when *HOMER the pneumatic sun of the world is born* (*pneuma* = spirit); and Lycurgus met him 100 years later. As for the transmission of the text, *After the death of Zeonodotus his successor Aristophanes Byzantius replaced him and filtered the Zenodotus issue.*

Hammer evidently suffered from paranoia: *He sat dozy to get some rest under an oak tree. Then an acorn hit him on the head walking him up and he said: "Oh! dear hills are you also after me?"* And finally, an epigram:

If Homer is God
Let's respect him among the deads.
If Homer isn't God
Then we have to accept him as a God.

ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL

The *CUDE* describes a well-known 6th-c. inscription as follows: *a marble colomn on which were written the laws of Chios during the Ancient years, which were first the Republicans laws that were decreted by people in the earth. Solon imported these lectunres in Athens.* Architecture and sculpture also *floorished* during this period: there was a *magestic church of Apollo*, and a head which *have private callitechnical value because it is the first head of Greek antiquity which have chiseled on its lips an expensive sweet smile.* And the museum contains *brass jewels, leaden busts,* and *glasses well cooked.*

As for the Peloponnesian war: *On the high walls of Langadas the ruins of the Athenian City were found in 411 B.C. during the Peloponnesian war when Chian were revolted of Athenian alliance and were placed with the Spartians.* A fuller account follows later: *In the limit of Contari was built Levconia according to the historian Thou-kididi really it is called so till now but it is disputed by the later Archeologist who say that she was built in the S.E. part of the island. The most probable is that it mas founded, in 1950 during the excavations in Emporio of pirgi ancient city. Korais said that other was Levkonia which was clony of Chios in the opposite Erithrea and other was Levkonion which existed in that place.* Is that clear?

BYZANTINE PERIOD

The finest Byzantine structure on Chios is the monastery of Nea Moni (or *wea moni*), built at a place where an icon miraculously appeared: *Three Holy Fathers wise monks lived in a cave hogher to the district where today the Monastery exists. One night, they noticed that the forest had caught fire. They hastened and tried to put it cut. But the fire strangely enought kept on there, in a bush of murtle which panadoxically was not burning. They went closer and in amagemon saw an icon, that which today is hung from the branch of a three.* (*Amagemon* should of course be *Agamemnon.*) For the foundation, see the *5th volume of Archives Miclozix and Miller et Diplomata Graeca* [eh?]).

The church *constitutes daring and admirable sample of solution of the problem which for centuries distracted the Architectures. Above the main door there is an epigram: saying Faithful people throw away every viotic thougth keeping yourselves away from ail, because no body who happens to be foul is accepted by God.*

As Haniotis tells us, *Except the beauty of nature there are also here the coloured mosaics.* Note in particular the *serious expression in the front with luminus pnewmatical.*

There are other Byzantine buildings on Chios: the Cathedral (a *Christianic Vasiliki*) contains part of *the holly body of Saint Isidor* (evidently a prickly character); near Kontari, *Monastrery the vestless Pahomios, built the womens Convent*; while at St. Constantine, the nuns still *keep the traditions of the church about breaking of wine* (a misprint for *wind*?) Furthermore, the name "Saint Galas" *is derived from the ancient Greeck Christianic Tradition when one drop of the Saint milk of Virgin Mary dropped and sanctified the place. it is not strange.* But it is strange to come across Saint Hera.

There are secular Byzantine buildings, too: *the fortreess was build according to the saved epigrams about the 10th century D.C. (Dates sometimes cause trouble, e.g. 3th, 12yh and 13rd centuries). Above, the central entrence of the fortress the visitor can see a smoothed the axle*

epigram. The centre door as it is also today perceived was on a big part metalic and was closed after the seting of the Sun with a lot of iron from inside. The Byzantine castle at Armolia's externel face is Keeping sufficiently; and at Pirgi they built towers with enetic fortress around for safe from the pirates with loop-holes fir repulsion of the invanding pirates It maintains as for the division the Middle Ages character and the houses of many floors goin each other with manufactured arrows.

TURKS

Passing quickly over the Genuatic period (*serious tracks of Genovese towers*), we come to the years when Greece was ruled by the *Turkies*, and had dealings with the *Big Vezir*. Not all was gloom: at Mesta there is *a beautiful and engraving calitechnical temple, work of 1737, renewed in 1462.*

We're told a lot about the revolution of 1821: *In Constantinouple famous Chios men were hanged for frightening. The blood of Chios intoxicated the lyrea of Victor Hugo and also inspired the Russian poet (not the Italian composer) Poutsini. Canaris, was one of the most bravest men which is mentioned in the Universal History. All 200 ships of the Turks navy couldn't go out from the straits of Dardaneliawith out fearing the fereship of Canaris. He passed the entrance of innumerable canons one night ant put fire to the Flag ship. And the flame of the flag ship as a shooting star which lit the souls of the struggling Greeks and warmed the hopes of the resurrection of the Nation.* (That *explot* is recounted thrice.)

No less stirring are the deeds of the men of Psara: *Sultan Mahmoud of Turkish since understood that the war was missed because of the Nautical missings ... But the Greek people has not to make such a National Dishonestry ... Then the Psarian as pure Greek decided the grave death, they put fire to the powder magorine and they shaked off in the air with the invaded Turk; later, 12.000 Turk people snaked off in the air with the heroics Psarians together. On the Tourkish admiral's tomb there is an epigram which in a few words says; except other the followings;...*

AROUND THE ISLAND

The capital has a hospital *with the following groupes: Pathological, Surgical, Ophthalmological, of Pestilential deseases, and table of blood.* It seems safer to visit some of the villages. We start with Vrodados: *Vrodados inhabitants are generally with hard intellectual bite. Vrodados district is proud of possessing the seat of immoral Poet, Homer.* At Kardamyla (a photo of which bears the puzzling caption: *The old offer bu G) Mr. and Mrs. Xylas bougth an old house threw it down and offered the lot to the municipality*; and it has a *big bus which is used to gather the rubbishes. Besides, the region of Kardamylas has many beauty places which must be visited by someone.* Giosonas *is aromatic because of the aroma which is coming from the around gardens and orchards scatter; whereas at* Tholopotami, *besides the wildrocks sharp, also exist dark hollows full of rifts very deep immense bottomless with dark holes.*

Armolia *is progressive and evolved. Because of clargish earth, it has from centuries, Agioplastc Industry is make earthen vases and works of Art of different inspiritation. As for* Pirgi, *the village and Church visit almost all the tourists,* which must save them a lot of bother; rather like those Golden Age fish and sausages that offered themselves to mankind ready cooked. Emborio *is a wonderful beach with black pebles and lilads commercial station in the ancient times. The vips of the country built cheerful villas. In the southerm part, black lilads separate the attention of the visitor.*

At Kambos, *the survivig Philippos Argentis imposed himself through his formation, an adorer of Chios, appointed honorblya by the Greek Gobernment, counselor during his lifelong of the Greek Embassy in London. It is worthy to care, that he resurrectionated the before two centuries family house. Inside this civilized center propound two ancestor busts.* There's an orange-juice factory at Kambos too, where *aromatic oils are produced from the fruits pealings* - like the bells of St. Clements? Or you could visit the Nautical club, which *constitutes an arsenal by which are suplied with athletic panoples the young people for the beautiful struggle of life. The youth is concentrated there, instead of at coffees.*

At Karfas, *the sand changes locality without being observed. This sand has curable qualities. Those suffering from artritism and reumatisms, open holes, and enter into them after 3 hours. There is radio energy in the sand due to the influence of solar and worldly rays. It is magic when you are lyingel in the cool sands the starlit sky foils the golden light of the moon. The atmosphere smells beautifully of the aroma from the shapeless, savage white lies which spread a superd aroma* (less intriguingly, wild white lilies.)

At Pyrama, *the disproportionate of the Church against the inhabitants is also a noteworthy point. There is the icon of Profet Elias with Miloti* (what's that? his mantle?), *which he was keeping when he was resumpted to the sky.*

The inhabitants of this village have been transported by pipes. Parparia *is famous for inhabitants's gravery. They often repulsed with generosity the attacks of pirates The fresh air, the excellent taste of the water gives a calm and pure glitter to the inhabitants.*

The church on the off-island of Psara has been decorated by *two selected artists of America, Jouliett May Freijer of Mascachussets of the School of Good Art of California (having gratuited in 1949) and David Asseman, who visited the Saint Mountain.*

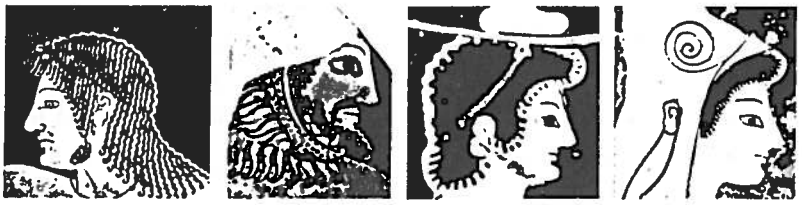
Unfortunately the publishers have forgotten to bind pages 113-28 into my copy, though they've kindly provided me with pages 177-92 twice over. I wonder what I'm missing; if any reader can send me a Xerox of this section, I'd be more than grateful.

Mr. Haniaras hopes *the visitor will judge me leniently and accept from me a big "THANK YOU".* We owe him a big thank you, and should confess that if we were to try and write a *CUDE TO EXETER* in modern Greek, it would be very chiotic indeed. His book has given me, and I hope you too, a lot of pleasure and inspiritation.

ENDNOTES

1. Here and elsewhere I have not bothered to use the conventional dots to indicate omissions.
2. Sinclair Hunt is a cunning amelgamation of Sinclair Hood and David Hunt; John Barntam is John Boardman - of course!

AVIDKHAR BEY was borned at an early age in Mpidephornt, nroth Devon, Eggland. Graduited at selected Unverity Oxford, he has in the deportment of Klasiks at Etxetera for dirty ears been founded. His member is of Etidorial board.



KEVIN PRIDGEON: THE BEST AND WISEST MAN

In ***Pegasus*** 34 (1991), readers were asked to identify the source of the quotation "whom I shall ever regard as the best and wisest man I have ever known".

It comes from "The Final Problem", the last story in Arthur Conan Doyle's *Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (1893). Within a few days of publication, **Kevin Pridgeon** sent us the right answer, and thus receives the prize, a copy of ***Pegasus: the book***. The runner-up is **Terry Hunt**, who identified it correctly on the phone a few weeks later.

At the end of the *Phaedo* (118a), Plato describes Socrates as "the best, wisest and most just man I have ever known". Watson's characterization of Holmes is almost identical. Is the echo deliberate or unconscious? Deliberate, I reckon, since the quotation is practically *verbatim.*

FDH

CLASSICS IN ZIMBABWE

ANASTASI CALLINICOS

If I walked into a lecture room at a British university and inaugurated a course on Classical Civilisation by mentioning, say, Nigidius Figulus or Polyaenus of Lampsacus, I would not be all that disappointed if I looked up and saw a sea of faces registering utter blankness. If, on the other hand, I began a similar course at the University of Zimbabwe with the names Julius Caesar or Homer I would elicit exactly the same response. The schools here give no preparation for a course in Classical Civilisation: children learn African history and some modern European history at A-level, and though Chaucer and Shakespeare may be set-books for A-level English, any classical allusions would be explained in isolation. if at all. I have to introduce Zimbabwean students to the classical world from scratch, with a map of the Mediterranean, explaining the geography of Greece and Italy, the climatic peculiarities, and the "BC-AD" dating system. In other words, I have to start with knowledge which students in Britain would have picked up as children; absorbed from the culture in which they live, some acquaintance with the classical world would gradually and invisibly have formed part of their general knowledge, even if they had never learnt Greek or Latin at school.

I am not saying that ignorance is the prerogative of one hemisphere, but that the degree of ignorance in any social group depends on circumstance. Our students face almost insurmountable odds in the battle against ignorance: most of them come from a rural background far removed from modern life. This is no pastoral idyll: their families eke out an existence on land of meagre fertility and buoy up their subsistence by sending at least one son or daughter to town to join the urban *plebs*, a great deal of which is unemployed. At the same time, the Ministry of Education has expanded the network of schools throughout the rural areas, but this expansion has been so rapid that the recruitment of competent teachers has not matched its pace.

Those who manage to pass their A-levels with fairly high grades are enrolled in the University. With the dramatic increase in the numbers of schoolchildren, the population of potential undergraduates has risen in proportion. Consequently the University's student population has mushroomed from about 2,000 in 1980 to about 10,000 in 1990. This extraordinary rise in numbers has had a devastating effect on the University. Staff and physical facilities have not been expanded at nearly the same rate; the library is beleaguered and the administration cannot cope.

This may seem a very negative picture; nevertheless, I believe it is a realistic one. But the problems of the University are not isolated - they represent in minature the problems we face as a nation. When economic recession hits the First World, the Third World suffers repercussions on a catastrophic scale. Trade dries up; only black market money has any value; the gulf between rich and poor grows wider and wider. Our graduates can hope for little more than a mediocre position in an already overflowing Civil Service. The outlook is indeed gloomy; but there are many positive aspects here. The students are generally eager to learn, diligent and acutely aware of the benefits of education. Many students enrol for Classics courses because they realise that there is a huge gap in their educational development. They may have read Milton and become conscious of the wealth of literature before him; they may have studied political philosophy and become curious as to its roots. They struggle to work in a language in which they have been poorly taught and have great difficulty with proper names - you should see the variations on the names Epaminondas or Clytemnestra I might find in one essay!

In a way they are helped by the degree system followed in the Arts Faculty. The BA General programme requires students to take three subjects in their first year, two courses in each, making six courses in all. The student may retain two subjects throughout the three years, but in the second year he or she may change the third subject, which is then dropped in the third year. If he or she achieves an Upper Second or better at the end of the first year, he or she may enter the Honours programme, whereby only a single subject is studied for the next two years. This means that students enjoy a degree of variety in their studies and undergo a sort of second education. Of course, the process is longer - they can only specialise as postgraduates - but perhaps necessary, given the inadequate basis of their school careers.

Our subjects are Classical Studies, Classics,

Greek, and Latin. Little need be said about the first, as its type has become the bait to hook students into dwindling Classics departments all over the world. In the first year we teach one semester of Greek Studies followed by one semester of Roman Studies. Literature is made up of four sections: Homer, Drama, Cicero and Virgil. Greek History goes up to the death of Alexander, and Roman up to that of Marcus Aurelius. The second and third years attend lectures together; there are four courses in all - Literature, Philosophy, History and Art. In their art topics they have to use photographs; alas, we don't have many archaic *kouroi* in our museum! But *Tyche* has looked after us in the Numismatics section, in that Sir Stephen Courtauld, an immensely wealthy settler in post-war Rhodesia, bequeathed to the University the Courtauld Collection of Greek and Roman Coins, which is world-renowned. Because of their enormous value, they remain hidden away in the vaults of the Reserve Bank, but every second year we have them out on display for the Numismatics students and for schoolchildren. The University has also published two excellent catalogues, one of the Greek and one of the Roman coins of the collection.

Although the Classics department was strong in its earlier years, it has been depleted because of the general antipathy towards the subject. There are now only two lecturers, Jesse Maritz and myself, and Classics has now become a section within an amalgamated department made up of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy. We may have won a small victory against the anti-classics movement, as the University has agreed to give us a post in Ancient History which will bring our numbers up to three. Once this third lecturer has been installed we will offer Beginners' Greek and Latin concurrently, which we are unable to do at present. It is most unlikely that any student will have any background in Greek, which means that hardly anyone takes the Classics course. I was the first Classics student they had had in years; sometimes I take Greek texts out of the Library in which the last date stamp is 1960!

Our teaching load is heavy - about eight courses each; as a result, we have little time for research. We read papers at the biennial conference of CASA (the Classical Association of South Africa) at Cape Town and contribute to our own *Epistula Zimbabweana*, which comes out every year. Nevertheless there are advantages to living in the Third World as a classicist. Without sounding too patronising, many aspects of life in Africa, both good and bad, find close parallels in classical civilisation. The rural population still live to a great extent in a closed, Iron Age village system. Their way of life and patterns of behaviour are still communal and help in understanding the closed communal societies in Greece and Italy. African traditional religion is particularly useful. Here myth is still a living organism; subjective belief and objective analysis can often be confused in the same personality. A striking example of this occurred last year when a doctoral student in Religious Studies came back from his Easter vacation with the exciting news that while he was visiting a fairly remote area in Mberengwa, the people had come upon an *nzuzu/njuzu*, a kind of mermaid, at the pool she was said to inhabit. In trying to escape she damaged her "tail", and was taken to the local hospital, where stitches were administered and she was returned to her pool! "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio..."

All social life in Zimbabwe is guided and controlled by the *mudzimu*, the ever-vigilant body of ancestors, who will punish any transgression of village custom - a kind of combination of the *maiores and* the Erinyes. Thus the spirit-medium, who is "possessed" by an ancestor and communicates with the *mudzimu,* is an awe-inspiring personality. Trees, caves and other natural objects can be taboo, or cannot be passed without a respectful greeting to the spirit therein. The witch-doctor (*nhanga*) is the traditional healer and his use of magic of both varieties plays a crucial role in African life.

One final religious story must be told. Remember Iphigeneia? Well, about a year ago, in Shamva District, only 50 miles from Harare, an 18-year-old boy was immolated by a group of villagers, not to make the winds blow, but rather to provide the local *nhanga* with human organs for use in his medicinal and magical practices. The reaction of Zimbabweans in general was one of utter revulsion; no doubt the Greeks of the classical age condemned such actions in much the same manner.

Students of history would find illuminating examples in present-day Zimbabwe of the transformation of the rural ethos, as modern life imposes change. Just as when the Roman peasantry flocked to Rome, thereby assisting in the collapse of the traditional Roman way of life, so here the influx of people into the cities has begun to break down the social fabric of the rural communities. A Gracchan-style reform has been passed and partially implemented; the reaction from the owners of the *latifundia* has been predictable, if reasonable. To our great chagrin, imperialist expansion and colonisation are not viable solutions!

Despite my criticisms of the University and of my country, I am committed to living in Zimbabwe, not out of any ideological conviction,

but simply because I cannot conceive of doing otherwise. I could say the same for my life here as a classicist: it is what I love being, despite all the problems. Of course the climate helps - one can play tennis nearly every day of the year. The great disadvantage is the isolation. Our library cannot keep up with the rate of publication of either journals or monographs. I have not yet seen even the cover of *Black Athena*! There is no-one here to supervise me for a doctorate and I shall have to accept that such a goal is, for the time being, impracticable (which I actually think is not such a bad thing). The real drawback is the lack of opportunity to live and work in an atmosphere of discussion and debate amongst other classicists. We have no-one but ourselves to dicuss our ideas with, and so it is hard to gauge the pertinence or efficacy of out arguments. This is why it is so refreshing to communicate, even at long distance, with other classicists - David Harvey has no idea what a heart-warming effect his correspondence has had on me!

At the same time it is not easy to tolerate being patronised by visitors from the north - a frequent irritation. Recently a young woman writer, a Cambridge graduate, paid what she thought was a compliment to myself and a distinguished colleague from our English Department by calling us, in Byronic fashion, "sensible Turks".

So, from a sensible Turk on the fringes of a vast and decayed Empire I can only say - SALAAM!

THE TRIAL OF SOKRATES

NOEL WORSWICK

This is not an attempt to spill yet more ink over a much rehearsed theme; rather an attempt to look at the perspective of issues. Last century there was much moral fulmination that the "great philosopher" could be executed and his alternative penalty was seen as a contemptuous dismissal of the unworthy and the unthinking *hoi polloi*. This century it was realised that Sokrates' proposed alternative penalty was part and parcel of a genuine moral and physical courage which few would dispute, and probably his own assessment of his service to his polis. What has surprised in the 20th century is that he was charged, not that he was executed, which in any case, according to anecdote, he could have avoided anyway.

The Athenians from c.650 to c.323 BC were observably, as a rule, politically generous and tolerant; the author of the *Ath. Pol.* says so twice specifically. There were occasional flurries of nastiness such as those concerning the supporters of Kylon; certain assassinations attributed to the Peisistratidai; the murder of Ephialtes; and, of course, the uncharacteristically barbaric activities of the Four Hundred and the Thirty. However, whatever people knew, or thought they knew, about Alkmeonid treachery at Marathon, they contented themselves with ostracism. No-one killed the crassly pro-Spartan Kimon. Very few of the leaders of the Four Hundred were actually prosecuted and executed, although Phrynikhos was murdered. Most of the identifiable ring-leaders fled to Dekeleia, it is true, and perhaps the Athenians, like post-Watergate Americans, wanted to achieve national unity rather than have a self-wounding witch-hunt. Eratosthenes who, on the testimony of one of Lysias' genuine and most able speeches, seems to have been truly guilty of being in the Thirty, was more probably acquitted than not. Yet Sokrates, not even charged with an ostensible, political crime, or involvement, was up in court long after the oligarchic *kineseis* were over. Why?

Qua citizen Sokrates had an almost impeccable record. He had served as a hoplite with distinction at Poteidaia, Delion and Amphipolis. His physical courage and hardiness were beyond question. As a member of the council of Five Hundred, his tribe was the prytany tribe on duty when the question of trying the generals at the Battle of Arginousai, 406, arose. According to one report Sokrates was actually the *epistates* of the day. Whatever, he, or his tribe, refused to admit an illegal motion to the Assembly. He refused, we are told, to allow himself to be implicated in the illegalities of the Thirty. There is no reason to disbelieve this evidence. He was a loyal patriot and a man of constitutional integrity.

He came from the deme of Alopeke, a fashionable city deme; the S.W.1 and S.W.3 of its day rolled into one, home of Aristeides, the senior Alkmeonidai and others. He was far from poor - he had money out at interest at his death. He had at least two children, *meirakia*, by almost certainly a second marriage. So we must be somewhat sceptical of Plato's mythologising picture. His father, Sophroniskos, is reported to have been a stonemason who worked on the Periklean building programme on the Akropolis; his mother a midwife - a two-income parentage!

Philosophically he was clearly an original and combative. He did not flinch from an intellectual challenge himself nor from accusing others of "humbug". Though Plato's *Protagoras* is in some ways, to modern readers, an unsatisfactory dialogue philosophically, historically its context is interesting because we know that Protagoras was one of the sophists personally invited to Athens by Perikles, as was Anaxagoras, and the two had to depart, in the latter's case, according to Plutarch, being smuggled out. However, Perikles' two elder sons are represented as being in the "audience" of the Platonic dialogue. The subject of the *Protagoras* is whether political *arete* is teachable. Another point of interest from Plutarch is that Perikles, at some point in the 430s, was aimed at by Dieitrephes through a decree which stated that, "anyone who did not believe in the gods or taught theories about celestial phenomena should be liable to prosecution..." This, Plutarch suggests, was specifically aimed at Perikles because of his association with Anaxagoras and in lieu of a suitable political indictment. "The people took up these slanders only too readily...": thus Plutarch again. This particular charge is very similar to one of those levelled at Sokrates according to Plato's *Apology*, along with what has usually been regarded as the more damaging charge of "corrupting the youth" - itself also very strange.

What do we know of Sokrates from the evidence available to us in its varying quality? He

lived in Athens. He was intellectually very able. He was a sort of "guru" figure to an unspecified group of young Athenians which definitely included Alkibiades, Plato, Xenophon, and Kritias, who was slightly older. It almost certainly included others, among them some who were prominent in attacking the democratic constitution in 411 and 404. We can also deduce that Sokrates exhibited one trait which is very annoying in any age, particularly to those vanquished in a national disaster - negativity. Sokrates was very good, very, very good, at demonstrating that others were wrong. He was just as good at shrugging his shoulders after doing so and responding, when asked what his answer was, with the "...don't ask me..." line. In times of buoyant confidence people can wear that. In defeat and uncertainty they cannot. It is the "clever clogs" approach. Perhaps too, if we look forward to Plato's *Republic*, Sokrates had sketched some embryonic form of the doctrine of the *philosophoi*, that good men should rule lest worse men rule over them without the examination of the pitfalls in the old Law and Moral Philosophy question: "(when) should good men break bad laws?" which requires an immediate definition of who is a good man/ woman, and what is a bad law. One may reasonably suspect that the inner gang of the Four Hundred and the Thirty had no doubt which "good men should rule". Since our evidence is defective, almost to the point of non-existence, we may suspect that being who he was, Sokrates did not draw in his horns after 402, but because he believed in the rightfulness of inquiry into truth at all times in any age, just carried on regardless; and that Anytos and others, with many a mixed motive for what they were up to, saw certain important oligarchs as Sokrates' "pupils", whilst Sokrates himself saw them as people who had not understood the "guru". Kritias et al. were misguided, even stupid; he was blameless; he just wanted people to think straight; the oligarchs hadn't; *was it his fault?* If the ass won't pull the cart, do you blame the ass or its driver?

In 399, despite his record, many Athenians, we may infer, were not fans of Sokrates. His accusers may or may not have wished to make an example of someone. Why not Eratosthenes? Had Anytos and his fellow accusers been smarter than the Americans, and realised that you did not hunt for "Tricky Dicky's" head, but for the boss of the trilateral convention and others who produced "Tricky Dicky"? Did Sokrates' integrity equally respond that, although they misunderstood his ideas, nonetheless he admitted that in youth they had gambolled round his feet?

For his penalty? Perhaps he had cancer? Perhaps another ten years of Xanthippe and the *meirakia* was more than a man could take? Perhaps he sought martyrdom - though Aristotle's remark about not letting Athens "sin twice against philosophy" stands hard against that; as it does against the pusillanimous Aristotle? Given Sokrates' general, even genial temperament, his undoubted sense of humour and capacity for self-deprecatory humour, had he, like Julius Caesar, *satis diu vixit vel vitae vel gloriae*, and was he really indifferent? Wanted to see what the Athenians made of his last whimsy?

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25 YEARS AGO

The text of Euripides' *Hippolytos* lines 1123 and 1459 is corrupt; in both places the manuscripts offer a variety of forms of thename of the goddess Athena. The two passages have long baffled scholars. Gilbert Murray, for example, in the old Oxford text,is unhappy about 1123, as his *apparatus* shows, and at 1459 he gets out his daggers of editorial despair: W.S. Barrett, in his massive commentary on the play (Oxford, 1964), devotes over a page of close-packed print to line 1123: he says that the line is "puzzling and perhaps corrupt", but is unable to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Similarly at line 1459 he suspects corruption, but adds: "I see no way to emend".

Our late and still lamented colleague Jim Fitton, however, reviewing Barrett's commentary in *Pegasus* 8 (1967 - price sixpence!), conjectured *Aphaias* in both lines, giving his reasons on pp. 33-4. Readers may like to know, if they've not already noticed it, that Jim's emendations now appear, correctly attributed, in Diggle's Oxford Classical Text of 1984 - not relegated to the *apparatus criticus*, but in the text itself, displacing all the readings of the mediaeval manuscripts and the bosh shots of earlier scholars.

RES GESTAE IV

compiled by DAVID HARVEY

Many thanks again to all those whose letters have enabled me to piece this together. I've followed the same conventions as in previous years, with one innovation: the names of those who have specifically said they'd like to see contemporaries are *asterisked. All dates are shorn of their first two digits; the figure after a person's name indicates the date that they entered the department. Home towns now appear at the beginning of entries; postal districts (e.g. SW49) always refer to London. I'll be happy to send full addresses on request. Three dots ... denote lack of up-to-date news.

It would be a great help if those whose names fall into the next alphabetical group (K to M) would send me brief autobiographies without being asked - and news of friends. A letter in early Jan. 1993 would be ideal. If you could spare a recent passport-type photo for my "archives", I'd be delighted.

No news of staff this year, so as to include as much as possible about former students.

CONGRATULATIONS

to **Bill ASH** on winning his battle against cancer;

Cathy BADCOCK, who married Richard May in 89, on the birth of Anna;

Eugene BENOIT on his marriage to Erdmute Eppler in July**;

Frances CUBBON nee **DRAUGHN** on the birth of her son Laurence in May;

Lucy EDWARDES-EVANS on her marriage to Tom Brakspeare in a snowstorm in the Spring;

Chris SHAKESPEARE on his marriage to Francesca in Sept.;

Hilary STEVENS nee **GURNEY** on the birth of her second daughter Rebecca on 15 July, & on receiving her MA at Sussex Univ. the next day;

& to **Vanda ZAJKO**, our first graduate to obtain a lectureship in the UK for a quarter of a century.

**All dates are 91 unless otherwise stated.

NEWS

Lynda GOSS (71; Cannock, Staffs.) began an MA at Leicester in 71; not completed because of accommodation problems - sharing a house with rats & LSD-takers. Hence silver service waitressing, selling insurance to unwary bystanders, gardening, & bar-work on the French Riviera. Next, PGCE Sheffield, & ten years at a comprehensive school where she "degenerated" from Latin & Anct. Hist. to other subjects, & was eventually made redundant. Since 84 she's been teaching Classics, including some Greek, at another comprehensive at Codsall. She has great fun "selling" Latin to kids who enjoy it if given the chance (see *JACT Review* 9 [1991]); the numbers of those taking the subject have risen by 600%. She learnt to drive just before her 40th birthday & has now sold her first car, a gold Metro named Agamemnon.

Brian HAINES (66; Hythe, Kent): was (is?) teaching at Dover Grammar School for Boys ...

Simon "Xenophon" HALL (83; Woodford Green, Essex) taught Classics for five years at a boarding school in Hants., & is now teaching English & History at a Secondary Modern in Ilford. To be married this summer; will move to Devon in Sept. 92.

Lyn HALLETT (72; Skipton, Yorks. until June) qualified as a teacher & taught Classics & was house-mistress in independent schools (Abbots Bromley & Bryanston) until 83. Then, wishing to become more closely involved with the church, she began working in retreat houses: now Assistant Warden of Bradford Diocesan Retreat Home. Selected to train towards the diaconate in the Church of England, 91; will start training at Lincoln Theological College, Sept. 92.

Jos(eph) HALSDORF (68; Keispelt, Luxembourg): Doct. en Philos. et Lettres (Lux.), 71; has taught Eng. & Latin since 71 at Lycee Michel-Rodange in Luxembourg city. Married **Celia JAMES** (q.v.), 72. For several years Secretary of Assocn. des Professeurs de l'Enseignement Secondaire et Supérieur of Lux., & acting deputy head of Lycée. In search of more time-consuming unpaid work, entered local politics (81) in Kehlen, a municipality of c. 4500 inhabs., which resembles Greek city-states in the endless quarrelling between its five constituent villages. Mayor of Kehlen since 88, dealing with

complaints about neighbours' trespassing caterpillars etc. He has encouraged excavation of many Celtic & Roman sites in the area. Member, Comité Directeur of Lux. Socialist Party.

Brian HAMILL (60; Wakefield) entered the Cistercian monastery of Mount St. Bernard Abbey, Leicestershire, in 63, where he remained until 78; his responsibilities included the fruit garden (see ***Pegasus*** 20 [1977]). In 79 he returned to Exeter to do a PGCE at St Luke's, where he met his wife Lucinda (Cindy) Bowles. They were married in Plymouth in 82 (reception at *The Weary Friar*), & now have six children. He taught first at Devonport High School for Boys, & since 85 at Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Wakefield.

Stephen HAMILL (81; USA): nephew of the above; married ...

Sarah HANBURY-TENISON (75; Edinburgh), now **TOLLEY**, is a free-lance translator. She studied for a further degree at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, thereby also acquiring translating skills. She then did research at Cambridge, lectured at The Colorado College, USA, married, was a tutor at Sheffield Univ., & finally concentrated on producing children (2) & translations (8 so far, including Fossier's *Middle Ages* for the Cambridge Univ. Press).

Michael HANDSCOMBE (64; Norwich), after 16 years in various buying & marketing posts within Sainsbury's head office in SE1, left the firm in 84 & moved to a remote Norfolk farmhouse. Here a lifelong interest in railway memorabilia has blossomed into a business called *All Stations to Runhall*, which buys & sells artefacts ranging from railway tickets to locomotive nameplates.

Deborah HANSEN BAY, now **TURNER** (65; Napier N.Z.?): taught in Australia c.70-71; married Peter, had a house built to their own design, & was running a sheep-farm (also calves & chicks) in early 70s, as well as giving piano lessons & riding her horse Sappho; at least one son, William ...

Harriet HARDY (87; Waterlooville, Hants.): travelling; working on a kibbutz, we think.

Catherine HART (84; home address Woking) has been an English teacher at a state secondary school & teacher-training institute in Prague for the past year, & will be staying there for the foreseeable future. "There are so many possibilities & opportunities", she writes, "& I'd never have thought that any job could be so satisfying & enjoyable. And, yes, Prague really is as beautiful as everyone says!".

Bruce HARTNELL (61; Southampton), trained for the Anglican ministry & read Theology at Oxford (MA 68). He served in a Southampton parish for 3 years before returning to Ripon Hall as Chaplain & Tutor 69-74. Carried Poppy off from his first parish for marriage in 70; 4 children (2 married; 1½ grandchildren). Vicar of 3 villages outside Maidenhead 74-75; Chaplain at Southampton Univ., 78-83, where he saw a lot of strain on staff in higher education. He's now vicar of Sholing, Southampton; he remains musically enthusiastic & is daily exercised by his large unruly dog.

Joanne HASELDEN (88; York & Manchester) writes: "I'm now at York Law College, conveniently situated next to York race-course. As (surprisingly) I'm the only Classics graduate in my class, I'm expected to be a walking Latin dictionary. The social life is excellent, but the absence of a Union bar on campus is disappointing. This means, I suppose, that I'll have more money to put on the horses next year."

Sue HASSALL, now **DAVIS** (80; write c/o her parents, Tarporley) married Elton, an Exeter Law graduate, in 81; he's in the army, & she went with him to Hong Kong, & Möhnesee (Germany).

Sally HAYNES, now **MARTIN** (74; Hitchin, Herts.) was (is?) an occupational therapist at Hitchin Hospital. She married Robert in 89; one toddler (or more now?) ...

Ruth HEATLEY, now **WARREN** (68; Chelmsford, Essex in 74), working from Barts, was responsible for supplies to 17 London hospitals, 71; she then transferred to a similar job in Stepney, & by 74 was responsible for purchasing equipment for 26 hospitals & 54 health clinics. Married in 72; moved to Chelmsford, 74 ...

Coralie HEPBURN (84; SW3) is in publishing. After a year working on accountancy textbooks, she moved in 88 to Weidenfeld & Nicolson, where she's now an Editor, specializing in art & illustrated books. She visited Guatemala in 91, & is in touch with many of her contemporaries.

Kerensa HEYWOOD (87; Eastleigh, Hants.) has travelled in Australia.

Carolyn HILL (74; Sidcup), now **WHITTAKER**, taught Latin & History at Hilsea College, Basingstoke, for three years, then left & married in Feb. 84. She's now a full-tme wife & mother, with three children aged 7, 5 & 2. Since 88 she's helped to run a mother-&-toddler group.

***Jean HILL** (61; Bassano del Grappa); PGCE 65; taught English in a dreadful boys' secondary modern from 72, & from 77 to 90 Latin at Henrietta Barnett School, a rather traditional girls' grammar school with c. 600 pupils, anomalously maintained by the London borough of Barnet, an otherwise non-selective authority. There was a very strong & protected Classics dept. (2 full-time, 2 part-time staff) pre-Baker, with

Latin, Greek & Anct. Hist. to A level, & Class. Civ. to GCSE. (Some of her pupils were taught by Su & Dave BRAUND at summer schools.) In 90, tho' Classics was flourishing as never before, the new head decided to cut back, & Jean decided to cut free: she now TEFLs not far from Venice.

Barbara HOCKINGS now **MESSENGER** (61; Horsham) was a social worker for the London borough of Wandsworth in the 60s. In 67 she married Paul, who has been Vicar of Southwater, Horsham, since 81. After bringing up four children, now in their 20s, & a number of foster-chidren, she completed a Diploma in Applied Social Studies & Cert. for Qualificn. in Social Work. She's now a Senior Social Worker for W. Sussex County Council, as well as working part-time for a degree in Social Science. They say she hasn't changed a bit since her Exeter days.

Heidi HODGKIN (87; Coventry) completed her MPhil in History in 91; after helping with various charities, she's now working for the Local Government Ombudsman at Coventry.

Andy HODGSON (76; SW19), now a stockbroker, writes: "At the third attempt & having been stuck on p.36 for 2 years I managed to finish Peter Wiseman's excellent *Catullus & his World*; I'm very much looking forward to his next opus. Was delighted to hear from my sister Lucy, whom I sent to Tel Aviv to see my old tutor, that John GLUCKER & his family are fine - although he couldn't remember who the hell I was. Thanks to constant reference to David Harvey's notes on sexual morals in Greece & Rome, I'm now happily married with 3 children."

Tom HODGSON (82; Canterbury) has been assistant curator in the Canterbury City Museums Service since 87; he was formerly at Avoncroft Museum of Buildings, near Birmingham. He's now studying part-time at Leicester Univ. for Associateship of Museums Association. He spends most of his holidays hill-walking in Scotland & the Lake District, & keeps his *mens sana* by playing in a local pub quiz team.

Catherine HOGARTH-GAUTE, now **CROCKER** (65; Stratford-upon-Avon) & her husband run a small travel company, Sporting & Travel Promotions Ltd., & she specializes in long-haul markets such as the Far East. They collect Crockers, & gathered many of them together in Stratford in 91.

Chris HOLE (88; Solihull), a member of the Editorial Board of Pegasus for a record 3 years running, is still with us at Exeter, taking an MA in Ancient Drama & Society. He visited Finland last summer.

Lizzie HOLMES (79; SW 11), influenced by her archaeological training, was the girlfriend of archaeologist Nick Worcester for 7 years; they ran a sandwich bar together - hard work but a lot of fun; separated in 87 - he went & married her best friend. Now she's a self-employed cook, masseur (recently passed exams) & child-carer. She's worked for the "Multiple Birth Foundation" talking about the problems of being a twin (see next entry).

Louie HOLMES, now **GLASSE** (79; Washington, W. Sussex), twin of the above, was admitted to the interior decorating course at Chelsea Art School on the strength of her archaeological drawings. She worked for 3 years at Fiona Campbell Ltd., a top decorator in London. Travelled to India, Nepal, Hong Kong, & China in 86; worked on farms & decorating in New Zealand, 87. Returned to Fiona Campbell 88 & became her PA. Married James, freelance journalist & PR, June 91; now mother to "wonderful" Rosanna, combining motherhood with running a decorating company from home.

Peter HOLSON (74;Cheshunt, Herts) after assorted jobs took an MA in Classics (working on Cassiodorus) at King's Coll. London in 81-2; since 86 he's been working part-time on the first critical edition since 1679 of Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* with commentary (the first ever) for a Univ. of London PhD.

Elaine HOOPER (81; where?) held a temporary position with Crickley Hill Archaeological Trust, 85; Diploma for Personal Assistants, Glos. College of Arts, 86 ...

David HOPKINS (80; Orpington, Kent) abandoned Aeschylean studies at Oxford to become *profesor de inglés* at a private academy in Jaén (near Granada), 87; then set up his own language school in Granada with friends, 88. PGCE Cambridge 89; now teaching at St Olave's Grammar School, Orpington. His recreations include yoga, cycling, & even classical languages & literature. Visits Exeter oftenish.

Bill HORNER (84; Milverton, Som.) has been an archaeological assistant with Devon County Council at Exeter since summer 91. Before that he spent 6 months updating Somerset's archaeological records, excavated at Wells Cathedral, & from 87 to 91 was a field archaeologist on the Somerset Levels Project (see the splendid photo in the *Observer*, 12 Nov. 89). He's engaged to Laura Harbinson (a mineralogist with Somerset Co. Council), & they'll be getting married in August.

Nic(ola) HUDSON (80; Leicester) has completed her DPhil. on food in Roman satire, & has published a chapter in *Satire & Society* (Exeter Studies in History) and in *Food, History & Culture* (London Food Seminar). She will also be speaking at the Great Harvey-Wilkins Food Conference.

She's now a writer & researcher for a corporate TV production company, & is just starting on a popular history of the dinner party while hustling for money for TV projects. Unmarried (but wedded to the M1); no children. Interests include watching & making films, drawing, wandering round shops, & running.

Alan HUGHES (66; Porthcawl, Glamorgan) is headmaster of St. John's School, Newton.

Terry HUNT (61; W13) has sold out to Mammon: he's a project manager with IBM. He turned down one offer of voluntary redundancy, but suspects that another can't be far off. His name is to be found in the 2nd edition of the *OED*, & he's joint editor of Cicero's *Academicus Primus* for *Les Belles Lettres (à paraître)*; one day he'll complete a book on the same text for E.U.P. He's married to Édith (who sometimes shows Maynard girls around the National Gallery), & has 2 children, Adrian & Héloise. He's content to nurse a middling golf handicap & pursues various other hobbies, including languages & travel. **Stop press:** project manager for exhibition *Pompeii Rediscovered*, March 92.

Katie HUNTER (84; Worcester) was press officer for 2 publishing houses in London, 87-8; nice people, boring work. She then travelled via Egypt, India, Hong Kong, Thailand & Indonesia to Australia, where she spent a "truly brilliant" year working, travelling, camping & drinking, 88-9. Worked briefly with Radio Wyvern before joining BBC Hereford & Worcester as a reporter, "a fantastic job which I love". She now has a house in Worcester after being transferred there from Hereford. "I only hope that everyone else is as happy as I am."

Roger HUTCHIN (76; Portsmouth) married Catherine Yelland, an Exeter French & Music graduate, 80. PGCE St. Luke's, 80-1; advanced diploma in Educational Management with Open Univ., 87; MA in Education (also OU), 89. Taught at Gorleston, Norfolk, until 88; at Southbourne, W. Sussex, until 90; now Head of Modern Languages at Brookfield School nr. Southampton. Interests: 3 sons (6, 4 & one month).

Samantha (Sammy) HUTCHINS, now **FRÉNÉE** (86; Exeter) spent a year training in journalism at Portsmouth; in Sept. 90 she married Eric, a French archaeologist. Afer a 3-month honeymoon in Tahiti, they returned to Exeter, where she's now Public Relations Assistant with Transit Holdings, who operate bus services in Devon, Oxford & Portsmouth; she was appointed PRO in Nov. 91, & now & then adorns the pages of the *Express & Echo*. In Jan. 92 she began an MSc in Public Relations by distance learning at Stirling Univ.

***Penny HYDER,** now **HAWKINS** (75; San Diego, California) met Randy, an American physician studying in London, in 79; they were married in 81, & have been happily settled in San Diego ever since, in a house where Charles Lindbergh once dined. 2 daughters, Erica (6) & Alice (3). Randy has a thriving neurology practice; Penny taught in the Classics Dept. (& briefly in Women's Studies) at San Diego State Univ. for 7 years off & on (currently off, because of budgetary constraints [sounds familiar - Ed.]. She kept singing throughout (contralto soloist in Mozart's *Requiem*, with Hungarian conductor, Mexican chorus & Chinese orchestra), & is now half-way through a graduate degree in music.

Tony ISAAC (81; where?) was a trainee chartered accountant in 84 ...

Andrew JACKSON (81; Bolton). PGCE (St Luke's) 85; then teacher at Bolton School, Lancs., Boys' Division - initially Classics & English, but after gaining JACT Diploma in Greek (89), Classics only. Promoted to Head of Classics, 90. Edits School magazine; will be leading a school trip to the Bay of Naples & organizing a Schools Classics Day this year. Married Carol July 90; expecting first baby Jan. 92. Enjoys reading, walking, astronomy, golf & badminton.

Celia JAMES (65; Keispelt, Lux.) married **Jos HALSDORF** (q.v.) & moved to Luxembourg in 72, where, as in a Greek *polis*, everyone knows everyone of importance *and* all the gossip about their families for generations past. She lives in the country with numerous fridge-opening cats (six at the last count) & hordes of kepophagous voles that the former fail to catch. She taught English for some years, & now has two sons, Thomas (14) & Leo (12). As in Euripides' *Antiope* (thesis shelved) one is devoted to the active life, esp. sport, the other to the musical life (& absence of hard work) - though I'm told the walls of Thebes would be more likely to fall down than build themselves at the sound of Leo's horn. The two argue, but have not yet tried tying anyone to a bull.

Carolyn JARVIS, now **NOBLE** (60; Weybridge) writes: "During a `career break' for the children I took Literature & Social History courses with the OU & Adult Education, & I'm now teaching Latin, Greek, Anct. Hist. & Class. Civ. in the Woking/Guildford area to students of all ages from 16 to 60. In summer 91 I revised my Greek at an Aberystwyth workshop: highly recommended - hard work, but good company & fun. We have 2 sons, one reading History at the Univ. of London, the other about to sit GSCE. We enjoy living in Weybridge, & its good rail service to London, which takes us to Organ Days & recitals (my lawyer husband's chief interest is in playing & listening to the organ), "alternative" music gigs,

cricket matches, the RSC, & now the Pompeii exhibition" [see under **HUNT** above! - Ed.].

Nicola JENKINS (86; where?) was working for *Today* newspaper in 90 ...

Phil JOHNSON (78; Chislehurst) married Susanna in 86 - a happy marriage, we hear; they have a son, Joshua (aged 1½) & are expecting another baby in Sept. Phil is at present a buyer for a group of shops selling sports equipment & schoolwear.

Rob JOHNSON (87; SW7) is manager of Field's Wine Merchants, Chelsea (cf. ***Pegasus*** 1991!).

Susan JOHNSON (80; SW9) was an artist's model in the USA, 83-4; she trained for the law 84 to 87, spent 2 years in Turkey & one in Australia, & is now studying for the Bar again.

Anne JONES (82; Enfield, Middx.) moved to London, applied for all sorts of jobs & ended up in insurance. Much to her surprise, she finds it quite interesting; she's been with the Sun Alliance for six 6 years now, & is an underwriter in the Commercial Property Dept. It was here that she met her husband; since August 90 she's been **Mrs. Gerry SCAHILL**. No family yet, but two charming cats.

Ruth JONES (68; Richmond), after seven happy rural years training as a librarian in Cirencester, returned to the heart of legal London, the Middle Temple, where she's European Communities Librarian to members of all four Inns of Court, & nips down the road every so often to see the King's College Greek play. She's been fortunate to live in Richmond for the past 10 years; she still sings (with Lawyers' Music), & travels (W. Canada, Turkey): she found the ruins of Lycia & Pamphylia most atmospheric, especially Arycanda, an unspoilt mini-Delphi.

Vivien JONES (78; where?): PGCE King's Coll., London 81-2 ...

Katy JUDD (83; SW 19) has been a chartered accountant with Ernst & Young (formerly Arthur Young) for six years, specializing in corporate tax. AICA 89. No husbands, no children.

LOST SOULS

Does anyone know anything about John Hailstone, Margaret Hale, Lisa Halpern, John Hammond, Sandra Hancock, Ken Hardingham, Lisa Harpring, Elaine Harris, Chris Head, Carol Hesketh, Carolyn Hicks, Christine Hill, Hyla Holden, David Holt, Marilyn Hopton, Michael Horne, Ruth Hornsby, Paul Houghton, Catherine Isaac, Charlotte Jackson, Martin Jarvey, Leslie Jennison, Mike John, Jonathan Jones, Kathleen Joyce or Catherine Juggins? - and that's only a few of them!

CREEK MENUS

An anonymous contributor, who visited Greece in 1983, made a list of some of the items that were offered at various restaurants (she preferred to avoid the SNAKE BAR). Here it is:

Alcaholics
Boiled Eggs with Mice
Beep with Potatoes
Fried Porkins
Gherries
Giant's Beans
Grass Hill
Lamb Cusserole
Greek Peans
Orang Juice
Pork or Beef Stake
Roat Beep
Roast Lamp
Small Try
Stuffed Wine Bives
Sward Fish
Veal, Pork or Lamb Shops

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