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**The Journal of the University of Exeter Dept. of Classics and Ancient History**



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**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:**

We would like to thank the Classical Assocation for their kind sponsorship.

**Meetings of the Classical Association have not yet been planned for the 1996-7 programme, but there will be a range of lectures, including joint meetings with the Hellenic, Roman and Devon Archaeological Societies.**

**New members are very welcome! Subscriptions to: Mrs H. Harvey, 53 Thornton Hill, Exeter EX44NR (01392 54068). £5 p.a. (life membership £50), students £2 p.a. or £5 for 3 years, schools £8 p.a.**

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# REPORT FROM THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

## Norman Postlethwaite.

### Conferences and Visiting Speakers.

In September this year the Department held a conference on *Pollution in the Ancient City*, organised by Ms. Eireann Marshall and Alex Nice who has now moved on to a post at the University of the Witwatersrand.

We will be represented by no fewer than seven speakers at the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association, to be held in Nottingham in April: from the staff, there will be David Braund, Christopher Gill, John Marr, Eireann Marshall and Richard Seaford, as well as research students Fiona McHardy and Larry Shenfield.

A conference entitled *The Rivals of Aristophanes* is being organised at the Institute of Classical Studies 10-12 September by David Harvey, from whom further details may be obtained.

We have again had a number of distinguished visitors in the Department: in Michaelmas Term John Whitehorne visited from the University of Queensland and gave a research seminar, as well as some valuable assistance with Greek language teaching; in Lent Term we welcomed Georgia Machemer from the University of North Carolina and Dorothea Frede from Hamburg, to give papers to the Staff Research Seminar; and Summer Term will see Martha Nussbaum visiting from Chicago and Susan Treggiari from Stanford.

### Publications.

1995 was another highly productive year in terms of research output, of which the highlights were the publication of Chris Gill's monumental *Personality in Greek Epic, Tragedy and Philosophy: The Self in Dialogue* by OUP, the culmination of many years of research, and of his *Greek Thought* in the Greece and Rome New Surveys series; of Richard Seaford's new *Commentary on Euripides' Bacchae*; and of Peter Wiseman's *Remus: A Roman Myth.*

### Other News.

Amongst the many developments in the Department in the past few years, it is perhaps the enhanced postgraduate profile which has been the most striking. The Department now offers three taught MA programmes: in Ancient Drama and Society, directed by Richard Seaford; in Homeric Studies, directed by Norman Postlethwaite; and in Roman Myth and History, directed by Peter Wiseman. These, together with PhD/MPhil research students, currently provide a postgraduate cohort of 21.

I am sure that all who have been associated with the Department will wish to join in congratulating David Braund on his election to a chair. David came to Exeter in 1986 as a part-time lecturer, and was promoted Reader in Greek, Roman and Georgian History in 1994. He published his major study *Georgia in Antiquity* last year. Professor Braund's appointment will date from April 1996.

# A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF PEGASUS' MOTHER

**by Deborah Gentry.**

During the second half of the last century, along with the renewed interest in the folklore of their own countries, northern European scholars turned their attention to the still-existing folktales of Greece. The result in England was the publication by J.C. Lawson of what still remains the standard English source for such tales, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion.* Lawson spent the years 1898-1900 travelling through Greece carrying out research, but one topic on which he was not able to discover any information beyond that already available in the work of the most noted Greek folklorist, N.G. Politis, on the contemporary Greek conception of the gorgon or gorgons.

These terrible (*γοργόνες*) demons who dwell in the sea Lawson found represented as rough sketches on the walls of small taverns, on the figureheads of old caiques and elsewhere, and shown as women with the tail of a fish, half emerging from the waves and holding in one hand a ship, in the other an anchor, and sometimes wearing a breastplate. To this description it may be added that the gorgon is usually portrayed frontally and often her lower body consists of two fish- or sea-serpents' tails (one for each missing leg) or two snake coils.

Notwithstanding the somewhat alarming appearance of the modern gorgon, a feature shared with her ancient counterpart, it is at first sight strange that the original mythical monster of this name should undergo such a sea-change. A more obvious choice for a modern mermaid would seem to be the classical Greek nereid, which indeed still exists not only as an imagined inhabitant of the sea-shore, but also of the mountains, woods and streams in place of the ancient oreads, dryads and naiads. The earliest references to the gorgon or gorgons in Homer (where she appears only as a disembodied head - the gorgoneion) and in Hesiod do not suggest any mermaid-like attributes. In the pseudo-Hesiodic, but still early, *Aspis*, it is the snakes that entwine the gorgons' waists rather than the monsters themselves on which the poet concentrates. Their 'snakiness' is also the attribute highlighted by Aeschylus when describing the gorgon-like features of the Erinyes in the *Eumenides* and by Pindar in the Tenth and Twelfth Pythian Odes. It is only with Apollodorus (*Bibl.*II iv 2) that a detailed description of the gorgons first appears in surviving literature:

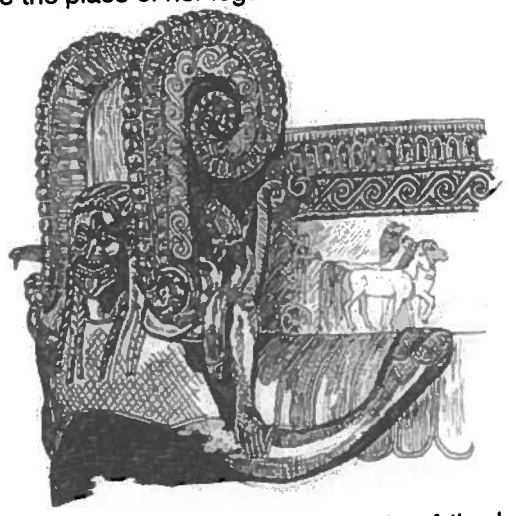
> *...the gorgons had heads twined about with the scales of dragons, and great tusks like swine's, and brazen hands, and golden wings, by which they flew; and they turned to stone such as beheld them.*

The *Theogony* gives the gorgons' home as 'beyond the stream of famous Ocean, on the edge near Night', but not in the water itself. Nevertheless, the genealogy of the gods and monsters in this poem does offer a connection between the gorgons, the sea and snake-like figures: Sthenno, Euryale and Medusa are named as the daughters of the sea-deities Phorcys and Ceto, who are themselves children of Pontos (Sea) and Ge (Earth), while the gorgons' siblings include the half-woman, half-snake Echidna, the part-snake Chimaera and Snake (Ophis) itself. Furthermore, a fragment of Sophocles (TrGFiv F163) and Hesychius (sv Γοργίδες· αἱ Ὠκεανίδες ἁλιάδες) clearly identify the gorgons as sea-creatures.

Autochthonous beings (usually, of course, male), such as Kekrops, were depicted in ancient art equipped with a snake's tail, representing their birth from the earth. Similarly, male water divinities, whether identified as Nereus, Phorcys or Proteus, or merely anonymous tritons, could be identified by their possession of the lower body of a sea-serpent. On occasions, this iconography was extended to include a river-god, such as Achelous, who will thus abandon his usual distinguishing feature of a bull's horn or head for this sign of his watery origin. The female sea-deities - Thetis, Galatea and their numerous nereid companions - were always represented as fully human in form, al-

though most often riding decorously on sea-monsters like the sea-serpent or hippocamp. Tritonesses, the female equivalent of tritons, appeared very rarely.

Among the earliest iconographic representations of the gorgon, on the other hand, there are many depicting her with a body incorporating a fish or serpent element. The earliest is an ivory seal of the mid 7th century BC from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, on which Medusa, recognisable from her monstrous visage, has two wings and the lower body of a snake. Various examples of Laconian and Corinthian bronze crater handles of the second half of the 6th century BC are formed in the shape of a gorgon with double wings, and on these two snakes take the place of her legs.



Possibly the best known example of the half-human gorgon is the bronze shield device at Olympia, dating from the final third of the 6th century. Shown frontally, as always, winged and helmeted, she carries a snake in each hand, and beneath the waist has two sea-serpents' tails. Also of a comparatively early date, two vases in the National Museum, Athens, one an Attic amphora of approximately 600BC and the other a Corinthian *kylex* of about 550BC, show the gorgon with dolphins, which can scarcely do otherwise than suggest a connection with the sea. Whether the gorgon is represented or part sea -creature or associated with the sea, or alternatively as part snake, may have depended on whether the artist had in mind the Boiotian version of the myth of her descent, given in the sources referred to above, or the Attic version, referred to in Euripides' *Ion*, in which the gorgon is the daughter of Ge.

It must, even so, be admitted that, subsequently, the gorgon came typically to be shown in visual art in the 'running-kneeling' pose (and therefore necessarily with legs) famous from the gable of the temple of Artemis on Corcyra, dating from c.590BC, or the clay-relief from Syracuse of the later 7th century. It is possible that the early variations in her iconographic attributes arose from the fact that, unlike other mythical creatures such as the centaur, the satyr, the sphinx and the siren, there was no near Eastern prototype readily available for adaptation to represent the Greek monster. Still, literary evidence makes it clear that, if a speaker wished to convey the terrifying appearance of an unidentified supernatural being, he could be sure of producing the desired effect by having recourse to the gorgon and a non-human lower body was an additional horror. In the Pythia's description of the Erinyes as like gorgons at the opening of the *Eumenides*, this deformity could naturally not be included (their imminent appearance on stage precluded it, and they are wingless for the same reason, as they are habitually shown in later art with wings). Lucian in his *Philopseudeis* relates the tall tale told by the speaker Eucrates to three credulous old men, regarding a spectre which he had met at midday in a wood:

> *When I was under cover, there came at first a barking of dogs, and I supposed that my son Mnason was at his usual sport of following the hounds, and had entered the thicket with his companions. This was not the case, however, but after a short while there was an earthquake and with it a noise like thunder, and then I saw a terrible woman coming towards me, quite half a furlong high. She had a torch in her left hand and a sword in her right, sixteen yards long; below, she had snake-feet and above she resembled the gorgon, in her stare I mean, and the frightfulness of her appearance; moreover, instead of hair, she had snakes falling down in ringlets, twining about her neck, and some of them coiled upon her shoulders.*

So much for the physical appearance of gorgons in ancient and modern Greece. What of their respective activities? In ancient myth, the distinguishing activity of the gorgon -or rather her head- was to turn whoever looked at her (or whoever she looked at) to stone. It might be guessed that this was not an ability passed on to her modern descendants, however often a ship might seem to sink like a stone. (Not that this would be unknown for a sea-deity, as witness the petrifaction of the Phaeacian ship by Poseidon in the *Odyssey*). Lawson describes the modern gorgon's *modus operandi*:

> *The gorgons themselves are to be encountered in all parts of the sea; but their favourite resort, especially on Saturday nights, is reputed to be the Black Sea. When on of them meets a ship grasping the bows with her hand she asks, 'Is king Alexander living?' To this the sailors must reply, 'He lives and reigns', and may add, 'and keeps the world at peace', or, 'and long life to you to!'; for then the awful and monstrous gorgon in gladness at the tidings turns herself into a beautiful maiden and calms the waves and sings melodiously to her lyre. If on the other hand the sailors make the mistake of saying that Alexander is dead, she either capsizes the ship with her own hand or by the wildness of her lamentations raises a storm from which there is no escape or shelter.*

In this story, the gorgon seems to assume the characteristics of a variety of mythical female beings, including the Homeric Sirens and Scylla, but also, in the verbal exchange with the sailors, the Theban Sphinx. Even here, Pausanias relates a story involving the gorgon told to him at the sanctuary of Itonian Athena in Boiotia which seems to follow a similar pattern. One night Iodama, the priestess of the goddess, went into the holy ground of the enclosure and Athena appeared to her, wearing Medusa's head over her tunic and, when she saw it, Iodama was turned to stone. Thereafter, because of this, a woman laid fire every day on Iodama's altar, saying three times in the Boiotian language, 'Iodama lives and asks for fire'. Athena in this tale seems closely to be identified with the gorgon and the firelighter's actions and words to be designed to reassure the goddess/gorgon of the continued well-being of the 'heroine' Iodama.

The literary source for the folk-tale recorded by Lawson is the *Alexander Romance* of pseudo-Callisthenes, written in Alexandria between AD140 and AD340. This work was extensively read and revised in the Greek-speaking world in ancient, Byzantine and modern times, as well as being transmitted widely in the Balkans and the near East through translations. The illuminations accompanying the manuscripts propagated the iconography of the wonders referred to in the novel and in the West some topics were thought suitable for transference from the page to church carvings. In England, there are several English examples of Alexander's flight into the sky carved on misericords, but the earliest example of a gorgon is on the capital of the 11th century chapel at Durham castle. In woodwork, two 13th century misericords at Exeter cathedral show gorgons, one depicting a symmetrical pair of half-fish gorgons beating a tabor over a mask-like head below. In the other, a single gorgon holds a fish in a pose virtually identical to that of a gorgon illustrated in a manuscript version of the *Alexander Romance* held by Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. 0.9.34).

The closest relatives of the Greek sea-gorgon are the twin-tailed gorgon, from on a carved

wooden panel in Crowcombe church, Somerset (pictured above), and a similar gorgon from Cartmel Priory, Lancashire.

The latter has long wavy hair, that on her left-hand side being plaited and that on her right loose, while she holds an ornamental comb in one hand and a mirror in the other.

The Crowcombe example is exceptional, being both late (1534) and one of a series of carved pew ends at the church representing 'pagan' topics, including the Green Man and a fight against a sea-monster. It seems probable that the subjects and their treatment derive quite closely from a literary source since one carving shows tow tritons supporting a roundel in the form of a coin. However, apart from such exceptional examples, the gorgon, once severed from its native Greek context, becomes merely a decorative or heraldic device. Losing its place as part of a comprehensive, if ever-changing, demonic cosmology, albeit an one, in its subsequent appearance outside Greece the figure should instead be identified as a mermaid.

Deborah Gentry is writing a PhD on female grotesques in the Classics department here at Exeter.

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# CLASSICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

## by Anne Gosling.

Anne Gosling is a senior lecturer in the university of Natal in Durban. She is completing her PhD in Ovid's narritive technique.

A few years ago one of the students in the beginners' Latin course came to me for some help with the week's new grammar. After we had cleared up her difficulties she thanked me and asked, "How do you know so much about this stuff? Are you Latin yourself?" The question rocked me, but it should not have. Since the early 1980s increasing numbers of black[1] students had been registering for the course as part of their legal studies, a university course in Latin being at that time a statutory requirement for advocates and some attorneys. Students signed on for Latin 1 because the Dean of Law told them to, not out of any wish to learn the tongue of Cicero, Caesar and Virgil ( ... who?). With varying levels of resentment and effort they endured a year of grammar, simple set work and unseens; their lecturers learnt to stomach insults about this "irrelevant" and "impossible" compulsory course and to keep a sharp eye open for cheating. Very occasionally one or two conscripts enjoyed the course enough to sign on voluntarily for courses in Classical Civilisation, or even to major in Latin, but by and large Latin I was an end in itself. It even spawned a minor growth industry: colloquiums were held to discuss the teaching of Latin for Law (and, latterly, to disadvantaged students), textbooks were written to meet the needs of adult beginners requiring specifically legal Latin, or supplementary exercises were devised for existing courses.

Country-wide, Latin for law students (with some help from Greek for theology students) has for decades kept up the staff-student ratio which has allowed Classics departments to survive in a climate increasingly hostile to the humanities and to traditional disciplines seen as Eurocentric, imperialist and elitist. But it has also placed heavy teaching and administrative demands on departments, and its demise (the Act was repealed in 1994) will not be altogether regretted, though it poses a problem in terms of numbers. Numbers are crucial for the humanities in general and European languages (modern as well as ancient) in particular, as financial constraints bite and pressure for job-related training mounts. Classics posts have been frozen or abolished at several universities, or Classics departments have been "rationalised" into adjuncts of Law Faculties, with only one or two Latin lecturers; with the abolition of Latin for the law degree, these posts are unlikely to survive. A rough estimate suggests there are

presently just over 100 teachers of Classics in South African universities, with perhaps not more than 5000 students altogether. Government funding for white (particularly English-medium) universities has been savagely cut year by year since the 1980s. The situation has been exacerbated by inflation and a weak exchange rate, with disastrous effects on book purchases and the like. Now the national priorities - necessarily - are primary education and technical training. Universities cannot expect a large slice of the government cake and must increasingly seek outside funding. This comes fairly readily for projects to redress the imbalances and injustices of the apartheid era, such as the academic support programmes which allow for the intake and nurturing of under-prepared and disadvantaged students with potential, and for programmes in sociology, political science and the applied sciences, but subjects like Classics are notoriously hard to sell.

Attracting students is both a priority and a problem. Not only is the economic and political climate unpropitious; many students do not consider including Classics courses in their degree structures because they have no idea of what the subject is about. Apart from a brief mention in the history syllabus for twelve-year-olds the Greeks and Romans are not encountered except by the relatively few pupils who do art history and the even fewer who do Latin. Very few schools even offer Latin any more, let alone Greek or ancient history. We do not have visible remains like Roman walls and roads to arouse pupils' curiosity. Although we love to post on Classics department notice-boards press cuttings that mention Chris Hani's degree in and lasting love of Classics, we have to face the fact that most students entering university have never heard of the subject (and, moreover, admire Hani for reasons not readily associated with it).[2]

In most centres, branches of the Classical Association of Southern Africa and university departments make considerable efforts to publicise the discipline in schools, with open days, lectures, quizzes, competitions, Roman banquets, and a national Latin Olympiad for senior pupils. Valiant work is being done by a few dedicated teachers in the Transvaal and Orange Free State who run an extra-curricular Latin school and even correspondence courses for some 300 junior pupils. However, it is still mainly the more privileged and urban pupils who benefit from these initiatives. Problems of language, distance, cost and fear of violence leave many rural African schools out of count. Yet it is black pupils who will make up 60% - 80% of university intake in the future. Their subject choices will play no small part in determining which departments survive.

Our planning for the future has to take into account both the need to attract greater numbers and the changing nature of the student body. Universities are under pressure to transform not only the content of courses (to reflect a more African and less European perspective) but also methods of teaching and examining, since increasing numbers of students at entry level cannot cope with lecture note-taking or the traditional four-essays-in-three-hours type of examination. One of the problems facing African students entering university is that of language. They have usually been taught in their mother tongue at primary school, and although English is usually the medium in secondary school, it is at best a second language for their teachers, and they have little occasion to mix with English speakers.[3] As a result many of them leave school with a poor command of the language. With all of these concerns there is anxiety about maintaining standards. Although standards for entry must be relaxed to allow access to students disadvantaged under the apartheid system, we try to ensure that an acceptable standard of exit level is maintained. It is probably fair to say that South African masters and doctoral students in Classics are on a par with most American, Australian or New Zealand post-graduates.

Plans for the civilisation courses include the possibility of participation in comparative literature courses and packages like African Studies and Gender Studies. Last year we

offered an Honours paper called *Africa in the Ancient World*, with a mix of literature, art, archaeology, history and racial attitudes (yes, *Black Athena*!), which went well. We could mount several courses with "Africa" in their title; but these risk simply being the same old stuff in a new wrapping and may therefore still only attract the already converted. However, there is ample scope both for teaching and research in the comparative study of African and classical mythology, religion and oral poetry.[4]

The spread of teaching, from "remedial" to post-graduate, and the desire to keep traditional Greek and Latin courses alive even for very few students, while developing attractive civilisation options to keep up the numbers, means that university Classics teachers here (as elsewhere) accept heavy teaching loads and plenty of extra-mural involvement as part of the job. There is also the need to research and publish. Three Classics journals are produced in South Africa: *Acta Classica* by the Classical Association, *Akroterion* at the University of Stellenbosch and *Scholia* at the University of Natal (*Pegasus* is exchanged for *Scholia*). Fortunately most universities are quite generous with furlough, conference grants and research grants, though with both government and universities strapped for cash, and a national crisis in housing, health care and education, it is not certain how much longer that happy situation will continue. Getting hold of journal articles and books that are not absolutely mainstream is a problem. The introduction of e-mail, though, has helped to combat our isolation: it is now often easier to consult library catalogues in Cambridge or the United States than to locate a book in your own library, and chat-lines on the Internet serve as a sort of electronic common room.

Overseas academics can be invited to teach here for two or three months, and the host university will usually liaise with others to enable the visitor to lecture in several centres (which can mean quite a pleasant tour). We also invite key-note speakers from abroad to the biennial conferences of the Classical Association. Attracting people of calibre for what Sir Ronald Syme used to refer to as "pastoral visitations" has become easier since our political rehabilitation. We are also now receiving visits from African classicists, though there are some logistical problems involved: post between South Africa and Nigeria or Ghana can take four months or longer (airmail!), faxes and even telephones are in short supply in most of Africa, and the airfare from Ibadan to Johannesburg comes to more than a Nigerian professor's annual remuneration. Even our nearer colleagues in Malawi and Zimbabwe are affected by such considerations, though they usually manage to get to our CASA conferences which is how I have come to know a fellow Exonian, Anastasi Callinicos ("Classics in Zimbabwe", *Pegasus* 35 [1992] 30-32).

In spite of concerns about finance, student numbers, academic standards and sheer survival,there is a strong feeling of solidarity among members of the endangered species of South African classicists, and a determination and enthusiasm that, we hope, will ensure *ex Africa semper aliquid antiqui*.

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[1] Given the history of South Africa in my lifetime, it is inevitable that this article will contain references to, and discuss some problems in terms of, race and colour. Apartheid has left divisions of language, education, social background, financial means, place of residence, acculturation, that will take a generation at least to heal. Broadly speaking, the term "black" includes Africans, Indians and Coloureds (Malay and mixed race people).

[2] Hani was a prominent and immensely popular ANC leader who was assassinated in 1993.

[3] Although schools are no longer segregated, the communities in which they are located still tend to be racially distinct, particularly in rural areas.

[4] See for example Richard Whitaker, "Pindar and the Iimbongi: Functions of Praise", in *Oral Traditions and Innovation*, edd. E. Sienaert *et al.* (Durban, 1991) 239-248; *id.* "Pindar und die südafrikanischen Iimbongi-Sänger. Zwei Traditionen von Preisdichtung", in *Vermittlung und Tradierung von Wissen in der griechischen Kultur*, edd. W. Kullmann and J. Althoff (Tübingen, 1993) 111-128; D. Lombard, "Das Preisen bei den Zulus - Transformationen innerhalb einer mündlichen Tradition. Lehrt diese Tradition etwas für Homer?", *ibid.* 87-109; Michael Lambert, "Ancient Greek and Zulu Sacrificial Ritual. A Comparative Analysis", *Numen* 40 (1993) 293-318; M. Lambert and M.A. Masoga,"A Pan-African Response to the Classics", *Akroterion* 39.2 (1994) 75-82.

# MONOSYLLABICALLY YOURS

## FIDICULANIUS FALCULA.

Rereading *The Lays of Ancient Rome* recently, I was struck by Macaulay's mastery of the monosyllable. The consul's speech in "Horatius", for instance, and the hero's reply to it, have only five disyllables in twelve lines:

*"Their van will be upon us*
*Before the bridge goes down;*
*And if they once may win the bridge,*
*What hope to save the town?"*

*"Hew down the bridge, Sir Consul,*
*With all the speed ye may,*
*I, with two more to help me,*
*Will hold the foe in play.*
*In yon strait path a thousand*
*May well be stopped by three.*
*Now who will stand on either hand*
*And keep the bridge with me?"*

So too in "Virginia": when nasty Marcus claims the girl,

*"She's mine and I will have her; I seek but for mine own";*

when her father kills her,

*And in her blood she sank to earth, and with one sob she died;*

when the crowd turns on Appius Claudius:

*"See, see thou dog, what thou hast done, and hide thy shame in Hell!"*

And you can find plenty of other examples too.

It's a technique appropriate to middlebrow poets, like Sir Henry Newbolt:

*An hour to play, and the last man in...*
*"Play up, play up, and play the game!"*

or Rudyard Kipling, in what a poll in 1995 revealed is still Britain's most popular poem:

*And, what is more, you'll be a Man, my son!*

But these poetic foothills are not the only habitat. Some of Shakespeare's most powerful lines are monosyllabic:

*Things that love night love not such nights as these.*

*For in that sleep of death what dreams may come?*

*Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks, rage, blow!*

And how about this from the last act of *Othello*? One disyllable in four lines:

*It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul*
*Let me not name it to you, you chaste stars!*
*It is the cause. Yet I'll not shed her blood,*
*Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow...*

Once you start looking, there's a terrible temptation to emend the Bard. Perhaps he should have written:

*Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,*
*And say "These wounds I had on Guy Fawkes Day",*

or even:

*To be or not to be, now there's a thought....*

# CYRENAICAN CIVILISATION AND HEALTH
## CONSTRUCTING AN IDENTITY IN A FRONTIER

**by Eireann Marshall.**

Cyrene was founded by Theran settlers in 631 BC in a part of the world which was unknown to them, or at least which was not very well known to them. Herodotus describes the Therans as baffled by the Delphic oracle which bade them to found a colony in Libya (Hdt. 4.152). While his account can not be taken at face value, it gives an indication of what may have crossed the minds of the settlers when they set out for Libya when he relates:

> *they did not know where Libya was and shrank from sending an expedition of settlers into the unknown* ( Hdt. 4.152).

The Therans remained in Aziris for six years before making their permanent settlement on the Jebel Akhdar, on the Libyan mainland (4.158). The site they chose was surrounded by Libyans, some of whom were hostile, and was close to a desert region which could, likewise, be hostile. Cyrene, thus, provides an excellent example of how a civic identity was constructed in a frontier situation.

The collective identity, which the Cyrenaicans forged, was constructed in contrast to their Libyan neighbours and the Libyan hinterland, thereby allowing the Cyrenaicans to see themselves as civilised and different from their barbarian neighbours and the barbarian hinterland. The construction of this identity allowed the Cyrenaicans to express dominance over the Libyans and allowed them to mentally appropriate the land which they occupied. Their foundation myths were instrumental in forging a Cyrenaican identity, since they allowed them to understand their position within the Libyan mainland. The foundation of cities was seen as the mark of a civilised people. Pausanias, for example, writes that Sardus, a Libyan, was the first to colonise Sardinia, but since the Libyans did not know how to build cities, they lived in scattered groups in natural surroundings such as cabins or caves (Paus. 10.17). The foundation myths represented the foundation of the city as divinely ordained and divinely assisted, thereby justifying this foundation and allowing it to be seen as civilised. It had been Apollo who had given them the oracle to found the city and it had been this same god who vouchsafed the city's existence (Hdt. 4.154). These myths cast the foundation as a divinely assisted civilising mission, which represented the Cyrenaicans as conquering the barbarian Libyans and their barbarian wildlife. The foundation was also portrayed as the appropriation of a divinely chosen, civilised site. The commemoration of their colonisation, through their foundation myths, permitted the Cyrenaicans to see themselves as a civilised group in barbarian land and permitted their city to be constructed as healthy.

The Libyans, with whom the Cyrenaicans came into frequent conflict, were not so often the Libyans who lived near Cyrenaica, but those who lived south of the Jebel Akhdar, in the Libyan interior. Indeed, ancient literature and remains indicate that there was close contact between neighbouring Libyans and Cyrenaicans. Herodotus describes Libyans as persuading the Theran settlers to leave the site of Aziris and leading them to the site of Cyrene (4.158-9). There was, also, a good deal of intermarrying between the Cyrenaeans and Libyans, as is testified by Ptolemy Soter's *Diagramma*, which decreed that children of Cyrenaean fathers and Libyan mothers were to be considered citizens (*SEG* 9.1, 11.2-3). The conflicts with Libyans, which often arose in times of crisis, (Sallust *Jugurthine War* 79; Valerius Maximus

5.6.4),[1] were, in part, due to Cyrenaicans encroaching on the territory of pastoral nomads living near them (Hdt. 4.159-60).[2] As Laronde has indicated, however, arrangements could be made between them and the Cyrenaicans.[3] Pacts were, however, not made with the large tribes in the Libyan interior who presented a constant threat to the Cyrenaicans.[4] It was these enemies and their habitat against whom the Cyrenaicans contrasted themselves.

A stark contrast was made between the Libyan coast and the Libyan interior, which is pervasive throughout ancient literature. Strabo contrasts the small, scattered dwellings of the desert with the coast which was well settled and prosperous (Strabo 17.3.1). He makes a similar contrast in another passage, when he describes the whole of coastal Libya as subjected to Rome while the rest of the country was uninhabited or inhabited in a poor, nomadic manner (17.3.24). Apollonius Rhodius depicts the Argonauts as becoming dismayed by the vastness of the desert, where there were no paths or shepherds (Apoll.Rhod. 4.1245-9). Diodorus contrasts the coastal region with the hinterland even more starkly, when he writes that the area beyond the southern border of Cyrenaica is uncultivated and lacks water, and later writes that it lacks anything pertaining to civilised life (Diod.Sic. 3.50). The desert was perceived as strange and impenetrable and full of fantastical animals and beings. Pausanias (2.21.6) rationalises the myth about Medusa living in the region of Lake Tritonis by saying that the story arose after one of the terrible monsters: wild men or women, who inhabited the desert, were mistaken for her. Diodorus describes marvellous mirages assuming the shapes of many different animals which occur in the desert and which frighten everyone except the natives (Diod.Sic. 3.50). This hinterland consisted of land which was not arable and was believed to be inhabited by wild beasts: savage Libyans who needed to be overcome by the Cyrenaicans. It was a constructed as an unhealthy, uncivilised environment which served as a foil to Cyrenaican identity.

Conflicts against the Libyans occurred throughout Cyrenaican history, the vast majority of which have gone unrecorded.[5] Attacks against Euhesperides are mentioned by Thucydides (7.50), who states that Gylippus came to Cyrenaicans' aid in 414 BC, and Pausanias (4.26.2), who writes that Messenians evicted from Naupactus helped defend the city in 404 BC. An inscription from around 330 BC records dedications to Apollo made by five Cyrenaican *strategoi* of booty carried off from their conflict against the Macae and Nasamones (*SEG* 9.77). In the third century, the Marmaridae foiled an expedition against Egypt led by Magas, the governor of Cyrene (Paus. 1.7). The Nasamones and Marmaridae engaged the Cyrenaicans in a long series of conflicts in the Augustan period, which involved the entire region. The seriousness of this war can be gauged by the fact that a certain Phaus, son of Clearchus, went to Rome to ask for assistance (*OGIS* 767, *SEG* 9.63). Cassius Dio writes that the Legio III Augusta was sent and that troops were mobilised in Egypt (Cass.Dio 55.10A.1). The Marmarican war

[1] The fourth century conflict between Barca and Cyrene on one side and Carthage on the other caused disturbances with Libyan tribes.

[2] Battus II offered land grants to any Greek who wanted to settle in Cyrenaica. This brought Libyans, under Adicran, to arms because of their loss of territory and because of the expansionist attitude of the Cyrenaicans.

[3] A Laronde "Cyrenaica and the Libyans", in J-P. Descoeudres (ed) *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology held in honour of Emeritus Professor A D Trendall. Oxford: 1990, 174.

[4] ibid. 174.

[5] ibid. 170. Laronde mentions how the conflicts in Euhesperides are recorded in Thucydides (7.50) and Pausanias (4.26.2) only because Gylippus happened to be on the coast of the Greater Syrtis and because of the flight of the Messinians from Naupactus.

again in AD 2 when L. Comebus Lentulus, the proconsul for Africa, was ambushed by the Nasamones (Eusth. 209-10); P. Sulpicius Quirinius finally defeated the Libyans in AD 6/7 (Florus 2.31). The Libyan tribes which most threatened the Cyrenaicans were the Nasamones, Garamantes, Macae and Marmaridae, who lived in the desert region south of Cyrenaica. The extent to which these tribes posed problems for the Cyrenaicans can be gauged by the fact that Thibron, in 322 BC, managed to make an alliance between all the cities of the region by promising to subdue the surrounding parts of Libya (Diod. 18.19).

The threat posed by these large southern tribes meant that the well being of Cyrenaica depended on keeping them at bay. Cyrenaican identity, as a result, was forged in direct contrast to these Libyans, whereby the Cyrenaicans constructed themselves as civilised defenders of liberty and the southern Libyans as barbarians. Strabo writes that Cyrenaican colonisation was a success because they:

> *had many notable men who could defend its liberty in a notable way and were able to strongly repel the barbarians who lived south of them* (Strabo 17.3.21).

The aggression shown towards the Libyans is evidenced by the fact that the goddess Libya was, in at least two known occasions, represented crowning Battus and Cyrene (Paus. 10.15.6). A statue dedicated at Delphi showed Cyrene, Battus and Libya crowning Battus.[6] The struggle with the Libyans is brought out in the Foundation myths of Cyrene. The oracle given to Battus foretold hostility between the Libyans and Theran settlers when they set foot on Libyan soil and that the foundation of the city would be successful because he would defeat them (Diod. 8.29). The turmoil which followed colonisation is evidenced in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (89-895) where he describes Libyans hiding gifts which the Titon, Eurypylus, said would grant Greek sovereignty of the land; in Herodotus' account, the Libyans hid the tripod because they did not want a hundred Greek cities to be, founded (Hdt. 4.180).[7] The Cyrenaicans legitimised their reduction of Libyans by believing it was carried out through divine assistance. The oracle recorded by Diodorus (8.29), informs Battus that victory over the Libyans would only be won if he prayed to Zeus, Athena and Apollo. According to Pausanias (3.14.3), it was Chronus who helped Battus found Cyrene and reduce the surrounding Libyans.

As a result of the hostility felt towards these Libyans, the Cyrenaicans represented them as barbaric. Their aggression is depicted vividly by Diodorus who states that they forced others to submit to them and that they attacked by surprise everything approaching them and quickly withdrew (Diod. 3.49). Nonnus reinforces this picture when he describes Maurusians as overcome by lust for Harmonia and taking up arms against Cadmus with wild passion (Nonnus 13.341-4). The weapons they were believed to have used were barbaric: they did not use swords, armour or helmets, but instead were expert at throwing stones and running which came naturally to them (Diod. 3.49). Their mode of living was represented as the antithesis of the Cyrenaicans and was believed to be as weird as the desert in which they lived. According to Diodorus, they had no king or justice and were devious in their dealings with outsiders. Moreover, they lived like beasts with no roofs over their heads, eating uncivilised food and wearing barbaric clothes (3.49). Herodotus ascribes to the southern tribes many strange habits. He states that the Garamantes hunted and ate

[6] British Museum Reg. no. 61 11-27 30 *SEG* 37.1675: Relief showing Cyrene being crowned by Libya. Janet Huskinson *Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum* London: 1975, 31-2.

[7] cf. also Apollonius Rhodius 4.59ff, 1547ff, Diodorus 8.29.

Troglodytes, and spoke a language which resembled no other in the world as it sounded like bat squeaks (Hdt. 4.183). The Arantes, on the other hand, were described as having no have names (4.183).

In addition, the barbaric nature of the tribes who lived south of Cyrenaica was brought out by their relationship with wild life. Not only did they live among animals, but they are described by Diodorus as living like animals (Diod. 3.49). Their bestial nature is emphasised by the fact that they are described wearing animals' skins (Diod. 8.29, 3.49). Wild beasts, like threatening Libyans, were one of the barbarian aspects of Libya which the Cyrenaicans perceived themselves as overcoming in the foundation of their city. Apollonius (4.1561) calls Libya the home of the wild beasts, while Strabo (17.3.1) refers to it as a nursery of wild animals. These are represented as inhabiting the desert region, (Diod.Sic. 3.72), as is evidenced by a passage in Herodotus where he describes the region of Libya south of Cyrenaica as infested with wild animals (Hdt. 2.32). Diodorus gives much attention to the wild animals who inhabited the desert. He describes Dionysus passing through the desert which was infected with wild beasts (Diod.Sic. 3.72), and compares the uncivilised life of the desert to its ubiquitous snakes (3.50). These animals are depicted as deadly, unusually long and sometimes strange. For example, in Pausanias (2.28.1), there are crocodiles which grow to at least two cubits long and big snakes that grow to more than thirty cubits. Strabo (17.3.4), says that in the Maurusia region of Libya, lampreys are seven cubits long and ferrets are as big as cats. Diodorus, (20.42) describes fanged monsters, whose bite was fatal, infesting the desert. Apollonius (4. 1513-1517) has Mopsus killed in the desert by one of the deadly snakes which sprang from drops of blood from Medusa's head.

The colonising or civilising of Libya was represented as the destruction of these animals. When Hercules is described by Diodorus as civilising Libya, he is described as subduing its wild beasts (Diod. 4.17). Hercules' civilising mission is depicted by Apollonius in a similar vein, when he relates an incident in which he kills the serpent which guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides (4.1432ff). The killing of wild beasts is prominent in Cyrene's foundation myths. The nymph Cyrene is always portrayed strangling a lion barehanded. While Pindar relates that she killed the lion in Thessaly (*Pyth.* 9.25-6), the strangulation of the lion was more often placed in Cyrene. Phylarchus describes the nymph going to Libya, slaying the lion and receiving the kingdom of Cyrene in return (schol. Apoll.Rhod. 4.298). This version of the myth is what survives in extant Cyrenaean writing. Callimachus (*Hymn* II.90-2) and Acesandrus of Cyrene (schol. Apoll.Rhod. 4.298) both relate that there was a lion which was ravaging the site of Cyrene and as a result a Libyan king, Eurypylus, offered the kingdom to anyone who would kill it.[8] This myth is suggestive about the way in which the foundation of Cyrene was perceived. The fact that the strangulation of the lion in this myth resulted in Cyrenaean possession of Libyan land suggests that the Cyrenaeans believed that they gained possession of their territory by conquering the dangerous natural elements which threatened it. The nymph is characterised by Pindar as bringing peace to her fathers cattle through her lion slaying and it is likely that she was attributed with bringing peace to Cyrene for the same reason (Pindar *Pyth.* 9.18-25). The fact that Callimachus (*Hymn* II.90-2) describes her watching the Theran setters arrive at Cyrene from the spot where the lion was slain, suggests that the lion slaying was believed to have been

[8] The Eurypylos described here shares the same name as the Triton who gave Euphemus the clod of Libyan earth (Apollonius Rhodius 4.1551-1561)and both are shown giving a part of Libya to Greek colonisers.

an integral process to the colonisation of the city. This lion killing was, in fact, central to Cyrene, as is evidenced by the fact that it was the principal characteristic of their eponymous nymph (Nonnus 13.299-301; 27.263; 25.281; 46.237-8). Cyrene's oecist, Battus, also encountered lions when he founded the city. Pausanias (10.15.7) describes him wandering through the territory of Cyrene and stumbling into a terrifying lion which made him scream and lose his stammer. Pindar, on the other hand, tell us that the lions fled from Battus when he spoke in a foreign tongue (*Pyth* 5.57-62). In Pausanias' version, the Cyrenaican territory on which the lion appeared was still deserted, because the settlers had not yet reached those parts. This suggests that it was believed that the settlers would have cleared the area of lions once they had settled that part of their territory. Pindar places more emphasis on Battus subduing the wildness of the Libyan land, no doubt because the ode was written in honour of the Battiad, Arcesilas IV. The role, which this lion slaying played in the foundation of the city, is underlined by the fact that Apollo Archegetes is described by Pindar, as instilling fear into the lions so that his oracles would be fulfilled. The annihilation of animals was, thereby, perceived as fundamental to Cyrenaican colonisation and was given a divine sanction.

The necessity of subduing threatening wild life stemmed from the fact that wild animals were believed to be antithetical to settled life. Strabo (17.3.1) writes that Libya's wild animals expel people from land which could be lived on. Diodorus relates that Hercules could only bring Libya under cultivation after he subdued its wild beasts; before this time the wild life made Libya uninhabitable (Diod. 4.17). Masanasses is described by Strabo as bringing civilisation to neighbouring Libyans because he taught them to kill the wild beasts surrounding them. Whereas they had previously been reluctant to subdue the wild beasts, after Masanasses they gave up their nomadic life and became farmers, citizens and soldiers (Strabo 17.3.15). So, the ancients believed that civilisation entailed control over wild life, in such a way that nature was perceived to be the binary opposite of civilisation. Those Libyans, who lived among wild beasts, such as the southern tribes, were not perceived to be living in a civilised manner, i.e. in cities, but in a primitive mode, as nomads; Herodotus states that they lived ten days apart from each other (Hdt. 4.185; Diod. 3.49). Pausanias' assertion that Sardus and his fellow Libyans lived in natural surroundings, because they did not know how to build cities, makes this binary opposition, between civilisation and nature, explicit in similar way (Paus. 10.17). The foundation of cities entailed control over the environment and allowed people not to live like animals in caves.

The Cyrenaicans did not only construct themselves as antithetical to the Libyans of the hinterland, but constructed their city and territory as antithetical to their habitat. Thus, the qualities which differentiated Cyrenaican territory from the desert region were emphasised by the Cyrenaicans, so that they could contrast themselves with the southern Libyans. While there was little water in the region in which the large, threatening Libyan tribes lived ((Diod 3.50), water was emblematic of Cyrene. The importance of this spring to Cyrene can be gauged by the fact that it was believed to be one of the derivations of the city's name.[9] The city's eponymous nymph, furthermore, was often incorporated into a fountain monument.[10] Since water was central to the construction of Cyrenaican identity, it was given a prominent position in the region's foundation myths and was believed to have been an important reason for the decision to colonise the site of Cyrene.

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[9] Stephanus of Byzantium sv. Cyrene

[10] G. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene. Statue e relievi di carraterre religioso.* Rome: 1959, 75-6.

The Theran settlers were thought to have gone straight to the spring, whose Libyan name was supposedly *kyre*, upon their arrival in Cyrene.[11] Cyrene was, also, known for its rainfall, as is evidenced in a passage from Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.53), where he refers to Cyrenaican territory as plains cloaked by a dark cloud. The level of rainfall, like the spring, was believed to have been one of the reasons Battus chose to settle in Cyrenaica. Herodotus writes that the Libyans, who persuaded the Therans to leave Aziris, led them to Cyrene and went directly to the *kyre* and said:

> *you will like it here because the sky has a hole in it.* (Hdt. 4.158)

The choice of the site was, furthermore believed to have been divinely inspired. This is suggested by the fact that the spring was known as the Fountain of Apollo and was therefore named after the god who was believed to have been responsible for the foundation of the city. The divine nature of this spring, evident from its name, mirrors the spring found by Hercules near Lake Tritonis, also, through divine inspiration (Apoll.Rhod. 4.1441). It can be seen, therefore, that water, which made Cyrenaica antithetical to the desert region and for which it was famous, was believed to be divine.

Cyrenaica was also known for its fertile land. Herodotus (4.200-1) states that there were three separate harvest seasons in Cyrenaica, which allowed for crops to be harvested almost all year round. Diodorus (3.50) attributes the fertility of the region to its deep soil which bore products of many different kinds. According to Strabo (17.3.21), it was this fertility which was one of the reasons behind Cyrenaica's success. This fruitfulness certainly brought to Cyrenaica one of its most famous moments, when, in the fourth century, it was able to provide one million bushels of grain to forty one different states, as well as two individuals to assist the Greek mainland in a food crisis (*SEG* 9.103). Fertile land became emblematic of Cyrenaica, in that it was one of the most common epithets given to it. This epithet was bestowed on Cyrenaica by outsiders, such as Pindar who referred to Cyrene as fruitful (*Pyth.* 4.6; 9.7), as well as by the Cyrenaicans themselves, such as Callimachus who called Cyrene "my deep soiled, fertile city" (*Hymn* II). The fertility of its land was also used in artistic representations of the city, as is evidenced by the British Museum relief on whose background are depicted luscious vines.[12] The prominence of this fertility to the construction of Cyrenaican identity meant that it, too, was seen as central to the decision to settle there. Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Apollo* (65-6), says that Apollo had led the Therans to the site in the guise of a raven. The significance of the bird in this passage is that ravens, as Williams has indicated, were thought to have the ability to distinguish prosperous land from barren.[13] The choice of the site was, again, believed to have been divinely inspired.

The fertility of Cyrenaican land and its rainfall allowed it to be cultivated, which further distinguished its inhabitants from the southern Libyans. Diodorus (3.50) and Strabo (17.3.23) state that the land occupied by the Libyans living south of the border of Cyrenaica was barren, and uncultivated. Pausanias, furthermore, says that the Nasamones did not till their land (Paus. 1.33.5). The extreme heat of the desert region made cultivation of the land even more difficult. Nonnus (13.379-92) describes Psyllus waging war against the south winds because his crops were burnt by the hot wind Notos with his parching breath. Cultivation of land was a mark of

[11] Herodotus 4.158; Caffimachus *Hymn* II.90-2: The Theran settlers are described as approaching the overlooking Apollo and Cyrene, who stand near the spring.

[12] British Museum Registration Number no. 61 11-27 30. Huskinson, 31-32.

[13] F Williams *Callimachus' Hymn to Apollo: A Commentary* Oxford: 1978, 64.

civilisation as can be seen by the fact that Aristaeus, the son of Cyrene and Apollo, was credited with teaching mankind the arts of agriculture (Diod. 4.81). The Cyrenaicans, therefore, constructed themselves as civilised not only because they practised agriculture, but also because they chose to settle in a civilised location, as it allowed them to do so. The way, in which the choice of settlement could indicate whether a group were civilised, is evidenced in Strabo (17.3.15), who writes that the Phoenicians chose to settle in that part of Libya which would support a settled, unnomadic life. Cyrenaican territory allowed them to control their environment, through agriculture, and allowed the Cyrenaicans to emphasise the polarity between themselves and their barbarian counterparts.

The Cyrenaicans not only constructed their habitat as civilised, but as healthy. This healthiness was contrasted with the unhealthy environment of the desert region. The desert could be thought of as pestilential because of its heat and its lack of water. Strabo writes that in the desert region, by Aethiopia, disease was prevalent because of the lack of rain (Strabo 17.3.10). A plague was brought on in Ceos because of the heat of the dogstar and it was Alistaeus who warded of the pestilence when he made a sacrifice to Zeus in his capacity as the god of moisture (Apoll.Rhod.2.516-27; Call.*Aetia* 75,11.34). The Cyrenaicans could, thus, construct their habitat as antithetical to the desert region, because the rain which was so plentiful in their region brought them health. This is, in fact, suggested by the fact that they believed that silfium, the panacea for which they were so famous, sprang suddenly from a heavy rainfall (Pliny, *Natural History* 19.41). Collective health, in fact, coincided with the foundation of Cyrene. The initial decision to ignore the oracle which bade the Therans to colonise Libya, in fact, resulted in a drought in Thera which lasted seven years (Hdt. 4.152).[14] Apollo, who caused this drought because Cyrene was not being founded, was later believed to have brought health to the city when it was founded. Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Apollo* (ll.15-16), emphasises Apollo's healing qualities when he says that the god brought the art of medicine to doctors.

Cyrenaican figure of a woman holding silfium.

Pindar, in his fifth *Pythian* (63-4), likewise underlines Apollo's association with healing, when he describes him giving men and women remedies for diseases. The context, in which both of these ascriptions were given to Apollo, indicates the way in which healing qualities were believed to have been bestowed on Cyrene as a whole. Callimachus, who is thought to have composed the *Hymn to Apollo* for a Carneian festival at Cyrene, devotes much space in this hymn to the foundation of the city. Apollo's healing abilities were, thus, perceived as benefiting the city directly. The

[14] According to the Cyrenaeans, (Hdt. 4.158), it was Battus who ignored the oracle and as a result many things went wrong both for him and the island as a whole.

way in which Apollo was thought to have bestowed health on the city is described later in the hymn when he says that Apollo's locks:

> *distil fragrant oils on the ground; the locks don't distil oil, but panacea on the ground and in whatever city these dews fall on the ground, in that city all things are free from danger.* (Call. *Hymn* II.38-41).

Callimachus elsewhere describes Apollo as giving no city more blessings than he gave Cyrene (*Hymn* II.94-6), but in this passage the blessings he gives are described precisely in terms of health. Pindar (*Pyth.* 5.63-4), is immediately preceded by a passage in which Apollo is said to have vouchsafed the foundation of the city by scaring away the lions, thereby indicating that his healing abilities were important to the foundation of the city. The way in which Apollo was believed to have brought health to the city is made more specific in his fourth Pythian where he states that:

> *the festivals of Apollo ... bring health to mankind.* (Pindar *Pyth.* 5.90-1).

In Pindar's fourth and fifth *Pythian*, Apollo was represented as bestowing health on Cyrene, because he gave them law and order. Since these odes were written at a time of internal crisis, Pindar appealed for a conclusion to the strife by evoking the oecist, Apollo. This god was attributed with bringing law, the antithesis of strife, to the city (Pindar *Pyth.* 5. 65-7). The way, in which law was equated with health, can be seen by the passage in which Pindar alludes to the city torn apart by *stasis* as a festering wound:

> *You, Arcesilas, are a timely healer and Paian honours the light that emanates from you. In looking after a festering wound, one needs to have a gentle hand; for even the weak can easily pull a city down to the ground but it is a tough task to put it back on its feet unless god acts as a guide to its rulers.* (Pindar *Pyth.* 4.271)

Arcesilas, who as a Battiad associated himself with Apollo,[15] is attributed with healing powers given to him by Apollo. Bringing order back to the city and ruling, therefore, was equated with being a doctor who looked after the health of his city.

Cyrenaica, also, associated itself with health through silfium, the medicinal herb for which it was so famous. Although silfium grew wild outside Cyrenaican territory,[16] it can be seen that the Cyrenaicans associated it with themselves and not the Libyans. Silfium, thus, was believed to have coincided with the arrival of the Therans in Libya (Pliny *Natural history* 19.41). The fact that it was Aristaeus, the son of Cyrene and Apollo, who was believed to have taught mankind to use silfium, indicates the way in which the Cyrenaicans appropriated silfium as their own (schol. Theoc. 5.53). The collection and distribution of silfium, was directed by the Battiads and remained a royal monopoly until the fall of the dynasty; after that time, the distribution and exportation of silfium was directed by a number of Cyrenaican families (Aris. fr.528; Aristoph. *Plut.* 925). Thus, although the Libyans collected the silfium, it was taken over by the Cyrenaicans, as is indicated in the famous Arcesilas Cup, which represents the king weighing and distributing silfium (Theophr. 9.7.7). It was perhaps due to their experience with silfium, which was already known by Solon (fr.38 Bergk), that the Cyrenaicans became known for the quality of their doctors who, according to Herodotus, were second only to those from Croton (Hdt. 3.131).

The plant, which associated Cyrenaica with health all over the Greek world, was used by the Cyrenaicans to emphasise the health of their cities. This can be seen by the fact that the Battiads were closely

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[15] Callimachus *Hymn* II.68; Herodotus 4.155,157; Diodorus 8.29: Apollo gave oath to the Battiads that they would remain in power for eight generations.

[16] In Strabo 17.3.23, silfium is described as growing south of Cyrenaica.

linked to silfium through their monopoly of it. The extent to which this association was made can be seen by the fact that both Aristophanes and Aristotle describe representations of Battus with silfium. They were, thus, at the same time tied to silfium and attributed with divine powers to heal the city. Moreover, the health which Apollo was believed to bring to Cyrenaica was equated, by Callimachus, with silfium. In a passage from the *Hymn to Apollo*, he describes dew drops from Apollo's hair falling on the ground turning into panacea; panacea is used in other texts either refer to a minor deity, Panacea, or to a medicinal herb (Call. II.38-41).[17] The fact that panacea was described by Callimachus as springing from the ground suggests that he is referring to a plant. That this plant was silfium is suggested by the fact that the goddess Panacea, in Cyrenaica, had silfium as her main iconographical item.[18] The association between panacea and silfium suggests that Callimachus describes silfium growing from Apollo's dew drops and bringing health to the city.

It can, therefore, be postulated that silfium, which was emblematic of Cyrenaica, was used by them as a symbol of the health of their cities. The health of Cyrenaica differentiated them from the Libyans south of them since it was equated with civic harmony and the Libyans were believed to have neither justice and nor kings (Diod. 3.49). Furthermore, as this health was essentially urban, given to them by their oecist, Apollo, these Libyans would have been seen as living in unhealthy environs, because they lived like beasts in a natural non-urban setting (3.49). Furthermore, since silfium was monopolised by the Cyrenaeans, it could also have been used as a symbol of their domination over Libyans. In silfium, therefore, the Cyrenaicans had a symbol which they used to construct themselves as different to the Libyans.

In conclusion, an analysis of the foundation myths of Cyrenaica indicates that they constructed an identity of themselves in contrast to the Libyans living south of them. By constructing these Libyans as barbaric and animalistic, the Cyrenaicans were able to view themselves as Greek, civilised and divinely supported. This formulation justified their colonisation of Libya and permitted the Cyrenaicans to express superiority over the tribes which threatened their existence. At the centre of the discourse which separated the Cyrenaicans from the Libyans was the construct of the city, which was believed to be the mark of civilisation. The Cyrenaicans lived in cities, because they civilised their environment and because they lived in an environment which could be civilised in the first place. They, thus, lived in a territory which was cleared of beasts and which could, as a result, be cultivated. The Cyrenaicans underlined the civilised nature of their mother city, Cyrene, by emphasising those qualities which differentiated it from the hinterland occupied by the threatening Libyan tribes. Their city was bountiful and was located over the hole in the heavens which brought them rain. These qualities, bestowed on them by Apollo, were believed to bring health to their city. Apolline health was used as a metaphor for the civilised nature of the city. It defined the Cyrenaicans as being different from the Libyans because it represented law and order and because it symbolised their appropriation of silfium, that plant which reminded the whole of the Greek world of the connection between Cyrenaica and health.

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[17] cf. Aristophanes *Plutus* 702 for the goddess Panacea & Nicander, 565, 685, Dioscorides, 3.48 for panacea refering to plants with medicinal powers.

[18] C. Parisi Presicce, "La dea con il silphio e l'iconographia di Panakeia a Cirene", in *Cyrenaican Archeology: An International Colloquium. Libyan Studies* 25 (1994) (ed) J. Reynolds, 85-100.

# INTERVIEW WITH SIMON GOLDHILL

## by Fiona McHardy.

Simon Goldhill is Fellow of King's College, Cambridge and Lecturer in Greek Literature in the University of Cambridge. His numerous publications include: *Reading Greek Tragedy; Language, Sexuality, Narrative: the Oresteia* and *Foucault's Virginity.*

**What is your favourite production of a Greek tragedy and why? What is the most effective way of staging these plays in English and to British audiences?**

I don't have one all-time favourite perfect production, but there have been three recent productions which seem to me to be not merely memorable but absolutely exemplary. The first is Deborah Warner's version of Sophocles' *Electra*. The sheer raw power of Fiona Shaw's Electra was completely gripping. It was painful to be in the same room with her, as she ripped at her flesh and cried and shrieked and screamed. It was a towering performance that went right to the heart of the play . What I especially loved was the way it cut through any polite grand and 'white-sheet' version of Greek drama. It was painful, frightening, violent and emotionally draining. All of that is what lots of tragedy is about. All too often we just get classicising piety. I still get the shivers thinking back to that. How she did it more than once is still a mystery... Warner's production, however, had a stark modern chorus -- three women in black -- and no real music.

My other two redress that balance. I saw an extraordinary production in New York called *The Gospel at Colonus*, which was a black gospel version of the *OC* (with bits of *Antigone* etc. thrown in for good measure). I normally hate any Christianising versions of tragedy (there can be no Christian tragedy. Discuss) it ruined the Heaney *Philoctetes* for example, all that redemption stuff. But this gospel production was fantastic. The whole was structured around the sermon (and black gospel sermons work brilliantly for Greek declamatory style). Oedipus was played by three blind singers in white suits, and a piano player and an actor. None of the bourgeois crap about the individual here... But it had a gospel choir as chorus. They sat -- brilliantly coloured dresses and suits -- in a bank of seats and yelled reactions to the action: 'Tell it how it is', 'Right on brother', 'Amen' etc. -- as well as singing brilliantly for the choruses. For once there was a chorus that was genuinely and naturally collective, that spoke as if for the collective, that sang fantastically, and commented naturally. It is the only time I have seen a Greek chorus work in modern theatre because this chorus had a real social basis. By the end, the whole

audience was up and dancing in their seats, which is okay for the *OC* if not for much else in Greek tragedy. It was full of great moments too: the citizens of Colonus emerged as three guys in matching maroon suits (like the Three Degrees, whatever) who in synchronised dancing style lifted one (gloved) hand and sang 'Stop! Don't go any further'. It was very funny, and just right too. Sounds weird, I know, but the production was outstanding.

My final great is Mnouchkine. Her production of the *Oresteia* up in Yorkshire was a genuine theatrical event (I stood next to Alan Rickman in the bar, I mean, wow). It had the best ensemble dancing and movement of any theatre I have seen. It really put the dance back into the chorus, and it was at times breathtaking as the huge cast swooped across the stage in wild but organised dancing. Even the lead characters danced brilliantly: when Clytemnestra welcomes Agamemnon home she dances her welcome too, and as it becomes more and more sexy, the embarrassment of the elders and the king made for a brilliant physical moment. Above all, though, this production was stunningly intelligent. I care tons about the *Oresteia* and there were plenty of directorial decisions I disagreed with. But everything had a clear and brilliantly articulate logic. The dancing came from years of ensemble work. But the thinking comes from intelligent reflection from Mnouchkine, who is about as impressive a theatrical person as I have ever met. Stunning.

It's worth thinking about the National *Troades* or Hall's *Lysistrata*. Both had moments, of course, but overall both seemed to me to be stunningly unintelligent productions, especially the *Troades*. Muddled half thought-out trivial modernising. Yuk. So give me raw emotional power that leaves you drained and weepy, along with a brilliant collective chorus that can sing and dance and a supremely intelligent director and you might be getting to that great production we all believe possible...

**What do you consider to be the most interesting way of approaching reading Greek tragedy? How do you see this approach developing in the future?**

There can't be one way to read tragedy. At least not for me. You've got to be philologically sophisticated (so learn that Greek); but philology could often do with a kick to make it question is outdated linguistic assumptions. I have learnt huge amounts from anthropology, linguistics, literary theory, dramatic theory, historical analysis and philology, and so I suppose I am an eclectic. But not in a wishy washy sense. It might be easier to say what I don't like: I don't like the 'This is a Bakhtinian (or whatever) reading': that is, I don't like the blue print being dropped over a tragedy just to prove (surprise surprise) that the theory is right...hopelessly circular. I don't like the arrogance that says 'I don't think 'anthropology' (or whatever) has anything to teach me: I am a philologist (or whatever).' I don't like historically unnuanced approaches, which can take the form of simply adopting modern assumptions and using them. But more damagingly, it takes the form 'Surely no Greek would...'. A little humility in the face of what is possible in the ancient world would go a long way. The thing I hate most (like Socrates) is the unexamined life. That is, the person who just does what is done because that's what's done. Can be anywhere, this unthinking conservatism. I hate the unasked questions, the belief that the boundaries of a field's enquiry are self-evident. So my 'eclectism' and I mean those scare quotes, is an attempt to be rigorous about the interrogation of the boundaries of the questions that are asked. Where is it all going? I don't know. Most Greek tragedies (for the first time ever) have decent editions appeared or about to appear (though there are some pretty rum ones too, I suppose). I think that my experience at present in graduate supervision is that more and more people are seeing tragedy in terms of a

broad cultural discourse: that is, they are looking more at e.g. 'revenge and tragedy' or 'female autonomy and tragedy' or 'gender and tragedy' rather than reading individual plays in what could be called a literary manner. That is, a general shift towards 'cultural studies'. But 'Who knows what will come?' as all those choruses say...

**If you could bring back any one lost work from antiquity what would it be and why?**

Gosh. Part of me would take another Aeschylean trilogy over anything. Just personal preference. Part of me would love to have some whole books of Sappho. Don't yajusthate all those long books on ten letters... Part of me would go for the *Aetia* of Callimachus. Anything that could so turn on Vergil and Ovid and Propertius must have something going for it. And I adore the fragments of Anacreon. So perhaps a lovely Hellenistic presentation copy of Sappho and Anacreon would do.

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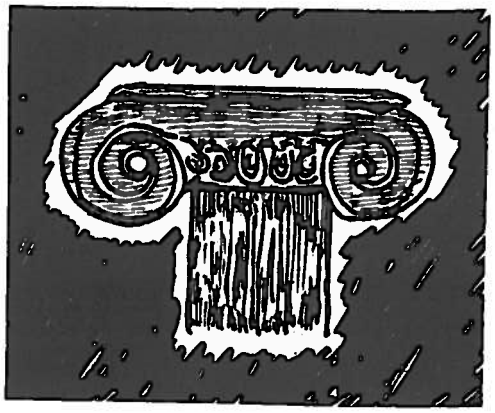
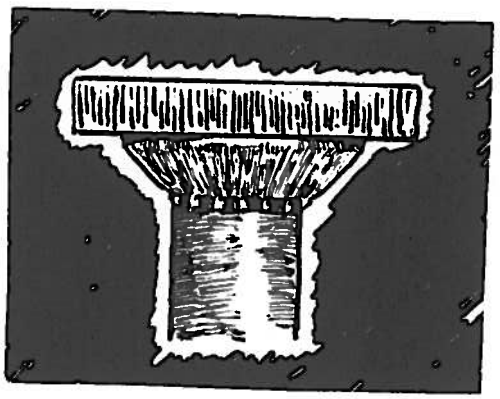
## PAST HISTORY



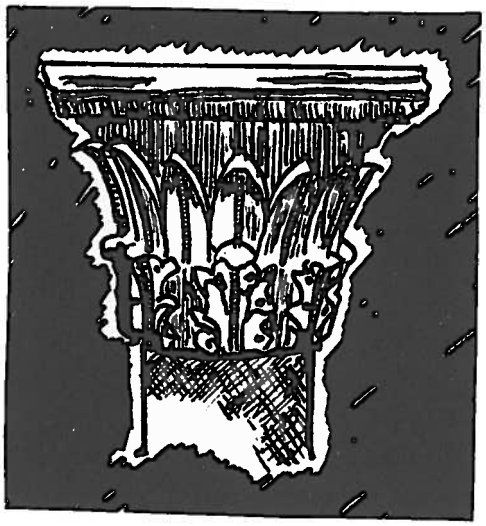
I'm going back to my ancient Greeks
Whose absorbing history to me speaks
In words of prose and poetry so sublime
That it still feels fresh after all this time.

I'm going back to my ancient Greeks
With their pure proportions and their proud physiques
Which thankfully in marble or in bronze were cast
With a skill and perfect mastery still unsurpassed.

I'm going back to my ancient Greeks
To a culture whose theories and techniques
Form the fundamental principles of all our lives
And a rational philosophy that yet survives.



I'm going back to my ancient Greeks
To emergence of democracy from warring cliques
Where the right of every citizen to rule was highly prized
Where equality and liberty of speech were recognized.



I'm going back to my ancient Greeks
To hide from modern living and a world which reeks
Of pollution and corruption and consumer driven greed
Where honour's lost, our world destroyed and "I" the only creed.

I'm going back to my ancient Greeks
With a candle that flickers and a pen that squeaks
Not for me today's technology with its new mystiques
I'm going back forever to my ancient Greeks.

Anon. First Year Ancient History Student.

# HERO WORSHIP

You made it, Alexander, forever called "The Great":
to bask in everlasting fame's an enviable fate.
If you were truly son of Zeus, it's all the same to me:
Your deeds and merits honour your true immortality.

Anon. First Year Ancient History Student.

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# UNCOVERING MYCENEAN GREECE

## by Jocelyn Smith.

In defining Mycenean Greece, we have a problem, in that the term is not specifically defined in our 8th Century sources.[1] Our problem is further complicated as the Classical Greeks' own knowledge of their past originates in legend and in Homeric epic.

In 1876, Schliemann, who was convinced, contrary to scholastic belief, that there was some historical significance behind the *Iliad*, decided to put some of his theories to the test and excavate the royal city of Mycenae, described by Homer as being "rich in gold". Through his excavations he discovered the royal burials which he mistook for those of Agamemnon himself.[2] What he had actually found were the tombs of a long forgotten royal dynasty and civilisation which more recent excavations have shown to have existed more than 300 years before Troy.

It is difficult to establish exactly who the people of this forgotten age were. As usual for this period we need to turn to archaeology for assistance; pottery in particular. In 1900 BC, we notice a new form of pottery, Grey Minyan Ware, appearing at sites. It is distinguishable since it is of superior quality and special technique.[3]

The biggest centre of Mycenean power was in the Peloponnese. From the early 16th Century BC, there is an increase of evidence of a "civilising influence" on Mycenean culture from Crete which indicated the beginning of the Mycenean Age.

The development of Mycenean civilisation can be understood through remains of buildings and tombs, as well as from the wide variety of artefacts, such as metal objects, jewellery and mud pottery. There is a tendency to use order and symmetry in designs, with geometric patterns being particularly popular.

There are three main sites on the mainland where the majority of our evidence about the age has been gathered: Pylos, Tiryns and Mycenae. Pylos is in the south-western most corner of the Peloponnese above a rich harbour in fertile countryside. Having survived the fall of Mycenae, it remained one of the last outposts of Mycenean Greece. It was Pylos that yielded the Linear B tablets that have greatly added to our knowledge of the civilisation along with frescos and pottery. A good size palace was also found. At Tiryns which lies south of Mycenae we have found a stone gallery which hints at the force and weight of Mycenean architecture. The effect of the gallery is just as ominous as it is impressive. Mycenae itself, situated in the Peloponnese, has yielded royal burials of extraordinary grandeur. The earliest graves have been dated to the 17th and 16th cen-

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[1] Homer refers to Danaans, Achaeans and Argives.

[2] He famously declared to the world that he had "looked upon the face of Agamemnon".

[3] This is the pottery type which is predominant at Troy VI.

turies BC and are deep shafts in the ground, but by the Bronze Age there is a change in architecture of the city including a circuit wall built in the 13th century which matched the splendour of the *tholos* tombs.

Before 1939, when excavations produced the Linear B tablets, it was only possible to infer knowledge of writing from curious signs, painted on stirrup jars found at Mycenae. Similar clay tablets had been found at Knossos.[4] The tablets are day to day business records with pictorial signs reminiscent of hieroglyphics. The Linear B Script is an early syllabic form of Greek containing inventories of stores, livestock and agricultural produce and catalogues of men, women and children. We therefore are given the impression of a centralised administrative society in an organised centre without the use of money or financial planning. What is omitted is the life outside or details of society as a whole.

Before the decipherment of Linear B our only written sources for this period were the Homeric epics.. The Homeric poems were first composed in the 8th century BC more than 400 years after the principal event of the Mycenean Age: the Trojan War. In the epics there are references to relations between king and vassal and commoner, and between the different kings, but this may be interpreted as an impression of the system of government at the time of composition and cannot be taken as evidence for Mycenean times. The poems retain a certain measure of Mycenean "things": places, arms, weapons, chariots, but they tell little of Mycenean institutions or culture - the 400 year gap had been too sharp. Also we find a change in religious practices: the Homeric World cremated whilst the Mycenean World buried its dead.

Our main source of information concerning Mycenean religious practice is through shrines, figurines, stone or bronze objects used in worship, seal stones or signet rings engraved with religious symbols or depicting some scene of ritual, and fragments of frescos or pictures on vases. Further information is gained from the Linear B texts, where Zeus, Hera, Athene, Artemis, Poseidon are among the gods who are mentioned. Although our information is concerned with dues in kind and other taxes and not with the gods' attributes, it does tell us that the names of the gods used in 5th century Athens and beyond were already established in Mycenean times. Male and female idols have been discovered that may perhaps represent these deities. The idols have frightening expressions on their faces which are unlike the poetic descriptions in Homer.

Gods were not venerated in temples - no splendid temples have been found. Our evidence from Barbati near Mycenae, Malthi in Messinia and the great palace complexes indicated that the places of worship were often shrines. The focus of the Mycenean palace was a great circular hearth in the centre of the throne room. Owing to the decoration of the hearth it has been supposed that it may have had some religious significance - in later Greek religion the hearth played an important part. In the palace at Pylos, to the right of the throne, runs a channel cut into the floor that ends in a shallow saucer like basin. This suggests the pouring of ritual libations in which the king would play an important part.[5]

Agriculture and livestock employed the greatest number of Mycenean Greek citizens. The system appears to be highly organised with records of deliveries and

[4] If it is the case that writing was widespread in Mycenean Greece then we may wonder why we have found comparatively few relics; the material clay is, however, a perishable substance and there may have been an inability of earlier excavators to recognise their significance.

[5] At Mycenae, a shrine in the Tsountas house in the outline of a horseshoe with raised surround, and to the west two appendages, one of which is roughly circular in plan with a large hole in the centre, also point to libations being practised.

land produce, taxes were due in kind to the palace including details of shares put aside for a divinity. The main crops produced were wheat, barley and wool. Wool is an important industry and source of wealth for the empire with a large surplus available for export. There were not great numbers of oxen, but draught animals were regarded with affection - in the tablets we hear of pet names such as Blondie, Dapple, Darkie and Whitefoot.

With regard to housing in the Mycenean Greek world, we are only able to speculate, as usually it is only the basement of a house that survives, or in palaces only the public rooms. Our information is thus gleaned from indirect sources: frescos, scenes depicted on vases, metal work, ivories and of course the Pylos tablets. Of the furniture in their houses, we know very little save for the plastered bench which is prominent in palaces and is found in what archaeologists have supposed to be waiting rooms. If we are supposing the Mycenean society to be built on a bureaucratic system then the bench would be an essential piece to have. From the archives in Pylos we can tell that these benches were also used for shelves. We have found details of furniture from the Linear B Tablets, one of which draws our attention to the following pieces:

> *one ebony footstool inlaid with figures of men and lions in ivory ... One footstool inlaid with a man and a horse and an octopus and a palm tree in ivory.*

The fashions of dress (at least for women) were originally dictated by Minoan society. There was no noticeable change throughout the Mycenean Age. The dress worn by the goddess in Shaft Grave 3 is not recognisably different from the women portrayed on the Ivory handle in the tomb of Clytemnestra at Mycenae. Such artefacts show bare bosoms, a tight bodice with short sleeves and pleated skirts with the overall dress being finished with a shawl. From the gold pieces found in the tombs and frescos we can see that women of the ruling class were frequently adorned with gold sequins. The ivory group found at Mycenae shows jewellery which matched that found in the chamber tombs. A development of taste can be detected by the move away from the heavy gold earrings of the shaft grave period to a simple rosette and penannular. Huge tiaras have been found, but it is assumed that they must have been for burial only - following Egyptian custom.

Men wore two styles of dress according to formality. When working, men wore a simple loin cloth or a short kilt, but on more formal occasions, a simple tunic with short sleeves and a narrow waist was preferred - often worn with leggings. Beards were often kept, but the upper lip was shaved and hair did not fall below the shoulders.

The Myceneans enjoyed a varied diet consisting of lamb, goat, pork and beef. Hunting wild game was a favourite activity with the epitome of skill involving the lion hunt. Such a hunt was highly dangerous, yet, from a dagger in the shaft graves, we know that men embarked on one by foot, though it might have been more usual to hunt in a chariot - for pursuance purposes - as suggested by stelai in other shaft graves. This protein diet was supplemented from the sea,[6] while the staple diet of Mycenean Greeks was bread and cheese. The tablets tell us that flour for the bread was ground by the women and baked by the men. Excavations also reveal peas, beans and lentils. Use of olive oil for cooking and lighting is mentioned and oil was an important source of wealth through export.

One further export was high quality pottery, to the west and east Mediterranean. Mycenean pottery could be traded and centres could act as places for the exchange of goods. At an early stage in history, the Mycenean focus turned towards

[6] Fish bones have been discovered at Mycenae and Thebes; murex and octopus are favourite subjects on vases.

the sea in a desire to add to the limited resources with which nature had endowed their homeland. At Lipari the quantities of pottery are such to suggest that it was an important port of call for Mycenean traders. Lipari was rich in obsidian, a material which could be used in the manufacture of bronze.[7] The sea voyages of the Myceneans were in search of metals useful in bronze manufacture such as copper and tin. Ports the Myceneans visited had wider trade contacts with Europe. The main source of tin must have been from Cornwall through merchants.

There is a certain homogeneity of Mycenean pottery to be found throughout the Mediterranean, showing close relations with the mainland. The Mycenean trade empire expanded in the late Hellenic period with the development of old trading stations. To the north-east links were established (though pottery) with Macedonia, Thrace and Troy. From Cyprus influence extended to Ras Shamra and Tel Abu Hawan where there are quantities of Mycenean pottery. Trade was not confined to the coast, but penetrated inland - particularly into Palestine. To the west we have found potsherd near Verona, therefore we can deduce that the Myceneans penetrated as far as the head of the Adriatic, but the greatest number of sites containing Mycenean pottery is in the heal of Italy.

Very little is known about the routes taken by the Myceneans to establish the above mentioned trade links. Our earliest representation of a ship is found on a Mytilenian case from Iolkos in Thessaly. Of note structurally is the ram on the prow thus giving the vessel a dual purpose of war and trade.[8] The Myceneans have often been described as seafarers, so it is reasonable to suppose that they had a fleet. On the Pylos tablets there are more than 500 rowers mentioned. This is the only reference to a possible navy.

The Myceneans placed a dominant stress on war as shown by the rich and varied warlike equipment in Shaft Graves. Frescos, which decorated the walls of palaces, show scenes of combat. Architecture itself depicts a warrior state exemplified by the great citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns. The military aspect of Mycenean civilisation is borne out by the Linear B tablets. Special regard is paid to the *hequetai* (the followers), who are important in military spheres as officers relaying information and as generals in the army. Furthermore activities implied in the Pylos tablets are concerned with "guarding the coastal regions".

Instruments of war, such as chariots, figure prominently in the records from Pylos. The earliest representation of a chariot appears on a shaft grave stelai. Chariots may have assured the Myceneans dominance in battle.

Armour used in combat was a coat of mail varying in material from leather to Bronze. Shields, despite not being mentioned in the tablets, are well documented in Mycenean art. Two different types of shield are revealed by the Lion Hunt dagger blade: the figure of eight and the tower shield.

There are two schools of thought as to the cause of the calamities which brought an end to the Myceneans. One school speaks of a Dorian invasion, but Greek tradition insists that the Dorian tribes did not overrun the Peloponnese until two generations after the fall of Troy.[9] Another school attests the demise to wars among the petty kingdoms added to by a deterioration in climate leading to drought and famine. This is the school I would side with owing to the

[7] Arrowheads were made from obsidian bronze.

[8] A Minoan flotilla fresco from the island of Thera represents more than one ship. There, apparently, different ships were used for war and trade.

[9] The collapse of the Mycenean civilisation with the Dorian invasion is referred to by ancient sources as the "return of the Heraclidae" who became the leaders of the Dorian tribes. According to legend Hyllos, a son of Heracles, slew Eurystheus - one of the last Mycenean kings. Hyllos was later slain in battle and Arteus succeeded to the throne of Mycenae.

movement of the sea peoples, referred to as threatening in the Egyptian annals around 1225 BC. The movement brought disruption to the Aegean, restricting the flow of trade which was such a vital element to Mycenean survival and the creation of wealth in the mainland.

Archaeology is of no assistance as the Dorians have left no recognisable trace: their culture was either non-existent or they were a submerged lower class of Mycenean society who spoke a different dialect and were rebelling against their masters.

As the administration that had maintained power and authority disintegrated, trade was disrupted and the very fabric of society decayed. The era of Mycenean Greece was over.

Jocelyn Smith is a 2nd Year Ancient History student in the Dept. of Classics and Ancient History here at Exeter..

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# LORD LEIGHTON
# CLASSICAL IMAGERY IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

**by David Harvey.**

I urge you to go and see the exhibition of paintings by Frederic, Lord Leighton, at the Royal Academy before it closes on April 21st. You may not like the pictures - indeed, you may find some of them repellent - but it's a rare and fascinating opportunity to see how the ancient Greek world was imagined by late Victorians - or at least, by one distinguished and multi-talented late Victorian, President of the Academy from 1878 until his death in 1896.

Leighton's paintings were frequently reproduced, and have, I suspect, exerted a powerful influence on professional scholars, editors, writers of commentaries, teachers, and the reading public in general throughout most of our century. This, people will have thought, consciously or unconsciously, is what the ancient Greek world was like. But of course it wasn't.

When I visited the exhibition, everyone was behaving in a most solemn and respectful way. Some exclaimed "Super!" and "Oo, I like that!"; no signs of disdain, disparagement or amusement. The sumptuous Catalogue uses the word "masterpiece" a dozen times. Reviewers (e.g. *Sunday Times* and *Observer* 18 Feb. 96; *Guardian* 20 Feb.) have been much less enthusiastic. Who is right?

The liveliest moment comes as you enter. Kinetic art! As the double glass door swings, it flashes with lights from the candelabra, and we glimpse the bright colours of [8] *Cimabue's Madonna* beyond. This is an astonishing achievement for a 24-year-old, though the characters in the 520.9 cm. long procession look more like Victorians in fancy dress than 13th-century Florentines. (A pity, too, that one figure looks like John the Baptist after decapitation.) This painting already shows Leighton's astonishing skill in representing the surfaces of things, above all of clothing and walls, a skill which he retained throughout his career. His ability as a draughtsman is also impressive. Formally, his compositions are nearly always satisfying, even when he has to handle multiple figures on a large scale: [95] *Captive Andromache* is perhaps the most successful example of this, even though, like many of his wide canvases, it looks more like a stage set than real life.

There are, we discover, a lot of very big paintings. Sometimes this is justified by the number of figures represented; often it is not. This is one reason why reproductions of Leighton's works are often more attractive than the pictures themselves. And there is something airless about many of

them; there's no sense of movement, or of life; all spontaneity has been killed off by Leighton's laborious methods (see Catalogue pp.63-6). It is disturbing that Leighton's own favourite was the necrotic *And the sea gave up the dead* [116].

Leighton's paintings nearly always fail to engage or involve the viewer. What a contemporary critic wrote about one picture is surely true of most of them: "An artist whose hand is trained; whose mind is cultivated; and whose heart is dead or dormant. All that an Academy can teach is exemplified in this work. Everything which is beyond the reach of Academic precept is sought for here in vain" (Cat. p.185). The Academy has every right to honour its own culture-hero, but I suspect that an exhibition of the work of Alma Tadema would be more fun - a word that does not spring to mind in connection with Leighton.

* * *

Leighton's Greece is a country whose population consists mostly of women. Some of them do nothing at all, but stand or lie around in a decorative manner. Some sleep. Electra grieves. Alcestis is dead. Nausicaa and others listen. Andromache stops to brood (she should be fetching water). Andromeda is tied up, and has been for some time (her hair is now approximately six feet long). None of the scenes represents a historical event: when there is a subject (sometimes there is no reference to any particular story), it is always mythical.

How much did Leighton know about the ancient world? Did he read his Homer and the tragedians in the original? Well, he received intensive private tuition from his father, with the result, we are told, that he was "well grounded" in Greek and Latin by the age of ten; and he had a natural aptitude for languages (indeed, rather dauntingly, a natural aptitude for everything). However, his teens were spent in London, Paris, Rome, Germany, Florence and Belgium, conditions which hardly suggest regular school work, and he told a friend that his Greek studies had not progressed "beyond Homer and Anacreon" (Cat. p.77). He also announced that he "read Homer in German or Latin and then attempted to check the text against the Greek, feeling that by this method he could appreciate the superiority of the original" (Cat. p.75). It was Milton that he looked to for an account of the Garden of the Hesperides, not Apollonius. Of course a good artist doesn't have to be a good scholar, but it is surely of some importance that Leighton's knowledge of Greece was filtered, muffled and distorted by the German and English translations of his day, and did not derive from contact with the originals.

Leighton was fond of introducing apparently exact representations of Greek vases into his paintings: look at [57], [62], [95] and [120]. But he had no qualms about showing vases of widely differing dates in the same picture, or indeed about introducing totally unGreek shapes and decoration. Didn't he know? didn't he care? did he think no-one would notice? or was he trying to create a timeless atmosphere, like productions of Greek tragedy that clothe Oedipus in chain-mail, Teiresias in a loin-cloth, Jocasta in Elizabethan court dress and the Chorus in dinner jackets? For a sensible answer see Ian Jenkins' article in *The Burlington Magazine* vol. 125 (1983), 596-605.

A distressingly large amount of the information about the Greek world given by the lavish and expensive Catalogue is garbled or simply wrong. Most visitors will consult the labels on the walls at the Academy. These are based on the Catalogue, so they are wrong too. The non-specialist will assume that he can rely on the Royal Academy for accuracy, and the Catalogue is going to become a standard work of reference. We all make mistakes, but it is surely reprehensible to tell the public so many wrong things in such an apparently authoritative manner. After all, they could easily have been checked. Here are some

examples: (1) The title of Feuerbach's painting *Das Gastmahl des Plato* (Cat. fig.20) is translated as *Plato's Feast*, and we read (p.34) that it shows "a Dionysian rabble burst[ing] in on the calm world of Plato and his philosopher friends". It is, of course, *Plato's "Symposium"*; the host is Agathon, not Plato (who wasn't present), and the occasion one of the most famous in Western literature, the irruption of Alcibiades at *Symposium* 212de. (2) In 1867, we learn, Leighton visited "the islands of Rhodes and Lindos"(p.48): then presumably returned to the islands of Britain and London? (3) Clytemnestra's career is described as an unsuccessful attempt to overcome the powerlessness of women (p.77). Unsuccessful? She ruled Argos for some twenty years, murdering her husband - a Homeric warrior - at half-time. The Catalogue also fails to recognize lines 689-90 of the *Agamemnon*, and misleads us about the opening of that play (pp.30, 77).

The Exhibition can be seen at the Royal Academy of Arts, Picadilly, daily from 9 - 6 until 21st April. Entry costs £5.50 / £4. The catalogue is available from the Academy. William Gaunt (1952) *Victorian Olympus*, provides a very readable account of Leighton's career; perceptive mockery in Richard Jenkyns (1980) *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* ch. 12. I am grateful to Siobhan Quin for suggesting that I should put my thoughts on paper.

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# POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH SEMINARS

## by Larry Shenfield.

The momentum of the well-attended and stimulating first year of Classics Department Postgraduate Seminars has continued into a second year. Fiona McHardy, Ph.D. candidate at Exeter, once more arranged the timetable and chaired the sessions. Once again, both our own postgraduates and several speakers from other universities have had the opportunity to air their latest research papers before a helpfully critical audience of their peers, to everyone's benefit. Our own lecturers' participation, which we welcome, has nevertheless again been limited by invitation only, contributing to the series' popularity with participants, who acknowledge the helpfulness of the policy, since nearly all the papers presented are tentative essays in embryonic or final draft form, needing the benefit of uninhibited discussion.

Too late to be included in the last *Pegasus*, were the final seminars of the 1995 summer term. In mid-May, Peter Moss from Cambridge added to our sparse knowledge of a long pseudo-scientific poem of Augustus's time with his paper, "Learning, Reading and Poetry in *The Astronomica* of Manilius". Jim Pletcher came all the way from St. Andrews a week later to present a penetrating paper on "Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*: an Epic of Novel Proportions". In June, Larry Shenfield provoked heated discussion with his "Dying for the City? Menoeceus in Euripides' *Phoenissae*", by arguing that this was, in reality, an ironic death to remedy the sins of the city's ineffective leaders. A week later, Emma Stafford from London again displayed her thorough scholarship with a paper on "Nemesis", revealing much about one of the most puzzling of Greek goddesses. Concluding the term, Katrina McLeay, recent classics M.A. at Exeter, now a Ph.D. student at the Open University, enhanced our knowledge of the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, by examining his portrayal in art.

The autumn term began with Kostas Niafas, one of our post-grads from Greece, tempting us with word-pictures of Bacchic revels when describing "Dionysiac Imagery in Horace, Odes 1.18". In October, Ellen

O'Gorman came from Bristol to regale us with her astonishing catalogue of the many treacherous, amorous and awesomely dangerous females in "The Imperial Women of Tacitus' *Annals*". Toward the end of the month, we joined forces for the second time with the South of England and Wales Postgraduate Group for a gala Saturday pub lunch in Cardiff followed by three seminar papers given at the University of Wales, on the theme "Dreams, Prophecy, Superstition and the Ancient World". In November, Neville Morley from Bristol described for us the evidence and shock value for the ancients of his subject, "*Supra fines moris humani:* The Uses of Cannibalism in Antiquity". Mike Hodgkinson and Alex Nice, both Exeter postgrads, once again combined, this time to debate the topic "Sertorius, Friend or Foe?" Later in the month, we heard from Iannis Karatzoulas, previously an M.A. student here, but now studying further at UCL, whose wonderful paper was entitled: "*Antigone* and the *Women of Trachis* -- Two Case Studies on the Role of Women in Tragedy." The final paper of the term, "Euripides' *Hecuba* and Revenge" was given by Dawn Churchill from Nottingham.

Exeter postgrad Deborah Gentry inaugurated the 1996 sessions with her paper, "*Deus ex Machina* as Oracle in Greek Tragedy" finally revealing to us the thoughts which she had developed for her M.A. dissertation. At the end of January, Pauline Meredith-Yates, Exeter Ph.D. postgrad, aroused lively debate with her paper "Thoughts on the *Alcestis*" by arguing for a similarity in values between Alcestis and Medea. At our February seminar, Sally Jaine read a paper, taken from her recently completed M.A. dissertation, entitled "Family values? Aspects of Festival in Plautus". Still to come this term are further meetings to be held at Warwick and Reading, where we hope to meet and exchange ideas with postgrads from all over the country. We look forward to the continuation of the group into the next year!

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# BRYER BROODS ON BRAUND

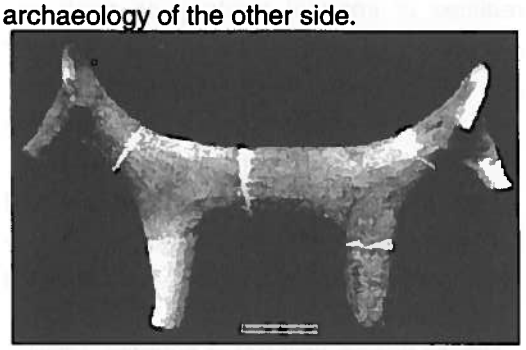
## A Review by Anthony Bryer.

David BRAUND, *Georgia in Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia 550 BC - AD 562.* 359pp. Clarendon Press, Oxford, £40. ISBN 0 19 814473 3

A simple Byzantinist of Birmingham may have a squint-eyed view of Exeter and its classicists. I glimpse the city through the kindly gin of its great bishop, Mortimer, whose wife took her Homer neat for breakfast. Its classicists I last met in an airless room off the Tottenham Court Road for a Research Assessment Exercise. I forget what score they got, but it should have been just, and hope it did them proud - anyway it is down the chute now. Instead, I have different refractions of these classicists, which seem to add up to something, but are just as tantalizing, alluring and scattered as what ancient Greeks knew of the Caucasus. In 1969 I joined a study tour with David Harvey, Graham Webster and Donald Dudley, which somehow ended up with Orthodox Easter in San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice. I think there was some objection to taking a classical tour to Venice: the place was not even late Antique and was off any Roman map. Yet about the same time John Wilkes of Birmingham scrupulously omitted Rome from a map he published of its Empire on the grounds that he was a provincial historian - I believe that he has found the place since. But in 1969 it was the Exeter contingent that I remember. They seemed to be game even for Venice, and I think there was talk of *Pegasus*. But game too was Donald Dudley, our Profes-

sor of Latin, who was uncompromising in scrambling through the mud of Aquileia in his charcoal suit and waistcoat. Birmingham's then Professor of Greek, George Thomson, was an equally uncompromising soul. As a junior lecturer, happily out of the line of fire in another department in Birmingham, I held both Donald and George in an esteem and affection which they notoriously failed to share for each other. Donald died in his house in the Malverns, where G.B. Shaw had written *The Apple Cart.* At the memorial service for George it was refreshing to find, in Richard Seaford, someone prepared to steady the Marxist applecart. It is good to keep these old verities, whatever they may be. Myself, I would sail all the way from the Blaskets to Ithaca with George Thomson, but had the feeling that his post-Maoist economic directions were a bit dodgy - mind you, that was pre-Thatcher.

Exeter's *Food in Antiquity* conference confirmed that there was always something fresh-served there, which I knew from joining Dave Braund in the footsteps of Ten Thousand or so across the Pontic Alps and down to Trebizond in 1988. We surveyed the colossal fortress of Tzanica and descended into lands of Lazica - all in Turkey. Except for brief forays over the River Akampsis, which Strabo used to divide Europe from Asia and today separates Turkey from Georgia, I hardly knew the recent archaeology of the other side.



Fabulous creature, Vathi (Colchis), c. 700 BC.

David Braund has the enterprise to know not just the work of Georgian archeologists, but their impossible languages too: Medea may have spoken one with over sixty consonants relieved by a single vowel. But I was cross with my friend David when he published his book, because while he is great on Procopius and the sixth-century Lazic wars, he cuts out the major scenery, apparently because it is in modern Turkey - which then no more existed than Georgia. I was equally cross with the *TLS*, or maybe my friend Mary Beard, to find that on 20 January 1995 they had cut my review too. My original review is surely squint-eyed as well, but I think that both David Braund and his subject deserve better treatment. I therefore offer it to *Pegasus* and its readers.

* * *

Dr David Braund is the most apt author of this study, for as a classicist he headed first for the periphery of Rome's client kings. Adopting their fish-eye view is more tricky than it looks, for they really fancied Rome as home. Archaeology might provide a truer perspective.

From 1984 Braund moved his research to the Caucasus, the very rim of the Roman and Persian worlds, where he dug in with Georgian archaeologists, who are now more eager than ever to show their wares to the academic *oikoumenê.*

As Braund interprets, or maybe just omits, they seem not much bothered by the ideological hang-ups which still haunt their colleagues on other coasts of the Black Sea. More surprisingly, they are not even Kartvelocentric. Would that their sites, such as Vani, Pitchnvari, Archaeopolis, Petra, or Apsaros, had more to show, because their wares, upon which too much dating still depends, look - well - like the pickings of the exotic car-boot sales which Georgians hold today in Trebizond. Here the Rolex watches may be good for dating but do not look quite right and there are few native artefacts, beyond swarms of what the Turks call "Natashas" on sale again. Ancient Greek epigraphy in Georgia - enigmatic logos on title or intaglio, even a sort of Greek/Armazian Rosetta Stone of the sec-

ond century AD - somehow looks quite as odd, spinning off wishful solutions.

Braund's presentation of fresh Georgian archaeological material is invaluable. It is not his fault that it still seems too scrappy to form a coherent idea of the successive Caucasian peoples and polities of the interior who collaborated with the trading stations of the Great Powers of Antiquity which encrusted the coast. As in West Africa or Indo-China there are some constants. Local rulers, starved of salt, sold their subjects as slaves until the last century (the exchange is never explicit). Nor does Braund speculate much on who the peoples of Colchis were and what sort of societies lay beneath the Caucasus. But for English readers his book replaces the first part of W.E.D. Allen's great and cranky *A History of the Georgian People* (1932). Yet one misses a chapter equivalent to Allen's swashbuckling "The Swarming and the Mingling", which happened somewhere between the Bronze Age and the Matriarchs.

Hellenistic bronze torso from Vathi (Colchis)

Braund's frame is more conservative but a touch cranky too. Chronologically it is "Antiquity", still the outsider's classical fish-eye scope, defined from a mid-6th-century BC Greek presence on the coast until 562 AD, when Persia ceded Lazica to Byzantium. Geographically it is of the modern boundaries of Georgia, a name only adopted by Westerners not long before that of the American state. No matter: English readers know what Braund means, but the consequence is that much of Lazica, the first definable "Georgian" state, and all of associated Tzanica, drops off his map because it lies in modern Turkey. Speaking of maps, Alexander the Great may be excused for bypassing Iberia altogether if faced with the one here, which has no scale, contour or direction, and omits some very frosty mountains.

Besides its fresh archaeology, the great virtue of the book is that Braund looks anew at classical sources for the Caucasus. He handles the legends of flashing Medea and Prometheus bound, the squint-eyed reports of Xenophon and Arrian, even the tale of the Seven Martyrs of Lazica, with great insight. He knows that what one party calls a *polis*, a colony, even a bishopric, was to another a car-boot market. From the fifth Century AD Lazica figured largely on the Great Powers' maps. Procopius devoted two books and Braund his final chapter to how Byzantium and Persia made Lazica a trial of strength from 522 to 562. Procopius was at his own limits of information: demonstrably unreliable, he remains the most important source. Braund's analysis is the most extensive and sensible yet. But I still cannot follow it clearly on the ground (which is rather up and down). Petra was a nodal point, but perhaps it is no use asking what its inhabitants did when the Great Powers were not there, any more than those of Quatre Bras or Fashoda. For the realities of imperial strategy on such uncompromising land, English readers must still consult Allen and P. Muratoff's *Caucasian Battlefields* (1953), which starts in 1828. But Braund stops, rather suddenly, in 562. The Arabs were to come and Georgia to find its identities and most notable archaeology in what Westerners call the Middle Ages.

Anthony Bryer is Professor of Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham, and Chairman of the British Committee of the International Byzantine Association.

# RES GESTAE VIII

## compiled by David Harvey.

Many thanks to autobiographers, & apologies for not replying personally. But there are many alumni whose addresses we don't have, & still more are allergic to questionnaires. We'd be delighted to have news of them (both basic facts & picturesque detail).

Next year the alphabet starts again. It'd be a great help if readers whose surnames begin with A & B could send news to 53 Thornton Hill, Exeter EX4 4NR without being asked.

Conventions: all dates are shorn of their first two digits; the figure after a person's name indicates the date they entered the department; this is followed by their home town. Postal districts (NW3) always refer to London. Full addresses on request. Three dots ... indicate lack of recent news.

### VISITING SCHOLARS

**John WHITEHORNE**, Reader in Classics & Anct. History at the Univ. of Queensland, Brisbane, was Research Fellow here in Michaelmas 95. He writes: "After attending the Berlin papyrology congress, I spent most of my study leave at Exeter, which I had visited when my friend & ex-colleague **Kathryn WELSH** was here in 93-4. My main interest is Greek papyrology, & I've just finished contributing to the first volume of papyri found at Kellis in the Dakleh oasis (Egypt), where a late Roman town discovered by a Canadian survey is being excavated by an Australian team.

While in Exeter, I've concentrated on a project on Caesar & Cleopatra's liaison, which I hope will eventually result in a book. Was it Cleopatra who was ultimately responsible for Caesar's assassination by putting unacceptable Eastern notions of kingship into her lover's head?

Back home in Brisbane my wife Judy & I are enthusiastic bushwalkers, & we've seized the opportunity to ramble in Devon. We've also been marvelling at the junk which now gets sold as antiques. It was a great pleasure to take some classes in Intermediate Greek at Exeter. I hope it was a pleasure for the students too. Sorry I can't make the language easier!

Thanks to everyone in the dept. for making our stay here so enjoyable."

### CONGRATULATIONS

to **Gary MARSHALL**,

who in the guise of a Roman soldier adorns so many of Exeter City Council's publications.

to **Dave BRAUND**, now - **STOP PRESS!** - elevated to a personal chair;

& to **Clive SKIDMORE**, whose book *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen* has just been published by the University Press.

### NEWS OF FORMER STUDENTS

#### (a) ADDENDA

**Varoros (Mal) PARABATRA** (78; Bangkok) is a Major in the Royal Thai Army, in which he serves with great pride. He joined in 82, became a cavalry officer, then moved to the Intelligence branch. After several years in the Liaison Office, maintaining contacts with foreign elements in Thailand & abroad, he served in the 9th Infantry Division, defending the border with Kampuchea during the 89-90 crisis; he also served one year with a special task force (details classified). He then attended the Thai Army General Staff College, where he was an Instructor for a year before attending the Armed Forces Command & General Staff College in Germany in 93-5. He's now an instructor at the Thai Staff College again. He hopes to go on a UN mission somewhere where there's trouble, & within 10 years he'd like to become the Army Attaché in the UK. He is married to Ms Pattanaporn; their son Vorapinit was born in 90. Mai enjoys jogging, swimming, squash & motorbikes.

**Elleen Z. SHASHA** now **BODEN** (61; Wembley Park) has been a librarian at Westminster Reference Library, St Paul's School & Imperial College, London, where she has returned after taking 8 years off for the sake of her children. One of these graduated at Exeter in 94; the other is reading theology at St Andrew's. She enjoys playing chamber music (violin & viola), & sometimes does so with **Mary SHELDON-WILLIAMS**. She describes herself as "still a closet classicist with Greek yearnings".

Mrs **Victoria (Vicky) STEVENS** (69; Totnes), whose husband Peter was a mature Zoology student here, moved to Norfolk in 72, where she took an MA in Literary Translation at Essex Univ. [cf. *Pegasus* nos. 13, 19 & 20], had two children, & was part-time tutor in Roman Imperial history for the Open Univ. They lived in Chester from 79 to 83, then returned to Devon, when Peter became Director of Whitley Wildlife Trust (which runs Paignton Zoo). Vicky then wrote the Great British Novel, but no-one would publish it. Since 91 she's been teaching Latin, Class. Civ. & English at Sto-

ver School, Newton Abbot, & has brought pupils to GCSE Classics days at Exeter.

**(b) THE ALPHABET CONTINUES:**

**Dorothy TASSELL** (69; ?) used to run a chain of garages, we think; she certainly tried to sell a Simca 1100 to **Michal (Ben) BENZINSKI** at trade price in 75 ...

**Claire TAYLOR** (82; ?) was with *Readers' Digest* in the 80s...

**Nicola (Nicky) TERREY** now **HOBBS** (66; Exeter) is a married Middle School teacher, with one son, Tom, now 11. They used to live at that most distinguished of addresses, Thornton Hill. Her hobbies include reading, gardening & music. She sings soprano in local choirs, including Counterpoint (quarter-finalists in Sainsbury's Choir of the Year 1995), & edits the parish magazine for St David's Church, where she also sings. Real Francophiles, the family has recently bought a house in Brittany, where they spend most of their holidays.

**Malcolm THOMPSON** (58; Newport, Gwent) is a part-time lecturer in Classics at Queen Mary College, London; his special interests are Horace & drama ...

**Nicola THOMPSON** (76; ?) went into publishing. In 83 she was senior editor of QED, & wrote to say that she still thought of **Hugh STUBBS** with gratitude whenever she read Homer on a quiet afternoon. She hoped the Combined Hons. course in English & Greek would eventually be reinstated ...

**Veryan THORNEYCROFT** (89; Didcot) spent a superb 5 months back-packing round South & Central America; on her return she joined Community Service Volunteers & spent 4 months working in Birmingham with a disabled girl. She is now assistant warden at a probation & bail hostel in Reading: exhausting, tough at times, but never dull. She plays lacrosse, does a lot of walking, & tries to keep in touch with friends.

**Alastair TICKETT** (87; ?) is a Christian evangelist working in schools ...

**Susan TIMBERLAKE** (82; ?) did her PGCE at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, in 85-6, then taught Classics in N. London ...

**Piers TODD** (83; Kingston, Surrey) did nothing at all in 86-7. Then he opened a second-hand bookshop in Cheltenham, where he managed to lose œ400 in six months despite funding from Enterprise Allowance. He moved to Kingston in 88 & took a job at the Univ. (then Polytechnic) library, where he is now in charge of Periodicals. He applied for a job at Exeter Univ. Library in 95 but didn't even get an interview; eheu.

**Lavinia TOMKISS** (89; W8) is a study support specialist at McKinsey & Co. Inc. UK, Management Consultants. She moved from Bath to London in Feb. 94 & doesn't intend to leave. She'd love to hear from anyone who knew her.

**Fenella TOOSEY** (89; SW11) is a recruitment consultant in banking. She lives with two Exeter friends, & sees various Exeter people, though none from the Classics dept.

**Philippa TREE** now **LUMBY** (89; SW15) is a recruitment consultant in London, & is enjoying married life. She has fabulous memories of Exeter.

**Ruth TRENEMAN** (77; ?) spent 4 years as a fund manager in the City (with gilt portfolios in the UK, Channel Islands & Switzerland), & one year writing the UK Venture Capital Journal & their Guide to European Capital Sources, as well as lecturing on these subjects. In 86 she opened her own gift shop, Mobs Antiques, in Battersea. To maintain sanity, she also helps others set up businesses, writes business plans, sorts out bookkeeping & lectures for manpower services ...

**Dickon TREVETT** (84; ?) was taking a law qualification in 87 ...

**Caroline TURNER** now **WILKINS** (87; St Albans) TEFLed a while, but is now a Primary School teacher at Harpenden, Herts. She completed her PGCE (age-range 5-11) in June 93; assignments included the use of Greek legends in the Primary classroom. She married Michael in August 93.

**Diane TURNER** now **BRAUND** (87; Exeter), Treasurer of *Pegasus* since 88, married Dave in Apl. 95. They share a home in central Exeter with two Jack Russells. Di is now doing research on dogs in the ancient Greek world, learning ancient Greek & improving her modern Greek with Dave. She is also learning to play the piano - a life-long ambition.

**Mark TURNER** (83; Cheltenham) is Head of Classics & housemaster at Dean Close Junior School, Cheltenham. He did his PGCE at Cambridge, & used to teach at Wellingborough. In 88 he married Jane Elsom, who read English at Exeter. He writes: "Great to see that my favourite ancient historian is still very much part of the Exeter scene". [Yes, Mark, if you mean Herodotos, he's still on the syllabus.]

**Michael TURRALL** (63; Hayling Island) settled near Portsmouth in 67 & taught in Hampshire until 93. In 67 he married a local girl, by whom he has two daughters. He remarried in 81 & has lived on Hayling Island since then. His interests include astrology, reading, gardening, popular music, computing, camcording & writing. He often sees **David FRANCIS.**

**Denis TYLER** (64; Newton Abbot) has taught at Clifton & Plymouth College Prep Schools, & is now deputy head of Wolborough School, Newton Abbot

(acting Head spring 96). He took an MA in Theology at Exeter in 82.

**Rosemary van der KISTE** now **DEVLIN** (64; Pewsey) loved Exeter & always will; she still keeps in touch with contemporaries from the Exon Singers. She is a care assistant, ex-professional school-teacher, Special Needs tutor & TEFL dabbler; computer-illiterate, though her husband specialises in computing. Two of her children are gravitating towards London, the other two have Cambridge links. She's looking for leisurely, rural, enlightened, kindly, *paid* work. In the vale of Pewsey, such work is rural but not leisurely, poorly paid but rewarding in other ways: above all, she loves Wiltshire.

**Ingeborg van YKEN** (88; Leiden [univ.], Delft [home] is reading history at Leiden Univ.; she was an Erasmus student at Leicester in 94-5.

**Leonoor van YKEN** (91; Utrecht [univ.], Delft [home]) regards her year at Exeter as the best in her life. She's now a 4th-year law student at the Univ. of Utrecht (1 year to go), enjoying the beauty of the city & the social life of the traditional student guilds. She has relatively few lectures & seminars, so she has time for squash & parties; she also has a paid job, conducting enquiries into the Univ.'s research. Her brother has done research at Harvard, & is now at Rotterdam Univ.; for her sister see above.

**Amanda VERNON** now **BREWSTER** (81; SW14) spent 5 years in publishing, dealing with translation, paperback & serial rights. She took a year off to travel, then went to art school, & is now an artist. She & James (who read law at Exeter 81-4) have a baby daughter.

**Caroline WAITE** now **CLEWS** (80; Moreton Pinkney, Northants) married David, a chartered surveyor, in 88: they met in London when both were working for Savills. In 91 they moved to Northants, where they built their own house -nearly finished now! David works in Birmingham, Caroline offers secretarial, administrative & marketing services locally. She has horses, a dog, hens & sheep.

**Sue WAKEFIELD** (78; ?), with a secretarial diploma from the City of London Poly, became an assistant publicity officer for Sports & Outside Broadcasts with the BBC in the 80s ...

**Madeleine WALKER** now **HUSSEY** (Maths & subsid. Latin, 63; Basingstoke) became a maths teacher, but stopped work to bring up Rachel (now 23) & Jonathan (21). She then taught part-time until recalcitrant teenagers both at work & at home killed her interest; so in 88 she became a systems analyst for the Civil Service, which she thoroughly enjoyed. She returned to Academe when she became responsible for marketing the Civil Service to undergraduates (an uphill job); hence two visits to Exeter. Her unit has now moved from Basingstoke to Whitehall. She doesn't enjoy commuting, but her life is spiced up, she says, by having William Waldegrave open doors for her, Kenneth Clark eat hamburgers at the next table, & Michael Heseltine hog the lift. She married Ron, an Exeter physics graduate, in 66.

**Katherine WALLIS** (92; c/o Feock, nr. Truro) is thoroughly enjoying London life, & is `ecstatic' to have a job so soon after graduation: she's Membership Assistant for the Friends of the Tate Gallery [including me - DH].

**Teresa (Terry) WALTERS** (81; Hove) worked briefly in insurance, then took a PGCE, specializing in teaching deaf children ...

**Emma WALTON** (76; ?) became a journalist ...

**Melanie WARING** (85; Warfield, Berks) is a marketing executive with Oracle UK, a very high profile software company. She organized Oracle's Middle East & Africa Business Alliance Conference in Florence last April (550 delegates), & the product launch of Oracle's application release to Smartclient at Olympia Conference Centre in October (over 400). She has abseiled & compered a local fashion show for charity, & has visited Europe & the Caribbean.

**James WATERS** (87; Rolvenden, Kent) went off to Australia ...

**Ruth WATERS** (87; Reading) did a PGCE at Exeter ...

**Laura WEAVER** (82; Maidstone) was with Thomson Telephone Directories ...

**Mike WEBB** (63; Deal), once the tallest man in Exeter, spent a year in the Civil Service in Southampton before realising he couldn't stand it; since then he has taught Classics & Maths in Deal & at Northbourne Park (between Sandwich & Dover). His passion is travelling, living & eating in France. He didn't learn French at school - a tremendous advantage - but has a number of French pupils, so he's strong on numbers, menus & life in the forum. He's the proud possessor of half a French cottage, where he spends every possible free moment. He travels around the country whenever he can, his main interests being Roman & Romanesque. He has many happy memories of Exeter & how much he was helped by the Classics Dept.

**Philippa WEBB** now **WITT** (80; Rode, nr. Bath) did a PGCE at Kingston; shared a house in London with **Siobhan QUIN**; married Simon, an Exeter law graduate, during the Great Storm of 90; has two sons, Hector (5) & Fergus (2, known to his friends as Beefy); converted an almost derelict

cottage into a des. res., then moved across the road; & is now teaching dyslexic children.

**Mark WELDON** (81; Crieff, Perthshire) has recently moved to Scotland, after 10 years near London. After his St Luke's PGCE he taught at King's School Rochester (Senior & Prep.) for 6 years, then became head of Classics & housemaster at Felstead Prep. School, Essex. He enjoys the quality of life that Scotland offers, & its beauty; the classical scene is thriving there. He married Jackie in 87: no children, but two labrador puppies, Homer & Sappho. He'd like to hear from anyone who remembers him, esp. if they're in Scotland.

**Richard WELLS** (81; c/o Twyford, Berks) became a chartered accountant. No news of his pop group, Wells & the Wellies ...

**Neville WELSH-SMYTH** (89; Chelmsford) is an administrative officer in the Crown Prosecution Service ...

**Anna WEST** (90; SW 13) spent 2 years at the College of Law in York, studying for the Common Professional Exam. & the legal practice course, & passing both with commendations. She spent summer 95 in the USA on BUNAC's *Work America* scheme, & she's now with Waterstone's Books at Harrods. She intends to travel around the Far East, Australia, Canada & the USA in Feb.-July 96, before starting work as a trainee solicitor.

A few years ago DH met **Alison WHALEY** now **FINCHAM** (76; Canterbury) pushing a pram containing her son, Henry, & made some unfortunate remarks on the assumption that she couldn't be the Alison who became a nun. She was. She's been a librarian, nun & mother, in that order, & is now a teacher. Her husband Kenneth lectures in medieval history at the University of Kent.

**Duncan WHITE** (92; Plymouth) is still being a black sheep (he says). He has rampaged across Europe on an Inter-rail pass, & is now a trainee teacher at Marjon.

**Steven WHITEHEAD** (82?; Aylesbury) did his PGCE at Swansea ...; **Susan WILDEY** (83; ?) did hers at Cambridge ...; & **Amanda WILDMAN** (83; Walsall) hers at Bristol ...

**Jan(et) WILLIAMS** now **LLOYD** (79; Tonbridge) took a secretarial Diploma at the West London Inst. of Higher Education in 82-3, & became an administrator for the RAF Benevolent Fund. She married Sean, an Exeter graduate, in 89, & now works in Chelsea. She writes regularly to **Trish AVERY**.

**Ros(alind) WILLIAMS** (75; Crediton), actress, teacher & musician, enjoyed her PGCE at Nottingham, whose campus reminded her of Exeter. The *Pompeii AD79* exhibition & Hadrian's Wall were eye-openers: previously she'd deciphered Latin literature as if it were a crossword. At Queen Elizabeth School, Crediton, she taught pupils (including non-linguistic ones) about Roman roads & soldiers, but also myth & theatre. JACT A-level took her into an exciting new world: Greek. When Latin was phased out, she became an actress, a lifelong ambition. She's now spent 6 years with Cygnet, a local training theatre company, for whom she teaches Greek theatre history, devises workshops for educational tours, & has been musical director, as well as playing Mrs Peachum in *The Beggars' Opera*, Stevie Smith in Hugh Whitemore's *Stevie* & tother Rosalind in *As You Like It* (open-air & at Edinburgh). Her 94-5 roles included Miss Moffat in *The Corn is Green*, Gertrude in *Hamlet*, & Queen Elizabeth in a newly commissioned play. More news on request.

Five **WILSONs**: **Alex** (82; Durham) became an accountant ...; **Gabrielle** (89; SW 19) was working with Direct Marketing Associates ...; **Jemma** (87; Bristol) trained as a chartered accountant ...; **Julian** (90; c/o Wishanger Churt, Surrey) gained his MPhil at Jesus, Cambridge, in 94, & is now providing reports, statistics etc. for the IT department of a Mental Health NHS Trust; & **Juliet** (84; c/o Burgess Hill, W. Sussex) has been living with her boyfriend Adrian & their terrier Polly in a thatched cottage in Dorset in 95, part of the longest line of thatch in Europe, surrounded by fields, woods, deer, badgers & pheasants. Adrian is a computer engineer who's interested in sailing, so they've enjoyed wonderful boat trips (Polly has her own lifejacket). Juliet has worked for TV in London, lived in the South of France, led tours in the Pyrenees, travelled in Australia & NZ, & given talks on Australian radio. She recently gained an MA in Tourist Management from Bournemouth Univ., & has organized open-air concerts for the Bournemouth Orchestras. Now she's managing editor for New Guild, who publish fiction & non-fiction by new writers: they'd be happy to consider manuscripts from readers of *Pegasus* & their friends.

**Mike WONG** (86; c/o Liverpool) was with Citibank in London ...

**Stephen WOOD** (86; Basingstoke) did a PGCE at Cambridge & taught at Cranbourne School, Basingstoke, until Dec. 95, when he left to travel with former Exeter student Dave Rollin to S. Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Sri Lanka & India. He's still interested in cricket, & plays for Odiham C.C.

**Karl WOODGETT** (92; Dover) is doing an MA here at Exeter.

**Mark WOODWARD** (83; Kenilworth) is happily teaching Latin, Class. Civ., G.S., hockey & cricket at Bablake, Coventry, & thoroughly enjoys being 6th-form tutor. He's married to Siân (née Bowditch, Exeter 83-6), who works for Courtaulds in Coventry. His interests include anything musical, media-related or sporting, esp. Leeds United.

**Mark WOOLLER** (86; HMS Warrior, Northwood) temped for Thames Water, travelled in Canada (winter 90), & organized graduate recruitment fairs for the Univ. of London Careers Service before joining Dartmouth Royal Naval College in 91. He is now a naval officer, & has served in HMS Minerva in the Baltic & in the Ark Royal in the Caribbean. He was aide-de-camp to Commander British Forces in the Falklands in 94-5, & spent his leave travelling in Chile & Easter Island. He's now Staff Secretary to a Dutch admiral on the staff of Commander-in-Chief Eastern Atlantic (a NATO post).

**Joanna WORSFOLD** (89; Alton, Hants) went into pharmaceuticals ...

**Juliet WRIGHT** now **KILPATRICK** (81; Caterham, Surrey) writes:

*Muses, aid me in my quest - I*
*Have to write down my Res Gestae.*
*Leaving Isca's Halls of Learning,*
*Youth, pride, dreams, idealism burning,*
*I would teach & pass my pearls*
*Of wisdom on to boys & girls.*
*On to Cantab., I could see*
*My way to a PGCE.*
*Then to Homer's home town sent*
*To survey pots & sherds I went.*
*(Ouzo's fine, retsina's better,*
*Yummy olives, bread & feta!)*
*Maiden Castle, Maumbury Ring,*
*A Roman town was the next thing.*
*Off to Durnovaria,*
*Head of Classics, la-di-da!*
*Three years passed, some high, some low*
*Before I married Romeo.*
*His inscrutability*
*Rivals Delphic prophecy.*
*Wise, inspiring, faithful ever,*
*Trouble sometimes, boring never.*
*Then to Côte d'Ivoire to eyeball*
*Wycliffe, who translate the bible,*
*Followed by two years at college*
*Working up cross-cultural knowledge.*
*Trained to be a missionary -*
*But it never was to be.*
*Perhaps a politician's wife?*
*Green, then yellow, busy life!*
*Our Francesca, she is four,*
*Prone to start th'occasional war,*
*Like a Helen, pretty, fickle.*
*John is our two-year-old pickle:*
*Like Ulysses he's bold, inventive,*
*Takes so long (with no incentive).*
*Mother 'n' toddlers, washing, cleaning,*
*Cooking, nappies, what's life's meaning?*
*Tesco* ergo sum*? for sure,*
*Yet* omnia vincit Amor*!*

**Helen WYBREW** now **McCAHON** (85; SW 15) married David (AHA 85), now a solicitor for the Metropolitan Police, in 94. They're expecting their first baby in the summer, & are busy househunting. Helen works for Shell: she spent 2 years in Hamburg with Deutsche Shell, & now manages the training department within their London Service Companies. Her sister **Katie** (88; c/o Godalming) worked briefly with Chelgate Public Relations, then took a language course in Paris, & lived right in the centre of the city. After a couple of months with Shell France, she returned to Chelgate ...

**Ian YANDALL** (74; ?) went into the fine art division of Blatchpack-Robinson Shipping ...

**Liz YATES** (87; SW10) is an administrator for a family mediation centre in Birmingham & also works in a wine shop. She lives in a den of AHA graduates that also contains **Laura ALLEE**, **Rob JOHNSON** & **Andy ROWING**.

**Vanda ZAJKO** (83; Bristol) gained her PhD at Exeter with her thesis on women's resistance to sex & marriage in Greek myth, which, though unpublished, is frequently cited. She has been teaching in the Classics Dept. at Bristol Univ. since 91; her pupils include **Rachel ROBINSON**. She will be giving a paper there at the forthcoming *Myth into Logos* conference.

**Edwina ZALESKI** (75; ?) was once sighted in a pub in Ilfracombe & has never been seen since ...

**Sergio ZEDDA** (92; Exeter) is doing a PhD at Exeter, & teaches in the Dept.

## ADDRESS WANTED

**Juliet KILPATRICK** (née **WRIGHT** would like to contact **Nigel DICKINSON** (81), who used to wear German army uniform. Can anyone oblige / With news of Nige?

## CORRIGENDUM

**Susanna MORTON BRAUND** has been appointed Professor of Latin at Royal Holloway College, not Head of Department as stated in *Pegasus* 95. The error is entirely DH's fault: apologies to Su & the undeposed Professor Carey.

# EXETER CLASSICAL THESES.

## compliled by Peter Wiseman.

**The University of Exeter has existed since 1955; before that, it was the University College of the South-West, and its students took London degrees. In the forty years since independence, the following research theses have been produced in the Department of Classics:**

### PhD

1961 M. Gwyn Morgan, "The Rise and fall of the Caecilii Metelli, 284-46 B.C."
1969 Raymond J. Clark, "The *Katabasis*: a Vergilian Treatment of a Recurring Theme"
1974 Rhona Beare, "Royal and Imperial Oaths"
1984 Ian C. Beavis, "Invertebrate Animals in Classical Antiquity"
1988 Clive J. Skidmore, "Teaching by Examples: Valerius Maximus and the *Exempla* Tradition"
1993 Vanda Zajko, "Women's Resistance to Sex and Marriage in Greek Mythology"

### Also a PhD thesis from the School of Education:

1989 Martin St.J. Forrest, "Classics Teachers, Comprehensive Reorganisation and Curriculum Change"

### MA (by thesis)/MPhil

1960 Mary T. Claxton, "The Place of Exeter Cathedral MS 3549(B) in the Textual Tradition of Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*"
1963 A.K. Bate, "Walter Map and *De Nugis Curialium*"
1967 Terence J. Hunt, "The Textual Tradition of Cicero's *Academicus Primus*"
1980 Lynn D. Corum, "A Commentary on Apuleius *Metamorphoses* Book IX"
1992 Ioannis Zikudis, "A Study of Sophocles' *Ajax* in Relation to the Tradition of the Myth"
1993 Simon C. Holland, "Children and the Child/Parent Relationship in Roman Verse Satire"

### Published versions:

Raymond J. Clark, *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition* (Grüner, Amsterdam 1978)
Ian C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (UEP 1988)
Clive Skidmore, *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen: the Work of Valerius Maximus* (UEP 1996)
Martin Forrest, *Modernising the Classics: a Study in Curriculum Reform* (UEP 1996)
Terence J. Hunt, *A Textual History of Cicero's Academici Libri* (UEP 1996)

**Since 1991-2 the Department has offered taught M.A. courses, for which a dissertation is part of the requirement. The following have been completed so far:**

1992 Lucy E. Byrne, "Speech and Lamentation: Women in Greek Tragedy"
1992 Simon P. Duxbury, "Generational Conflict in Greek Tragedy"
1992 Christopher A. Hole, "Arms and Armour in Greek Tragedy"
1993 Melissa L. Dearing, "Costume in Ancient Greek Comedy, from an Iconographical and Textual Perspective"
1993 Hugh Denard, "Para-Athens: Metatheatre in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and *Frogs*"
1993 Beverley J. Pugh, "Seneca and the Tragic Passions: a Study of *Medea* and *Oedipus*"
1993 Shelley V. Sanders, "Euripides' *Herakles*: Myth and Cult"
1994 Tamara Kosta, "Marriage and Separation: the Mother-Daughter Relationship in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* and Greek Tragedy"
1994 Lucy Katrina McLeay, "What is a Stoic Tragedy? an Examination of the Drama of Seneca"
1994 David J.H. Pledge, "Odysseus in Greek Tragedy"
1994 Christos Zafiropoulos, "Beyond the Myth: Mythic Innovation in Euripides' Plays"
1995 Laurence J. Bowles, "Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*: a Study of the Sources"
1995 Steven Davies, "The City of This World: Augustine and the Roman Tradition in *De civitate Dei*"
1995 Deborah Gentry, "The *deus ex machina* as Oracle in Greek Tragedy"
1995 Fiona M. McHardy, "Women and Revenge in Greek Tragedy"
1995 Rachel Robinson, "The Parent-Child Relationship in Homer"
1995 Larry Shenfield, "A Rhetoric of Necessity: Human Sacrifice in Euripides"