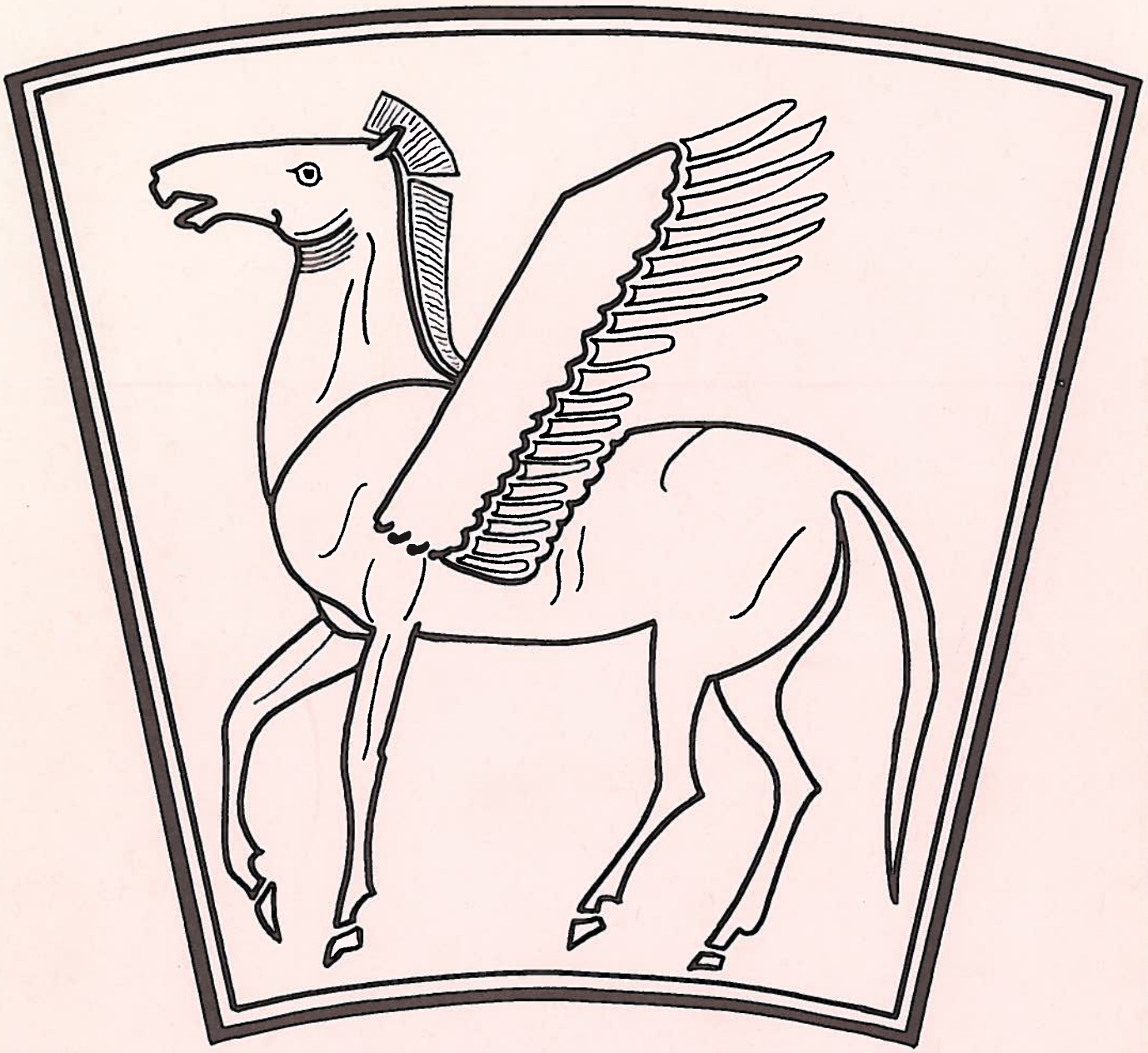

PEGASUS

NO. 36, 1993

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to: Janet Crook for her patience and invaluable help; Roma and Ed for their help in typing and the editorial debates; Helen Lynott for the front cover; Ivor Ludlum & Jonathon Powell for illustrations; Hugh Denard for supplying liquid refreshment and advice; David Harvey for letters; Dave Braund for constructive criticism; Chris Gill for vetting; Nick Bevan for money-spinning ideas and unyielding support; Project Pallas, especially Mike and Phil, for their considerable help in the typesetting and computing; Stuart MacWilliam for financial advice; everybody who submitted an article for consideration; Peter Wiseman for his precious time, patience and commitment; and above all to the Department as a whole for their faith in ***Pegasus***, and the resulting financial support without which there would probably be nothing.

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ISSN 0308-2431

Typeset on an Opus V running Aldus Pagemaker 4.0

Printed by Exeter University Guild Print Shop.

PEGASUS

The Journal of the Exeter University Classics Society

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EDITORIAL

For the past few years, ***Pegasus*** has been running at a financial loss. We are therefore very grateful to the University of Exeter's Department of Classics and Ancient History for a generous grant which has restored the magazine to financial respectability. In part, this grant would not have been possible without the numerous exchanges which ***Pegasus*** enjoys with other periodicals, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank those organisations, both at home and abroad, who currently exchange, or who have done so in the past, with ourselves.

However, this has presented the Editors with several prominent difficulties, notably finding a compromise in style of material between the student market (for this *is* a students' magazine, edited by students), and the international market. To a certain extent, ***Pegasus***' long and prestigious history (the 1994 edition will be the 30th anniversary of the birth of ***Pegasus***) has meant that it has suffered at the hands of its own success. I believe that future editors will find the task of managing a journal so diverse in its readership increasingly difficult, but equally stimulating and challenging. There is the danger that students might feel that the content is standoffish, too academic, too stuffy for their consumption; at the same time, those who receive ***Pegasus*** abroad or in other British academic institutions may feel that irreverence, invective satire, and student orientated articles are not the stuff of academic exchanges.

The main protagonist in all of this is, of course, money. In this issue I feel that we have departed from our traditional variety, and centre more on the academic. This was influenced by two matters: firstly, there was regretably little student contribution this year; but of more importance was the fact that Pegasus feels bound to the Department's grant, which was in turn stimulated by the various global exchanges. Looking backward for a moment, I wonder what the original editors would have thought if they could have visualised a student "rag" being influenced by international considerations?

Although the success of ***Pegasus*** is undeniable, and we have many links with the "outside world", this alone does not guarantee financial security in future years. To increase the price of ***Pegasus*** is an undesirable option; may I then ask friends of ***Pegasus*** if they would be prepared to make a donation towards its costs? Cheques should be made out to ***Pegasus***, and sent to the Circulation Manager, c/o 53 Thornton Hill, EXETER, Devon, EX4 4NR.

The flavour of this year's issue has already been touched upon - heavily seasoned with serious overtones, with a light smattering of the irreverent. However, the food anthology has not been repeated, despite the culinary metaphors, and instead we offer a heady brew, including comic Victorian perceptions of the classical world, and the ominous tales of Boudica. The series of "Classics in..." is continued, this time with a strong Exeter connection in the form of John Glucker, who was a member of staff in the Department from 1963 to 1978. Above all, I hope that this issue of ***Pegasus*** provides stimulating reading, whatever your taste or academic interest.

Julian Wilson
(Editor)

VICTORIAN VALUES AND ROMAN RAPES

T.P. WISEMAN

Ever since Hugh Stubbs' article on Marcus Curtius' leap into the chasm (***Pegasus*** 30 [1987] 6-9), I have been looking in second-hand bookshops for *The Comic History of Rome* by Gilbert À Beckett, that "moderately sensible and humane Victorian Liberal" whose irreverent version of Roman history from Aeneas to Julius Caesar, published about 1850, was such a mirror of his own times.

I found a copy recently, and with it an American volume of about the same date, Jacob Abbott's *History of Romulus*. Abbott's work was not meant to be comic; on the contrary, as he says in his preface, " it has been the object of the author to furnish to the reading community of this country an accurate and faithful account ... following precisely the story which has come down to us from ancient times." What the two books have in common is illustration, by engravings which xerox conveniently on to ***Pegasus'*** pages.

Both of them, as it happens, illustrate the "primal scene" of Roman legend, the conception of Romulus and Remus - or if not the act itself, at least the preliminaries to it. You know the story of course: wicked Amulius supplants his brother Numitor as king of Alba, arranges for the death of Numitor's son and makes Numitor's daughter Rhea Silvia a Vestal Virgin, thus (as he thinks) obviating the risk of vengeance in the next generation. But Rhea Silvia nevertheless becomes pregnant, and gives birth to the twins.

Who was the father? The god Mars, said the patriotic legend. Some man, said rationalising historians who wished to avoid the supernatural. Jacob Abbott took his cue from a somewhat obscure variant, attested only in the augmented version of Servius' commentary on *Aeneid* I, 273: the Vestal, says "Servius", was frightened by a wolf and took refuge in a cave, where she was ravished by Mars (*in qua a Marte compressa est*).

RHEA SILVIA.

Fig. 1

Abbott, on no ancient authority, makes her meet a man in the woods, and "yield to the temptation" of "remaining with him". Mars is just her excuse:

> *She said afterward, when facts were brought to light, that her meeting with this companion was wholly unintentional on her part. She saw a wolf in the grove, she said, and she ran terrified into a cave to escape from him, and that the man came to her there, to protect her, and then compelled her to remain with him. Besides, from his dress, and countenance, and air, she believed him, she said, to be the God Mars himself, and thought that it was not her duty to resist his will.*

The face peering out from the cave in the illustration to Abbott's narrative (fig. 1, artist anonymous) certainly doesn't look like a god.

Such a sinister scene would not do for the *Comic History*. Here is À Beckett's interpretation of the version in Plutarch (*Romulus* 4.2) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* I 77.1), according to which Rhea Silvia was raped by Amulius himself, disguised in armour as the god Mars:

Rhea Silvia

Fig. 2

> *Rhea Silvia ... appears to have entered the service of the goddess as a maid-of-all-*

Virginia carried off by a Minion in the pay of Appius.

Fig. 3

The to ns walking off with the Sab ne Women.

Fig. 4

work; for she was in the habit of going to draw water from a well; and it was on one of these aquatic excursions she met with a military man, passing himself of as Mars, who paid his addresses to her and proved irresistible.

John Leech, À Beckett's illustrator (fig. 2), portrays a consciously demure servant girl with a very Victorian figure, attracting the attention of a ludicrously conceited guardsman.

and got his agent Marcus Claudius to claim as his slave:

According to some authorities, Virginia was attended by a nurse-maid; but it is scarcely necessary to remark, that the same fatal fascination, which in military neighbourhoods attracts female attention from children that ought to be, to men that are, in arms, was no less powerful in the Via Sacra than in Rotten Row, - by the

Mrs. Sextus consoles herself with a Little Party.

Fig. 5

As readers of Hugh Stubbs' article will remember (Marcus Curtius was "a young guardsman [who fancied] that there could be more precious than his precious self"), the military were favourite targets of À Beckett's irony; young women in the first half of the nineteenth century (think of Kitty and Lydia Bennett in *Pride and Prejudice*) were very susceptible to scarlet uniforms. Which accounts for an uncanonical twist in the *Comic History's* account of Virginia, the young girl whom Appius Claudius lusted after

banks of the Tiber, than on the shores of the Serpentine. One morning, as Virginia was passing through the market-place, on her way to the seminary, with her tablets and school-bag - or more familiary, her slate and satchel - on her arm, a minion, under the dominion of Appius, seized an opportunity for seizing the maiden by the wrist. The nurse was either absent, or more probably talking to one of the officers on duty round the corner; for the fasces *were*

as irresistible to the female servants of the day, as the honied
words and oilskin capes of a similar class of officials at a much later period...

In fact, Livy (III 44.7) reports that Virginia's nursemaid screamed for help, and Dionysius (XI 28.4) says that her servants had loyally resisted Apius' attempts at bribery. But Leech's engraving (fig. 3) shows the careless maid being chatted up, quite oblivious to her charge.

You don't have to be a feminist to feel that in both these stories a bit too much of the responsibility for male violence is shuffled off. Still, À Beckett was writing a *comic* history, since rape and abduction are serious subjects, a certain amount of travesty is inevitable. Fig. 4 shows the "rape of the Sabine women" as a pantomime scene in front of the Crown and Anchor tavern. The text inlcudes a notable piece of music-hall misogyny: "had they been all married ladies who were carried off, the cynic might have suggested that the Sabine husbands would not have objected to a cheap mode of divorce ..."

What about the really tragic Roman rape story, that of Lucretia? Here À Beckett shows up in a better light. He has Leech illustrate only the "evening party and ball" at the house of Sextus' wife (fig. 5) with which Lucretia's virtuous spinning is such a contrast. As for the rape itself, after one weak pun the comic idiom pales away:

...Sextus paid the lady a second visit. Being a kinsman, he was asked to make himself at home, but his manner becam,e so strange that Lucretia could not make him out; and as he did not seem disposed to go home till morning, she retired to her chamber, with the impression, no doubt that being left alone in the sitting-room he would take the hint, order his horse, and proceed to his lodgings. Lucretia was, however, disturbed in the middle of the night by Sextus, who was standing over her with a drawn sword, and who was guilty of such brutal insolence, that she sent a messenger, the first thing in the morning, to fetch her husband from Ardea...

Fig. 6

The drawn sword is a clear enough hint, but we are not intended to laugh at it. Brutal insolence is not for the Muse of comedy.

Nor, would you think, is murder, of which there is quite a bit in Roman history. As closing analogy to the rape stories, let's look briefly at four of Leech's illustrations to see how the *Comic History* dealt with political assassination.

In two of them- Servius Tullius (fig. 6) and Tiberius Gracchus (fig. 7) - the victim is visibly a dummy, a huge pumpkin-head too obviously unreal to allow any sense of horror. Livius Drusus (fig. 8) is given a histrionic death-scene:

> *As a Roman could never die without claptrap in his mouth, Drusus was of course prepared with a neat speech on the melancholy occasion. Having ejaculated, "Oh! thou ungrateful Republic, thou hast never lost a more devoted son!", He arranged his toga in becoming folds, and bowing to the circumstances - bowing, perhaps, to the audience as well - he gracefully expired.*

Fig. 9 is from the last page of the *Comic History*. Caesar "staggered to the foot of Pompey's statue, that he might form a *tableau* as he expired." We end with footlights, and the curtain about to fall.

Melancholy End of Tib. Gracchus.

Fig. 7

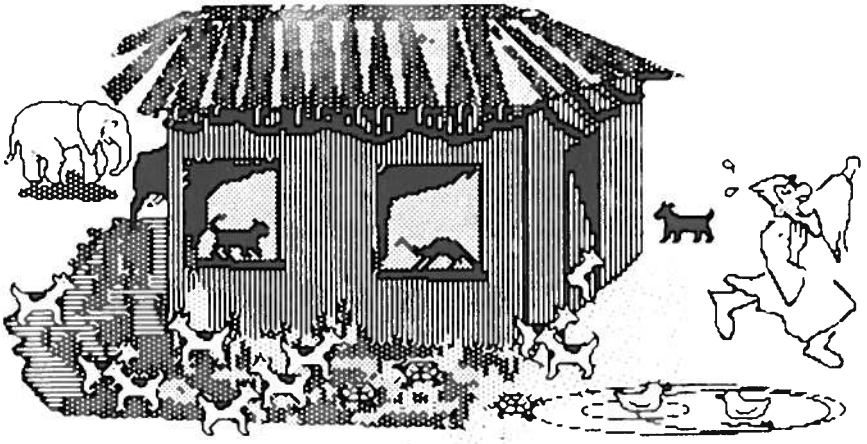
When the cast come forward to take their bow, Rhea Silvia, Virginia and even Lucretia will all be there, smiling at us in their Victorian grease-paint. Nothing nasty *really* happened to them. It was just a play. Meanwhile, in the gentlemen's club opposite the theatre, Amulius, Appius Claudius and Sextus Tarquininus enjoy their brandy before going out on the town.

Drusus is stabbed, and expires gracefully.

Fig. 8

The End of Jul us Cæsar.

Fig. 9



There is a theory that Anaximenes decided that air is the most important element and the primary one, out of his sheer interest in animals

There is another paradox which is called the paradox "Achilles and the Tortoise" the moment Achilles gives a push to the tortoise to move he will never overtake him and this according to infinite division

Ivor Ludlum

Illustrated Exam Howlers

CLASSICS IN ISRAEL

JOHN GLUCKER

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In May-June 1981, the Israeli Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies celebrated its tenth anniversary by making its annual conference international. Since the first great Jewish Classical scholar in modern times, Jacob Bernays, died in 1881, it became the Jacob Bernays Centenary Conference, with scholars from England, Ireland, France, Germany, the United States and Israel itself taking part. Tel-Aviv University was the host, and in the folder of information we gave our visitors, I included a bird's-eye view of the Classics in Israel. To quote myself - a good old Exeter tradition - I said that doing the Classics in Israel is "against the odds and against the grain". A distinguished German professor, probably impressed by the strange English idioms, quoted them in a report of the Conference he wrote for *Gnomon*. *Non omnis moriar.*

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"Classics? Oh, Shakespeare, Beethoven. I see", says the second hypostasis: the Omniscient Israeli.

What about the (compulsory) third hypostasis - the one who really knows? "Classics?" he would say. "Oh yes, I still did some Latin and Greek at school in Frankfurt/Salford/Cracow in the 1930s". He exists, but as a very third and rare hypostasis. He is usually rather old (even if it *is* Salford), and mostly dead. His sons sell his Classics books by the kilogram to Nissim's bookstall on Allenby Street. I buy some of them. I am old, too. This is Israel, 1992 CE (*not* AD, please!).

In May-June 1981, the Israeli Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies celebrated its tenth anniversary by making its annual conference international. Since the first great Jewish Classical scholar in modern times, Jacob Bernays, died in 1881, it became the Jacob Bernays Centenary Conference, with scholars from England, Ireland, France, Germany, the United States and Israel itself taking part. Tel-Aviv University was the host, and in the folder of information we gave our visitors, I included a bird's-eye view of the Classics in Israel. To quote myself - a good old Exeter tradition - I said that doing the Classics in Israel is "against the odds and against the grain". A distinguished German professor, probably impressed by the strange English idioms, quoted them in a report of the Conference he wrote for *Gnomon. Non omnis moriar.*

The history - *parua, nec inuideo* - of the Classics in Israel, with an elaborate hagiography of the Founding Fathers and a reasonably extensive bibliography of their diadochs and epigons, has been very adequately described by my colleague David Asheri in his article "Israele: la filologia classica" in *La filologia greca e latina nel secolo XX* (Pisa 1985), 129-62. One usually learns Italian to read Dante or Momigliano; but reading Asheri is not a bad excuse. I shall not repeat what Asheri says. Following the excellent example of our friend Anastasi Callinicos [***Pegasus*** 35 (1992), 30-2], I shall try to present the situation as it is now. Sufficient unto the day...

Israel has five universities with faculties of humanities, but only three of them have a full Classics Department: the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Bar-Ilan University (the religious university in Ramat-Gan), and Tel-Aviv University (where I was translated - in more than one sense - in 1978 from the University of Exeter). Haifa University and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (Beer-Sheva) have a few lecturers and professors with a Classical education, but they teach in departments like History, Philosophy, General Literature or Biblical Studies. All five universities offer two-year beginners' courses in Greek and Latin.

The three Classics Departments offer courses in Greek and Latin language and literature and in Ancient History. In Tel-Aviv, Classical Archaeology is also part of the Classics Department, and the Archaeology students have to study Greek or Latin for two years. Most of the Ancient Philosophy teaching is done in the Philosophy Departments, usually by teachers who have had some Classical training. Much of the Ancient History is done in co-operation between the Classics and History Departments.

So far, it sounds idyllic, so let me break the illusion. One may as well start with the students and the hardships they face.

No school in Israel offers any Greek, and there is only one school, in Jerusalem, where Latin can be taken as an optional subject for two or three years. The student who wants to do Classics proper has to start both Greek and Latin from scratch at the university. He (please regard my masculines as embracing feminines) also has to use English textbooks and dictionaries, since there are very few such books in Hebrew. (English is the first foreign language in all Israeli schools; but it is still not easy for a first-year student to do all his reading in English - just as it would not be easy for a British first-year student to do all his reading in French.) The student we are speaking of is usually older than his British counterpart, since he has done three years (or she, two) of national service. During his years as a student, he is most likely to spend a month every year on reserves service. He has to pay tuition fees of about £1000 a year, and to work to support himself (and sometimes a wife/husband and even a child). There are hardly any scholarships for BA students, and the few available are just enough to buy tea and coffee. No student finishes his BA in the official minimum period of three years: the average is five.

Is it surprising, then, that the number of students doing proper Classics is very small? Five to ten new 'proper' students a year is the average a department gets. More than ten is inflationary, and less than five not unusual. The compensation is that those who do choose proper Classics know what they are letting themselves in for, and do it with dedication. They also have no illusions about finding jobs. Since there are no Classics in schools, most of them end up in a variety of non-Classical occupations, and only a small fraction end up - after a long period of studies in Israel and abroad - as university teachers. A French Classical scholar who has visited Israel frequently describes our students as heroes.

In today's state-run universities, survival depends on number of students ('staff/student ratio' in the administrators' jargon; 'counting noses' in Nietzsche's felicitous expression). All these Classics Departments offer a variety of courses in translation, open to all members of the university. In Tel-Aviv, one can do 'Classical Civilization' as a degree course to the BA, provided that one combines it with another subject. All 'Classical Civilization' courses are in translation, and Greek and Latin are not compulsory for 'Civilization' students. But of course, they cannot continue beyond the BA.

These 'civilization' students are our bread and butter - or, as a colleague once put it, it is the cheap vegetable stall in the market which keeps the small and expensive diamond shop going. Not all 'civilization' students are keen on the Classics. Many - perhaps most - of them regard the 'civilization' part of their studies as a soft option, subsidiary to the real business of life: French, English, History and the like. One often gets exasperated by some of them. Recently, a third(!)-year 'civilization' student informed me in an exam that Herodotus wrote his book in verse; that Greek tragedy was written in hexameters; and that the Hippocratic writers, being part of the Roman Empire, were influenced by the sceptical methods of Sextus Empiricus.

The compensation for all this is the few really good 'proper' students who carry on to the MA and doctorate (the few who do not go abroad for a PhD). A graduate seminar (average number: two) can be a real experience. Only last March, a British colleague visiting Israel came along to a session of my MA seminar, where we were working on some fragments of Heraclitus. We spoke English for his sake. He was very impressed with the high standard of the two MA students. One should, perhaps, add that in Israel, the MA course, which requires participation in five seminars (with seminar papers) and a thesis, is compulsory before one can do a PhD. Many Israeli MA dissertations are of the standard of the average European and American doctorate, and some end up as books. Two examples, very near home, are Carol Glucker's *The City of Gaza in Roman and Byzantine Times* (*BAR*, Oxford 1987), and Ivor Ludlam's *Hippias Major: an Interpretation* (Steiner, Wiesbaden 1991).

To continue for a while in the same vein: some students who started Greek and Latin from scratch in an Israeli university, many years ago, have by now become lecturers and professors in Classics or Classics-related subjects in Israeli universities, and quite a few of them are now scholars of international reputation. (To avoid *ignorantia recti aut inuidia*, I shall not mention names.) The Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies, founded in 1971, has about 150 members (in a country with a population of about

four and a half million). It holds an annual conference every May, usually a two-day affair, in one of the five universities. Papers on all aspects of the Classics and their heritage are read by Israeli scholars and by visitors from abroad and discussed by all and sundry. There is also a scholarly periodical, *Scripta Classica Israelica* - officially annual, but it comes out in practice whenever we have managed to scrounge enough money from the universities. It contains articles and book reviews, mostly by Israeli scholars, but some by scholars from abroad. Its languages are English, French, German, Italian and Latin. (One day I shall try to make them publish something in demotic Greek.)

The Classical visitor from abroad usually feels 'home from home' in the Israeli Classical microcosm. If he is British, he would feel even more at home, since most of those who teach Classics in Israel today had at least part of their education in Britain. So, God's in his heaven, all's right with the world? Not so fast.

Civilization has always and everywhere been a thin crust, constantly shaken and threatened with destruction by the forces of violence and barbarism. One need not be Byzantine to feel that one is constantly waiting for the barbarians. In Israel, the barbarians are always round the corner.

An educated European or American has absorbed some Classical knowledge from his intellectual environment and from his education. Even if he had no Classics at school, he has read his Milton or Racine, and his own language is full of Greek and Latin words and expressions. The Classics have never been such a basic and integral part of Jewish culture. There have been, in the last two hundred years, thousands of European and American Jews who did Classics at school or university. There have also been dozens of Jewish Classical scholars - some of them very distinguished - especially in the German *Sprachbereich*. (The interested reader may see my article "Juden in der deutschen klassischen Philologie", *Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte*, Beiheft 10 (1986), 95-110.) But this does not mean that the Classics have become part of Jewish education and culture: far from it. The average Israeli schoolchild does very little Greek or Roman history, mostly in the lower forms and as a background to 'Second Temple Jewish History'. If he is lucky, he may read, as one of his General Literature texts, Sophocles' *Antigone* or *Oedipus Rex* in a Hebrew translation - taught by a literature teacher with no Classical background - and nothing else.

There are Hebrew translations of most of the major ancient authors: the whole of Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Catullus, Virgil, Sallust, Livy and Tacitus, and much of Euripides, Aristotle, Polybius, Ovid and Cicero. But not all these translations are in print, and some of them were wrtten many years ago, in a nineteenth-century Hebrew *katharevousa* no longer understood by the younger generation. There are also some popular books on the Classics and Ancient History in Hebrew, but they do not cover the whole field. There is, at the moment, no popular (or any) Hebrew book on the history of Greek literature (although I am told that such a book is in preparation). Although there are now enough people in Israel who can translate into Hebrew from Greek and Latin or write popular books on the Classics, most publishers would not take the risk. Such books would appeal only to the few hundred Israeli 'intellectuals' who have some interest in Western civilization. (A book, say, on the Hasmonaeans, or on the Hebrew novel, would sell by the thousand.)

The majority of Israelis - including, I fear, not a few Israeli 'intellectuals' and even writers - could not care less about the Classics. The man in the street does not know what the Classics are, or even that they exist. This restricts, right from the start, the number of our potential students. In many cases, one discovers that a student came to do proper Classics because a parent or a relative had still done some Latin at school in Europe. But the number of such parents or relatives is on the decline. The real threat to the Classics in Israel is the - very likely - continuing decline in the number of students. In the 'nose-counting' academic world of today, this might lead (Zeus forfend!) to a sharp reduction in Classics and Classics-related posts in the universities, or even (Zeus and all the gods forfend!) to the closure of one or more of the Classics Departments. Having spent fifteen years of my life as a teacher of Classics in Israel - and having raised some excellent students, whom I would wish to see continuing the tradition - this prospect fills me with horror.

Recently, the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies woke up to this danger and elected a committee entrusted with spreading the classics outside the universities. The committee is trying various approaches: talks to schoolchildren; a new series of translations from the Classics into present-day Hebrew; perhaps even some programmes on radio and television. All this may help: even if all these steps, taken together, may 'only' bring us enough students each year to keep the Classics in the universities in their present position, I would be the last to complain. But it *is* an uphill struggle, "against the odds and against the grain". We can only say, like the chorus in *Agamemnon*, "may the good prevail".

Not to end on a sombre note, just a reflection and a proposal. Israel is not quite in the worst position. My heart goes out to Anastasi Callinicos, struggling to keep a small measure of the classics alive in Zimbabwe [see above]. But even in Britain - and in most European countries - the Classics are on the decline. In most countries, Classical scholars have clubbed together and started various campaigns for the survival of the Classics. So far, however, these efforts have been channelled to the needs of each individual country. I think it is time for all of us who fight, each in his own corner of the world, for the continuation of the Classical tradition, to join hands and plan an international campaign. And I do mean campaign - attack, not mere wailing and gnashing of teeth. One can fight for the restoration of Classics at school, or for the restoration of Latin as a compulsory language for students of history, modern languages and general literature - and Greek for Biblical and theological studies. Of course, it will not be easy, but I think there are still some people around who will be open to arguments about raising standards. One can think of a dozen other things one can do - and, in an international campaign, we can help each other. We are all in the same boat. What have we to lose if we try harder, and together?

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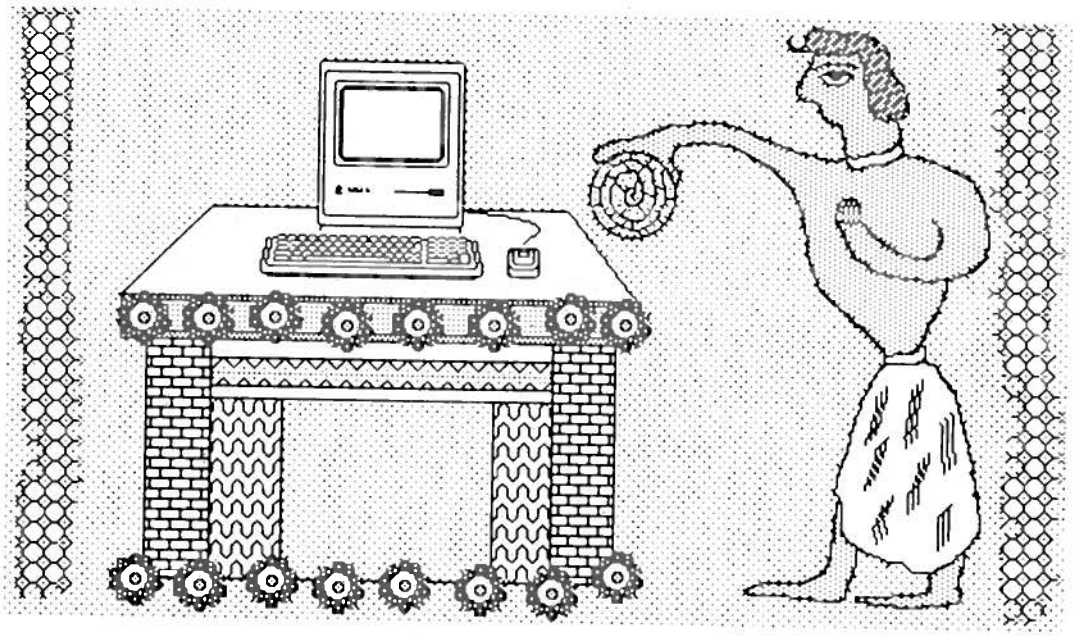

The Phaistos Disc

SUPERSTITION AND RELIGION IN TACITUS' AND DIO'S ACCOUNTS OF THE BOUDICAN REVOLT

ALEX NICE

There is a tendency in Roman historiography for momentous historical events to be marked by some degree of religious fervour.[1] That fervour is most apparent in the records of portents and prodigies which occur on a regular basis in the works of authors such as Tacitus and Dio. The Revolt of Boudica is no exception to this general rule, but the records of portents in the accounts of the two authors form only a part of the religious nature of the two narratives.

Tacitus and Dio both contain a strikingly similar list of portents which occur before the start of the revolt. But despite this, both are worth considering for their differences of approach in dealing with the same material. It has long been shown that Dio, although not the literary artist that Tacitus was, contains much valuable information concerning this period of Romano-British history.[2]

Tacitus' version of the portents occurs immediately prior to the onset of rebellion after he has discussed the underlying reasons for the revolt[3], whereas Dio's account is presented before these.[4] Through this arrangement, Tacitus' description does much more to heighten tension before the outbreak of rebellion.[5] In contrast, Dio's account appears disjointed, the portents not really forming part of the continuous narrative.

Tacitus is wary of using information that he has no direct evidence for. The portents reported here are no exception. He begins: "At this time, for no apparent reason, the statue of Victory at Colchester fell down, its back turned away as though fleeing the enemy." The statement is reported as fact, but obtains ominous significance by the afterthought "as though fleeing the enemy" (*quasi cederet hostibus*). Nowhere does Tacitus actually state that this was a portent. This is a detail omitted by Dio, but he does record the other omens that Tacitus now presents through the mouths of women. This technique dissociates him from any responsibility for their validity.

The introduction of women into the narrative at this point carries great pathos. The phrase *feminae in furorem* has extra weight as it refers back to the "Fury-like" British women whom Paulinus encountered on Anglesey.[6] But now, through a neat antithesis, it is the Romans who are afflicted by *furor*. The poetic phrase *[feminae]...adesse exitium canebant* ("the women prophesied that the end was nigh") is strongly reminiscent of Virgil.[7] But it contains a further religious overtone as these women were acting in the manner of *vates*, or inspired prophets, prophesying the doom of Colchester.

These women tell us that foreign cries (*externos fremitus*) were heard coming from the senate house. This phrase is directly paralleled in Dio[8] but he adds that these cries were heard at night intermingled with laughter, a ghostly, eerie scenario carrying just as much force as Tacitus' account. More unnatural sounds were heard coming from the theatre. Tacitus again uses poetic words, *consonuisse* and *ululatus*, for this scene, in a demonstration of brevity that is striking when compared to the verbosity of Dio at this point: "there were heard cries and sobbing, although no man had uttered the words or groans".[9] Dio's language is poetic too, since the words employed are strongly reminiscent of Greek tragedy. Yet his list continues uninspiringly as houses were seen under-water in the Thames. Tacitus is more

elaborate. He is not satisfied with the appearance of mere houses in ruins. For him the whole colony is destroyed (*subversae coloniae*), a phrase referring back to the *Camuloduni* and *conversum* of the first sentence in this section. The geographical inconsistency of locating Colchester on the Thames is not a problem, for the place-names of a provincial backwater like Britain would have meant little to the average Roman audience. In the final sentence of this section Dio records that the sea between Britain and Gaul once turned blood-red at flood tide. Tacitus is far more vivid. This is achieved partly through the typically economical phrase, *Oceanus cruento adspectu*, which describes in three words what has taken Dio two lines, and partly through the choice of words in the phrase. For Tacitus omits the word "once" and substitutes "bloody" for "blood-red". By this technique the picture is left far more to his reader's imagination. Tacitus rounds off the episode with more information not included by Dio as he remarks that when the tide had receded likenesses of human corpses remained. It is probable that both historians have consulted the same source at this point, but evidently independently of one another. One probability would be the Elder Pliny,[10] who delighted in marvellous tales of this sort. Another possibility is suggested by Reed, who argues that the original source may have been the memoirs of Suetonius Paulinus derived via the historian Cluvius Rufus.[11]

Portents are prevalent at times of great stress[12] and the Boudican Revolt was, as it proved, a serious threat to the might of Rome. But it is worth considering the rational explanations behind them.

The collapse of the statue of Victory may be attributed to the effects of a storm, yet occurring at precisely this juncture it is easy to see how this affected the superstitious minds of the common people. Krauss believes[13] that instances of sounds heard in the night are good examples of "illusions produced by fright and uneasiness". Doors creaking and wind whistling through empty buildings might easily be transformed into ghostly signs. The report of the blood-red sea can be compared to the appearance of the rising or setting sun over the sea, which takes on a reddish hue. Blood-portents were regarded as forerunners of the shedding of blood[14]; thus it is no accident that we find it in our accounts prior to the rebellion. Finally, Krauss argues[15] that the appearance of the colony in the sea, and the human bodies after the tide had turned, may be explained by the broken reflection of buildings in the river and the images that "speculative or depressed minds" can visualise traced in the sand. The latter may, in fact, be better explained by the piles of seaweed that are often left by the receding tide, and which can take on the appearance of bodies.

Even before the commencement of the Boudican Revolt proper, Tacitus imbues his narrative in the *Annals* with religious overtones through his account of Suetonius Paulinus' subjugation of Anglesey and the overthrow of the Druidic enclave there. The description of this in chapter 30 is a factor which to some extent affects our interpretation of subsequent events both in his own and Dio's account of the revolt. Indeed, Roberts[16] has stated that "the earlier battle serves in part to establish the terms in which the later conflict is to be understood". Although he takes this to apply to the antithesis of Roman against barbarian, I feel that this may be taken a stage further with regard to the religious context.

Du Toit, following Dudley and Webster,[17] suggested that Druidism was a prime reason for the onset of the rebellion, begun in order to forestall the assault on Anglesey. A rebellion at precisely the same time as Suetonius was attacking Anglesey would be a striking coincidence, but this is not necessarily a good reason to suppose that Druidism was the driving force behind the rebellion. Indeed, in the *Agricola*, Tacitus makes no mention of their involvement at all, not even when Agricola himself eventually conquers their supposed stronghold on Anglesey. His view is that the absence of the governor provides the right moment for revolt: "the gods themselves are at last showing mercy to us Britons in keeping the Roman general away".[18]

The Druids could only have been a factor behind the revolt if their influence was strong throughout Britain at the time; but evidence for such influence is slender. Our best testimony concerning this sect is Caesar. But his only reference with regard to Britain is that those who wish to study this subject more accurately go to Britain as a rule.[19] Elsewhere, only the Elder Pliny gives us a direct link with Britain.[20] This is not much to go on. Caesar's narrative was written over one hundred years before the Revolt and over one

hundred and fifty before Tacitus' narrative. Pliny does tell us that the Britons still celebrated magical rites in his day, but is no more specific. So we cannot be sure that Tacitus is not conforming to commonly held but false beliefs concerning the practices of the Druids at this time based on testimony from the first century B.C. We may assume, however, that Tacitus' Roman audience was aware of their existence and of their alleged barbarian practices which Tacitus briefly alludes to: "For they thought it right to adorn their altars with the blood of their captives and to consult the gods with human entrails".[21] The gruesome picture of human sacrifice would have hit hard at Tacitus' Roman audience. This terrible practice had been outlawed for almost two centuries, but it is a picture that occurs again in his narrative during the revolt and in the narrative of Dio.

For, in referring to the atrocities committed by the hordes of Boudica, Tacitus recalls the savage rites of the Druids. He creates a terrible picture by means of asyndeton and verbal economy.[22] He employs the historic infinitives *capere, venundare*, a cliché *(belli commercium)*, and the emphatic *caedes patibula ignes cruces*, to describe the type of punishment which would only be inflicted on the basest criminal at Rome. But here it happens to the most respectable Roman citizens in a religious context "as though they were inflicting punishment and in the meantime seizing revenge" (*tamquam reddituri supplicium at praerepta interim ultione*). The scenario is briefly alluded to in the *Agricola*.[23] The paradox of such impious (*nefas*) acts taking place in a religious context would have had a considerable effect on Tacitus' audience. This is made all the more telling in the light of his earlier reference to the practices of the Druids.

Dio too refers to these atrocities. His account is far fuller than that of Tacitus and the ritual elements of the treatment of the captives are clearer. He employs a series of superlatives for emphasis. The activities of the rampaging Britons are introduced emphatically. He uses the adjective *deinos* ("terrible") combined with *theriodestaton* ("most beast-like"), a word appropriate to the savage acts committed by the Britons. He creates extra pathos at the misfortune of the Roman women by describing them as the "most noble and most beautiful" (*eugenestatas kai euprepestatas*). But it is in the following lines that the ritual significance of their treatment is made obvious. They were "hung up as offerings" (*kremannumi*), a word with a clear religious association.[24] Their breasts were then cut off. The word used here is the unusual *peritemno* which can mean "to circumcise"[25], so again a certain ritual significance is implied. The sexual overtones implied in this ritual are elucidated in the following words. For the women's breasts were stitched to their mouths so that it appeared that they were eating them and sharp stakes were run lengthways through their body. The triple-listing of "sacrificing, banqueting, and acting outrageously towards their enemies" (*thuontes, hestiomenoi, hubrizontes*) and the fact that these things occurred in the grove of Andate, underline these acts as rituals.

The significance of these acts is not immediately obvious. It is possible that these actions are to be seen as derived from the perversion of some sort of fertility ritual dedicated to Andate. Breasts are associated with fertility since they provide the milk of life. By removing the breasts of the women this would make them like men and, therefore, unable to rear their children. Stitching their breasts to their mouths would be a horrific way of underlining this. The stake run through the women's bodies is clearly symbolic of sexual penetration. The ritual may represent the destruction of the Romans by the slaughter of their women; since procreation is the only way for a race to survive, the Britons might feel justified in making these gruesome offerings to Andate, who according to Dio was their goddess of Victory. This is an interesting reference when compared with Tacitus. Is Dio implying a comparison with the collapse of the Roman Victory compared with the rise of the British goddess?

On the name of this deity, Boissevain[26] refers to Becker who suggests that Andate is equivalent to the Vocontian Andarta. But the name is also strikingly similar to the goddess mentioned at Dio 62.6.2, Andraste. It is possible that a textual mistake has occurred, since Boudica prays to the latter for victory, safety and freedom in the coming struggle.[27] Interestingly, one manuscript (V) supplies the alternative reading *adraste* here. The name thus becomes strikingly similar to *Adrasteia*, a title of the goddess Nemesis[28], who in most cases was a goddess of Retribution.[29] That would be appropriate in this instance, where

victory meant revenge for the injustices suffered at the hands of the Romans. Furthermore, it would more neatly link up with the narrative of Tacitus who, as we have seen, states that these things were carried out "as though the Britons were exacting the penalty and in the meantime taking revenge."

Boudica's own position seems to have carried more importance than that of a mere queen, as she adopts a certain symbolic role as the leader of the revolt.[30] This idea, backed up by the similarity of the Arminghall Monument to that of Stonehenge,[31] has caused at least one modern author to maintain the influence of the Druids in fomenting rebellion.[32] Dio gives us a unique description of her appearance. It is a description which Dudley and Webster stress is not only vivid but also valuable, being "the most dramatic picture of a Celtic heroine in Classical literature".[33] Details like her golden torque (*strepton megan chrusoun*) have been confirmed by archaeology. Her multi-coloured robe may be interpreted as a tartan. Dyson considers that her grasping of a spear has a parallel in Florus, where Olyndicus is portrayed shaking a silver spear as a sort of sacred talisman.[34] He suggests that "the spear and other attributes of Boudicca are designed to produce a similar effect of supernatural power". This semi-religious position, Bulst argues,[35] may account for the *dea tutela Boudiga* found in the third century.

Elsewhere in Dio's narratives, Boudica more obviously takes on the appearance of a prophetic, messiah-like figure. For as she addresses her hordes of followers, she publicly produces an omen, a hare escaping from the folds of her cloak which then ran on the "auspicious side". This form of divination prior to the battle, which has parallels to the Roman custom of taking the auspices, is heralded as a sign of her future success. The act is closely followed by the appeal to Andraste for assistance which emphasises her close position with regard to the gods. Her position as a prophetic figure has been compared by Dyson to Veleda, the German prophetess who played a major part in the Batavian rebellion.[36] There are also similarities with Marius' prophetic side-kick, Martha, who would accompany him, riding in a litter, and when attending a sacrifice would carry a small spear with ribbons and garlands attached to it, a fact which adds to the evidence of the spear as a sacred symbol.[37]

The narratives of Tacitus and Dio on the Boudican Revolt clearly contain a wealth of superstitious and religious motifs. From the portents prior to the commencement of rebellion to the portrait of Boudica herself, I have attempted to demonstrate the wide-ranging nature of these motifs and their importance as an integral part of the accounts of the Revolt. This suggests that, even in the enlightened times of the Empire, ordinary people could be portrayed as turning to superstition to express their fears; and it shows that even if the Druids were not a factor in causing the revolt, the historians considered that there was still a huge religious fervour amongst the British hordes as demonstrated by their violent treatment of their captives in the name of religion.

ENDNOTES

[1]There are numerous examples in Livy, e.g. during the Second Punic War: 21.62; 22.1; 22.36 *inter al.* Suetonius on the death of Julius Caesar, *DivJ* 88; on the birth and rise to prominence of Claudius, *Aug.* 94ff. Tacitus to annnounce the death of Claudius. *Annals* 12.64; to announce the conspiracy of Piso, *Annals* 15.47 *inter al.* [2]So D. Dudley and G. Webster, *Boudicca*, 1963, 54; C. Du Toit, "Tacitus and the Rebellion of Boudicca", *AC* 20 (1977), 153. [3]Tac. *Ann.* 14.32. [4]Dio 62.1.2. [5]See N. Miller, "Style and content in Tacitus" in T. Dorey, *Tacitus*, 1969, 110. [6]Tac. *Ann.* 14.30: *intercursantibus feminis: in modum Furiarum veste ferali....* [7]Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8.656. [8]*throus....barbarikos.* [9]*thorubos met'oimoges exekoueto medenos anthropon mete phthengomenou mete stenontos..* [10]See G. Walser, *Rom, das Reich und die fremden Volker*, 130ff. [11]N. Reed, "The sources of Tacitus and Dio for the Boudiccan Revolt", *Latomus* 33 (1974), 926-933. [12]J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, 1979, 9, with examples from Livy. [13]F.B. Krauss, *An Interpretation of the Omens, Portents and Prodigies Recorded by Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Philadelphia, 1930. [14]F.Krauss, *op.cit.*, 94. [15]F.Krauss. *op.cit.* 66. [16]M. Roberts, "The revolt of Boudicca (Tacitus, *Annals* 14.29-39) and the assertion of *libertas* in Neronian Rome", *AJPh* 109 (1988), 122. [17]C. Du Toit, *op. cit.* 52; D. Dudley and G. Webster, *op.cit.* 53 *contra* S. Dyson, "Native revolts in the Roman Empire", *Historia* 20 (1971) 260. [18]*Agr.* 15. [19]Caesar, *BGall.* 6.13. [20]Pliny, *NH* 30.4. [21]Tac. *Ann.* 14.30: *nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant.* [22]N. Miller, *op. cit.*, 110. [23]*Agr.* 16.1: *nec ullum in barbaris ingeniis saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria.* [24]See Liddell and Scott, 993 s.v. *kremannumi.* [25]*Ibid.* 1390, s.v. *peritemno*. [26]U. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanorum quae supersunt*, 1895-1901, vol. 3, 48. [27]Dio 62.6.4. Cf. D. Dudley and G. Webster, *op. cit.* 95 who assume that these two deities are the same goddess. [28]Cf. Liddell and Scott, 24 s.v. *Adrasteia*. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 936; Plato, *Rep.* 457a *et al.* [29]*OCD* 726 s.v. *Nemesis*. [30]See S. Dyson, *op. cit.* 262. [31]See J. Clark, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 20 (1936), 13. [32]C. Bulst, "The revolt of Queen Boudicca in A.D. 60", *Historia* 10 (1961), 499. [33]D. Dudley and G. Webster, *op. cit.* 54. [34]S. Dyson, *op. cit.* 262. Cf. Florus, 1.33.14. [35]C. Bulst, *op.cit.* 499. [36]S. Dyson, *op. cit.* 271 with 262. For Veleda see Tac. *Hist. 4.61, 65.* [37]Plutarch, *Marius* 17.

New York, Metropolitan Mus. The Painter of the Deepdene Amphora.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

For connoisseurs of ***Pegasus'*** characteristic mix of material, the issues from 1967-8 (nos. 8-10) are a particular pleasure. A Latin epigram on miniskirts, a limerick on Plato and the potato, and an account of the Sacred Panhellenic Elephant-Tossing Contest (the Athenian *Elaphebolion* to you) share the space with a translated short story by Heinrich Böll, articles identifying "An Ovidian Reminiscence in Shakespeare" and "A New Fragment of Heraclitus?", and a learned and elegant essay on George Eliot's cruel portrait of Mark Pattison as Dr Casaubon in *Middlemarch*. (Incidentally, the respective authors of the last two items were Carol Glucker, née Evans, and her husband - though he wasn't then- John Glucker, who writes elsewhere in this issue.)

There were also some serious book reviews, and it is from one of them that the excerpt below is taken. The book is W.S. Barrett's edition and commentary on Euripides *Hippolytus* (O.U.P. 1964), and the reviewer was J.W. Fitton, who died in 1969 at the tragically early age of thirty-six. Fitton gave Barrett 26 pages of detailed criticism, divided into sections entitled "Interpretation", "Text", "Metre", "Myth and Cult", and "Ideas", the last of which began as follows:

To appreciate the *H* as a play we must follow the current of ideas in it. If B. has failed to lead us, it is not that he does not try; but as can be seen by the lack of a proper introduction, there is an obliqueness in his notes which almost amounts to a shyness (*aidos*) about ideas. There is in fact nowadays an attitude in classics which may be summed up: drama is drama, not philosophy, politics or what have you. Perhaps this has affected B.'s study. There are elements of truth in the truism. Drama is drama; but designed for an audience of Athenians, not for dramatic critics; for an audience that was alive to ideas and all too ready to question values; an audience used to seeing practical issues debated fully and in the open; and *H* was written by a man who became known as the philosopher of the stage.

"Pure drama" is liable to become pure stage-behaviour. On p. 363 B. shows that he recognises that H.'s obsessive quest for purity compensates for his illegitimacy; he gets the point, then throws it away - it is irrelevant to the "action of the play". What is the action of the play? Does not action include motive? How ridiculous to think that Euripides' effort to understand and let us understand why H. does as he does is "irrelevant"!

The ideal of aesthetic objectivity is generally foreign to a popular audience, which will detect in a play quite spontaneously contemporary meanings - thus very probably Theseus the national hero would remind them of Pericles. What strikes the modern scholar as extra-dramatic fancy might be what really made the play go; conversely an ordinary spectator would find himself lost in the timeless world of meaning ("timeless", B. p. 172-3)...

After a discussion of the concepts of aidos *and purity, Fitton concludes:*

At 953 H. is said to have Orpheus as his leader. When Orphism was fashionable in classical studies, it was thought that H. must be an Orphic. Nowadays we hear the fashionable refutation: H. cannot be an Orphic because the Orphics were vegetarians and H. is a huntsman who kills animals (B. p. 344-5; B.'s point that Orphics were not connected with Artemis is not convincing: at Aegina the mysteries of Hekate, who is clearly Artemis-Hekate, are said to be founded by Orpheus, Paus. 2.30). The trouble with this formal disproof is that it is formal. Drama does not follow the rules of a police-court interrogation. One does not have to look very hard to see that whereas one point is supposed to demolish the "Orphic" case, a multitude of points for the Orphic case are ignored. One could argue that what is attributed to H. here is not "vegetarianism" (a modern concept) but the practice of sharing humble cereal meals to symbolise piety and restraint (as in the cult of Cybele).And eventually we get

down to the question - Why on earth does Theseus his father *say* that H. is a follower of Orpheus?

The solution to the impasse lies, I think, in the recognition that Hippolytus to the Trozenians must have been, not an Orphic, but an analogue to Orpheus, used by the *Kathartai* (Purifiers), a magico-religious fraternity that still existed in Pausanias' day (Paus. 2.31.3-4, 8-9). It would at any rate seem much easier to suppose that H. was already associated with a mystic cult of purity *before* Euripides wrote the play. Otherwise we are left with the supposition that Euripides unaccountably made a huntsman into a mystic.

OBITUARY

Valerie Harris

It is with the greatest regret that we inform our readers of the death of Valerie Harris on 25th April 1993.

iura dabat legesque viris (*Aeneid* I.507) - "She gave rules and regulations to men. " Virgil's words about Dido apply well to Valerie. Like Dido, Valerie was a born leader - *dux femina facti* (*Aeneid* I.364). She shows what a woman can achieve without being in any sense a card-carrying feminist. She was a strong, attractive and able woman.

She arrived in the department in 1970 like a breath of fresh air. On her first day, the departing secretary told her, "You won't like it here - they're all mad." But she did like it, and stayed for eighteen years. Lively, amusing, interested, practical, efficient and intelligent, she found it easy and natural to organise all members of the department. And they all liked it.

Valerie appreciated academic achievement and indeed thought of becoming a Classics student herself, but she was never overawed by social or academic status. A university V.I.P. once took Valerie to task for cutting a rhododendron bloom or two for her office. Valerie inquired who the V.I.P. reprimanding her was, and, on being told, replied, "I might have guessed!"

Valerie's great self-confidence came from her sense of being loved and valued by her family, by colleagues, and by her enormous circle of friends inside and outside the university. Her contributions to the smooth running of the Classics Department and to the well-being of the wider community were the fruits of that self-confidence. We all loved her. We will remember her with great sadness, but also with laughter. She was such good fun, a doer, and a contributor right to the end.

Alan Griffin.

THE PERFORMANCE ENVIRONMENT OF GREEK TRAGEDY

HUGH DENARD

This article is an adaptation of two sections of the B.A. thesis I submitted to the Samuel Beckett Centre of Drama Studies, Trinity College Dublin, in April 1992. In its original form, it considered what factors must be taken into account when staging ancient drama for modern audiences. Minor alterations have been made to allow these sections, on the festival environment and the use of masks, to be read independently of the thesis itself. They do not claim to engage in any deep level of critical analysis, only to assemble some reasonably well known information on the production of Athenian drama in an accessible form, viewing the data from modern perceptions of theatre practice.

The fundamental nature of theatrical art is that it occurs in space and time. It follows that every theatre-event will be *fundamentally* affected by the space within which it takes place, as well as by its "temporal" context; this is then an obvious starting point when comparing ancient and modern theatre-practice because the differences between the conditions of performance in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens in the fifth century and our modern theatre spaces are so great. By exploring these areas of change we can begin to understand how very dissimilar the theatrical event was for an ancient audience from what we are used to.

Because the performance-environment will always affect the way in which an audience receives a performance, this in turn will affect the playwright's art, especially if s/he has, as in the Greek world, a specific environment and audience in mind. For my purposes, the idea of ''performance-environment'' encompasses, not only the physical environment, i.e. the theatre, but also the religious, cultural, and societal context within which the performance occurs. It should also take into account factors such as the time of day, of year, the reason for the performance, and, not least, the audience - its size, social composition, and reason for attendance.

FESTIVAL

For most of us, perhaps, the performance-environment is a night out, often in company, for entertainment, escape from the banalities of everyday life, or perhaps for intellectual, moral or ideological stimulation. These factors all played a part in the ancients' approach to theatre but their primary motivation was altogether different. For them, it was part of a larger festival lasting a number of days in honour of the young, dying god Dionysus and linked with the seasonal cycles which dictated patterns in trade and agriculture. The lawcourts and political machine ceased work, bail was offered to prisoners, citizens even received compensation for coming in from the rural areas to participate in the celebrations. The theatre-events occurred as part of a competition, each poet's offering lasting the greater part of a day, beginning with three tragedies, and concluding with a satyr play. Some have seen these satyr plays, *not* as embarrassing addenda to the lofty poetic sentiments of the tragedies, but as an organic part of the dramatic experience:

''With the loss of these plays we are lacking important clues to the wholeness of the Greek imagination, and its ability to absorb and yet

not be defeated by the tragic. In the satyr play, that spirit of celebration, held in the dark solution of tragedy, is precipitated into release, and a release into the worship of Dionysus who presided over the whole dramatic festival ... the sensual relish for life and its affirmation must have been the spirit of the conclusion of the four plays. The satyrs are included in the wholeness of the tragic vision. They are not forgotten, or forced out by pseudo `refinement'.'' [1]

The audience sat out in the open air under the penetrating Greek sun and watched the action with no recourse to lighting effects or proscenium arch to provide channel or focus for their attention. All of these things will have been taken into account by the playwright who, at that period, doubled as director. Needless to say, this is a far cry from our comfortable, air-conditioned opera houses or theatres. It should also be remembered that theatre was not the domain of just the upper echelons of society as it often is in the modern world, but was composed of citizen members of the *polis*, spanning the whole range of socio-economic strata.

Taplin argues that none of this has any bearing on the performances themselves,[2] and yet elsewhere he acknowledges that the playwright writes for a specific audience. Now this audience did not drop straight out of the sky into the auditorium; it had been in the local *taverna* the previous night celebrating the winners of the Dithyrambic contest, or gate-crashing the post-production party of the previous day's dramatic tetralogy, or catching up on old friends and acquaintances made during the previous year's binge.

There was also the added element of, in the loosest sense of the word, "ritual". Apart from the religious dimension of the event (the High-Priest of Dionysus was seated in the first row of the auditorium and the drama was preceded by sacrifices and libations) theatre was a bi-ennial event. It was not available "on tap" all year round as we know it; and much in the same way as we anticipate yearly festivals or anniversaries with a heightened sense of occasion and excitement, so the Greeks looked forward to their theatre, and even more so than we do, for what modern festival of ours could compare to the god's eight days of non-stop social, civic, religious and emotional activity? In other words, the Athenian audience did not leave its memory, state of health or frame of mind at the entrance to the theatre, and in the case of these concentrated celebrations there will have been a strong and all-pervasive sense of universal festivity, holiday extravagance and shared communal identity amongst the spectators.

The theatre of Dionysus had a seating-capacity of about 15,000 to 17,000 people at a conservative estimate,[3] and about another 2,500 may have been accommodated on the slope of the Acropolis above the auditorium. In relation to the crowd-sizes we are used to seeing today, at sporting events or in political demonstrations, for example, through the eyes of the media or "in the flesh", this remains a sizable group of people - a demonstration of 17,000 would hardly go unreported. And in the context of fifth century Athens, the sheer scale of the event must have had a strong impact upon the least impressionable spectator, heightening the significance of the events in the performance-space seventeen thousand-fold and charging the excitement and emotion up to and beyond fever pitch. Imagine this raw energy channelled into an intense and climactic work of art - add to this the powerful drug of national pride and identity when the citizens of the capital city of a great empire gather together in one space to affirm and consolidate their common heritage and identity through the re-telling of their myths and the celebration of the best of their poets, and consider in this light how very different by nature the theatre-experience of the fifth century Athenian audience was to ours.

Nor was the size of the gathering such a common sight as television and non-stop mammoth sporting events all around the globe have made it for us, and that sense of occasion will have been a significant dimension of the Athenian theatre-going experience. We have no similar experience of mass-crowd dynamic at work on this scale in our theatres. W.B. Stanford, in his excellent chapter on this in *Greek Tragedy and the Emotions*[4], also makes the point that, unlike today's safely segregated theatre seats, the Greeks would have been tightly packed together:

''If someone beside you sobbed or shuddered or trembled, you would feel it directly, and a wave of physical reaction could pass like an electric shock through all your neighbours... mass

emotionalism flourishes in compact crowds of that kind.''

The fact that the performance occurred in daylight, and that the auditorium was three-quarters "in the round" meant that the audience could also see each other responding to the action, heightening the emotional impact yet further.

Theatre at its best draws its energy and its dynamic from its audience, this being the element of live dialectic which more than anything separates it from ''canned'' media such as film and television. The temperament of an Athenian audience was quite unlike our northern temperament. They were noted for their intensity of involvement in the dramatic event - something they had learned, no doubt, from their volatile political assemblies in which they were forging the earliest form of Western democracy. Plutarch records, in *Moralia* 998E, a performance of a now lost play of Euripides during which the audience stood up spontaneously in terror, and Herodotus (6.21) tells of another play which caused them to weep so copiously that the poet was fined for having distressed the city excessively, and the play banned from further performance. So intense was the experience that Aristotle used the word *catharsis* to describe its result, a word not easily understood but usually translated as a ''purging'' of the emotions through pity and fear; tears and fainting. It may not be incidental that the word has no adequate translation - so few and far between are the modern productions which are capable of provoking such a strong emotional response from their public. If this is something the modern theatre-going experience more than often lacks, might it not be that most modern performances, while striving to create a certain atmosphere and sense of occasion, can compare but poorly to the electric atmosphere, the sense of occasion and, perhaps, alcohol-aided emotional pitch which the Greek theatre, being part of such a celebration, enjoyed as a matter of course?

We have looked at some of the ways in which the festival environment and the size of the performance-space contributed to the effect of the theatre-event on the Athenian audiences in antiquity, but do these factors also have implications for the work of the poet? Firstly we should not forget that the poet was competing against other dramatists for the dramatic prize and in this, as Stanford remarks: ''a vote from a shoemaker was as good as a vote from a philosopher''.[5] To this end, the tragedian was a craftsman of the emotional effect, knowing that emotions, at least, have a universal claim. Consider the intense, cumulative movement of the best Greek tragedy, how it relentlessly builds up to the climactic moment of reversal or downfall whilst engaging the highest poetic registers. At the same time we should remember that the playwright's choice of dramatic form is affected by any number of factors in a thick network of considerations. Patriotic sentiments, for example, are often to be found expressed in the texts, calculated perhaps to grasp precious floating votes.

The dramatic form chosen by the playwright is also attributable, at least in part, to the effect of distance in the theatre. When the farthest member of your audience is seated perhaps tens of metres away up a hillside it would hardly be appropriate to employ a writing-style which requires the audience to be able to see the subtleties and nuances of an actor's minute gesticulation and facial expression. Rather, images on a grandiose, overstated, elevated and projected scale are engaged; and this goes for language just as much as for movement, costume and voice.

MASKS

The size of the auditorium had another well documented effect upon Greek theatre practice not already mentioned, in that the actors wore masks. At one time it was widely held that the masks had an amplifying effect upon the voice of the actor through the insertion of some kind of bronze funnel into the mouthpiece. This is not generally accepted now, partly because of intricate archaeological detective-work, but also because the acoustics of Greek theatres are such that no amplification was needed. The theatre at Epidauros in the Argolid, whilst exceptional even in antiquity for its aesthetic and acoustic qualities, is a case in point. To this day a person speaking at normal volume from the centre of the *orchestra* can be heard quite distinctly from the furthest seat (that is, when there are aren't too many snapshotting tourist battalions screaming their heads off all over the place). Tony Harrison describes the extensive experiments he and director Peter

Hall conducted with actors and masks when writing his translation of the *Oresteia.*[6] He records that the diction of his poetry was greatly influenced by these experiments as he had to find a poetic form that would be both audible and congruous to the masks. In the theatre, masks, he found, had the effect of reinforcing the *''primacy of language''.*[7]

Whatever the amplificatory qualities of masks, they did serve the function of enlarging the physical presence of the actors and of making the distinctive features of each character clear to the farthest back-bencher. This becomes particularly important given that any one character may have been played by all three available actors at different times. The mask enabled the audience to recognize each character instantly regardless of whose voice was issuing from it.

Vernant and Vidal-Naquet, in their study of *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece,* give a further function of the mask:

''...the mask integrates the tragic figure into a strictly defined social and religious category, that of the heroes. Through it he becomes the incarnation of one of those exceptional beings whose legendary exploits, recorded in the heroic tradition of the poets, constitute for the fifth century Greeks one dimension of their past.''[8]

Quite apart from the function described, the use of the word ''incarnation'' strikes me as being particularly significant, having all kinds of associations with the mystical nature of the mask. For some cultures, donning the mask is the outward sign of a person surrendering their will to the spirit that possesses it. There is enough evidence to rule out a theory of any such straightforward belief in the context of the Greek theatre - acting was seen as a highly disciplined art - nonetheless there are other related associations between the Athenian theatre-experience and Dionysian ecstasy or *"orgy"* which may be harder to dismiss. In *any* culture the putting on of a mask is a very strong symbol, for an actor, of subordination to the character of the mask. In the highly charged context of the Athenian theatre this takes on an extra significance and with the spiritual dimensions of the Bacchic festival heavy in the air, there are strong grounds for believing that the mask contributed in no small way to the spiritual dimension of Greek theatre. W.B. Stanford draws attention to another point:

''Besides giving emphasis to voices and bodily movements, masks can produce another noteworthy emotional effect. As one can still experience from witnessing oriental plays and African dances, the fixity of expression and the stylized features of the masks have a strangely compelling, and almost a mesmeric, power, and at times the voice issuing from the immobile mouth seems demonic. One can perhaps best feel the horror of the masks of the Erinyes by contemplating a demon mask from Africa.''[9]

This precipitates further questions, namely: to what degree is the use of masks organic to the meaning of Greek tragedy? Can we see the poet, for example, making textual concessions to the unalterability of the mask? Such perhaps occurs when Sophocles' Elektra in a moment of joy, not being able to remove her mask on stage and replace it with a `happy' one, has to explain away her mask's sad and bitter expression by insisting, rather lamely, that it is long association with sorrow and pain that leaves her unable to rejoice as she would otherwise do.[10] The risk is to interpret this pragmatically motivated comment as some great psychological revelation with regard to Elektra's character or traumatized state of mind; it is alarming how easy that would be!

TRAGEDY, THE MASK

It has been suggested, and the idea is attractive, that the masks reflect one of the roles that tragedy played in the community. The mask cannot close its eyes nor, by the same token, can it blot out from its view the merciless horrors of life which we the audience would naturally recoil from. Through tragedy a community shares its collective horror and pain at those things which have adversely touched its life over the past year; the ravages of war, death, disease, and betrayal; the scars left by the hardship, suffering and disappointments of failed harvests and corrupt rulers. In life, we look away, change the subject, throw ourselves into work or entertainment to hide or deaden the pain. In tragedy, we see life and death in their true harsh colours and we cannot tum away. The act of theatre becomes an act of recognition and of

vicarious expression. For the Greeks it was a community's reflection *of* itself *to* itself, a chance to weep, a chance to protest together against *"...the thousand natural shocks / That flesh is heir to."* It becomes at once a community's communal memory, and a vehicle for the expression of the human being's natural response to that: pity and fear. Man is the measure of all things, yet some things remain beyond our domain - those powers of fate and chance, of divine action or inaction. And is it not just that we should rail against our impotence in the face of such a cruel and careless cosmos?

Tragedy is Greek civilization's Babel. The act of tragedy serves to bond what is essentially a diverse and divided community together, forging and reinforcing the notion of a common unity of heritage and identity. Through art it formulates and celebrates humanity's aspiration to godhead. As surely as the tower falls, so too the festival ends and the community is dispersed, but with renewed vision and a heightened consciousness of the rough-and-tumble of god's lightning.

God has not tempered his lightning in 2,400 years and we are still subject to suffering and loss, pain and dread. One might think that the immense scale of today's nations would preclude a universal communion of grief, such as the relatively tiny Greek *polis* was able to experience, but even the titanic U.S.A., a giant among modern civilizations, can unite in suffering. The terrible space-shuttle disaster, for example, when America's great symbol of national pride and international prestige disintegrated before the eyes of an adoring nation; or Great Britain and Ireland enduring the modern-day crucifixion of two British soldiers during an I.R.A. funeral in that most sadly divided community, Belfast. The television has become the mask of this age, bearing tragedy into our most intimate spaces. If this is true, then what is left to the theatre?

Suffering is a constant throughout the ages, and though the theatre-event has changed with regard to its social function - no longer the consciousness of an *entire* community - it remains the "mirror of its own times". [11] And more than a mirror: " Theater is one of the last repositories of thought", Marianne McDonald reminds us.[12] The mask remains the foundation of theatre's identity; not merely showing, but confronting - not merely seeing, but perceiving.

ENDNOTES

[1]Tony Harrison writing to Jocelyn Herbert, from "Filling the Space", N.Astley (ed.), *Tony Harrison: Bloodaxe Critical Anthologies 1* (Bloodaxe 1991) p.284. [2]"For the Athenians the great Dionysia was an occasion to stop work, drink a lot of wine, eat some meat, and witness or participate in the various ceremonials, processions and priestly doings which are part of such holidays the world over. It was also the occasion for tragedy and comedy - but I do not see any way in which the Dionysiac occasion invades or affects the entertainment." *Greek Tragedy in Action* (Methuen 1978) p.162. [3] Estimates vary. Plato puts it at around 30,000. I am settling for J. M. Walton's estimate. (*The Greek Sense of Theatre*, Methuen 1984,p.34). [4]Routledge 1983, p.5. [5]ibid. p.6. [6] "The mystery of the masks really begins with the effect they have on actors... Hall noted that many actors who tried out for parts, when they first wore masks, were unable to talk. `It took a week to get them to utter anything. But once they did, they appeared to grow up in the mask. Initially, they talked gibberish - then they became cheeky and anarchic, like children. It took them about three weeks to mature.'" S. Fay & P. Oakes in "The Mystery behind the Mask", Astley p.288 (see n.1). [7]When writing modern versions or stage-translations of ancient drama, the degree to which the `elevated' poetical registers of the original may derive from the use of masks in antiquity must be taken into account, and our own poetic diction will have to be adapted accordingly. The lack of appreciation of these factors is one of the chief culprits for the relentlessly stilted and aggressive delivery that characterizes so many performances of Greek tragedy today. [8]Zone 1988, p.24. [9]*Greek Tragedy and the Emotions, p.84.* [10]*Elektra* 1296 ff. & 1309 ff. This example is taken from Sir A.Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1968) p.172. [11] Taplin p.165. [12] M.McDonald, *Ancient Sun, Modern Light* (Columbia 1992) p.12.

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This precipitates further questions, namely: to what degree is the use of masks organic to the meaning of Greek tragedy? Can we see the poet, for example, making textual concessions to the unalterability of the mask? Such perhaps occurs when Sophocles' Elektra in a moment of joy, not being able to remove her mask on stage and replace it with a `happy' one, has to explain away her mask's sad and bitter expression by insisting, rather lamely, that it is long association with sorrow and pain that leaves her unable to rejoice as she would otherwise do.[10] The risk is to interpret this pragmatically motivated comment as some great psychological revelation with regard to Elektra's character or traumatized state of mind; it is alarming how easy that would be!

TRAGEDY, THE MASK

It has been suggested, and the idea is attractive, that the masks reflect one of the roles that tragedy played in the community. The mask cannot close its eyes nor, by the same token, can it blot out from its view the merciless horrors of life which we the audience would naturally recoil from. Through tragedy a community shares its collective horror and pain at those things which have adversely touched its life over the past year; the ravages of war, death, disease, and betrayal; the scars left by the hardship, suffering and disappointments of failed harvests and corrupt rulers. In life, we look away, change the subject, throw ourselves into work or entertainment to hide or deaden the pain. In tragedy, we see life and death in their true harsh colours and we cannot tum away. The act of theatre becomes an act of recognition and of

vicarious expression. For the Greeks it was a community's reflection *of* itself *to* itself, a chance to weep, a chance to protest together against *"...the thousand natural shocks / That flesh is heir to."* It becomes at once a community's communal memory, and a vehicle for the expression of the human being's natural response to that: pity and fear. Man is the measure of all things, yet some things remain beyond our domain - those powers of fate and chance, of divine action or inaction. And is it not just that we should rail against our impotence in the face of such a cruel and careless cosmos?

Tragedy is Greek civilization's Babel. The act of tragedy serves to bond what is essentially a diverse and divided community together, forging and reinforcing the notion of a common unity of heritage and identity. Through art it formulates and celebrates humanity's aspiration to godhead. As surely as the tower falls, so too the festival ends and the community is dispersed, but with renewed vision and a heightened consciousness of the rough-and-tumble of god's lightning.

God has not tempered his lightning in 2,400 years and we are still subject to suffering and loss, pain and dread. One might think that the immense scale of today's nations would preclude a universal communion of grief, such as the relatively tiny Greek *polis* was able to experience, but even the titanic U.S.A., a giant among modern civilizations, can unite in suffering. The terrible space-shuttle disaster, for example, when America's great symbol of national pride and international prestige disintegrated before the eyes of an adoring nation; or Great Britain and Ireland enduring the modern-day crucifixion of two British soldiers during an I.R.A. funeral in that most sadly divided community, Belfast. The television has become the mask of this age, bearing tragedy into our most intimate spaces. If this is true, then what is left to the theatre?

Suffering is a constant throughout the ages, and though the theatre-event has changed with regard to its social function - no longer the consciousness of an *entire* community - it remains the "mirror of its own times". [11] And more than a mirror: " Theater is one of the last repositories of thought", Marianne McDonald reminds us.[12] The mask remains the foundation of theatre's identity; not merely showing, but confronting - not merely seeing, but perceiving.

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Hall conducted with actors and masks when writing his translation of the *Oresteia.*[6] He records that the diction of his poetry was greatly influenced by these experiments as he had to find a poetic form that would be both audible and congruous to the masks. In the theatre, masks, he found, had the effect of reinforcing the *"primacy of language".*[7]

Whatever the amplificatory qualities of masks, they did serve the function of enlarging the physical presence of the actors and of making the distinctive features of each character clear to the farthest back-bencher. This becomes particularly important given that any one character may have been played by all three available actors at different times. The mask enabled the audience to recognize each character instantly regardless of whose voice was issuing from it.

Vernant and Vidal-Naquet, in their study of *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece,* give a further function of the mask:

"...the mask integrates the tragic figure into a strictly defined social and religious category, that of the heroes. Through it he becomes the incarnation of one of those exceptional beings whose legendary exploits, recorded in the heroic tradition of the poets, constitute for the fifth century Greeks one dimension of their past."[8]

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Since "Maastricht" is a word on everybody's lips these days, and the Vatican is calling for Latin to be *the* European language, ***Pegasus*** is proud to present its

LATIN TOURIST PHRASE BOOK

Quid pro quo	the sterling exchange rate
Post hoc propter hoc	a little more white wine wouldn't hurt us
Ad hoc	wine not included
Adsum	small extras on the bill
Exempli gratia	token tip
Infra dig	terrible accomodation
Primus inter pares	the stove has fallen in the fire
Compos mentis	mint sauce
Carpe diem	fish frying tonight
Non anglii, sed anglii	fishing absolutely prohibited
Casus belli	gastro-enteritis
Sic transit gloria mundi	the nausea will pass away, you'll be fine by Monday
O tempora! o mores!	*The Times* is no more, alas!
Quis custodiet custodes ipsos?	do you keep the *Guardian*?
Post meridiem	the *Mail* does not arrive until Monday
Fiat lux	car wash
Rara avis	no car hire available
Volenti non fit injuria	the accident was caused by a badly fitted steering-wheel
Reductio ad absurdum	road narrows
Nil obstat	River Nile impassable
Nil desperandum	River Nile overflowing
Terminus ad quem	bus station for Quem (small Romanian town)
Caeteris paribus	resturant facilities are available on the Paris coach
Post mortem	mail strike
Ex post facto	not known at this address
Sal volatile	a rather attractive Italian girl
Gloria in excelcis	a very attractive Italian girl
Noli me tangere	I do not wish to dance with you
Ars longa, vita brevis	unsuitable bathing costume (literally: big bottom, small briefs)
Hic jacet	old-fashioned coat
Timeo Danaos et Dona Ferentes	that nice couple we met in Portugal
Ex cathedra	ruined church
Inter alia	an Italian airline
Summa cum laude	peak holiday period
In loco parentis	railway family compartment
Quondam	part of Holland reclaimed from the sea
Festina lente	shops shut on Continent (literally: Lenten holiday)
Aut Caesar aut nihil	an Italian football result
Tertium quid	33p

London, Brit. Mus. E46, cup. ARV 1583,2. 500 BC

RES GESTAE V

compiled by DAVID HARVEY

Many thanks to all who sent their mini-autobiographies. It would be a great help if those whose names fall into the next alphabetical group (M to R) could post their news to 53, Thornton Hill, Exeter, EX4 4NR without being asked - before Christmas, please, as we hope to publish the '94 issue in March.

Conventions: all dates are shorn of their first two digits; the figure after a person's name indicates the date that they entered the department; this is followed by their home town. Postal districts (NW3) always refer to London. I'll be happy to send full addresses on request. Three dots ... denote lack of recent news; an *asterisk means that classical Exonian visitors will be welcomed.

CONGRATULATIONS

to **David McCAHON** & **Helen WYBREW** on their engagement;

to **Di (GRANT) BROOMFIELD, Gina (MACHIN) GERRARD, Juliette HAMMOND, Gillian (McWILLIAM) HARRIS, Jon LOCKE,** & **Jane (McGARRY) LONG** on their marriages;

to **Sophie (LYONS) BUTCHER** on the birth of Miles, **Frances (MATCHETT) HAWTHORNE** on that of Naomi, & **Chris SHAKESPEARE** on that of Phoebe;

to **Su BRAUND** on being appointed Senior Lecturer in Classics at Bristol Univ.; to **Nick CLEE** on becoming a Booker Prize judge; **Shaun HILL** on being nominated Egon Ronay Chef of the Year 92; **Matthew LEIGH**, our new lecturer in Classics; **Norman POSTLETHWAITE** on being unanimously elected Head of the Department; & to **Peter WISEMAN** on being elected President of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

NEWS

Nicola JENKINS (86; Cheltenham) worked for six months in advertising sales for *Today* newspaper. She then moved back to Cheltenham & worked as a motor claims negotiator for Endsleigh Head Office. She was studying for ACII (Chartered Insurance Institute) exams in 92, & planning an overland trek to Peru and Brazil in April 93.

Liz KELSALL now **BUTLER** (84; nr. Newbury) moved to Newbury to work for W.H. Smith as a branch-management trainee. In Jan. 91 she married a local farmer, & joined him to work on the farm. They run a suckler herd of over 100 head, a small pedigree Limousin herd, & a small timber mill. They also sell garden machinery, & are the area's specialist chain-saw sellers.

Andrew KERR (74; Abingdon) worked in Amsterdam for 5 years for Nico Israel, one of Europe's leading antiquarian booksellers. In 82 he returned to England, & established his own business (Bennett & Kerr Books) with a school friend as partner. They specialise in books on the Middle Ages & Renaissance.

Jenny KING (86; Bristol) wrote in 92: "I've bought half a 3-bedroom house, a Vauxhall, a stereo, & 2 cats (Holly & Ivy). However, the house is for sale at £3,000 less than I paid for it; my 16-year-old car leaks when it rains (hence a 2" puddle in the passenger seat); so my stereo will probably be repossessed to pay off my debts - but at least I shall still have my cats. I successfully climbed the commercial ladder for 2 years - more than enough! Now I'm training at Bristol Univ. to teach English, & am about to start teaching practice. Last term I turned a class of 11- & 12-year-olds into Homeric bards telling stories from their heads after having worked out the plot. I'm also playing hockey for Westberries Hockey Club."

Mary KING now **HAMPSON** (68; Bishopsteignton) is head of Classics at the Girls' Grammar School, Torquay, where she's been

striving to maintain classics amid the rising tide of the National Curriculum. They've dropped Latin A-level (lack of takers) but its replacement, JACT Class. Civ. A-level, has met with a very good response: 16 students in this year's lower 6th. Mary spoke on Roman women at this year's Classics Day at Exeter Univ. She's been married for 20 years; one daughter, Katherine, 13. Her hobbies include membership of a Clog Dancing Team.

Sue KIRBY (74; Hatfield), after training at Leicester & working in the Carlisle Museum, is now Curator of Welwyn Hatfield local history museum, a job that also entails looking after a fully restored mediaeval water-mill & a 3rd-c. Roman bath-house preserved in a specially constructed vault under the A1(M). She even needs to translate Latin inscriptions from time to time. She's also studying part-time for an MA in Museum Management at the City Univ. She has travelled to Egypt, Israel & Jamaica, & lives with a Probation Officer from Cumbria & a very bad tortoiseshell cat.

Beverley KNOTT (c.58; Bristol): teaching classics ...

Melissa KNOWLES now **SANDERS** (86; nr. Evesham) was married in Sept. 91, & works with her husband & father-in-law in their land & estate agents firm. She runs the residential department, which thrives, despite present market conditions. Hobbies: shooting, racing.

Rachel KNOWLES now **SMIT** (82; Exeter) started part-time research on ancient liminal women, particularly witches. She also took a variety of interesting & low-paid jobs, & managed to visit Rome & the USA (where she met some liminal women living in trees). Discouraged from her research by an Australian who referred to it as "dead Sheilas from way back", she married Tony, a builder, in 88. For about 9 months they were Dinkies (double income, no kids), but now they're Burks (bankrupt unemployed repossessed with kids), the kids being Joe (born on Mothers' Day 89) & Lily (born in 91, the Chinese Year of the Sheep), whose arrival coincided with a local paper's headline LABOUR'S BIG PUSH. They have just bought & are renovating a Georgian house.

Andree "Poum" KOCH now **BEISSEL** (68; Luxembourg) married a doctor; they have 3 adolescent children, & she teaches English in Luxembourg city.

Andrew LACHLAN (67; Abingdon) has been a taxi-driver for the past 12 years.

Grainne LANDOWSKI (88) was in local radio at Southampton ...

Katy LARKIN (89) is employed in para-legal work ...

John LAUDER (40, nr. Harlech) was in the army from July 42 to Dec. 46, serving in N. Africa, Sicily, Italy & the D-day invasion of Normandy. He returned to Exeter to complete his course (48), take a PGCE & marry a fellow-student, **Mary Vines** (49). Thereafter he taught at the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, as Assistant Master, Head of Classics & finally Deputy Head. He was also responsible for the school Scout Group for 25 years. He retired to Wales in 84, is learning modern Greek, & enjoys a full & active life.

Charles LEE (77; Ellesmere) teaches English & Latin at Ellesmere College, Salop. He's been the school's Director of Drama since 88, & is also in charge of shooting: his team have been national champions since 88, & have visited Germany (thrice), the Channel Islands & Denmark; in 94 they go to to S. Africa. He has also been British Schools team manager since 89. He's taken school parties to Israel, Tunisia, Italy (twice), Belgium & France. He still performs magic, & was interviewed about it on Central TV. Other interests: cultivating bonsai trees, film, theatre, & First World War weaponry, on which he lectures. He married Christine in 85; they have two daughters, Alexandra (born 86) & Victoria (born 88).

Christien LEE (89; Exeter) is studying for an MA & teaching part-time in our Classics Dept. He's co-directing an adaptation of Aristophanes' *Frogs* to be performed this summer in QB quad, working part-time at McDonalds to pay his rent, & trying to become an eternal student.

Will LEES-JONES (83; W14) completed his Classics degree at London Univ. He's now an advertising executive, & was recently appointed to the board of directors of the advertising agency "Advertising Warfare". He is still skiing at every opportunity, including a recent downhill race in Switzerland.

***Norman LEIGH** (65; Clitheroe) has worked for the British Council in London, Yorks, Nigeria, Malawi & now Manchester, in the newly

relocated section of their headquarters. He has thus returned to his native Lancashire, & lives near the M6. His leisure interests are mainly outdoor, but he's doing a postgraduate course at the Open University leading to the Diploma & ultimately MSc in Computing for Commerce & Industry, partly in self-defence in view of the rapid computerization of our lives, & partly with an eye to future employment. He finds the accuracy demanded by the classical languages very useful in writing computer code.

Jane LENNARD now **ENTWHISTLE** (75; Milton Keynes) married Brian in July 78, immediately after graduating. She joined the Dept. of Trade as an executive officer, working first on overseas trade statistics & then consumer affairs. In 80 they moved to Milton Keynes; Brian still commutes into London, but Jane stopped in 85 when Kathryn was born. Their second daughter, Sarah, was born in 88. Jane's main activities centre on playgroup, school & church. In 92 she appeared on the TV quiz *Fifteen to One*, where she got 5 questions to which she didn't know the answer - but she survived until the second round.

Diana LENTON now **SPINK** (60; St Albans) is married to Norman (Exeter Physics 59-62); they have 2 daughters, Jenny, who graduated in Media Production, & Moira, who has just graduated in Politics & History & is now working in the health service. Diana taught Classics for 3 years, & after a ''maternity break'' was involved in remedial work in a local JMI school. She then took a Diploma in Special Needs at London, & has been teaching in a school for children with moderate learning difficulties for 10 years. She's belonged to a choral society for nearly 30 years & has just taken up solo singing, which she greatly enjoys. She & Norman are also involved in counselling & church activities.

Roy LETT (63; Stourbridge) after a PGCE at Bristol & marriage to Rosemary Drake (Lopes) taught in the maintained sector for 17 years, the last 7 as Head of Middle School in a very large Birmingham comprehensive. During these years he also gained Associateship of the College of Preceptors & a Diploma in the Advanced Study of Education. He's been teaching Upper School English at Elmfield Rudolf Steiner School, Stourbridge, since 85. He divorced in 91 & is now single-parenting Catherine, half-way through a BMus at the Guildhall School of Music, & Sarah, studying for A-levels. He relaxes with an amateur theatrical group. He's now trying to raise funds to take an MA in Shakespeare studies at the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford.

Wendy LINES (86; Banbury) recently gave up her MPhil for various reasons, including laziness, & is now attempting to deal with a mortgage & the fact that Carl (Stanley) & herself are just celebrating their 11th anniversary. She is Assistant Manager of a bookshop in Banbury, where she's helped customers with essays comparing Greek myth & Irish history & given a sex education lesson to three 12-year-olds. No kids, no cats, no mobile phone, no money; interests are still beer & cigarettes.

Alan LLOYD (86) worked at the Imperial Hotel, Exeter, where he discovered valuable port & other rarities in the cellars (*Exeter Weekly News* 17.11.89); now abroad ...

Jennie LLOYD now **REYNOLDS** (80; Haverfordwest) completed a degree in English at Swansea after her year at Exeter. Then she took a postgraduate Diploma in Tourism at Cardiff, & has been in the tourism industry since 84. She lectures at Pembrokeshire College on a new Leisure Studies course, & will be teaching 4 or 5 units from Sept. She is Secretary of Preseli Pembrokeshire Tourism Federation, & does marketing work for her husband's boat-building company. She's also consultant to a national self-catering holiday agency, inspecting properties, advising on tax, etc. Hobbies: gardening, water-skiing, reading, walking; she always takes her holidays in Greece.

Martin LOCK (61; nr. Exeter) worked with the Western National Bus Co. from 78, producing statistical reports & accounts. When the firm closed in 86, he moved as Payroll Officer to a similar firm in North Devon, living in Bideford (where the natives were friendly) & working in Barnstaple. In 89/90 he returned to Exeter as Traffic Data Assistant for Devon General (Transit Holdings). Three childen: elder son (23) an aircraft mechanic in the RAF at Brize Norton, daughter (20) in Lloyds Bank (investments), Exeter, younger son (7) at Alphington junior school. He used to be a football referee; now he gardens.

Jon LOCKE (82; SW19) spent a year travelling, chiefly in Israel, where he worked on a moshav, & Egypt, then joined the accountants

Robson Rhodes in 86. He qualified as a chartered accountant in 89 & joined Coopers of Lybrand in 90. He's still with them, though he spent some months in Zambia & Zimbabwe in 91. He is to be seconded to the USA later this year - Boston, he hopes. He plays hockey for Spencer, a London league side based on Earlsfield. He married Katherine Bicknell in May 93.

Jane LOFTHOUSE (86; Loughton, Essex) teaches English to Greek students (aged 14 upwards) in Crete.

Richard LOWE (89; Osterley) is taking a PGCE in Classics & History at St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill; at present he's struggling with teaching practice at a convent filled with nuns, & looking for a job. This summer he will be going to Israel & Jordan to teach.

Ivor LUDLAM (77; Kfar Sava) writes: "In 80 I thought that coming to Israel would be a good idea, little realising that the best Jaffa oranges are exported to Europe. However, I still feel it was a good idea: not only have I continued my Greek & Latin studies under the Mediterranean sun (or heavy rainclouds, as now), but I have also soaked up Hebrew, to the extent that I can quote whole lines from the backs of cereal packets, & can even understand the weatherman on TV, something I couldn't do in England. I finished my Classics MA (Tel Aviv) in 86 (revised & published in 91 as *Hippias Major: an Interpretation*), taught English, translated, sold matches, & then began my doctorate (94?): an edition & commentary on the fragments of two confused Stoic scholarchs, Antipater of Tarsus & Ditto of Tyre. My supervisor is none other than **John Glucker**, who taught me Beginners' Greek in 77-8. My wife is none other than his daughter, Ruth."

Ian LYNCH (79) married **Anne Pope**, began a thesis on Roman Stoicism, then joined Barclays Bank ...

Sophie LYONS now **BUTCHER** (80; Pasadena) did a postgraduate secretarial course at Filton Tech., Bristol; in 84 she moved to London to become Mary Quant's chauffeuse & wound up as her assistant. She travelled with her to Japan & Europe, visiting fashion fairs etc. She became a systems analyst 88, married Ollie, became pregnant & gratefully left the job: Alice was born in 89. She then taught Business Studies to Kurdish refugees at Hackney College. She moved to California with her screenwriter husband in 91. Her son Miles was born in Jan. 93. She works sporadically on script notes etc. for various film companies.

David McCAHON (85; SW18) is articled to the solicitors Clifford Chance. He is engaged to **Helen Wybrew**, & they hope to marry this summer. They often see **David Morley** ...

Emma McCARTHY (87; flat-hunting: contact via Woking) spent 90-1 in Australia, travelling back via S.E. Asia. She worked in Tunbridge Wells 91-2, & is now in the Dept. of the Environment (personnel). She lives with another Exeter graduate, & often meets **Kerensa Heywood**.

Anne MacDONALD now **SHAW** (62; Lawrence, Kansas) returned from Exeter to Johannesburg for a year, then moved to the Univ. of Texas, Austin, to take a PhD in Classics. She married Mike, a fellow-graduate student there; he now teaches Greek at the Univ. of Kansas, & she teaches Latin at the local high school, using the Cambridge Latin Course. They have two daughters, Jane (now at Harvard) & Helen (at high school; interested in ballet), & are in touch with **Gareth Morgan**. In July 92 Anne attended the Great Wilkins-Harvey Food Conference in London.

Sarah MacFARLANE now **DINEEN** (82; Bishops Waltham, Hants.) has been with IBM for the last 6 years, first on the PC side (Account Administrator, then Project Administrator), now on the mainframe side as a demand analyst: this involves forecasting the business volumes & handling the orders for IBM's large systems. She married Brendan, who also works for IBM (Quality Manager), in 91; in April they were expecting their first baby "any day now". Sarah still plays the oboe & piano; she has several oboe pupils, & plays oboe in Southampton Symphony Orchestra.

Jane McGARRY now **LONG** (84; Torquay) worked in old people's homes in 88, then took a PGCE at Exeter in 90. After some part-time teaching, she has been teaching full time at a primary school since 92, which (to her amazement) she actually enjoys. In May 92 she married Richard Long, a classicist (also training to be a teacher); they've travelled to Brittany & Greece. She still hopes to pursue research on Greek prostitutes one day.

Anne MACKAY now **ISAAC** (83; N2) married David in 89: he read Hist. & Arch. at Exeter, & is now director of a London art gallery. Anne completed her MA in modern English literature at Birkbeck in 90, & now teaches at Univ. College School, Hampstead. They're expecting their first baby in July.

Clare McMILLAN now **JAMES** (62; Reading) is a welfare officer, a job that involves driving about 20,000 miles a year. She has dragged herself into the 20th c. by learning German & Italian & revising her French. She's produced 3 sons, aged 22, 19 & 17; the two eldest have left home, so classical music now gets a look-in in place of heavy metal. She has a partner, Robin, & describes herself as "between marriages". She recently lost a much-loved 21-year-old cat.

Michael McNALLY (83; Chobham) wrote in 90 that he'd spent 2 years at Guildford College of Law, taking the CPE & Solicitors' Finals. He then went to India for 3 weeks, trekking through remote parts of the Himalayas. Articled in 90 ...

Gillian McWILLIAM now **HARRIS** (84; c/o Newbury) is a business analyst & translator. She's been working up the ranks in a local company, Infomat, but reckons she's no high flyer. "I had my inevitable nervous breakdown in 89", she writes, "but I'm now completely sorted out & happy. My experiences have given me an interest in mental health, & eventually I intend to study psychology & maybe embark on counselling. I was married in Sept. 92; we honeymooned in Sorrento, & saw Pompeii - awe-inspiring!"

Gina MACHIN now **GERRARD** (82; W14) has worked in various areas of publishing from selling foreign & serial rights to editorial work. She spent a year travelling to Australia & NZ, & returned to take a PGCE (upper primary years). She now teaches 9-year-olds in St John's Wood. She married Hugo in 92.

Deborah MAGGS (78) was with Customs at Luton airport ...

John MAIR (60; Stanmore) works in the Dept. of the Environment. He was secretary of the London & SE group, 87-90; in 91 he compiled a handbook on the use of resources in the Dept.; he is now in the Local Govt. Policy Directorate. Working part-time at Birkbeck, he gained an MPhil in 72 for his thesis on Cassiodorus, & a PhD in 83 for his thesis on the theological tractactes of Boethius. He has published a number of articles in *JThS* etc. Other interests: musical history & theory, piano playing, railways (he's preparing a monograph on the Hereford, Hay & Brecon Railway), topography & gardens.

Catherine (Kasia) MARCINIAK (75; Los Angeles) is a consultant for CBS Entertainment, Showtime Network, the William Morris Agency & other clients in the film & TV industry. She's also working on two screenplays. She gained an MA in Mass Communications, Univ. of Illinois, 92.

Jack MARRIOTT (85) is at present in Croatia as Operations Officer for the British Support Group ...

Gary MARSHALL (88; Exeter) co-runs the mediaeval underground passages for the Exeter Museums Services, & works voluntarily with the Archaeological Field Unit, most recently at Danes Castle. He broadcasts on Exeter Univ. Radio every Sunday afternoon, & still props up the Uni bars. He recently travelled up & down the Nile from Cairo to Sudan, then overland to the Sinai; this year he hopes to go to Kenya. He shares lodgings with **Kevin Pridgeon**.

Frances MATCHETT now **HAWTHORNE** (83; Horsham) took an RSA Diploma in secretarial studies at Hove Business School. She married Adrian in Oct. 87. After some secretarial temping, she spent a year working in border refugee camps in Thailand with a Christian team of doctors & nurses. She returned to become secretary to the Registrar at Brighton Poly, but moved to Horsham in 89 to be nearer her husband's work. Two children: Joel (born Aug. 90) & Naomi (born Feb. 93).

Christine MATTHEWS (77; N1) is a researcher for the Consumers' Association. She's developing a sound knowledge of bikes, football & computer games from her 12-year-old son Ben.

Jesslyn MATTHEWS now **LOTT** (c.54) used to teach Latin at Bishop Blackall School, Exeter, in the 70s; her pupils included **Jim Fitton**'s daughter Mandy ...

Marthe née **MAUL** (68) married an Exeter English graduate; they live in the UK ...

Roger MAY (69; Chichester) writes: "I enjoyed 9 years as a secondhand bookseller in London, then studied law - a daunting prospect (could I still write essays? did my brain still work?), especially as I had to fund myself and pay

a mortgage. But all went well, & I obtained articles in the City (thanks to a reference by David Harvey) & qualified as a solicitor in 88, & soon moved to Chichester to work for Blake Lapthorn. I married Hilary (barrister turned solicitor) in 80; we have 2 daughters, Claire & Sally, who have inherited my love of books. Our house is enormous, decaying & ideal for the kids; I thought it would take 10 years to restore it, but perhaps 15 is more realistic."

Jeremy MENADUE (80) is chess correspondent for the *West Briton* ...

Sarah MILLARD-BARNES (89) is taking a law conversion course at the City Univ. ...

Nova MILTON (86; Taunton) describes herself as a "happy housewife & unpublished writer". She gained her MA in English at Exeter Univ. in 91 while still bringing up her children. She then spent a year in Cambridge, where her husband was awarded an MPhil; they've now returned to Dartmoor & (temporarily) Taunton. Her time is taken up with welfare & social commitments, but she writes a bit & is hoping to join a choral group.

LOST SOULS

Last year this paragraph elicited the lamentable news that **Martin Jarvey** (63) was killed in a climbing accident: see ***Pegasus*** 2 (64) p.2.

Does anyone have the address or any news of Bob Keer, Sophie Kidd, Simon Kirkup, Alice Knott, Godfrey Lancashire, Francis Law, Deborah Leach, Peter Lewis, Richard Little, William Lucy, Amanda Lynch, Margaret McCaig, Sam McCarter, Mary-Jo McCormack, Keelin MacGreevy, Richard McHale, Michael McLean, Ian MacWhinnie, Deborah Maggs, Paul Mallatratt, Stuart Mann, Alf Manning, Linda Manning, David Marris, Jeremy Marris, Jesslyn Matthews, Margaret Matthews, Marthe Maul, Michael Megee, Simon Mellor, Clare Miller, Hugo Miller, Susan Mills, or Sarah Mitchell-Innes?

The Patriarch Msdos about to select an Icon

Jonathon Powell

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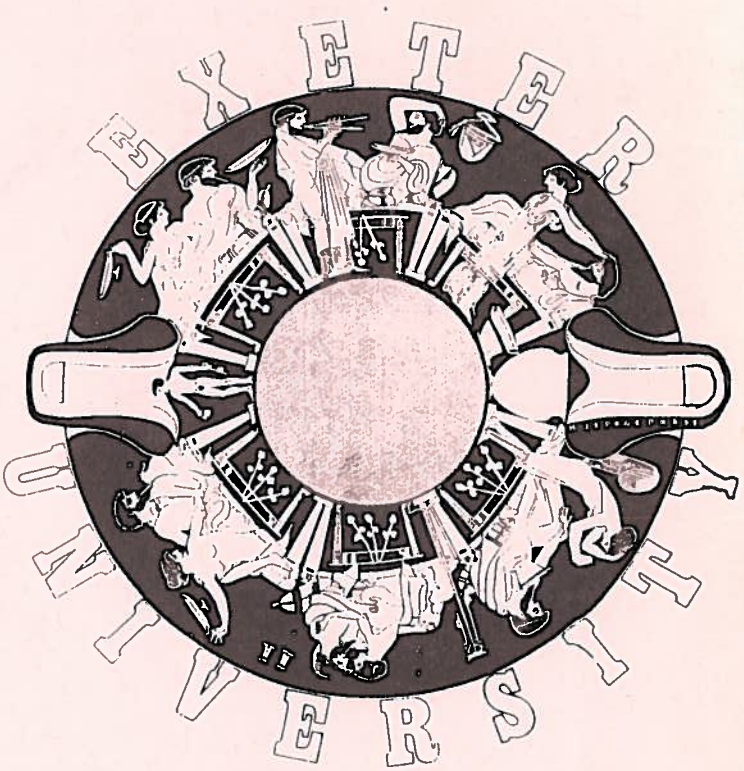

'Now we must get *really* drunk..."

(Alcaeus fr.332)

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