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REPORT FROM THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

Norman Postlethwaite.

CONFERENCES

Last year the Department was host to the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association, a very successful gathering which brought together over 200 scholars and teachers. The highlight was a performance, by students of the Department of Drama of Catullus' Attis. In September we held a conference entitled 'Hygieia: Good Health in Antiquity', organised by Dr Karen Stears, a temporary lecturer who has now moved on to a three-year post in Edinburgh. In September this year there will be a conference on 'Pollution in the Ancient City', organised by Ms. Eireann Marshall, a temporary tutor in the Department, to whom enquiries can be directed.

PUBLICATIONS

As in previous years, the Department produced much excellent research, outstanding amongst which have been David Braund's *Georgia in Antiquity*, Richard Seaford's *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State,* described recently in the *TLS* as a 'magisterial study', Peter Wiseman's *Historiography and Imagination: Eight Essays on Roman Culture* and John Wilkins' *Archestratus: The Life of Luxury,* co-authored with Shaun Hill. Shaun, Egon Ronay Chef of the Year and until recently chief at the prestigious Gidleigh Park Hotel in nearby Chagford, is an Honouary Research Fellow in the Department, researching aspects of ancient food with John Wilkins.

OTHER NEWS

Two distinguished visitors during the course of the year were Dr Kathryn Welch, a Leverhulme Fellow from Sydney, and Dr Elizabeth Belfiore, a Visiting Honorary Research Fellow from the University of Minnesota.

Finally, I am sure all students and associates, past and present, will wish to join in congratulating Richard Seaford on his election to a chair. Professor Seaford came to Exeter in 1978 and was promoted Reader in Greek Literature in 1991. From 1995 he will be Professor of Greek Literature, in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the world of Classics, a contribution which will be further enhanced by the publication of his commentary on Euripides' *Bacchae.*

'TALES UNWORTHY OF THE GODS'

by T.P. Wiseman.

[This piece was written with Exeter students in mind, for the 'Gods and Men' core-course of the M.A. in Roman Myth and History, and for the third-year undergraduate option 'Ovid and the Roman Year'. But I hope the rest of *Pegasus*' far-flung readership will find it of interest too.]

Was Rome a myth-free zone? Some people think so. A year or two ago appeared the proceedings of a conference in Basel on the theme 'Myth in a mythless society: the paradigm of Rome'. Among the contributors was a leading English Roman historian, Mary Beard of Newnham College, Cambridge, who wrote (Beard 1993.56):

> *One of the main problems in identifying an active mythic tradition in late Republican and Imperial Rome has been the apparent lack of any arena for myth-**making** or **remaking**. In fifth-century Athens the dramatic festivals seem to fit that bill perfectly: a series of social occasions in which (at least in theory) the whole citizen body participated in the re-working and re-interpretation of the 'traditional tales' of the mythic inheritance. True, there was a self-conscious, intellectual side in the work of the tragic dramatists. But, in a broad socio-cultural analysis, that 'literariness' does not undermine the central fact of the shared, polis-wide, repeated negotiation of the repertoire of Greek myth. Rome, by contrast, seems to offer no such context for the shared re-presentation of mythic stories.*

But surely the Romans had dramatic festivals too? There were regular 'theatrical games', *ludi scaenici*, throughout the year - fifty-six days of them by the time of Augustus (Balsdon 1969.245-8) - not to mention one-off performances at triumphs, funerals and the dedication of temples. Just as in Athens, the Roman games were where the citizen body met to honour its gods with dance and drama. As another distinguished historian, Elizabeth Rawson, put it, the dramatic festivals were central to Rome's culture; they were a focal point, a unifying social force (Rawson 1991.581, 1993.260). The difference is, compared with Athens we know very little about what went on at them.

If we had, for Rome, thirty-two surviving tragedy texts, a philosophical treatise on the theory and practice of the genre, and eleven comedies from a satirical genre intimately involved with the topical concerns of the community, then we might understand the *ludi scaenici* as well as we do the Great Dionysia at Athens. As it is, we have the plays of Plautus and Terence. As adaptations of Greek comedies of manners, they represent just one of the many dramatic genres we know existed at Rome - and it happens to be the one that *least* directly reflected the attitudes and preoccupations of the Roman citizen body. Worse still, for the period we know best from contemporary evidence, the first-century B.C. Rome of Cicero and Catullus, Sallust and Lucretius, we have no dramatic texts at all. As a result, we inevitably think of the late Republic in terms of poetry and politics, oratory and war. The dramatic festivals may have been 'central to Rome's culture', but we know next to nothing about them.

If only we had the forty-one books of Varro's *Roman and Divine Antiquities*! One of them, book X of the *Antiquitates divinae*, was entirely devoted to the dramatic festivals of Rome. What we do have, however, thanks to St Augustine, who argues with Varro as a worthy opponent in the sixth book of his *City of God*, is a long verbatim quotation from Varro's discussion of the nature of the gods in the introduction to the *Divine Antiquities* (frr. 7-10 in Cardauns' edition: I

quote from Henry Bettenson's Penguin translation of *City of God* VI 5, pp.234-6). Varro divided theology into three types, 'mythical', 'physical', and 'civil':

> *The name 'mythical' applies to the theology used chiefly by the poets, 'physical' to that of the philosophers, 'civil' to that of the general public.*
>
> *The first type* ['mythical'] *contains a great deal of fiction which is in conflict with the dignity and nature of the immortals. It is in this category that we find one god born from the head, another from the thigh, a third from drops of blood; we find stories about thefts and adulteries committed by gods, and gods enslaved to human beings. In fact we find attributed to gods not only the accidents that happen to humanity in general, but even those which can befall the most contemptible of mankind.*
>
> *The second type which I have pointed out* ['physical'] *is one on which the philosophers have left a number of works, in which they discuss who the gods are, where they are, of what kind and of what character they are: whether they came into being at a certain time, or have always existed: whether they derive their being from fire (the belief of Heraclitus) or from numbers (as Pythagoras thought) or from atoms (as Epicurus alleges). And there are other like questions all of which men's ears can more readily tolerate within the walls of a lecture-room than in the market-place outside.*
>
> *The third variety* ['civil'] *is that which the citizens in the towns, and especially the priests, ought to know and put into practice. It contains information about the gods who should be worshipped officially and the rites and sacrifices which should be offered to each of them.*
>
> *The first type of theology is particularly suited to the theatre; the second is particularly concerned with the world; the special relevance of the third is to the city.*

So by 'poets' Varro means *dramatists*. The mythological 'gods of the poets' were what the Romans of his day saw at the *theatre*. There can be no mistake about it: Augustine, who knew the whole of Varro's work, refers constantly to the stage as the place where these disgraceful stories were presented. Are we, the bishop indignantly demands, to ask for eternal life from 'the gods of poetry and the theatre, the gods of the games and the plays'? (*City of God* VI 6, Penguin p.237: *ab dis poeticis theatricis ludicris scaenicis*?) Perish the thought! But his polemic has preserved for us a fact of crucial importance about the mythology of Rome in the first century B.C.

* * *

Augustine's vocabulary is consistent: pagan mythology as seen in the theatre is degradation and disgrace (*turpitudo, dedecus*); the stories are 'slanders' (*crimina deorum*: IV 26, VI 6, Penguin pp.168-9, 237-8). But the phrase he uses most often is 'tales unworthy of the gods' (VI 1,6,7,8, Penguin pp.222, 238-9, 243), where *indignae* picks up Varro's own description of them as 'in conflict with the *dignitas* of the immortals'. Varro too, for different reasons, disapproved of the undignified portrayal of gods on the stage. But his very disapproval is evidence for it.

Gods on the Roman stage: Victory, Jupiter and Minerva watch a confrontation between Hercules and an armed warrior, from a relief-moulded vase at Orange (Gallia Narbonensis): Baumeister, Denkmäler, fig. 1832.

Who would have guessed that that was what happened (among other things, of course) at the dramatic festivals of the Roman Republic? In fact, we do have one surviving play that falls squarely into Varro's category - Plautus' *Amphitruo*, in which Jupiter and Mercury appear on stage as the adulterous lover and his slave. The prologue is spoken by the actor who plays Mercury, slipping into and out of character as the jokes require, and what it reveals, a century and a half before Varro was writing, adds a further

dimension to our understanding of the Roman stage.

'Mercury' comes on and introduces himself, as both god and actor. At line 38 he gets serious and calls for attention: 'my father Jupiter and I have deserved well of you and the Republic.' Jupiter knows the Romans are grateful to him, as they should be. So there is no need for Mercury to give details, as he has seen other gods do in tragedies - Neptune, Virtus, Victoria, Mars, Bellona, all spelling out to the Roman audience what benefits they have conferred on them (lines 41-4). 'Tragedies' here probably means just 'serious plays', and the implication is that the plots were Roman, or at least relevant to Rome, to justify the gods' appearance as benefactors to the Republic. Again, who would have guessed that that was a regular feature of Roman drama? But it is wholly consistent with dramatic festivals as civic occasions, just as in Athens.

'Mercury' now promises to give the plot of his tragedy. Tragedy? This is Plautus! The audience frowns. No problem: 'I'm a god, I'll turn it into a comedy.' Or rather a tragicomedy, because a play with gods and kings in it must be a tragedy, but one with a part for a slave must be a comedy, and this has both (lines 59-63). That seems to imply that gods in comedy were unusual, and certainly the *Amphitruo* prologue has to explain a few lines later (86-95) how it is that Jupiter is appearing in a comedy. Perhaps what was for Plautus a daring innovation (*novum*, line 89) had become routine by Varro's time, when undignified comic gods were evidently the norm.

The *Amphitruo* plot was one of Jupiter's better known love affairs, an artificially extended night to let him enjoy himself at length making Alcumena pregnant with Hercules. Jupiter's adulteries were Augustine's classic example of tales unworthy of the gods (*City of God* IV 25-6, Penguin pp.167-8). Other comic characters he mentions (VI 7, p.239) are Mercury as a beardless boy, Priapus with his huge erection (a favourite of the mimes), Saturn as an old man and Apollo as a youth; also, for some reason, Diana armed. But the best examples come from another Christian polemicist, also arguing with Varro, a hundred years or more before Augustine.

This was Arnobius, whose *Adversus nationes* ('Against the pagans') was written about A.D. 300. Towards the end of the fourth book, using the same phrase about '*tales unworthy of the gods*' (IV 35, *indignas de diis fabulas*), Arnobius has a wonderful purple passage in which he imagines all the magistrates and priestly colleges - the *pontifices*, the *curiones*, the *quindecimviri*, the *flamines*, the augurs, the Vestal Virgins - sitting in the theatre with the Senate and People of Rome and watching a ballet of Venus in love. 'The mother of the race of Mars, the ancestress of the imperial people, is represented in shameless mimicry as raving like a Bacchante, with the desires of a vile harlot.' Or perhaps it was a different plot, with Cybele the Great Mother of the Gods shown as writhing with passion in the embrace of a herdsman (Attis).

And the winner is...The judgement of Paris, from a wall painting in Pompeii: Baumeister, Denkmäler, fig.1358.

Were those examples from Arnobius' own time, or taken from Varro? We might ask the same question about Augustine's choice of the judgement of Paris as an example of disgraceful stories (*City of God* IV 27, Penguin p.169); Lucian's scenario of that story, with its emphasis on the goddesses' undressing (Lucian, Loeb trans. vol. III pp.397-403), gives an idea of how it might have been presented on the stage.

* * *

In the following book (V 1), Arnobius extends his attack from poets' inventions to stories he has found in serious historians. Fairly serious, anyway: his example comes from Valerius Antias, whom even Livy (XXXIX 43.1) described as a credulous reporter of *fabulae*. Arnobius' story was in book II of Antias' history, on king Numa. It runs as follows.

Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, consults his divine consort, the nymph Egeria, about lightning-strikes. How can he ward off from his people the evil that Jupiter's bolts portend? Her advice is to get two local gods of the countryside, Faunus and Picus Martius, to reveal the secret. (Plutarch, who tells the same story in his *Life of Numa*, ch. 15, describes Faunus and Picus for his Greek readers as '*daimones* who may be likened to satyrs or Pans'.) On the Aventine is a shady spring where they come to drink; so Numa leaves cups full of wine by the spring, and conceals 'twelve chaste youths' nearby, carrying fetters. Faunus and Picus Martius come to the spring, drink the wine, and fall asleep; the twelve leap out and bind them fast.

Thus compelled, Faunus and Picus Martius reveal to Numa how Jupiter himself can be brought to earth. Numa carries out the appropriate sacrifices, and Jupiter duly appears on the Aventine. How, Numa asks, can the lightning-bolts be expiated? Jupiter wants human sacrifice, but Numa is too smart for him. Jupiter: 'Give me a head!' Numa: 'An onion's.' Jupiter: 'Human!' Numa: 'Hair.' Jupiter: 'Living!' Numa: 'Sprats.' And Jupiter admits defeat, which is why the expiatory sacrifice against lightning-strikes is of onions, hair and sprats.

Arnobius is outraged at this story, which he describes as written wholly for laughs (*Adv. nat.* V 2, *omnia et excogitata et comparata derisui*), and designed to bring divinity itself into contempt. The first part of that judgement may be right, but not necessarily the second. What about those twelve chaste youths? Chastity implies a serious religious act.

The story has a sequel, which Arnobius does not tell. It comes in Ovid's *Fasti* (III 259-392), at the point where the poet of the Roman calendar, discussing the Kalends of March, asks why the Salii bear the divine arms of Mars, and sing of Mamurius in their hymn. March was of course the month of Mars (*mensis Martius*), and the Salii were the priests of Mars, who performed their dance in armour during the month (Scullard 1981.85-6).

Surprisingly at first sight, Ovid asks Egeria to explain, since it was her doing: *nympha, Numae coniunx, ad tua facta veni!* (line 262). He then tells the story of Egeria's advice, the capture of Faunus and Picus Martius, and the bargaining with Jupiter. But now the story continues. Jupiter laughs, and promises Numa an infallible guarantee of Rome's future power (line 346: *imperii pignora certa dabo*). Sure enough, next day at dawn there descends miraculously from heaven a bronze shield, of archaic figure-eight design (*ancile*). For security, Numa has eleven identical copies made, so that no-one shall know which of the set is the divine talisman. These are the shields borne by the twelve Salii in their ritual dance. The song they sing contains the name Mamurius, in honour of the craftsman who made the copies.

Priests carrying ancilia: incised gemstone, fourth or third century B.C. (Florence, provenance unknown). The inscription runs from right to left: ATTIUS ALCE.

Now we can explain the 'twelve chaste youths' in Valerius Antias' version: they were (or became) the Salii, their chastity appropriate to a priesthood. The whole story is a multiple aetiology - not only of the altar of Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine (Livy I 20.7), and the bizarre ingredients of the lightning-expiation sacrifice that was presumably carried out there, but also of the *collegium Saliorum* and the mysterious figure of Mamurius, whose festival on 14 March (Mamuralia: Scullard 1981.89) featured the Salii and their twelve shields.

Now, aetiology was not just for learned antiquarians. It could be an integral part of the dramatic festivals, explaining to the citizen body the significance of its own rituals and institutions (for Athens, see Seaford 1994.276-7). Was this story first produced on the stage? Certainly it exemplifies both the characteristics we have seen attributed to the Roman *ludi scaenici* in their treatment of the gods. The binding of the drunken Faunus and Picus Martius, and the way Numa is shown to be cleverer than Jupiter, surely count as what Varro called 'fiction in conflict with the dignity and nature of the immortals'. As for Jupiter's granting of the shield as a talisman of empire, that is equally clearly a benefaction to the Roman people of the kind `Mercury' refers to in the *Amphitruo* prologue. Indeed, in one version of the story (Paulus' epitome of Festus, p.117 of Lindsay's edition), the descent of the shield is accompanied by a speech from Jupiter himself: 'Your city will be the most powerful of all, while this remains in it'.

So it could have been a play: prologue, Egeria; first act, the capture of Faunus and Picus Martius; second act, the bargaining with Jupiter (including the famous dialogue reported by Valerius Antias, Ovid and Plutarch); third act, the shields and Mamurius. See how Ovid describes the granting of the heavenly shield (*Fasti* III 370): *credite dicenti; mira, sed acta, loquor.* 'Believe my words; what I tell is amazing, but it happened/it was performed.' The ambiguity of *acta* may be deliberate. Ovid uses a similar phrase - *mira quidem, sed tamen acta, loquar* (VI 612) - after narrating the murder of Servius Tullius and the aetiology of 'Wicked Street'. That story is described by Livy as suitable for tragedy, and was quite possibly taken from a play (Livy I 46.3 *sceleris tragici exemplum*, cf. I 47.7 and 59.13 for the Furies). In Dionysius' narrative of the episode, the king's murderously ambitious daughter is given a speech out of Euripides (Dion. Hal. IV 29.7, Eur. *Phoenissae* 524f). Ovid's own account concludes with a speech to the Roman people from the goddess Fortuna (*Fasti* VI 617-20).

Another Ovidian parallel for *mira sed acta loquor* is even more specific. At *Fasti* IV 326, reporting the miraculous vindication of Claudia by the Mother of the Gods in 204 B.C., he says: *mira, sed et scaena testificata, loquar.* 'What I shall tell is amazing, but attested also by the stage.' Not only is that clear evidence for a play about gods (and Cybele the Great Mother, who brought victory over Hannibal, was certainly a benefactress of Rome), but the similarity to the other passages makes it a reasonable guess that *acta* there may be taken as synonymous with *scaena testificata* here. In which case we would

have confirmation that the Numa story was originally a play.

* * *

It has long been recognised that plays were among the sources Ovid used for his *Fasti*. (For different angles on the subject, see for instance McKeown 1979. 75f., Fantham 1983. 196-201, Wiseman 1988. 10-13.) Occasionally, known titles enable us to guess at likely sources for particular episodes: Accius' *Brutus* for the tragedy of Lucretia at *Fasti* II 711-852, or Laberius' *Anna Peranna* for the farcical burlesque of Mars and Minerva at III 675-96. Elsewhere, the nature of the episode itself may be revealing, as with the randy Priapus - cited by St Augustine as a mime character - and his frustrated attempt on the sleeping nymph Lotis, which ends with a sudden dénouement and laughter all round (I 391-438). Amy Richlin has noted this general laughter as a feature of Ovid's sex narratives (Richlin 1992.169-72); I suggest it may represent the audience's reaction at the end of a mime or similar risqué comedy.

More significant, perhaps, is the way Ovid handles the tale of Lara the Silent Goddess, mother of the Lares (II 583-616). Jupiter is in love with the nymph Juturna, but she succeeds in hiding from him in woods or streams. What he has to put up with is unworthy of so great a god (II 586, *multa tulit tanto non patienda deo*) - just the sort of plot Varro objected to. Speeches follow: Jupiter's harangue to the assembled nymphs, Lara's report of it to Juturna, and above all Lara's tactless speech to Juno ('I'm sorry for you married women', II 605), which is surely condensed from a scene on the comic stage. Not that the story stays comic (in our terms, at least): Jupiter tears out Lara's tongue and banishes her to the Underworld; Mercury rapes her on the way. But there is a happy ending for Rome in the birth of the protector gods, the Lares Praestites.

A similar combination of comedy and machismo comes in Propertius IV 9, with the story of thirsty Hercules and the grove of the Good Goddess. Act one, the theft of the cattle and Hercules' killing of Cacus (as in *Aeneid* VIII); act two, Hercules' vain pleading for water at the women's closed precinct, where he utters 'words unworthy of a god' (IV 9.32, *verba minora deo*). The priestess says no, but he bursts the door down anyway and drinks - and that's why women are not allowed to worship at the Ara Maxima, Hercules' altar. A link with mime has already been suggested for this poem (McKeown 1979.77-8); I think the Varronian phrase confirms that here too we have an example of the undignified gods of the dramatic festivals, who are also the benificent gods of Rome.

So it seems that the Romans of the late Republic did have a mythology after all, and that their *ludi scaenici* did indeed 'offer a context for the shared re-presentation of mythic stories'. It is clear too that they could both laugh at the gods and at the same time take them seriously as benefactors and protectors. Just as in Greece (think of Plato's expulsion of the poets and dramatists from his ideal city), so too in Rome that free and easy attitude to the divine powers was a problem for religious purists like Varro. And it was a gift for the Christian polemicists, whose gleeful mockery provides us with so much of our evidence.

What that evidence implies, if we try to make sense of it, is a Roman citizen body which saw no conflict between piety, patriotism and cheerful entertainment, a theatre audience with a taste for humour and pathos, farce and tragedy, which became in due course an appreciative readership for the mature sophistication of Propertius' fourth book and the *Fasti* of Ovid.

PETER WISEMAN is Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter. His book *Remus: a Roman Myth* (Cambridge Univ. Press) will be published later this year.

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'STRUCK BY THE WORD': THE VOICE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

Averil Cameron.

*Previous Jackson Knight lectures have not usually taken Christian literature as their theme, but if Virgil was *anima naturaliter christiana* that is surely defence enough. In any case the Emperor Constantine himself referred to Virgil as 'the prince of Latin poets' and read the Fourth Eclogue as presaging the birth of Christ.[1] Hidden meanings and hermeneutics are part of my theme, and I like to think that W. Jackson Knight himself would not have objected to this expansion of the field he made his own.

It is hard not to begin with Augustine, and even harder not to begin with the *Confessions*. In book X Augustine wrote:

> *Non dubia, sed certa conscientia, domine, amo te. percussisti cor meum verbo tuo, et amavi te*
>
> *(I love you, Lord, not with doubt, but with sure knowledge; you have struck my heart with your word, and I love you).*

In these short sentences he captures several of the essentials of early Christian consciousness and the project of early Christianity: the interplay between 'words' and 'the Word', *logoi* and *Logos*; the connection of mind (words) and heart (emotion, feeling); and finally the ideas of dramatic revelation (conversion) occurring not through rational thought or human knowledge, but despite reason. The subject does not come to a gradual realization based on the working of the intellect: he is 'struck' (*percussisti*), by the word of God.

What I want to consider here, in returning to the Christian writing of late antiquity, is the question whether there is indeed something that we can call 'Christian literature', and if so, in what sense it is literary, with what voice or voices does it speak? We know of course that there are genres in early Christian writing - martyr acts, saints' lives, sermons and so on. But producing a literary typology is not quite the same as identifying a literary voice. I want to argue that that voice does exist, and that it demands our attention.

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* A first version of this lecture was delivered to the Roman Society in November , 1992.

1 *Oration to the Saints*, 19-20.

actly shall be saved, why and in precisely what way we should believe in the resurrection of the body, what does it mean that the saints shall 'see God', what does it mean to say that the end of time will be a perpetual Sabbath, God's rest after the seven ages of the existence of man, like the seventh day of creation itself?

Augustine is probably the most self-reflective of all early Christian writers, conscious at all times not simply of what he was doing but also of why he was doing it. But the narrativity on which he reflects so overtly appears everywhere in Christian writing. Imagined lives are its stock-in-trade. Quest and travel - literary or actual - are basic features of these stories;[5] the ascetic life is presented as an interiorised journey towards union with God. Many such journeys were displayed, against a landscape of stylized desert and rocks, and always one of hardship. In one form, this literary trajectory is what the American critic Geoffrey Harpham has called 'ascetic discourse'.[6] None of these literary and oral journeys, whether presented as texts or communicated as the apocryphal histories which filled the unfortunate gaps in the Gospel narratives, was aimless: all had a goal, the end of the journey and the arrival after the quest. The same idea is displayed visually in the image of the holy life drawn from the seventh-century *Spiritual Ladder* of John Moschus, and depicted on some early Byzantine icons, as being like climbing a ladder with many rungs, from which one might at any moment by pulled down by demons. The (to us) charming pictorialism of the image demonstrates the conception perfectly. In this imagined world the goal is there for all to see, and the ascent is hard. In this world-view, the only way to go is upwards. Indeed, the spiritual journey of the individual, as is depicted in so many contemporary biographies, beginning with the archetypal *Life of Antony*, 'the master-text of western asceticism', according to Harpham, involved an upward progress of the soul, through appropriate stages and trials, towards union with God. The idea of a perpetual struggle towards a goal is built into the story. The imagined or actual journey was also metaphorically the period of betrothal, leading to marriage. Bridal imagery, taken from Scriptural precedent, is to be found throughout the Christian texts, and duly makes its appearance in the narratives of journey. Just one example will suffice for now: two Syrian ladies, whose pilgrimage to the Holy Land is recounted by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in the fifth century, heaped themselves with iron chains after they returned home, in order to signify their interior journey. Like their real journeys to Jerusalem to the shrine of Thecla, they chained themselves, their biographer tells us, out of yearning and fiery desire to see their Bridegroom with the crowns of victory.

Much earlier, in the late second century, the story of Thecla, their heroine, had embodied the same notion of Christian quest and the journeying of the soul. A fictional virgin from Iconium in southern Turkey, she journeyed in search of Paul, underwent a whole series of adventures, during which she defended her virginity against the threat of seduction; instead of attacking her, lionesses and bears lay down in front of her in the stadium. Dismayed, the governor released her, and she went to seek Paul dressed in men's clothing. Thecla became such a heroine that her story was felt to lack an ending; since she did not die a martyr, her great shrine at Seleucia had no relics, and so it was told and remembered there that she

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5 See for these themes Alison Goddard Elliott, *Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover, NH, 1987).

6 G. Harpham, *The Ascetic Imperative in Culture and Criticism* (Chicago, 1987).

It is a voice of considerable energy; and a voice, once it has found itself, which is not defensive, but exultant in its self-confidence, taking obvious delight in word-play and language games. The philosophical and accommodating tone taken by some of the early apologists[2] coexisted with and was soon supplanted by a far more individual tone. Further, the sheer output of early Christian writing is literally immense, far greater than that of secular, 'classical' literature and occupying volume after volume of modern patristic editions. This is something which asks to be explained.

Of course one cannot speak of a single Christian voice, any more than one can allow some kinds of Christian writing to stand for all. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the literariness of early Christian writing and the whole question of its reception are topics of great importance, though they have been as yet barely explored by modern literary critics. My aim here is to point to some - there is space only for a few - of the features which give Christian literature its distinctiveness; any one of them could be taken further, and indeed the selection is necessarily somewhat arbitrary.

One of the most straightforward of these features is narrativity. Christian narratives begin with the Gospels[3] and extend not only through the apocryphal Acts to the lives of saints, and far more widely, to the long narrative of salvation, 'the economy of salvation', running in sequence from creation to the end of time. The idea of progression in time - of narrative - is central to Christian thought. Eusebius and every other Christian historian and chronicler saw history as a progression from the creation of the world to the Second Coming and the end of time; eschatology and apocalyptic arose inexorably in Christian thinking and writing from this very basic idea. Not for nothing did Augustine conclude the narrative of his early life in the *Confessions* with a discussion of the nature of time and memory. For memory constructs the narrative of past life, in this case of Augustine's passage towards conversion; equally, it imposes order on the past - it turns the past into a narrative sequence. Memory selects and orders; 'in the wide riches of memory I examined other things, hiding some away, drawing out others' (*Conf.* X.40). From memory Augustine moves to the nature of time. He has told a 'long story' in an 'ordered narrative' (XI.2), but this is only part of a more comprehensive narrative: 'may I hear and understand how in the beginning you made heaven and earth' (XI.3). But that act of creation was done by the *Word*, 'which is also the Beginning, in that it also speaks to us' (XI.8). 'What was God doing before he made heaven and earth?', Augustine asks (XI.12), and he answers a little later, 'I confess to you, Lord, that I still do not know what time is', but 'I further confess to you, Lord, that as I say this I know myself to be conditioned by time' (XI.25). The whole project of the *Confessions* entailed creating a narrative of the events and the spiritual journey that had made up Augustine's own life, and that, as Augustine was aware, was done by rhetorical means; but the enterprise also entailed relating that narrative to the narrative of God and the world.[4] The *City of God* addresses that broader narrative. It tells of the end of the story, when the two cities are no longer divided but become one at the end of time. As in the *Confessions* Augustine speculates about what might have happened before time, so in the *City of God* he puzzles over the Last Judgement and the end of time - who ex-

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2 For whom see R. M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (London, 1988).

3 See R. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* (Cambridge, 1994).

4 *Saint Augustine.Confessions*, trans. H. Chadwick (Oxford, 1991).

actly shall be saved, why and in precisely what way we should believe in the resurrection of the body, what does it mean that the saints shall 'see God', what does it mean to say that the end of time will be a perpetual Sabbath, God's rest after the seven ages of the existence of man, like the seventh day of creation itself?

Augustine is probably the most self-reflective of all early Christian writers, conscious at all times not simply of what he was doing but also of why he was doing it. But the narrativity on which he reflects so overtly appears everywhere in Christian writing. Imagined lives are its stock-in-trade. Quest and travel - literary or actual - are basic features of these stories;[5] the ascetic life is presented as an interiorised journey towards union with God. Many such journeys were displayed, against a landscape of stylized desert and rocks, and always one of hardship. In one form, this literary trajectory is what the American critic Geoffrey Harpham has called 'ascetic discourse'.[6] None of these literary and oral journeys, whether presented as texts or communicated as the apocryphal histories which filled the unfortunate gaps in the Gospel narratives, was aimless: all had a goal, the end of the journey and the arrival after the quest. The same idea is displayed visually in the image of the holy life drawn from the seventh-century *Spiritual Ladder* of John Moschus, and depicted on some early Byzantine icons, as being like climbing a ladder with many rungs, from which one might at any moment by pulled down by demons. The (to us) charming pictorialism of the image demonstrates the conception perfectly. In this imagined world the goal is there for all to see, and the ascent is hard. In this world-view, the only way to go is upwards. Indeed, the spiritual journey of the individual, as is depicted in so many contemporary biographies, beginning with the archetypal *Life of Antony*, 'the master-text of western asceticism', according to Harpham, involved an upward progress of the soul, through appropriate stages and trials, towards union with God. The idea of a perpetual struggle towards a goal is built into the story. The imagined or actual journey was also metaphorically the period of betrothal, leading to marriage. Bridal imagery, taken from Scriptural precedent, is to be found throughout the Christian texts, and duly makes its appearance in the narratives of journey. Just one example will suffice for now: two Syrian ladies, whose pilgrimage to the Holy Land is recounted by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in the fifth century, heaped themselves with iron chains after they returned home, in order to signify their interior journey. Like their real journeys to Jerusalem to the shrine of Thecla, they chained themselves, their biographer tells us, out of yearning and fiery desire to see their Bridegroom with the crowns of victory.

Much earlier, in the late second century, the story of Thecla, their heroine, had embodied the same notion of Christian quest and the journeying of the soul. A fictional virgin from Iconium in southern Turkey, she journeyed in search of Paul, underwent a whole series of adventures, during which she defended her virginity against the threat of seduction; instead of attacking her, lionesses and bears lay down in front of her in the stadium. Dismayed, the governor released her, and she went to seek Paul dressed in men's clothing. Thecla became such a heroine that her story was felt to lack an ending; since she did not die a martyr, her great shrine at Seleucia had no relics, and so it was told and remembered there that she

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5 See for these themes Alison Goddard Elliott, *Roads to Paradise. Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover, NH, 1987).

6 G. Harpham, *The Ascetic Imperative in Culture and Criticism* (Chicago, 1987).

had miraculously disappeared into a cleft in the rock.[7]

Thecla is the most famous of these heroines. She became a major saint; her image was carried on amulets and she is mentioned as a model in many texts of much more elevated literary level than her own story. She acquired a huge church, a hostel for pilgrims and a set of miracles.[8] But she was far from being alone. While the contents of our New Testament were still fluid, and well on into the centuries after its shape was more or less agreed, the stories we regard as canonical continued to be embroidered with a fanciful tracery of narrative. The apostles Paul, John, Andrew, Philip, Peter and Thomas became the heroes of dramatic histories and romantic exploits. Peter was pitted in competition with Simon Magus. Thomas grew into the apostle who brought the gospel to India. As time progressed, so the stories multiplied. A mass of Greek homilies roughly datable to the fifth and sixth centuries present us with dramatic scenarios in which the apostles are joined by other characters - Pilate, Judas Iscariot, Hades and Satan, the last two engaging in semi-comic dialogues of defiance against a backdrop peopled by prophets and a chorus of Jews. Throughout the early centuries until the beginning of the medieval period, stories proliferated, circulated and were translated from one language to another, so that often in this world of so-called apocrypha the earliest surviving manuscript may contain only a late version, the earliest stratum of the story having been lost, or occasionally preserved only in a late tradition. It is difficult to put exact dates on such stories and difficult too to give them a social context. That some of the earlier examples, especially the so-called Apocryphal Acts, somehow belong in a female context because women, and especially young girls, are prominent in them, seems to me unlikely.[9] Rather, gender is just one, though a prominent one, of the inner tensions in these texts. Fictionality, romance, travel all feature equally importantly.[10] Or the agenda might be more overtly ideological, as seems to be the case in the so-called pseudo-Clementines. Clearly, in a period when fictional or semi-fictional narratives flourished, Christian versions were at least as lively as any others. We can also see how dense and how complex was the interpenetration of pagans and Christians in that second-century world, and thus how and why, in competition with the world around them, Christians might want to develop a literary voice of their own.[11] Indeed, Bowersock has argued that it was the Christian narratives that influenced the pagan ones.[12]

It may seem tempting to dismiss these so-called 'apocryphal' works as somehow popular, and therefore by the arrogant definition of scholarship unimportant. But in this context the borderline between popular and literary has yet to be drawn; we still know far too little about the literary levels and literary circulation in the Greek urban milieux of the empire to be sure about what is popular and what not, or even about mutual influences and inter-

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7 *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, trans. M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 270-81).

8 See G. Dagron, *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle* (Brussels, 1978).

9 E.g. Stevan Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows. The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (London, 1980); Dennis MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia, 1983); Virginia Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of the Apocryphal Acts* (Lewiston/Queenston, 1987).

10 Some of these issues are explored by G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History, Nero to Julian* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1994); see also Richard I. Pervo, 'Early Christian fiction', in J.R.Morgan and Richard Stoneman, eds., *The Greek Novel in Context* (London, 1994), 239-54.

11 For this see R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the Second Century A.D. to the Conversion of Constantine* (Harmondsworth, 1986).

12 Bowersock, *Fiction as History*.

connections.[13] Many of the *dramatis personae* in these Christian stories were governors and ladies of rank and fashion; the literary motifs that appear in them are hardly distinguishable from those in the artful Greek novels of the same period.

But these were not the only lives in which Christian writers were interested. The *Passion* of the young Carthaginian martyr Perpetua (AD 203) is certainly one of the most striking, if not one of the earliest, of probably hundreds of stories of martyrdom which have survived. It is often read straightforwardly as the unselfconscious diary of a young upper-class Christian woman, kept in prison before her execution.[14] In fact, it is as constructed a story as any of the apocryphal acts. Perpetua's dreams, her conduct in the arena, the frame of prophecy in which the central characters are presented, all function to make the narrative into a literary construction. Around this time, or even earlier, similar narratives grew up around figures such as Polycarp in Smyrna, or Pionius, or Blandina and the martyrs of Lyons - all ready and waiting for Eusebius to incorporate and exploit when he invented the genre of church history a century or so later. In his recent Wiles Lectures, published as *Martyrdom and Rome*, G.W. Bowersock finds an origin for all the early martyr acts in the social circumstances of the Greek cities of the Roman empire.[15] In that it was the public life of these cities, with their spectacles and confrontations between magistrates and audiences, that gave them their shape and provided the circumstances, there is something in the theory, though it does not give enough weight to the inherent Christian emphasis either on suffering or on the body itself.[16] But interpretation of Christian martyrdom as a social ritual tends to obscure the contribution of the martyr acts themselves simply as narratives, stories of a set of events, and of heroic individuals. Indeed, the impetus continued long after the second century, and when the last persecution came under Diocletian in Eusebius's own day, it was not enough for Christians either to protest or to try to understand; there had to be more stories, ready to be embroidered and developed during the course of the next century. Many surviving martyrologies of the most popular and well-known saints, outside the small class which represents probably genuine early accounts, are in fact later reworkings or inventions of the stories of supposed Diocletianic victims. The Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in Cappadocia, well known to St. Basil and his brother Gregory of Nyssa, were soldiers who froze to death when they were forced to stand up to their necks in icy water. They are depicted in countless wall paintings, icons and mosaics, but they began life as characters in a story, and their depiction is a manifestation of narrative art. And as stories will, their story spawned more.

The Christian narrative was as often violent and gruesome as it was uplifting and heroic. Prudentius later experimented by turning some of these accounts into Latin verse in classical metres, and in so doing can be accused of having opened the way to some serious lapses of taste. Eulalia and Agnes, both virgin-martyrs of Spain, mere children at the time of their suffering, belong in that late Victorian world of beautiful girls depicted in marble halls only partly covered by flowing draperies.[17] But as time went on and martyrdom

13 T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983).

14 See in particular E.R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge, 1963), 47-53; Brent Shaw, 'The Passion of Perpetua', *Past and Present* 139 (1993), 3-45.

15 G.W. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge, 1995).

16 Interesting points are made by Judith Perkins, 'The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles and the early Christian martyrdom', *Arethusa* 18 (1985), 211-31.

17 For Prudentius see A.-M. Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs* (Oxford, 1989).

became a scarce commodity, the living saint, albeit with an account of the saint's death included, took over as the main theme of Christian biographical narrative.

Only comparatively rarely did these hagiographical narratives explicitly recall the actual narratives of the Gospels. Moses, or Job, even for female subjects, were often the overt models, as indeed was Thecla. They are less narratives of feeling or character, less an *éducation sentimentale*, than tales of heroic deeds - what it was that made for a 'manly woman', or an 'athlete of Christ'. They contain deathbed scenes, but in most cases (the philosophical treatment of the death of Macrina in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Macrina* is an exception) these deathbed scenes do not, like Victorian ones, include visualizations of heaven or a heavenly life in which friends and relatives will be reunited in bliss; rather, they are narratives of the here and now, the heroicized present. Christian saints' lives rely heavily on embellished formulae, adapting and confirming the prose narratives and the images of Scripture. Bridal imagery, the motifs of testing and trial, the recurrence in unexpected contexts of incidents and details reminiscent of the life of Moses - these are devices used to reassure, to show the continued possibility of Christian revelation and divine presence. Conventionally regarded as the first real saint's life, the *Life of Antony*, written soon after the saint's death in 356, was a raging success when it was translated into Latin and promoted by that great publicist St. Jerome. It is full of these rhetorical devices and strategies; artless it is not.[18] Antony, the figure who rejects culture for the desert, is also the embodiment of *logos*, just as when, a century later, the great ascetic writer Evagrius Ponticus entered the community of the desert, it was understood that his learning was no longer to count, although the same monastic literature boasts of how his talents were utilised, like Antony's, in debates with pagan philosophers.

From the success of the *Life of Antony* Jerome drew the conclusion, possibly with tongue in cheek, that more lives of apparently 'simple' hermits could not but succeed; accordingly he proceeded to write a few himself. In his *Lives* of Paul and Malchus art imitates art, and all in the name of artless simplicity, as later in dozens of well-known paintings and illustrations the two hermits Antony and Paul meet in a craggy desert that certainly never existed in Egypt or anywhere else. Jerome took it further and imitated the narrative in his own life, retiring to a cave in Bethlehem to translate the Bible anew from Hebrew; he too is depicted in art, a new Antony in a desert that never was.

Dreams are another form of Christian narrative, and sure enough Jerome was a great dreamer,[19] though possibly outdone by Perpetua. Her dreams, in one of which Perpetua saw herself as wrestling with a great Egyptian, are the interiorized counterparts of the Christian narrative told about her. Narrated dreams are indeed another manifestation of the general - pagan as well as Christian - religious developments in the early empire; Artemidorus's book of dreams, another work of the second century, is a key text, and so are the many accounts of the dreams experienced by pilgrims who visited the great shrines of Apollo, for instance at Claros, and practised incubation there.[20] But again, dreams and visions had a long future in Christian literature, from the dreams of Perpetua to the visions of

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18 This is made clear by its most recent editor, G.J. M. Bartelink (*Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine*, Sources chrétiennes 400, Paris, 1994).

19 Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity. Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton, 1994), ch. 8.

20 *Fiction as History*, ch. 4; Miller, op. cit.; S.R.F. Price, 'The future of dreams: from Freud to Artemidorus', *Past and Present* 113 (1986), 3-37; see also Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (n. 13), index, s.v.

Egyptian monks in the ascetic literature of the fifth and sixth centuries, and the prophetic visions of scores of holy men and women. These fertile dream images and dream stories lead us from narrativity as one of the main features of the Christian literary voice towards another, equally important - imagination.

For by drawing on this narrative impetus and combining it imaginatively with other materials and other techniques, Christian literature could help to construct new ways of seeing the world, new imagined worlds. This kind of imagination is not romantic imagination, but rather 'imagination' in the sense of construction. This is how Christian literature could be part of the process of Christianization.

Of course, much Christian literature aimed at conversion, or at least persuasion. But these ends could be achieved in various ways. Imagination is recognized by those who study cognitive systems to be a major means of changing existing world-views. Other such mechanisms include narrative (which we have considered), metaphor (which I shall go on to mention), and putting things into categories - classifying the world in new ways, redefining received views.[21] All of these techniques or qualities are present in abundance in early Christian literature.

Imagination, in this sense, is far more than the world of fancy that is illustrated in the stories with which I began. It is perhaps nearest to what we would call creativeness. In the fourth century, Cyril of Jerusalem composed a set of catechetical lectures. Do not suppose, he warned, that any of you can just come into the church and listen out of curiosity, and then go away again. 'Do you expect to see without being seen?' Do you seriously think that you can carry on your lives without God knowing and seeing everything that you are doing? [22] The believer is followed everywhere by the seeing eye of God; his own duty, on the other hand, is where the power of imagination comes in. It is to take the knowledge that is offered to him, and to form it into a whole, or, as Cyril puts it, to build a building in the mind with the stones of knowledge. This is what much of early Christian theological writing was trying to do.

We may also take a somewhat later example of a different kind: in another exposition of Christian mysteries, the church, all that is in it, and the movements of the liturgy that goes on inside it are deemed to call to mind to the worshipper the totality of sacred history: 'the church is an earthly heaven in which the supercelestial God dwells and walks about ... it is prefigured in the patriarchs, foretold by the prophets, founded in the apostles, adorned by the hierarchs and fulfilled in the martyrs'.[23] Sacred time and the here-and-now are brought together, not in the philosophical manner of Augustine, but in a kind of free-flow picturing by the imagination that is in fact far more common a feature in early Christian writers than philosophical discourse.

The working of imagination is seen, again, in the allegorizing of the Bible by Origen and others which can seem to us so very forced and far-fetched. Faced with a recalcitrant Scriptural text, and lacking a sense of Biblical criticism, Christian writers were literally forced to bend it to their needs. A Victorian theologian wrote with some degree of envy of this possibility - 'stricter canons of interpretation forbid for us that unbounded use of the happy expedient of allegory which could make everything in the Old Testament speak of Christ.'[24] Early Christian writers, he

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21 M. Johnson, *The Body in the Mind* (Chicago, 1987), 171-72.

22 Cyril, *Procatech.* 2.

23 Germanos of Constantinople, *Eccles. Hist.*, 1, trans. P. Meyendorff, 57.

24 E.S. Talbot, in C. Gore, ed., *Lux Mundi* (London, 1889), 135.

thought, had had a great advantage. The Song of Songs became a dialogue between the ascetic soul and the divine Bridegroom, or between Christ and the church. Origen, who was more than anyone else responsible both for that interpretation and for the tremendous popularity of the text with later writers, was to be regarded for other reasons by many as heretical, and indeed was formally condemned as such. Nevertheless, his allegorical style of interpreting Scripture was far more influential than they cared to think. After all, it continued the early and established tradition of dealing with Old Testament stories by seeing them as 'types' and models for Christianity. Jesus was the new Noah; Isaac and Rebecca, Joseph and Rachel, foreshadow the baptismal marriage of Christ and the church; Jesus is the true Moses and the ideal lawgiver. Origen's special contribution was to carry this style to its logical limits and beyond, such that he often had to explain what he meant in farfetched ways, and defend himself against those who were unconvinced; 'the friends of the literal meaning take up the slanderous cry against me'. Their interpretations are earth-bound, but Origen sees himself as lifting a veil to reveal the truth, or boring a well to find pure spring water. His methods were indeed criticized by the literalists. But their objections were made on theological grounds; in rhetorical terms the resort to allegory represented a way of saving and elaborating the text of the Scriptures, and in so doing of helping to build the edifice of the Christian imagination.

Similarly, the large gaps left in the Gospel stories were expanded and answers given to the questions they raised: what kind of childhood was enjoyed by the Virgin Mary? where was she at the Last Supper, or at Pentecost? Selective citation was an imaginative technique much used for polemic and persuasion. In more imaginative writing too, many parts of the Old Testament were quietly passed over, in favour of passages more accessible or more susceptible of imaginative interpretation. When Ambrose suggested to Augustine a reading of the prophet Isaiah, Augustine could not get on with it: 'I did not understand the first passage of the book, and thought the whole would be equally obscure. So I put it on one side to be resumed when I had had more practice in the Lord's style of language'.[25] Others took up story of Moses as a type for Constantine and the ending of persecution; the account of Adam and Eve could be turned into an anthropology of human sexuality, that of the six days of creation into an attack on astrology. Christianity is a religion of the body: what would the resurrection body be like? would men and women be resurrected as sexual beings, or in the spirit? These questions are asked in early Christian writings over a period of centuries. This is the play of imagination, not in the sense of fancy, but in the sense of the creation of new world-images. The early Christian project was to interpret the message of the Scriptures not merely by explaining but also by extending it, by filling out the gaps into a total picture.

Christian writers had to engage with classical norms of eloquence. Hence, I think, one of the most distinctive features of early Christian writing, namely self-consciousness. The spectrum of engagement with classical rhetoric runs from maximum acceptance at one end all the way to outright rejection at the other. It was common for Christian writers to have received the same education in grammar and rhetoric as everyone else. Tertullian's rhetorical brilliance, when exercised, for example, on topics such as women's dress, makeup, jewellery, can overpower all else; Gregory of Nazianzus, in his

25 *Conf.* IX. 5, trans. Chadwick. Gillian Clark, *Augustine, The Confessions* (Cambridge, 1993) is an illuminating brief introduction which deals with literary and stylistic matters.

eulogy of Basil and other works, could compose the most technically competent Greek orations since Demosthenes.[26] Christians and pagans were taught together in the fourth century by rhetors such as Libanius, and some Christian writers - most famously Augustine - had been teachers of rhetoric themselves. But such was the double-bind in which they found themselves that it is rare to find a Christian text that is not in some way also self-reflective, self-conscious, uncomfortable. Tatian's early and highly rhetorical polemic against the 'Greeks', for instance, attacks 'Greek', i.e. classical, literature and learning in the very terms which it is attacking, while the author claims superior moral ground: 'you appropriate words, but your converse is like the blind talking to the deaf'.[27] To Tatian, the 'barbarian writings' of the Scriptures are more persuasive than the language of the rhetors because of their very lack of pretension and the artlessness of the speakers. Tertullian explicitly discusses the modes of exegesis which he claims to be using. Eusebius feels it necessary to preface his *Life of Constantine* with a preface full of self-justification and clumsily used classical terminology, and to wrap up his comparison between Constantine and Moses with vague references to the book of Exodus as 'ancient history, rejected by most as fabulous'.

Christian preachers address directly the topic of the requirements of their art. A common trope is that of the contrast between mere technical expertise and the 'true eloquence', which depends on right doctrine and faith. Such contrasts are usually deeply ambivalent. It is only with difficulty that John Chrysostom, defending the need for eloquence in a preacher, avoids falling into the trap of seeming to uphold the greatest classical stylists - Demosthenes, Thucydides, Plato - as the perfect models.[28] Christian eloquence could not forego these skills, yet in adopting them it had to be something different. Much in Christian writing plays on these polarities. Augustine does so directly, discussing in works like the *De doctrina christiana*, his attempt to produce a Christian poetics, the concept of Christian style and the source of Christian knowledge, and contrasting Christian directness with secular art. The contrast of art versus simplicity is deeply implicated in early Christian writing, beginning with Paul. It was a contrast which Christians exploited to their own advantage.

Perhaps the most sharply ambivalent of all early Christian writers is Jerome. Extreme in both his language and his ideas, Jerome also laid claim to Christian simplicity, that 'language of fishermen', which he and others felt the need to defend.[29] his *Life of Paul the First Hermit* was written as a direct complement or rival to the *Life of Antony* translated not long before;[30] it told a professedly 'simple' tale, with a moral, yet one whose lesson is driven home by the techniques of rhetoric. Jerome asks the imagined rich, 'whose heritage is so vast that they cannot keep account of it, who veneer their houses with marble, who string upon one thread the value of whole estates, is there was anything wanting to this naked old man? You drink from jeweled goblets, he satisfied nature with the hollow of his hands ... Paradise opens to him, a pauper, hell awaits you, robed in luxury.'[31] The later

26 See George A. Kennedy, Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors (Princeton, 1983), 215-39.

27 *Ad Graecos* 26.

28 For a useful introductory collection of extracts on homiletics see Thomas K. Carroll, *Preaching the Word*, Message of the Fathers of the Church 11 (Wilmington, Delaware, 1984).

29 E. Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Eng. trans., (London, 1965), ch. 1.

30 Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), 183 f.

31 *Life of Paul*, 17.

Life of Malchus develops the theme into a fantasy traveller's tale; the *Life of Hilarion* answers Jerome's detractors, and uses both classical images and *topoi* from the Gospels. Nothing could be more artful or self-conscious. Yet Jerome had good precedent: even in the *Life of Antony*, Jerome's model for the *Lives of the Hermits*, when Antony discourses on the superiority of faith over logic, he does so in a well-constructed rhetorical argument.[32] The *Life of Antony* explicitly contrasts the 'simplicity' of the desert with school learning, and after Antony's addresses to the pagans, when 'those who were called philosophers marveled and were truly astonished at the man's wisdom', Antony tells them 'you will see that what we have is not skill with words, but faith through love that works for Christ'.[33] Christian writers, then, use rhetoric to oppose rhetoric. They need and draw on rhetoric, exploiting the art of persuasion in order to seem to be opposing it. John Chrysostom was well aware of this paradox: the preacher must have the power if eloquence if he was to teach the people correctly and not succumb himself to opposing arguments. And the expectations of the audience could in turn be a heavy burden: 'the power of eloquence is of greater demand in church than when professors of rhetoric are made to contend against each other!'[34]

As I have suggested, Christian writing was habitually self-referential and concerned with its own literary practice. We are told not only about the audience's expectations but also about its reactions. In this literature, 'wonder' and 'astonishment' are more than the vocabulary of miracle; they are the standard reactions attributed to those who heard or read these Christian texts. The brothers in the monastic literature are in a constant state of surprise and (in the literal sense) admiration at the doings or the words of holy men.[35] When a holy woman is revealed on her death as a female in the numerous tales of repentant prostitutes, all are struck by wonder and awe. 'We must not be incredulous', says S. Jerome, 'because wonders of this kind were done by a man. It is the promise of the Saviour, who says 'if you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you will say to the mountain, "move", and it will move'. The sense of 'wonder' runs right through early Christian writing. Bystanders are 'amazed' at the feats of holiness recorded in the *lives*; in the Pauline epistles, the wisdom of God is revealed in the stumbling block of the cross, which is 'foolishness to the Greeks' (I Cor.1.18); it is hidden in a mystery, perceived 'through a glass darkly' (I Cor.2.7, 13; 12). The 'wonder' typically felt by the disciples in such episodes as the Transfiguration (Matt. 17.1-8), or the walk to Emmaeus (Luke 24.17-35) is projected onto the audience of Christian writing; its readers or listeners stand to the writer in the relation of the disciples to Christ, at first uncomprehending and prone to mistakes, later realising and wondering at the mystery. That mystery, and the revelation to which it gives rise, recurs in literary guise in many forms. It may be in literal terms as narratives of transformation and disguise, where holy people are revealed, men turn out to be women, the humble outwit the worldly wise, prostitutes turn into saints. It may be explicitly debated, as when Augustine discusses the relation of *ratio* and *fides*, secular learning and *eloquentia* against inspiration from God. Or it may appear as strings of metaphors and paradoxes, as in some highly wrought Greek

32 *V.Ant.* 77.

33 *Ibid.*, 72, 81, 80.

34 *On the Priesthood*, especially at IV.5; see Carroll, *op. cit.*, 100-103.

35 The power of words in the monastic literature: see D. Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert. Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (Oxford, 1993).

homilies; 'a sepulchre which gives birth to life, a tomb exempt from corruption and purveyor of incorruptibility, a marriage-bed which has held the sleeping spouse for three days, a bridal chamber which saw the bridegroom wake a virgin after three days of marriage ...'.[36] the literary language is drawn from the repertoire of rhetorical antithesis; but more importantly it is an attempt in literary terms to convey the inexpressible, the mystery that is beyond words.

If the narrativity inherent in so much of early Christian writing is a legacy of the Bible, so too is figurality.[37] Signs, mystery, symbolism and typology run through almost every Christian text, even in the work of the more 'literal', Antiochene exegetes. Revelation, surprise and mystery - all that is *not* encompassed by *logos* or *paideia* - are fundamental features from the earliest times, as Frank Kermode brings out very-well in his book on Mark's Gospel.[38] It was precisely the tension between system and revelation with which Paul had struggled, and to which Augustine explicitly returned in his works on Christian knowledge, arguing there that Christian learning is *not* in the end reducible to human reason, but depends on the inspiration of God. It is perhaps the joker in the pack - Christians would call it the element of faith. It is of course this aspect that makes historians most uncomfortable. Some of the problems are manifest in Augustine's great manual of Christian rhetoric, the *De Doctrina Christiana*, where, as has beeen frequently observed, he emphasised what needed to be emphasised in the interests of persuasion to the faith - academic respect for the text combined with the faith of the preacher. As Augustine himself admitted, in the end the element of faith in Christian belief was not reducible to rhetorical theory.

The clear project of early Christian literature was to convert and persuade; but that persuasion could be achieved in many ways. It did not take place only through direct conversion literature. It might be achieved just as effectively by the imaginative techniques which I have been talking about. But in talking of persuasion, I have also come back full circle to the energy which was the first of the features I emphasised; for this energy which is so evident in early Christian writing, including the dozens of volumes of-biblical commentary and the endless technical theological treatises, is an energy based on conviction. Christian literature was literally heartfelt. Even when it was at its most rhetorical, it came from the heart and spoke to the heart. *Cor ad cor loquitur*, a motto adopted from St. Francis de Sales by Cardinal Newman,[39] 'heart speaks to heart', goes right back to Augustine, and through Augustine, to St. Paul. It was a feature which Christian homilists worked to the full. Rhetorical devices were all very well, useful aids, and used as such. But the message struck home to the heart. It engaged its audience as social and moral beings, and as physical creatures living in a human body.

You may feel that my Christian literature is limited, or skewed. There are a host of other aspects still to be not mentioned - for instance, polemic, exegesis, theological discussion as such, conversion, Christian history-writing. But this talk is not a literary history. It is designed to persuade, and if it has succeeded in convincing readers that Christian literature will repay serious literary study, it will have succeeded in its aim.

Averil Cameron is Warden of Keble College, Oxford. She has published widely on Late Antiquity

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36 See Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 164.

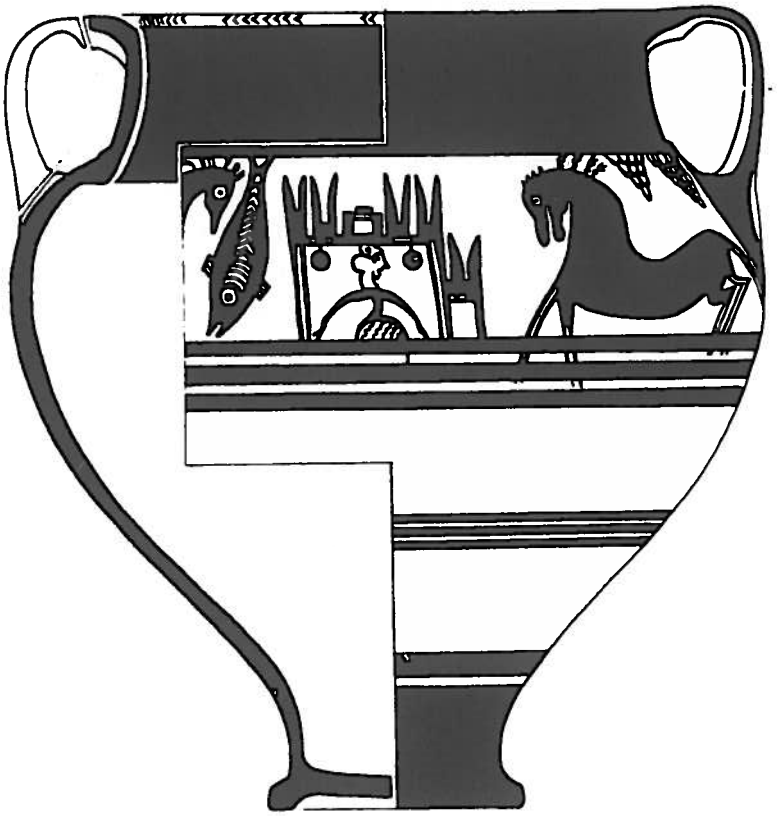
37 For both see G. Josipovici, *The Book of God. A Response to the Bible* (New Haven and London, 1988).

38 F. Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

39 Cited by Geoffrey Rowell, *The Times*, 29 April 1995,

A MYCENAEAN RADIO

Francis D. Phlyariographos.



The *krater* (mixing-bowl) illustrated here was discovered in 1992 at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, near the south coast of Cyprus, and has recently been published by Louise Steel in the *Annual of the British School at Athens.*[1] Dated to the Late Helladic III A2 period, i.e. not long before 1200 BC, it is decorated with the only known representation of a shrine on a Mycenean vase; this, it is claimed (Steel, p.209), is the most interesting thing about it.

It is difficult to understand how scholars could have failed to notice that the vase shows by far the earliest depiction of a transistor radio. With all due modesty, I would claim that this identification may well be the most important discovery in Mycenean studies since the decipherment of Linear B.

We see a female figure inside a structure surmounted by four horns of consecration; there is every reason to suppose that she is a goddess, and that this is her shrine. On the roof of the shrine, between the horns of consecration, there is something rectangular, described in *BSA* as "an enigmatic linear object" (p.207). Professor J.N. Coldstream suggests (p.207 n.11) that it might be a bronze stand. This is surely wildly improbable: one can see at a glance that the object is a transistor radio. The controls are clearly shown at left and right; between them, at the top, runs a horizontal strip, which represents the familiar band carrying the names of the various broadcasting stations (presumably *Pu-ro*, *Ko-no-so*, etc.). The set is portable; this may be deduced from

[1] L. Steel, "Representations of a shrine on a Mycenaean chariot *krater* from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus", *BSA* 89 (1994) 201-11; illustration kindly reproduced without special permission

the unmistakable presence of a carrying-handle.

The set has no fewer than eight controls, four on either side. That is more than a simple radio would require, and leads us to the conclusion that it may be more accurately described as a radio/cassette-player.Once this is accepted, we can easily solve another problem. "Pendent from the ceiling of the main room, flanking the seated figure, are two circular objects", we are told (p.207); no interpretation of these has so far been offered. We will not be deluded if we take them to be a pair of stereophonic speakers: the radio/cassette-player can be connected to a system that will improve the quality of the sound. Furthermore, the enlarged and flattened ears of the goddess constitute very good evidence for the use of earphones, though these are not depicted. One final detail in this remarkable scene: the goddess has her mouth open: she is singing. We have here, I suggest, the earliest evidence for karaoke, which is evidently a Mycenean word (*ka-ra-o-ke*).

My colleague Prof. Ernst Unsinnschreiber has argued elsewhere that the rectangular object is a micro-wave oven. He is mistaken; does he not realise that micro-wave ovens had not yet been invented?

2 E. Unsinnschreiber, *Zeitschrift für Vasenmalerei und Mikrowellerei (1995) 273-894*

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LETTER FROM PARIS

John Wilkins.

"Marxism is dead", I've been told over various meals during my term in Paris. This may not strike the *Pegasus* reader as a great revelation justifing a stay of ten weeks in Paris, and may not be well received in Exeter (Richard Seaford was described as the last great disciple of George Thomson at a seminar given by an excited Francois Lissarrague just returned from Oxford with news of all the latest publications in Angleterre). But politics is important here. One of my ports of call is Jussieu (University 7 in Paris). This rather unlovely building was put up in the wake of the events of 1968 and spawned the fine *Cahiers de Jussieu*, in one issue of which marginality was the theme. Marginality, it was explained in the introductory essay, was not used as a term of abuse against the enemies of the French establishment in 1968, but by 1974 it was well established as a term of reference for dissidents and undesirable elements. Various articles followed on marginality in ancient Greece and other cultures. For some reason I rarely find a contemporary analysis of this kind in *Classical Quarterly*. Sadly, the *Cahiers* are published no longer.

Mr Balladur, France's answer to John Major, the man who wants to be liked by every one and agrees with everyone, has had a difficult year so far. When I arrived he was at 67% in the polls for the presidential election but after a series of scandals is now behind Mr "Chiracette" (automatic toilet) Chirac. One of these scandals involved a plan to reduce funding to students on certain courses. Only one week's unrest on the campuses was needed to see this policy reversed. But Marxism was not needed to bring about this happy result. The Napoleonic code guarantees university tuition to all who pass their *bac* (something like A levels). Incredible, I know. But there's more. A year's tuition in France costs about 700

francs. Compare that with more than 16,000 francs in Exeter. What was that the government said about market forces and the glories of a single European market? How many French students are going to be able to afford my seminars on ancient food when they can hear Marcel Detienne for a fraction of the cost? I think my seminars are good. But are they that many times better to give the "value for money" which is "what we all want"? Some politicians' children may perhaps be able to afford to study in Britain: some nine French mayors are currently facing corruption charges.

The Centre Louis Gernet, my main point of reference in Paris, is situated between the statue of Danton at Odeon and the Luxembourg Gardens (French Senate, boating lake, marionette theatre etc). Put another way, it's between two cinemas, UGC Danton and Luxembourg 3. At the former I saw Woody Allen's *Coups de feu sur Broadway* and at the latter Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction.* Why this refuge in American films? Silly question. (1) The French love them (queues for *Junior* were ten times the length of queues for the recent French release *Rosine*), and (2) I can understand them. Anyone who thinks he/she will understand a French film because they can understand two hours of Jacques Jouanna on the Arabic tradition of Galen on Hippocrates is sadly mistaken. That's not quite true. I did understand *Rosine* quite well. But *Les Roseaux Sauvages*, a film about adolescent rites of passage, was not so good. It is for this reason that the *Time Out* English language insert in *Pariscope*, the listings, ignores theatre altogether. *Rock n' Veures* at the Lucenaire remains much of a mystery apart from a big argument where one character kept shouting *Voila. Dis donc. Voila. Dis donc.* The Lucenaire is the national centre for the arts and experimentation if I understand it correctly. The food, it must be said, is very much better than Exeter Arts centre, the films and plays pretty similar, I would say.

Back at the Centre Louis Gernet, I gave them a chapter from my book on food and comedy, and they made many improvements, not least on aspects of black pudding manufacture and eating dog meat. Jean-Louis Durand is currently studying dog-consumption in Africa. He says that some people will eat dog as a matter of course while their neighbours view such a practice with horror. Why is taking him some years to answer. But here was another problem. He addressed me as *tu* the first time I met him and reproved me for calling him Monsieur Durand (I'm a well-brought-up bourgeois foreigner, you understand. I even say *vous* to my friend Marie-Aude, aged 8.). Durand was was being really friendly and welcoming, expressing an informality almost in the American style; however, if I followed this practice in another place I might be in serious trouble. That's how they catch you out. You don't know where you are, and don't know in what ways it matters or not.

Really smart people like George Perec. I have met two afficionados in different contexts, and have a natural entrée to their world since one of his finest works, they tell me, is *L' Evequê d' Exeter*, a detective story in which the only vowel used is e. (It must be spelt in the title differently from my spelling.)

I have tried to calm down from all these excitements with trips to see country folk. One, to Toulouse, was punctuated with lunch *en route* with Jacques *poissons* Dumont who had much helpful advice on my fish studies. The other, to talk to students and colleagues at Arras on *le luxe,* another of my chapters. Arras is a new university founded two years ago, and is setting up a research centre in Ancient History. Somehow this reminds me more of Harold Macmillan and Harold Wilson, than Margaret not-Harold Thatcher. Lunch on this occasion included *feuilleté d'andouillette*, a

tripe-sausage confection in pastry, important because this local variation on the tripe sausage uses beef rather than pork tripe. It's no good being a vegetarian in France. They do not understand. As one friend put it during a discussion on veal, I like stroking a rabbit like anyone else, but I still expect to eat it!

Heather Chadwick, my wife, was with me for some weekends and a few of the weeks. She proved a remarkable scout, particularly in the 11th *arrondissement* where my flat was situated and the 20th. She found all sorts of fine nooks and crannies in the 'hood, squares, bars, restaurants, posters and murals (*méfiez-vous des mots* was one huge mural in Belleville). She also uncovered the revolutionary history of the 11th: for example Haussmann covered over stretches of the Canal Saint Martin to stop the small artisans from using it as a barricade against the troops. Why is it that small traders in Britain are a force for reaction but in France are the motor of revolution?

My advice to readers who are used to living with someone is that you will miss them badly when you're not.

The friends who loaned me their flat kindly placed it beside Parmentier Metro station. Parmentier it was who introduced the potato to the French people as a buffer against hunger in the eighteenth century. He is commemorated in the underground station with a statue, a display cabinet of South American potato hoes, and recipe boards that roll over, the kind you see at football grounds. All of this is very valuable. French restaurants are a little too keen on savaging dumb beasts for my liking and would benefit from more vegetables. The French like commemorating citizens in civic amenities in this way. Many sub urban bus stops have names such as Antoine Doinel. Alan Griffin, I feel, should be so honoured down in the Cowley Bridge Road.

John Wilkins is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Exeter. He has recently returned from a term of study-leave in Paris.

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A NEW FEATURE:
POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH SEMINARS

Larry Shenfield.

This year for the first time the classical postgrads were inspired to do their own thing as a group. The catalyst was Fiona McHardy, who got her MA with Distinction this year while teaching Beginners' Greek, and is going on to a Ph.D. at Exeter. Her idea was a series of Friday evening Research Seminars at which postgraduates themselves (and occasionally postgrad guests from other universities) could present to each other their very own research results or embryonic papers for constructive criticism as well as enjoying the opportunity of socialising with their colleagues. These would supplement the Classics Department's own Research Seminars, traditionally confined to their own or invited lecturers. Fiona's idea was unanimously accepted at an organising meeting in October 1994. Postgraduates from other universities would be invited to present papers from time to time. There was one condition: our lecturers were to be invited for rare special occasions only! Fiona's idea turned out to be popular and of great value to presenters and attending critics alike. Over the three terms some 30 papers were read, including those at two meetings of the South of England and Wales Postgraduate Seminar, one in

Exeter and the other in Bristol. These were celebrated (and lightened in content) by pre-Christmas and Easter parties. In the brief space available here we can only give a brief idea of the many interesting topics covered in our first year of seminars.

Larry Shenfield began the programme in October by attempting to trace myths and legends possibly transmitted from India to Greece before the time of Hesiod, in a paper entitled "The Indian Origins of Greek Mythology". "Race or Ethnicity? Portrait Sculpture from Cyrenaica" was a paper presented with slides by Eireann Marshall, a young American postgrad with a year's teaching post at Exeter this year. Her lively commentary helped us realise the importance well into the Roman Empire of the great Greek city on the Libyan coast. Alex Nice gave us new insight into Juvenal *Satire* 3.41-50 when he addressed the issue of "Umbricius, the Frogs and the Decline of Haruspicy in the Early Empire", while turning to things Greek, Deborah Gentry gave an illuminating though somewhat controversial paper on "Representations of Apollo in Greek Tragedy." Mike Hodgkinson and Alex Nice combined to present a lively debate asking was "Saturninus: a Violent Demagogue or a Visionary Politician?" Fiona McHardy herself asked for and was given helpful criticism on her favourite subject of "Violent Femmes: Women and Revenge in Greek Tragedy". Also in November Mike Hodgkinson had some surprising comments to make on "Domitius Ahenobarbus and the Curious Matter of the 17 Tribes". At end of term Lucy Byrne lifted the veil on her in-progress Ph.D. thesis on "The *Erechtheus* of Euripides", bringing fresh insights to the way in which the fragments shed light on probable Athenian attitudes to women and sacrifice. The Christmas party, attended by staff as well as postgrads, was a resounding social success.

The new term began with a gala Saturday pub lunch followed by a seminar programme on the theme, "Ideology in the Ancient World," the first in a series from the newly formed South of England and Wales Postgraduate Seminar.

In late January Kostas Niafas, a postgrad from Greece, gave a thorough and stimulating paper on "Aristotle and the Epic Tradition: Callimachus Fr.1.1-6 Pf.", followed by Fiona McHardy whose paper on "*De Somniis et de Divinatione per Somnum*: Dreams in Aischylos' *Oresteia*" once again provoked great debate. Kevin Stannard from the English dept. generously offered to give us point by point guide to the ever difficult question of literary theory in his paper on "Literary Theory: Structuralism, Post-Modernism and Deconstruction." Christos Zaphiropoulos, also here from Greece, made a rare appearance on campus to reveal his thoughts on the subject of "Power and Imposition: the Survivor (in Homer, Hesiod and Herodotos)", while Eileen Tapsell a previous student of drama demonstrated to us that we cannot examine only the text of ancient plays, but must think also of the action in her paper "Action Speaks Louder than Words?" The March term-end party, again attended by staff and students alike, was hosted by Pauline Meredith-Yates, who has been conducting seminars in epic at Exeter this year.

The summer term began with some revealing thoughts from Rachel Robinson who chose to speak on her favourite Homeric character Achilles in "Achilles and Helen: Homeric Characterisation". For 6th May Fiona organised a second meeting of the South of England and Wales group, this time in Bristol and on the subject of "Dreams, Prophecy, Superstition and the Ancient World." Again the meeting was well attended by postgrads from various universities who enjoyed not only the stimulating papers and discussion, but also a lively social gathering.

INTERVIEW WITH OLIVER TAPLIN

by Fiona McHardy and Richard Seaford.

[Oliver Taplin is a fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford. He is the autor of *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus, Greek Tragedy in Action, Homeric Soundings* and *Comic Angels,* and he has published numerous articles on Greek tragedy, comedy and epic. He was academic consultant on the TV seies *Greek Fire* and wrote the accompanying book.}

Can TV or film compete with the theatre as the medium for the performance of ancient plays?

I think that TV, cinema and theatre ate three different, rather than two different things. While they've all got their place, the point about watching TV is that you watch by yourself or just with your family. The point about the cinema is that you gather in a particular place with a lot of other people, but you gather in a very private way. You are in the dark and everything is concentrated on this lit screen which is not live; everybody knows it's a recording. The point about theatre is that you gather together with a lot of other people at a prearranged time, in a prearranged place and you watch live people enacting in front of you. I think I would want to say that there's a dynamic of emotion and response felt by a gathered audience (which distinguishes it from TV, but not from film), in the presence of live enactment (which is different from film as well as being very obviously different from TV).

What I'd like to think is that we have a cultural movement which is beginning to move away from introversion and privacy and solitary introversion, towards something more communal, towards something more shared. I'd like to think that's the way they are moving and if they are, then theatre has a big role to play in this because it is a very important time, when a lot of people gather together and undergo

strong, shared experiences. So I've given you a "utopian" answer to that question. I very much hope that theatre has an important role to play in contrast with film and even more in contrast with TV.

To that extent, what kind of emphasis would you put on modern, political interpretations of Greek plays? Do you like them as they stand, or do you prefer a modern interpretation?

I think that if a play hasn't got resonances within our own problems and our own world, then it's a museum piece. Therefore I think that any modern production that is really going to engage people has got to bring out that there are issues in the play which can be translated into our own terms. That doesn't mean that you immediately translate Thebes into Belfast or Bosnia, but it does mean that there are issues here which are not exclusive to fifth century Athens. That is one reason why I'm very interested in what fourth century Greeks, in places other than Athens, made of fifth century Athenian tragedy. There's been so much work recently contextualising tragedy in its setting in fifth century democratic Athens and yet here we are faced with the phenomenon that in fact it spread very fast and very widely throughout the whole Greek world. In other words tragedy had a lot to contribute to Greeks other than Athenians and in times after the fifth century. That, it seems to me, is the first step of the openness of tragedy to reception which you can trace down to tragedy in the present.

So, if I were going to put on a production of Greek tragedy, I would very much want to make it accessible to issues that are still alive, while not necessarily translating it to one particular issue of the present.

Over the last five or ten years we've seen what may be the high tide of production of Greek drama in this country. Why do you think that is?

I think that there are aspects of Greek tragedy which are particularly translatable into modern, theatrical priorities. I mean that the very things which people used to say are alien about Greek tragedy are in fact now accessible. I'm thinking in particular of the chorus. People often say that the trouble with putting on a Greek tragedy is that you're lumbered with the chorus, but in fact, ways of dealing with group responses have been of great interest to contemporary theatre for some time. Also, people say that the trouble with Greek tragedy is that it has civic settings, it's not sufficiently psychological. Well, of course, the answer to that goes back to Brecht (although Brecht had reservations about Greek tragedy), and I think that the interplay between the particular dramatisation and its universalisable significance, the powerful particularity of this particular enactment of a story with something that is universalisable is the kind of thing contemporary theatre is looking for. Formal and non-naturalistic drama, rather than kitchen sink naturalism is another thing which appeals.

I think that it is documented that there has been more Greek drama in the last twenty years than in any period since the end of antiquity - clearly there was much more in the fourth and third centuries BC. And performances of Greek tragedy at the moment don't seem to be diminishing. *Agamemnon's Children*, which is a trilogy of *Iphigeneia*, *Elektra* and *Orestes*, has just opened in London at the Gate. *The Trojan Women* opens at the National Theatre this week and I gather it is infused with a kind of orientalism message, that because people are oriental doesn't mean that they are incomprehensibly alien. There's due to be a production of *The Phoenician Women* in the Autumn, where the inspiration comes from civil war, brother fighting against brother as is happening in Bosnia, and has happened in Ireland and Greece within living memory.

There the general problems of civil war find expression in the particular fighting of individuals who may be literally or symbolically brothers.

I find it interesting that current British productions tend to find a particular point which they want to emphasise, whereas contemporary Greek productions, which draw hundreds of people, don't really alter the plays significantly.

Well, I think that what's happening in the Greek theatre at the moment is slightly sad. Certainly since the death of Karolos Koon some years ago there's tended to be a polarisation between big official productions which are actually rather sanitised and rather free of contemporary application (the tragedies which I saw at Epidauros last Summer were terribly respectful), and productions in the small avant garde theatres, where a bunch of nutty, green anarchists play to an audience of four. In some ways I have got more sympathy with the latter, but the complete polarisation means that you've only got these fanatics who are thinking in such abstract terms, such highly politicised terms that they can't be a good theatre company. So I think that what you observe there is right.

It's paradoxical, but the most explicitly political production or adaptation of a Greek play that we've had here in Britain recently, is of a satyr play.

Yes, of course. It's interesting that Tony Harrison made his satyr play into a play of the cultural elite and cultural exclusion. The satyrs are the people who are left out, pushed out of the centres of the culture. His *Oresteia* ten years earlier had sexual politics as its primary obsession to the exclusion of all other themes such as the discovery of justice. The Peter Stein *Oresteia* which was first put on in Germany in the early Eighties, then revived last year by the Red Army Theatre Company in Moscow, had different priorities. Although there was a clear gender thing, with a strong, powerful, yet female Klytaimestra, Stein was primarily concerned in groping in the dark of anarchy and revenge, trying to find some way out moving towards some kind of civic containment of the horrors of the first two plays. So the gender clash was relatively secondary.

If I were doing it, I would try to make it contain both elements, but it is very striking that the Harrison production can concentrate on one and the Stein production on the other, and both productions are of world significance. There was also a French production, which travelled the whole world. That was in my mind when I was talking about chorality. I've never seen a production make such use of the chorus and, dance and music. It showed how dance could be an expression of strong emotion, an expression of meaning. It was quite brilliant in that respect.

The most interesting production I can think of in that respect is the *Gospel at Colonus.*

Yes, I've seen the video of that. That was Lee Brewer and there again he was finding ways of making a response in song and a response for a group translated into modern terms. It was an enormously powerful production, very successful in the States. My main observation about that would be that it was overtly Christianised. When Oidipous went to his death, despite his life having been full of suffering, he managed to find salvation in death. That doesn't do justice to the Sophokles, as there's suffering left over. The Sophokles is more pessimistic. Yes, Oidipous finds a wonderful death, but there's still suffering left behind him for his children. Having said that, what I've been working on is a lecture about why fourth century Italian vase painters chose the scenes from tragedy which they did. What I've found again and again is they are scenes connected with release from suffering, release from guilt, the union or reunion of families. There's no getting away from the fact that

the Southern Italian Greeks certainly were obsessed with their cults to do with life after death.

If Channel 4 phoned you today and offered you an unlimited budget to do another series, what subject would you choose and why?

The chances of that are very small! But I am wondering whether one could translate into TV terms how to break free of the old disciplinary boundaries. I'd like to show an exemplification of the idea that philology, linguistics, history of religion, anthropology, sociology, art history etc. are not separate things where you are an expert in one and one only. It is built into the whole structure of our universities with their faculty structures. We're encouraged to compete instead of collaborate with our neighbours. I'd like to take the opportunity to transcend the divisions, which are encouraged by academic administration and traditional disciplines, to make something that does show that you can put something that doesn't recognise disciplinary boundaries into practice. The other thing I would like to bring out is the fact that while things grew out of a historical particularity, a particular time and place, they still have potential in them for recontextualisation in time and place, including the present day. They wouldn't be of such interest if they didn't have this potential.

If you could discover one of the lost works from the ancient world, which one would it be?

I think that is a very difficult one to answer across the board. However, once you say "The thing I'm studying is..." then it gets easier.

So if I'm studying Homer, I've got no doubt what I want. I want another contemporary epic by someone other than Homer, so that I can see what made Homer different, or to what extent Milman Parry was right when he claimed that Homer was just typical. For example if I could have the epic in which Homer's teacher told about the death of Hektor, that would be great.

If I'm studying tragedy, what I'd like is the trilogy in which Aischylos dramatised the subject matter of *The Iliad*; *The Myrmidons*, in which Achilleus refused to fight, *The Nereids*, in which the Nereids bring him new armour and *The Phrygians*, in which Priam comes to the tent to ransom Hektor.

If I'm studying Euripides, what I want is *Telephos*, probably the most popular play he composed.

If I'm studying comedy, I'd want a play by a contemporary of Aristophanes. I'd choose a play by Kratinos. I'd love to see *The Wine Jar*.

I'd also love to see one of the plays by this man Rhinthon who is said to have combined both tragedy and comedy, to have written in Doric dialect instead of Attic and to have included hexameters, thus confusing hexameter and iambic poetry!

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SUMMER AT THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

Melanie Young.

The British school of archaeology based in Athens, organises an annual summer school. I decided to apply, mainly to appease my guilty conscience; I could go to Greece for a two weeks holiday and

feel as though I was still studying during the summer vacation!

I don't really know what I was expecting, but when I arrived at the school I was amazed - in the chaos of Athens there was a throw back to nineteenth century England. The school itself is a beautiful building, with a wonderful library and is set in gardens which were ideal for a tranquil walk around as I soon discovered!

The pace of the course was set on the first day; breakfast was at 7am and the day ended at 6pm. This came as quite a shock to someone who was expecting a relaxing two week holiday. The course included a series of lectures, visits and excursions to ancient sites, including the usual "big" names of the Acropolis and Delphi but also, and more enjoyably less well known areas like Brauron and Amphiaraion. The course was vast, moving from pre-historic Greece to the classical period and included a wide range of subjects from architecture to warfare - so you were guaranteed to find something which interested you.

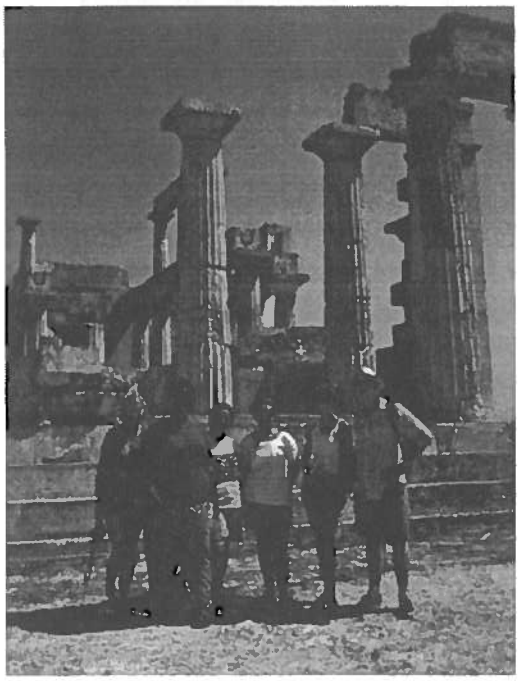
It must be said that although the course was intense, it was one of the best holidays of my life. Our evenings were free to wander around which ever area we were visiting at the time, and I made a number of excellent friends. (No they weren't all complete swots!)

I really can't recommend the course enough; it makes everything you learn at university so much clearer if you can actually visualise the site and I don't think you could organise the tour or do it alone.

At the end of the course I was exhausted but I had learnt so much and had such an excellent time I'd certainly do it all again!

For more information contact:

The British School at Athens
31-34, Gordon Sq.
London WC1H OPY



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THE ORIGINS AND PRACTICE OF ANIMAL SACRIFICE IN ANCIENT GREECE

Nick Alison.

Central to Greek religious practices was the institute of sacrifice. Sacrifice was basically a religious practice but so all pervading was the influence of religion that no animal would be killed without the rituals of sacrifice being performed. The object of this investigation will be to examine the practice of animal sacrifice in ancient Greece, its origins and to look at some questions which arise from this examina-

tion. Given its central importance in religion and everyday life sacrifice will clearly vary greatly in scope. At one end of the scale we may find the individual who makes sacrifice for personal or family reasons and at the other extreme the great *πόλις* wide festivals which were regulated by the calendar in as are Christmas or Easter. Such city/state occasions might also occur in response to stimuli such as war, disease or crop failure.

In the first instance, where we have the pious individual going about their usual religious practice we find an excellent example in the story of Menander. He describes how his mother goes daily to one or another of the shrines around the *δῆμος* to make sacrifice. (*Dyskolos* 260-263) It may be that her sacrifice was more often cakes or produce than an animal, but the story provides a splendid picture of a lady going daily about her devotions, regardless of what appears to be the rather supercilious amusement of others. In Homer's *Odyssey* there is in Book XIV a description of sacrifice within the family. The setting is the home of Eumaeus, the swineherd, who has Odysseus as his guest of honour. Homer's account describes how a five year old boar is brought in and Eumaeus 'a man of sound principles' carries out the proper rituals of sacrifice.

Moving to the great city wide festivals we find excellent and detailed description in Homer (*Odyssey* III. 439 - 463). Nestor is making sacrifice to Athena. His sons Stratius and Echephron bring a heifer. The animal's horns are decorated with gold leaf. (The beast may also wear a crown of woven twigs and adorned with ribbons for the festive occasion, though Homer does not mention this.) The animal chosen for such ceremonies is especially selected for its perfection - a reference to purity of colour. The ceremony begins with the animal led in procession to the place of sacrifice. In this particular text Homer makes no mention of it, but the procession is usually led by a virgin carrying the basket which contains the sacrificial knife concealed beneath *οὐλόχυται* (grain). Other participants carry water, described by Homer as 'lustral' and given its purifying role it may be drawn from some holy spring or well.

The ritual, known as *θυσία,* begins in silence with participants cleansing their hands. The animal is sprinkled with water or given a drink inducing a nodding of the head which signifies the animal's willing participation in the ritual, a necessity in accordance with the Delphic oracle. The participants then throw grain at the beast in symbolic casting out. This part of the ceremony is called *κατάρχεσθαι* (a beginning). Then follows the first fruits in which hair is cut from the victim's head and burned. This is the last act of beginning (*ἀπάρχεσθαι*) and signifies the victim's loss of inviolate status. The victim is then killed at which moment the women participants scream the *ὀλολυγή,* the death cry which marks the climax of the ceremony. The blood is collected in a basin and sprinkled over the altar, an act which is termed *αἱμάσσειν.*

The animal is then skinned and butchered, the heart, liver, lungs and kidney (*σπλάγχνα*) are roasted at the altar fire. The tail, gall bladder and bones, especially the thigh bones are wrapped in fat and burnt on the altar for the god. Homer's version in Books III and XIV also have the first cut of meat from each limb being included in this offering. In general though terms it can be noted that the gods receive only that which is of no value to the mortals. This fact is attributed to Prometheus who according to Hesiod writing in *The Theogony* tricked Zeus at the first sacrifice into choosing the worthless portion for the gods. The offering to the god will be accompanied by other food offerings, wine and sometimes token offerings of cake or other comestibles. The *σπλάγχνα* are now

eaten with all participants having some part. The remainder of the meat may now be cooked and distributed. This is basically the format which all animal sacrifice will follow differing only in the degree of pomp accompanying the ceremony. We might consider it as the difference between saying a brief grace before a meal or full Sunday Mass.

In his books Walter Burkert provides a lengthy and extremely plausible hypothesis regarding the overall conception and evolution of animal sacrifice. Animal sacrifice is seen as an evolution of early hunting rituals. In time the hunting rituals took on a religious significance with portions (usually the bones) of the kill being placed in some holy spot. With the gradual emergence of agricultural techniques and the keeping of domestic livestock the hunt ceased to be vital for survival. Indeed with domestic animals available to supply meat the hunt becomes an inefficient and hazardous practice. The rituals however, because of their religious significance, continued to be practised. The rituals then become those of animal sacrifice rather than those of the hunt.

There are however a few points which do not receive his attention and which are worthy of greater consideration since they pose some interesting questions. The *ὀλολυγή*, the death cry, uttered by the women at the moment of killing has been explained by Burkert as being the scream of life over death. This, though arguable, is a reasonable rationalisation of the symbolic value of the death cry but does not explain the origin of the death cry or the silence which precedes it? To find an answer we must return to Burkert's primitive hunting parties.

Imagine a group of hunters surrounding their prey. They move with utmost stealth, any unnatural sound will alarm their prey and leave them hungry. Silently they move into position, then the first spear flies to its mark and pent up, instinctively held breath, explodes in a gasp from the hunter's mouths. In this scenario we find an exact parallel with the sacrificial practice, the silence before the kill exploding into a noise at the moment of the kill.

Might we not have here the origins of the silence during *ἀπάρχεσθαι* followed by the sacrificial cry? The silence remains but the reason changes, the silence is no longer required to 'hunt' domestic animals but there must always be the fear that the animal will misbehave. It would after all be a very bad omen were the beast to lose its acquiescent stance and lash out with hoof and horn scattering the sacrificial participants before galloping off into the distance! Tension therefore builds in the sacrificial party. Also these are domestic animals. People have worked for months or years to raise the beast and may be fond of the victim. The participants are under stress and as the *κατάρχεσθαι* and *ἀπάρχεσθαι* proceed this tension builds within them. From the moment of killing nothing can go wrong. The anxiety manifest in the silence of the participants is expelled in the cathartic scream of the *ὀλολυγή*.

If we accept this hypothesis we can consider that while Burkert's symbolic explanation is perfectly valid there are also equally valid evolutionary and practical reasons behind the *ὀλολυγή* and its preceding silence.

Following naturally on from this, the behaviour of the sacrificial animals themselves is worthy of investigation. In the extracts I have quoted the animals are all compliant as is required by sacrificial ritual, indeed legend speaks of animals going eagerly to their own sacrifice though this is perhaps best ignored here. Nonetheless the behaviour of these animals would be most unusual to the present day keeper of livestock, at least in what we call developed countries. The modern pig breeder, while conceding that a pig may be trained or persuaded in certain ways, would remain unconvinced that a five year

old boar could be forced to do anything it chose not to. What then of Eumaeus's pig? The dairy farmer would equally concede that his cows come to the milking parlour but this is a twice daily habit of a lifetime and can be difficult to instil initially. To go into a field and bring a heifer and lead it by the horns as did Stratius and Echephron might be difficult, even dangerous. Why then is there relatively little mention of sacrifice going wrong? After all an animal removed from its companions and placed in a strange situation is nervous and under stress. It may panic and become unmanageable.

One theory which at first glance seems to provide an explanation is that drugs could have been used. There is however strong evidence against this idea. First there is no mention by the historic writers of beasts being fed any soporific or sedative plants prior to sacrifice and the descriptions we have of sacrificial rites are so detailed that this would surely have been included. This may be negative evidence in that we are informed by what we are not told but it is evidence nevertheless. In addition to this any narcotic substance which the animal had eaten would be passed on to those eating the meat thus anaesthetising participants in the sacrifice. The Greeks were aware of the transmission of drugs in the food chain. Burkert recounts an incident recorded by Polyaenus. During Cnopus' attack on the city of Erythrae a bull drugged by the priestess Chrysame is brought forward, ostensibly for sacrifice then allowed to 'escape' to the enemy. They, delighted at such a good omen, sacrifice the animal and are rendered helpless by the drug laden meat and defeated.

Could the animals have been trained for their participation in the ritual? This also seems unlikely since there would not have been time to train every beast which was to be sacrificed. It would seem reasonable that the most perfect of beasts, those destined for special occasions might have received extra attention. A visit to any agricultural show will provide evidence that though the animals there are trained to a degree and receive extra attention, it is common for small upsets to occur. Although training is not the answer it does point us towards a possible solution.

Those animals which do receive extra attention and greater contact with humans are more complaisant than those which do not. We cannot disregard the evidence from our sources so it is logical to assume that the animals themselves were of a different temperament to their modern counterparts. In simple terms they lived in constant contact with humans and were more domesticated 2500 years ago than they are now. We know the effect of close contact between people and farm animals. When hand reared, as sheep sometimes are, they will form a close bond with their human masters and become very tractable.

One final point which we may wish to consider is why there is sacrifice at all. Stepping aside from the religious considerations, what are its benefits? If we return again to Burkert's early hunters we find that he sees these early rituals as having provided social controls through necessity since 'The use of weapons brought the danger of self extinction to the species'. Though acceptable, this argument appears a rather flimsy foundation for the hypothesis developed from it. If however we consider that a group of men together make a far more efficient hunter/killer group Burkert's ideas feel rather more comfortable.

One man is comparatively weak and slow when measured against the standards of his prey. Much of the time he could be little more than a scavenger and even when he was lucky enough to make a large kill his use of such a bounty would be limited by the amount he and his family could consume in a relatively short time or

by the amount he could carry away before other predators were attracted to the carcass. Larger or swifter animals would one suspects, find it easy to escape the lone hunter and while he might use snares these would be limited to small animals. Dead falls would be too costly in terms of returns against time spent. As a group however the picture changes dramatically. Weight of numbers and fire power increase the kill rate. Prey can be surrounded instead of pursued, dead falls can be dug and prey driven into them and a much greater weight of meat can be removed from the kill site. Food requirements for the group are correspondingly greater but higher efficiency more than compensates.

For the Greeks the sacrificial rituals which evolved brought practical benefits. They had limited capability to preserve meat and a family might encounter waste when sacrificing a large animal. For a smaller family there might be a cycle of feast and famine since a cow might take two or more years to reach a killing weight and sheep goats and pigs several months perhaps over a year. The sacrificial ritual involving friends and neighbours would ensure more regularity in meat available to families because the larger group would have animals for killing more frequently. Here we can see a strong parallel with the early hunting groups. Doubtless they, as the Greeks surely did, enjoyed a healthier diet with less wastage as a result of this communal action. In conclusion we can say that Greek sacrificial ritual, though now wholly religious in nature, represented a stage in an evolutionary process which brought both dietary and social benefits.

Nick Alison is a second year student of Ancient History at Exeter.

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RECIPROCITY AND RICHARD.

Richard Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual:Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State.* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994. Pp. xix + 455.

[This full, stimulating book from Richard Seaford brings into a new, revealing focus the dense erudition already revealed in the nineteen papers that he has published between 1976 and 1995, as well as in his commentary on Euripides' *Cyclops*. He has interwoven many fresh insights into a new synthesis which, as his publishers rightly claim, combines `anthropology, political and social history, and the close reading of central Greek texts'. He aims `to account for two of the most significant features of Homeric epic and Athenian tragedy, the representation of ritual and of codes of reciprocity' as manifested in gift-exchange, hospitality and revenge, themes on which he has worked both here and in Ioannina and North Carolina.

Besides his intimacy with the texts - he grew up with Greek from the age of eleven, and can quote great chunks from memory - he commands an extensive knowledge of Greek and Roman history and society. He brings an astute historical perspective to the transformation of the city-state from its nebulous beginnings in Homer into the democratized polis in which Greek tragedy was first staged.

We are fortunate to have Richard Seaford with us here, young in appearance, youthful in vigour, and still resisting blandishments from across the Atlantic to leave `the stimulating and congenial atmosphere of the Department of Classics at Exeter' (p.viii). Those who know him have observed that his insights are still maturing; let us hope that this book will have successors.]

In the face of craven refusal by any postgraduate student to review the *magnum opus* of Dr Seaford, by the use of suitable libations and imprecations we have raised the august shade of the mighty Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to pronounce his opinions to us.

"It was with reluctance that I had, after 120 years, to consider once more a book giving such prominence in the development of drama to the Dionysiac. But I find

to my considerable relief that here at least we have an historical approach. You will know that in my view, when endeavouring to comprehend the past, the only proper procedure is to comprehend each historical event solely in terms of the assumptions of the time in which it was developed: aesthetic evaluation is only possible in terms of the attitude of the time. I can make no complaint regarding the approach here. I am told that Dr. Seaford is being ingenuous in his claim that his ideas, at least so far as the importance of Dionysiac influence for the development of tragedy, are relatively unfamilar, although, as he says, this influence is often seen in terms of ahistorical 'otherness' and ambiguity. Nevertheless, I see that he places some weight on the myth of the dismemberment of Dionysus, an Orphic myth, as I have pointed out, for which there is no evidence as early as the sixth century, the significant period for the development of tragedy.

I am concerned on this interpretation, that if Dionysus was so central, his myths were so frequently abandoned as a topic of tragedy, for all that RS attempts to assimilate the myths of hero-cult to those of the god. This interpretation is based, in addition to such important considerations as the use of overlapping concepts such as death-ritual and marriage-ritual, on the destruction of the royal household and the resolution which cult provides. But this is to overlook those occasions when the royal household is not destroyed - Orestes returns to rule Argos, Ion will found a dynasty, Erechtheus remains at Athens and is not the last of the Athenian kings, Theseus is present to welcome Oedipus, the suppliant Epigoni and Heracles. Rather there is the appropriation even of foreign rulers for the Athenian state. In this, RS seems to overlook the positive role played by other deities. Apollo secures the future of the dynasty by his actions at the end of *The Orestes* and through the Dioscuri in *The Electra*. Athena institutes cult and intervenes on behalf of the community in numerous tragedies: it is she who restores the Chorus of Greek women to their homeland in *The Iphigenia in Tauris*. Similarly, Ajax and Heracles look to secure the futures of their sons. RS would overlook the fact that at the end of *The Bacchae*, if we are to accept all the additional material available from the *Christi Patienti* as evidence of the lost ending, the men of Thebes are to be driven from the city. If the rites of Dionysus are established in Thebes, they do not bring lasting security there.

Where, however, I the greatest difficulty find, is the way in which RS places the development of the Homeric poems and classical drama in the historico-political account of monarchy, aristocracy, tyranny and democracy in the thirteenth to sixth centuries. He describes tragedy as a product of the *polis* at a later stage of its development when it took royal individuals out of myth, called them tyrants and concentrated on stories in which their unlimited desire gives rise not just to reciprocal violence but also to kin-killing, attacks on religion, *usw*. As the most conspicuous example of a *tyrannos*, Oedipus is characterised rather by his incomprehension of the true nature of his actions and his errors cannot really be considered the result of unlimited desire. Pentheus, for all his 'too-royal' temper, is scarcely the image of the self-indulgent and self-aggrandizing tyrant. Homeric society may be idealised, but is not the issue, whose ideal?

I find compelling the idea that the ending of *The Odysssey* represents an addition made in the face of the greater insecurity of the developing *polis*, a situation in which kin-killing would also be regarded as the ultimate social disorder. Also, I would accept the figure of Dionysus as reflecting that disorder, but why its resolution? RS states that the *polis* is constructed in terms of the household, but the order that the *polis* imposes is constructed not in terms

of the household's destruction but its reinforcement. Dionysus drives women from their homes, but the democratic state keeps them firmly in the *oikos* as representatives of potential disorder. Here we see a conflation which is often made in this book of the original socio-anthropological effect of Dionysiac ritual on women as participants (although this in itself would necessarily involve the collusion of men as the more powerful social element), and male interpretation and enactment of the rituals, with explicit political motives, in the time of Peisistratus and later. RS ignores these difference between these points of view, and he is therefore able to claim that marriage and animal sacrifice are analogous, both with each other and with ritual. But the woman is never fully initiated into the *oikos* or active participation in the community, just as the animal never forms part of the group of sacrificers.

Likewise, RS slips without distinction between female lament and the male conception of it, between female lament and "male lament", whether that is an appropriation of the female form of lament or a male version of it. When Gorgias (*Helen*.8) speaks of the power of *logos* to increase lamenting, is he to be taken to consider only the verbal laments of women or the weeping theatre audience?

There is no evidence of extensive maenadic activity in Athens. RS makes much of comparison with Brauron, but at the analogous ritual of the *Arrhêphoria* only 2 girls in each year served as *Arrhêphoroi*. Though they may have been seen as representing all girls born at the same time, this evidence suggests only a small number of girls may have taken part in the *arkteia* - hardly a communal rite of passage experienced by all the girls in the community.

This brings me finally to reciprocity, undoubtedly a useful and analytic concept. So far as Dionysus is concerned there is of course the reciprocal gift of wine and the benefit of the Mysteries, although how far is their adoption recognition of a specific Dionysiac power and how far an attempt to emulate Eleusis as a cultic centre? But can we eliminate positive and negative reciprocity? A positive reciprocity remains between the city and its gods, a negative reciprocity between its heroes and potential aggressors. Without this, Athena's directions to Theseus and the Epigoni at the end of *The Suppliants* cannot be understood. The Eumenides must remain in Athens as potential bringers of pollution to those who allow the wrongdoer to go unpunished no less than to the wrongdoers themselves.

I leave those who summoned me to make their peace with their *Altertumsvortragende*: *ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι γῆς ὑπὸ ζόφον κάτω.*"

JOHN WILKINS' *LIFE OF LUXURY*

Reviewed by Hugh Stubbs.

Archestratus, *The Life of Luxury*. Europe's Oldest Cookery Book, translated, with introduction and commentary, by John Wilkins & Shaun Hill. Illustrations by Philippa Stockley. 110 pages. Prospect Books, Totnes, 1994. £7.99.

[John Wilkins is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Exeter; Shaun Hill is an Honorary Research Associate of the Department who used to be chef at Gidleigh Park Hotel, but now runs his own restaurant in London. We apologize to the latter for his exclusion from our headline, which is merely a cheap attention-seeking journalistic gimmick. The book is available from the University Bookshop, or any good bookseller.]

`A reappraisal of Archestratus has long been timely', we are told on the back cover of this stimulating monograph. Apart from the apparent oxymoron (can a work be timely when it has been long desired?), we may wonder what earlier appraisal needed revision, and how many readers were awaiting it. For most people, I think, an introduction rather than a reappraisal is needed, and here they have one which is easy on the eye and rewarding to the study.

The English title is an eye-catcher, though the word `luxury' is not commonly applied to the enjoyment of food. It conjures up images of duvets, central heating, air-conditioning, silk-and-satin, Pullman cars and executive seats, starched napkins, sauna and jacuzzis. To mediaeval writers, I believe, it suggested sex. The book's Greek title *H^dypatheia* implies `undergoing enjoyment', and is probably the best of several alternatives (p.35): these are as numerous as those of the White Knight's song in *Through the Looking Glass*, and, as in the same work, the poetic excerpts contain a strong element of parody, and deal very largely with fish. They are all taken from Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, a work easily available in the Loeb translation, but too voluminous and too expensive for the average pocket.

The 24-page introduction is pleasantly written, and the reader is not obfuscated with allusions and technicalities: not all scholarly writers would have bothered to explain that Campania was the area north, south and east of Naples, that a *krater* was a bowl in which wine was watered down, or that Anacreon was a sixth-century lyric poet from Teos. There are two excellent maps. In the account of the historical background we are told that the author lived in a century when life was uncertain for the Greeks (but what century was not?); perhaps more might have been said about the Samnites breathing down the necks of the Italian Greeks, and the Romans not very far behind them. The translators doubt whether the genocidal sack of Olynthus is 348 is really a *terminus ante quem*, but surely no author would have directed his readers to a place which no longer existed, and the destruction of which had been a notorious and epoch-making atrocity. Text and illustrations fully explain what a symposium (once oddly called a `sumposium') was like, and modify the rather distasteful impression given by some school-books that Athenian party-goers spent their time embarrassing each other with challenges to sing songs and cap quotations, occasionally flicking dregs out of wine-goblets (much as members of the Drones Club might throw rolls at each other), unless and until Socrates wet-blanketed the proceedings by talking about the Soul, like a Victorian curate dragging God into an ordinary conversation. It is relevant to be reminded (p.13) that `people rarely read in private in the Greek world': the Greek verb rendered `to read' suggests decoding, unlike the Latin and German equivalents, which simply

indicate picking up. We may wonder how the Greek paterfamilias spent the winter evenings, but we may still be rather alarmed by the thought of a symposium organized for a reading of Hesiod's *Theogony* (p.13), so much of which reads like the more genealogical chapters of the *Books of Chronicles*.

We are told that Archestratus did not write a `hands-on cookery-book'. I am not sure what a hands-on cookery-book is, but it is fairly clear that Archestratus' work was not really a cookery-book at all, but (as the translators admit) more of an Egon Ronay type of gastronomer's manual. Among the influences mentioned (pp.13-15) are the mock-heroic and parody traditions, together with more serious didactic poetry; this might be thought to include the Boeotian catalogue-tradition, as exemplified in the *Theogony*, the *Eoiae* (a great favourite with French crossword compilers in the form EEES) and the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*. The English equivalents of these genres are few, and would not mean enough to modern readers to justify imitation by a translator: there has been little didactic poetry in English since the eighteenth century (`Come Muse, let's sing of rats'), mock-heroic means little to a culture which is not familiar with heroic poetry, and parodies (apart from Wilkes' brilliant *Essay on Woman*) have seldom lasted for more than a hundred lines. Hence the translators have wisely followed the Penguin example of using straight prose and letting the subject-matter stand or fall on its own merits, occasionally adding a recognizably purple passage to simulate the author's rather Wodehousian use of literary quotations. (Mrs Beeton also quoted Shakespeare and the Bible on occasion, though usually for a more serious purpose.)

Translationese is mercifully avoided, though there are occasional infelicities in style: there is a repulsive and misleading Americanism on p.15, where `may' is used for `might' in a past unfulfilled condition; the word `belly' may be over-used in the translation where ordinarily one would say `stomach' (not the genteelism that it was when Fowler complained about it in 1926); and the rendering of a *minthos* - derivative on p.45 is misleadingly aggressive - if Archestratos had intended that effect, he would have used the etymologically and semantically cognate word *skôr*. *Minthos* might better be rendered `crap', a term I recently came across in the foodie columns of an up-market weekly.

Bernard Shaw & Orson Welles with unadjusted dress on an Apulian krater, from Wilkins & Hill, Life of Luxury.

The illustrations are excellent: most of them are black-and-white outline drawings translated from Italiote or Siceliote vase-paintings, though the rendering is more direct when, as on a phlyax-vase, the medium is the message, as it is on a Donald McGill postcard. Waitresses and entertainers are topless, goblets are flicked for *kottabos*, and the male figures on the Apulian *krater* on p.58 have a strange resemblance to Bernard Shaw and Orson Welles, apart perhaps from their unadjusted dress. (Incidentally, it might have been more clearly indicated that these pictures, though produced by Greeks, come from artefacts used by native Apulians and Campanians; Cumae, the source of the fish-plate on p.84, had been under Samnite control, and subjected to considerable ethnic cleansing, well before the fourth century began.) Earlier convivial vase-paintings would have shown more

people eating kebabs or *souvlakia*, but it would not have been easy to draw people eating fish, and the representations of fish on the plate (pp.33, 50, 65, 68, 84, 88, 90) are straight unadapted copies. It would have been helpful if we had been told what these fishes were: we are only given that information for an octopus and a cuttle-fish, which we could have recognized anyway, and for a sea-bream and a torpedo-fish. (There is a terminological problem here: `torpedo' may be zoologically correct, but it normally and familiarly means something very different; `torpedo-fish' doesn't exist, but `torpedo-ray' sounds like something out of science-fiction, and `crampfish and `numbing fish' are obscure.) Many of the species mentioned are, of course, unfamiliar to us, though the parrot-fish of fragments 13 and 41 recently surprised me by appearing in a *Holiday* series on television.

Fragment from a fish plate from Gela from Wilkins & Hill, Life of Luxury.

Culinary scenes and implements are admirably rendered on pp.39, 46 and 60, but the coin pictures might have done better as straight photographs. Most of the latter are said (p.5) to be introduced to `represent' the cities mentioned in the text, presumably in the sense in which John Major `represents' the people of Essex. However, the Eresos coin on p.41 attractively illustrates a mild in-joke of the author's concerning Hermes - roughly equivalent to saying that Joseph of Arimathea would have enjoyed the beer at the Pilgrim's Hotel at Glastonbury - and the Cyrenian coin on p.24 helps to cope with the silphium mystery. We are told that this luxury flavour, derived from a vegetable extinct since Vespasian's time, can be reconstructed with a weak solution of asa-foetida, a vegetable which can sometimes be obtained at the *City Ditch*. The equally mysterious *garum* (not indexed) is said on p.101 to have resembled the East Indian Nam Pla sauce, which might perhaps be available at Watty's Delicatessen. Two actual recipes are given, though in little more detail than the instructions on modern packets of fast foods.

Introduction and text alike are admirably free of footnotes, and references are sensibly given in brackets inserted in the text wherever needed. The bibliography contains 43 titles. Any reader wanting to check all the references would be able to find some thirteen of them in any University library; some half-dozen are homely Devonian products, but the remainder would necessitate a two-day visit to the Bodleian, or at least an extensive use of the Inter-Library Loan service. Fortunately, not more than three seem to be written in foreign languages, but the publishers might be more clearly identified, unless `London', `Milan' and `Bologna' are to be taken as self-explanatory. Encyclopaedias and periodicals are given their full titles (except for one mysterious FAO which vaguely suggests a crude military acronym). The price might deter an impecunious scholar (perhaps a tautologous expression?) but is not, I think, disproportionate to the value of the work.

HUGH STUBBS taught in the Department for many years. He has written articles and reviews for the *Classical Quarterly, Classical Review, Journal of Hellenic Studies, Pegasus*, etc., and has compiled an extensive classical dictionary, at present reposing in David Harvey's spare bedroom.

RES GESTAE VII

Compiled by David Harvey.

Many thanks again to all who sent autobiographies, & my apologies for not replying to them personally. But there are many alumni whose addresses we don't have, & still more who are apparently allergic to replying to questionnaires. We'd be delighted to have news of them (we welcome picturesque detail as well as bare facts).

We print news of anyone who has been involved with the Classics dept., even if they have taken only one or two courses with us, or have dropped out.

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 ... indicate lack of recent news.

VISITING SCHOLARS

Elizabeth (Betty) BELFIORE (Hon. Research Fellow, Michaelmas 94) gained her BA in French from Barnard College, New York, & her MA & PhD in Classics from the Univ. of California at Los Angeles. She has been teaching at the Univ. of Minnesota since 80. While on sabbatical leave at Exeter she studied the theme of *philia* in Greek tragedy generally, & in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* in particular. Her other main research interest is ancient philosophy, especially Aristotle's *Poetics*. Non-academic interests include travel, reading, biking & surviving the Minnesota winters. "I have thoroughly enjoyed my stay at Exeter", she writes, "& the opportunity to get to know so many stimulating, learned & congenial people." She hopes to see many of them again soon, in the US or in England.

Eireann MARSHALL (Tutor 94-5) was born in Munich, raised in Italy & went to university in New York, so ending up in Exeter (she says) was only to be expected. She received her first degree from Columbia Univ. & went on to do a Masters at Birmingham. She is in the process of completing her Birmingham PhD on Roman Cyrene: ethnicity & material culture. She is a great fan of material culture & a firm believer in interdisciplinary study, i.e. reading up on anthropology, sociology, archaeology. Since her own ethnicity is so confused, she finds studying the different `local' cultures within the Roman empire fascinating. She would like to know to what extent provincials saw themselves as pertaining to their own local world rather than the empire as a whole. Her hobbies include listening to music & watching obscure & underwatched sports on television, such as kabbadi, sumo wrestling & jai alai.

CONGRATULATIONS

to **Dave BRAUND** and **Diane TURNER** on their marriage in April. 95;

to **Professor Susanna BRAUND** on her appointment as Head of the Classics Dept. at Royal Holloway College, Univ. of London;

to **Richard BURRIDGE**, now Dean of King's College, London;

to **Sophie LYONS** (now **BUTCHER**) on the birth of her third child Florence on 7 Nov. 94;

to **Jessica PRYCE-JONES** (now **SHUKMAN**) on the birth of her third child Kitty on 3 Nov. (Jessica's birthday) 94;

to **David SEEX** on his marriage (see below);

and to **Brian SHEFTON**, eponym of the Shefton Museum of Greek Art & Archaeology in the Univ. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

NEWS

Stuart SAGGS (89; Brackley, Northants), sick of jokes about his surname, has changed it to **SQUIRE**. After 2 years training to be a barrister, he applied without success for countless pupillages in chambers, & is now teaching Latin, English & French at Winchester House Preparatory School, a very rich, quite small boarding establishment; food & accommodation are free, but hours lengthy (Sunday breakfast compulsory). He would have liked to teach in the State sector, but didn't want bricks thrown at his head. He hopes eventually to return to the law.

Shelley SANDERS (91; Bristol) began looking for a job in autumn 94; her interests include ballet, music, film and Arabic & Islamic studies.

Mary SANDERSON now **HORNER** (80; SW6) was at one time broadcasting to Europe from an American station in Vienna, where she had also been a children's governess; she married David at Fursdon House, Thorverton (Devon) in the 80s, & they live in a big house in Fulham ...

Daphne SANDFORD (83; ?) did a PGCE at Bristol Univ. in 86-7 ...

Neil SAPSWORTH (79; Exeter) joined a firm of accountants in London in 79, & began to work towards professional exams; boredom set in, & he left. From 81 to 93 he was with a firm of Chartered Surveyors, moving through the private & public sectors; he qualified by taking a part-time BSc in Estate Management at Reading Univ. as well as the professional exams. From 91 to 94 he was Assistant Director of Estates for the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond St. He married Samantha in 87; they have two daughters, Annabella (now 3) & Camilla (2). They recently moved from London for the usual reasons (quality of life, poverty), & are now

living in Exeter (just down the road from David Harvey) where Neil has set up in practice as Sapsworth, Chartered Surveyors, all commissions gratefuly received at favourable rates. He is in regular contact with John Chappell.

Susan SAY now **RAWLINSON** (60; Glastonbury) married Alan, a Durham classics graduate, in 63, & began a 28-year love-hate relationship with teaching: first a variety of subjects - even netball & maths - in a variety of schools, eventually Classics in a Grammar School, of which she became Deputy Head. In 81-5 she took a part-time M.Ed.(R & D) course at Exeter with the delectable Richard Pring; then she was head of an independent girls' boarding school in Dorset for 8 years. Meanwhile her son Simon gained an M.Eng. at Exeter; he now works for ICL at Basingstoke. In 90 Sue began training part-time for the ordained Anglican ministry, but this was interrupted by Alan's serious illness & other distressing calamities. He is now better, & since early 94 she has been Warden of a Diocesan Retreat House.

Sylvia SCARLETT now **DARBY** (58; nr. Niton, I.O.W.) went to the London Bible College 66-8 & 69-71, graduating with a BD. She lectured at the Bible Training Institute, Glasgow, in 71-2, & married Rob Darby (Exeter Classics 58-62) in 72. She then taught Latin, Greek & RE in middle schools on the I.O.W., but retired in 92 to teach full-time in a Christian Teaching Centre based on her home. She & Rob adopted Lisa (10) & John (8) in 81. Hobbies include Christian work, bird-watching, walking, theatre, reading & travel.

Karin SCHNEIDER (91; Marburg, Germany [univ.], Detmold [home]; Canterbury 94-5) is reading English & Latin at Marburg Univ., a 4- to 5-year course which she began in 92. This year she is brushing up her English at Canterbury. She's very attached to Exeter, which she revisited recently; her year here was her first year at university, & (she says) definitely the best one.

Anne SCOTT now **GOSLING** (65; Maidstone, Natal, S. Africa) spent 6 months in the 60s as temporary lecturer in Classics at the Univ. of Natal at Pieter-maritzburg, & a year in the same role in Durban. She married Arthur, an Anglican priest, in 68, but couldn't keep away from Classics: two years teaching in a convent school were followed by 3 more back at Durban as a temporary lecturer. She finally got a permanent post there in 76, completed an MA & became senior lecturer; now it's a race to see whether she can finish her PhD (on Ovid's narrative technique in the *Fasti*) before she retires. She & Arthur have lived in several parishes in the Durban area; the present one is in lovely sugar-growing country. No children, but 2 cats, 3 dogs, 1 horse (on which she tries to do dressage). She has published articles on Augustan poetry & propaganda, Plautus, & satire - even one in *Pegasus* 85.

Gillane SEABORNE (83; ?) was a Production Assistant with BBC2's *Gardeners' World* in 94 ...

Pamela SEAWARD now **THOMPSETT** (73; nr. Colchester) joined the Civil Service, married in 79 & left work to have her children Daniel (15) & Ruth (13). She has recently completed a business & administration course in preparation for returning to work.

David SEEX (79; SW12) is a banker. In 83 he joined Saatchi & Saatchi in London as an account executive. After 4+ years he moved to New York, & graduated with a Master's in Business Admin. [MBA] from Columbia Business School in 89. He then joined Citibank in their Leveraged Buyout group, returning as part of that group to London in 90; he is now a Director of Structured Finance with them. In May 94 he married Sarah, who works in marketing at British Airways.

Bridget SEIGNE (88; St. Leonard's-on-Sea) enjoys teaching 6-year-olds in a seaside primary school, where she is science co-ordinator, though she manages to throw in the odd Greek myth. She sees Harriet Hardy (probation trainee, Canterbury) regularly, & meets other Exeter friends at weddings. She often visits her brother in Exeter, & can't believe how the Uni is growing.

Polly SELBY-LOWNDES (82; ?) was a trainee accountant in 85 ...

Chris SHAKESPEARE (81; W10) married Francesca in 91; they have a daughter Phoebe, now 3. Like Sarah-Jane **CLIFFORD-JONES**, he works for the Times Supplements.

Janet SHARP now **SMITH** (76; ?) & her husband were both living & teaching at King's School, Grantham, in the 80s ...

Nicholas SHAW (91; Henley on Thames) hopes to pursue a career in the social services: he starts on a 2-year Diploma in Social Work in Oct. Until then he will be gaining experience by working with elderly folk, young offenders & handicapped patients. He plays for Henley on Thames R.F.C., & walks in the countryside.

Vicky SHAW (86; ?) was in Huddersfield in 89, training to be a solicitor ...

Ben SHEAHAN (82; ?) was a trainee chartered accountant in 85 ...

Mary SHELDON-WILLIAMS (62; Headington, Oxford) presides over the Classics Reading Room in the Bodleian Library; her letters constitute an interesting source for future historians of that institution (e.g. Dec. 77: "When I suggested to Mr Seaford that he could point out some obsolete works on Greek mythology & religion, he came up with all the authors his colleagues have placed on the undergraduate reading lists.") In her spare time she enjoys playing the viola & violin, gardening & singing.

Claire SIMMONS now **SYKES** (85; Cannock, Staffs.) qualified as a tax consultant with the Institute of Tax in 90. She trained with Price Waterhouse, &

is now a tax consultant with BDO Stoy Hayward, specializing in advice for family-owned businesses. She is expecting her first child in May 95. Recreations include learning Spanish, table-tennis (she's club treasurer) & cooking.

Clive SKIDMORE (79; Stourbridge) is in local government in the West Midlands. He was awarded his PhD by the Univ. of Exeter in 88 for his thesis on Valerius Maximus, & his book about that author, *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen*, will be published by the Univ. of Exeter Press in 96.

Sara SLEAP now **GRAY** (82; Tunbridge Wells?) was with Lloyd's Bank a decade ago ...

Andrew SMITH (78: ?) was, but is no longer, teaching at Long Close School, Slough...

Gill SMITH (73; Birmingham) left Tudor Hall School, Banbury, in 89 & is now teaching Latin & Classical Studies at King Edward VI School, Handsworth. She enjoyed a wonderful academic year in 93-4 at a co-ed independent day school in New Orleans [16-page account available from David Harvey] where her pupils (who included 15-year-old car-owners) loved, but failed to understand, her English accent, & were unable to tell when she was joking. She found the humidity of Louisiana congenial, & her hosts marvellously hospitable. Recreations included crawfish boils & alligator swamp tours; she also drove through 27 states, & visited Mexico & Jamaica. She remains single & fun-loving.

Jenny SMITH now **NETHERCOTT** (74; Watchet) held various secretarial posts before marrying John in 85; since then, as well as bringing up two daughters, Roxane & Thelema, she's been running a word-processing business from home ...

Malcolm SMITH (85; N10) took a diploma in jazz & studio music at the Guildhall School in 89; since then he has been a freelance professional jazz trombonist, playing in various bands including the National Youth Jazz Orchestra & the Digby Fairweather Band; he goes on tour soon with Martha Reeves & the Vandellas. He also teaches, mainly in schools in London & Herts., but also on specialized jazz courses. He is still interested in the ancient world, & has taken part in archaeological digs. He enjoys swimming & eating out, & attends evening classes in German. He's single, & plans to buy a flat in N. London.

Sharon SOWRAY (88; Croydon), after 3 months in the civil service, worked as a library assistant at Southampton Univ. from Jan. 92 to Sept. 93, on a graduate trainee scheme. She then took a postgraduate course in Information Management (Librarianship) at Thames Valley Univ., Ealing, which she completed in July 94. In Oct. 94 she started her present job as assistant librarian in the library of the English Folk Dance and Song Society in Camden; this library houses documents concerning the history of English, European and American folk dance and song. She enjoys reading, esp. fantasy, and visiting stone circles.

Mark SPEEKS (81; ?) was at Exeter College, Oxford, in the 80s ...

Stuart SQUIRE see **SAGGS**

Patrick STACEY (82; ?) was tied up with telephones in 85 ...

Elizabeth STANDEN now **STANDEN-GEAY** (80; Niort, France) writes: "I regret to inform you that I do not wish details of my private life to be published in your magazine, moreover I cannot believe that anyone would want to read such material".

Simon STEVENS (86; Lowestoft) is a senior reporter with the Eastern Daily Press, based at their Lowestoft office. He is still an active rower, & has been secretary of Lowestoft Rowing Club since 92.

Sally STEVENSON (69; Hertford) completed a degree (II.i) in Ancient & Medieval History at Univ. College London. She then spent 2 years in Florence & developed a long-term love-affair with Italy. She joined the civil service as an Employment Adviser & spent 13 years in Employment/Training, managing a Jobcentre in N. London for 2 years; the mass-murderer Denis Nilsen was briefly her colleague. She moved to the West Country in 89 after her marriage broke up, then returned to Herts. She now works in a training/education organization in London, thus enjoying both the rural tranquillity of Herts & the cultural delights of the capital. She frequently visits Italy, Spain & the Med., & would love to retire to Exeter.

Alastair STICKLAND (80; ?) was a management trainee with Pizza Hut (UK) Ltd. in 84 ...

Desreen STOBY (80; ?) did her PGCE at Durham Univ. in 83-4, & taught first at Watford Girls Grammar School, then in Winchester ...

Robert STRATTON-BROWN (89; SW6) is an officer serving with the Royal Navy submarine service. In August 94 he completed the Round Britain & Ireland yacht race on board the RN entry Chaser.

Claire SUMMERHAYES now **RUSSELL** (85; ?) qualified in Law in 89; in June 89 she married Andy in Dorking, & lived there for a while ...

Margaret SUTTERS now **HOWE** (68; Burnham-on-Sea) married while she was at Exeter, & has two sons: Nicholas, who recently graduated in biotechnology, & Paul, reading economics at the Univ. of the West of England. For the past ten years she has been a secretary in a medical practice.

ADDENDA TO PREVIOUS YEARS

Mervyn NORTH-COOMBES (64; ?) was sighted in York in the 70s, where he was working for Rowntree's ...

Katy POWER (63; Reading) has for many years been a librarian at Reading Univ.

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