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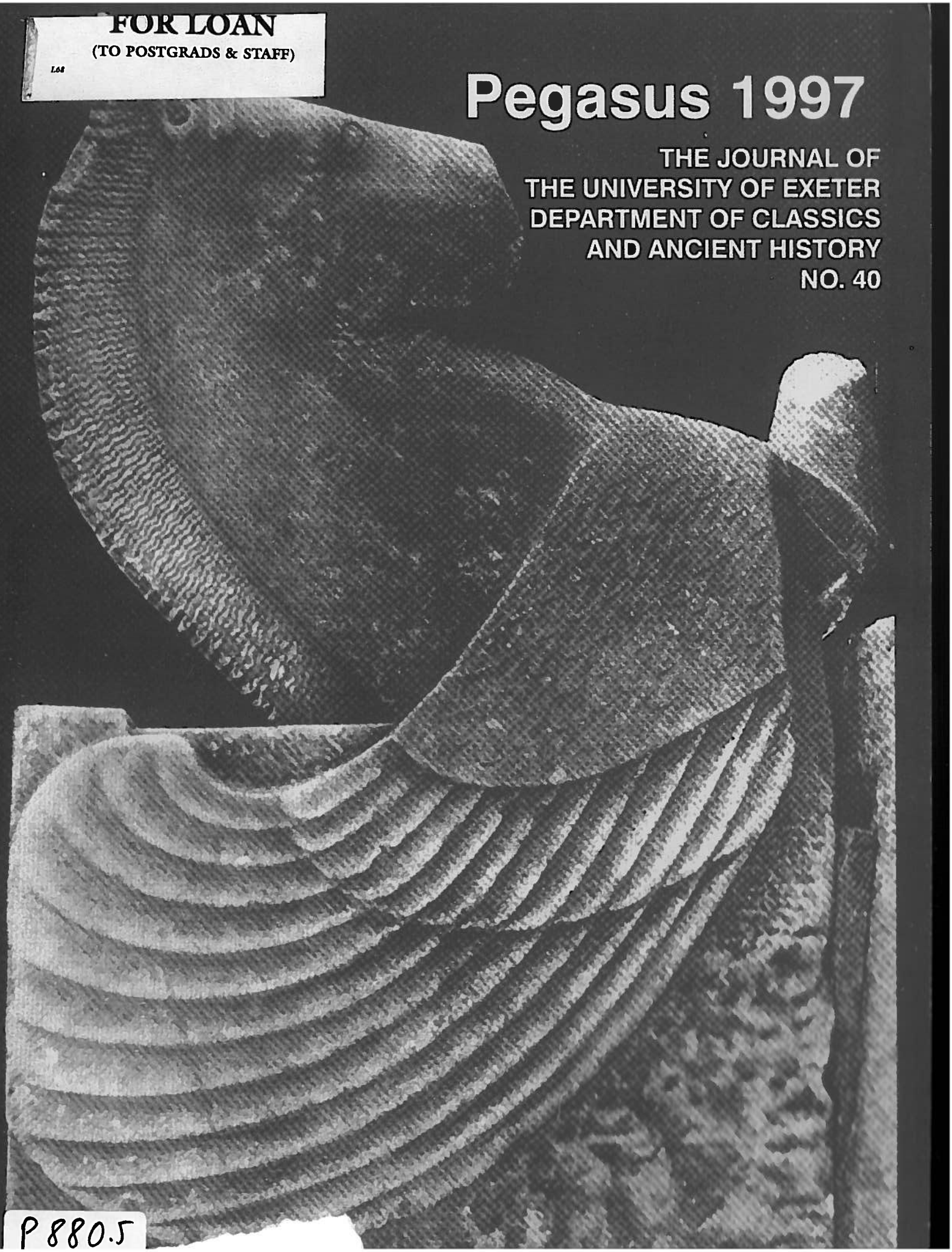

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The Journal of the University of Exeter Dept. of Classics and Ancient History

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

We should like to thank our retiring treasurer, Diane Braund, for all her hard work.
We welcome Nick Walter as the new treasurer and, as of next year, circulation manager.
Many thanks to Gary Stringer of Pallas for his help with printing!
We would like to thank the Classical Association for their kind sponsorship.

Meetings of the Classical Association have not yet been planned for the 1997-8 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 EX4 4NR (01392 54068). Fees: £5p.a. (life membership: £50), Students £5 for 3 years, schools £8 p.a.

ISSN 0308-2431

REPORT FROM THE HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

By Norman Postlethwaite

This has been a quite momentous year in the history of the Department of Classics and Ancient History. In December the results of the 1996 Research Assessment Exercise were announced, and the Department received the highest rating of 5A. Then in February Anne and Peter Wiseman celebrated the 20th anniversary of their arrival in Exeter.

The Research Assessment Exercise is a national exercise, across all disciplines in all universities, which takes place every four years. In the past two exercises the Department achieved a 4 grading on a 1-5 scale, and the improvement to 5A was particularly gratifying as it was one of only five top gradings in the University as a whole, and the only 5 rating within the Faculty of Arts. The result reflected both the exceptional quality of research published by members of the Department in the assessment period, and also the quality of the Department's postgraduate provision and research culture.

The RAE result provides a fitting tribute to Professor T.P. Wiseman's first 20 years in Exeter. He was appointed Professor of Classics in 1977, in succession to Professor F.W. Clayton, and he remained Head of Department until 1990. He guided the Department through the traumas of the swingeing cuts in Higher Education finance in the 1980s, and the restructuring of Classics and Ancient History nationally in the wake of the report of Professor Barron. He did so with a sureness of vision and of touch which has ensured, not just the survival, but the present, and future, robust health of the Department. In 1997 he can survey with enormous pride a department now ranked alongside the very best, a pride which I am sure is shared by the many students who owe him so much.

In 1996 the Department became home to the Centre for Mediterranean Studies, under its new Director, Dr. John Wilkins: the Centre has organised its first international conference, on *People Moving*, to be held in the University of Malta in April 1997. From 1997 the Department will house The Athenaeus Project, co-ordinated by Professor David Braund and Dr. John Wilkins. The Project will be inaugurated with a major international symposium, on *Athenaeus and his World*, to be held in Exeter in September 1997. Further information from Professor Braund or Dr. Wilkins.

Highlights of another year of important publications have been *Ruling Roman Britain* by David Braund (Routledge), *Spectacle and Engagement* by Matthew Leigh (OUP), *Form and Argument in Late Plato* edited by Christopher Gill (OUP), and *Food in European Literature* edited by John Wilkins (Exeter, Intellect). Two successful conferences were organised during the past year: *The Rivals of Aristophanes* by David Harvey, and *Tragic Fragments* by Lucy Byrne, Deborah Gentry, and Fiona McHardy. The Department also provided seven speakers for the Annual Conference of the Classical Association; this year we shall be represented, at the conference to be held at Royal Holloway College, by Christopher Gill from the staff, and research students Deborah Gentry, Fiona McHardy, Pauline Meredith-Yates, and Sergio Zedda.

Finally, the University is inviting all alumni of the Department of Classics and Ancient History to revisit the University, with spouses/partners, for a Classics Refresher Weekend, to include seminars by Peter Wiseman, Richard Seaford, Norman Postlethwaite, Matthew Leigh, and John Wilkins. The event will be from Saturday Lunch to Sunday Lunch, 24-25 May 1997, and will include a dinner at which we hope many former staff and students will be present. Further details from: Alumni Officer, Development Office, Northcote House, Exeter, EX4 4QJ.

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Dissertations 1996

MA dissertations completed in the Department of Classics and Ancient History in 1996 (updating the report in *Pegasus* 39 (1996) 36).

Sally Jaine, "*Ludi Sunt*: Aspects of Festival in the Comedies of Platus.
Ursula Jones, "The Homeric hero"
Davey Kim, "Robert Graves and the Julio-Claudians"
Michelle Longville, "What Picture of Athenian Fifth-Century Society do the Plays of Aristophanes Present?"
Vasiliki Motsiou, "*Di praesentes*: Divine Intervention in Roman History"
Melanie Spencer, "The Similes of the Homeric Epics"
Eileen Tapsell, "Laughter and its Enemies in Old Comedy"
Karl Woodgett, "The Talismans of the Roman Empire"

Ancient Rome and the Historical Novel

By Allan Massie

The 19th Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, 25th April, 1991

To be invited to give a lecture founded in memory of Jackson Knight is a great honour for anyone. For one who has to confess himself strictly speaking a mere amateur in Classical scholarship it is daunting. I am therefore equally sensible of the honour you have done me in inviting me to deliver this lecture and of my temerity in accepting your invitation.

For a long time the historical novel has been viewed with a certain disdain by the generality of literary critics. This is in part no doubt due to the efforts of so many historical novelists. It is a genre which lends itself to extravagance, and many who have attempted it have been indifferent historians and inept novelists.

Yet, ever since novels have been written, novelists have found delight in letting their imagination play on past ages. Sometimes, of course, the past they have chosen to explore has not been remote from their own immediate experience; one thinks of *Waverley* and *War and Peace*; Scott and Tolstoy were drawing on recent memory. But others have gone further back in time, seeking what is permanent in character, human nature and the human condition, choosing also to try to reconstruct in their imagination and in the imagination of their readers, societies that have long since disappeared, but which retain interest and even significance for us today. When the most scrupulous and discriminating of art-novelists, Flaubert, allowed himself the liberty of trying to make Carthage live again, no novelists need feel shame in attempting a comparable endeavour.

No period of history, I would guess, has appealed to so many novelists as that covered by the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire. The reasons are not hard to seek. Our European civilization is founded on Rome. Along with Israel and Greece, it has formed us, even today. I don't need to argue that point here, to this audience.

If Rome, rather than Israel and Greece, has attracted novelists, it is perhaps because we feel less remote from Rome. There have, of course, been notable novels set in Greece and Israel - I think of Mary Renault's on the one hand, and of a remarkable short novel about Judas Iscariot by Eric Linklater on the other. But compared to the list of novels with a Roman setting, they are like little streams set against a great river.

It is fair to say that the popular idea of Rome was made as much by novelists as historians - by novelists, one might add, who were then reinterpreted by Hollywood: I need mention only Bulwer Lytton's romance of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, General Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur*, and, of course, Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis*, which was itself preceded by Wilson Barrett's play *At the Sign of the Cross,* which has a very similar theme.

These were all extravagances, adapted into what have been called 'toga dramas' and 'toga movies'. All characteristically feature a full complement of decadent Romans, virtuous Christians and greedy lions. Their view of Rome is splendidly colourful, and vulgarly inaccurate.

It was between the two German Wars that the Roman novel escaped from the tushery of Wardour Street, and attained a new seriousness, in which interest was directed at character rather than incident. At a time when the fashion was still to write modern novels about very ordinary people - even when the manner of the novel might be experimental, as with Joyce and Virginia Woolf - there was something obviously attractive in turning to characters who were placed in positions of great authority, like the heroes of Elizabethan drama, and who could be treated on the grand scale and in the grand manner. The abiding interest of the novelists who turned back to Rome was in character tested in extreme circumstances.

The most famous, perhaps the most successful, were Robert Graves's two novels about the Emperor Claudius, among other things a brave attempt to redress the verdict of historians. But one might also draw attention to Naomi Mitchison's *The Conquered*, which tells the story of Caesar's Gallic Wars from the side of the Gauls, and has Vercingetorix as its hero, and to James Leslie Mitchell's *Spartacus*, which offers a quasi-Marxist version of the slave rebellion. Another more thorough-going Marxist was Jack Lindsay, who unlike Mitchell was a true Classical scholar. His several Roman novels are unfairly neglected now. *Rome for Sale* (1934), his account of Catiline's conspiracy, is excellent. Lindsay was a poet as well as novelist and Classical scholar, in this resembling Rex Warner, whose two novels about Caesar, though eschewing dialogue, were successful and convincing.

Warner followed the fashion for the novel as pretended autobiography, which Graves had set. In the 1950s this device was adopted very happily by Peter Green, impersonating Sulla in *The Sword of Pleasure*. I should also like to mention Alfred Duggan, who brought an acute understanding of the way people think and feel to his reconstructions of past ages in a mediaeval idiom. Most of

his novels are set in mediaeval times, but *Three's Company* is an admirable work about the Second Triumvirate, with Lepidus as its central figure. And he wrote a remarkable novel about Elagabolus and another set in the last years of Roman Britain called *The Little Emperors*. That period also inspired Peter Vansittart to write *376*.

If I now turn to my own two novels about Rome - *Augustus* and *Tiberius* - I risk being tiresomely egotistical. But I do so, not because I think they are better or more interesting than some of these other novels I have mentioned, but because I know them better, and hope that some of what I wish to say about Rome and the Historical Novel may be better exemplified by my own experience.

I came to write *Augustus* almost by chance. That is to say, it was not initially my idea. I had written a book of biographical studies called *The Caesars*, which I intended as a sort of companion to Suetonius, and then my agent suggested I make a novel - 'a cod-autobiography' were his actual words - of Augustus. At first I demurred; then I fell to.

Much of literature, till our century at least, has concerned itself with the doings of the Great. Indeed, Shakespeare doesn't seem, except in comedy, to have thought people worth writing about if they were not great, or at least in great positions. But of course Great Men are not merely interesting or challenging. The appeal is that in their lives we can find and represent the great abstract questions and qualities - justice, honour, courage, ambition, passion, love of power, and so on - in extreme, even pure form. It is in great men that we can find tragedy; the destruction of that which has inspired awe and admiration. Without such feelings, there can be no tragedy, only sadness.

Though the novel is not really the medium for tragedy, being too filled with details of daily life, yet I found something tragic in the lives of both Augustus and Tiberius. You might say, loosely, that Augustus presents us with the tragedy of success, Tiberius with the tragedy of a peculiarly personal failure.

There is one other thing I should like to say at this point concerning the choice of a Roman theme as the subject of a novel, and that is that the material is agreeably limited. This opinion may seem foolish, even offensive to some. Of course we know a great deal about the last years of the Republic and the first of the Principate. I was reminded of just how much is known whenever I turned to Sir Ronald Syme's great study of *The Roman Revolution*, which I used to keep me straight. Nevertheless, when you put all we know about that period of history in one side of the balance, and all we know about, say, the Victorian Age, in the other, the first flies up and hits the beam. Moreover, our principal literary authorities, Tacitus and Suetonius, are neither contemporary nor reliable. The novelist can pick and choose his way through their work. He is left with a deal of freedom.

Yet that freedom is limited. In a historical novel you cannot, I think, make up public events without risking your reader's disbelief. It is true that Thornton Wilder juggled the chronology daringly in his Caesar novel, *The Ides of March*, and got away with it. But he did so only by the skin of his teeth. In reading a historical novel, I find it offensive if the author departs brazenly from what is accepted historical fact - unless there is reason to suppose that his narrator is lying.

In like manner you don't make the principal characters of such a novel out of nothing. In writing a modern novel, a character may have little or no existence, even in your imagination, till you set him or her in motion. But when you deal with people like Augustus, Julius Caesar, Cicero, Antony, Cleopatra, Livia, Tiberius, Vergil, Maecenas etc, you are constrained to work from a model. And you must remember that your reader may have the same model too. Yet this is not as close a constraint as may be supposed. When it comes down to it, how little we really know about any character in history, how much we have to imagine, what scope is left to interpretation.

Considering Augustus, it seemed to me that the essential question was raised by one sentence of Sir Ronald Syme's: how to explain the transformation of the icy and bloodstained young triumvir into the benign Father of his Country.

In one sense, this question could not fail to be answered by the approach I chose: making Augustus the narrator of his own story. If no man is a hero to his valet, he is never a villain to himself. Augustus naturally paints himself in the best possible light.

Yet, as I wrote, I happened on another question. To what extent was the public face of the benign Princeps a true picture? Was it contradicted by evidence of continuing ruthlessness? On the one hand, Augustus seemed to be an exception to Acton's dictum that power corrupts: on the other, was this appearance or reality?

The novelist has to decide first on the point of view. Then, that established, on when the story is being told. This created a problem. Augustus's later years were chequered. His beloved grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, died; his daughter Julia was disgraced and banished. Varus had lost three legions in the German forests. It was impossible that he could be made to write his memoirs near the end of his life without their tone being coloured by these events, which, in their turn, couldn't be omitted. Moreover, I wanted to give the sense of the great adventure of his rise to power, and to do so without any sense of nostalgia.

The solution was to write the memoirs in two books. The first, addressed to Gaius and Lucius, takes the story from the moment when he receives word of the murder of Julius Caesar up to the defeat and deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, which left him supreme, unchallenged. Book I covers thirteen years of violent and exciting action, more or less straight narrative.

Book II, though about the same length, has to extend over forty years, and these are years when there is much less of a story. So it is a more ruminative affair. It ranges over the years, as the Princeps goes over his political testament - the *Res Gestae* - supplying observations unsuited to the public version. I saw this book as Augustus's attempt at self-examination, even self-explanation. He struggles, as any politician must, to reconcile what ought to be done with what needs to be done. It is concerned with questions of power and responsibility, free will and the imperative of contingency, the interplay of chance, will, and character, the cruel realities of political choice.

It is easy, and therefore tempting, to examine a novel in terms of such themes. But of course they are only one part of the weave, the part moreover that may interest the writer less than others while making the book. More absorbing, sometimes more perplexing, for him is the creation and development of his characters. Here, as I have already suggested, the historical novelist finds himself in a peculiar position, since readers may already be expected to have some impression of the characters they are going to meet.

Augustus has half a dozen relationships of importance: with Caesar, with Antony, with Agrippa and Maecenas; with Livia, with Tiberius and with Vergil.

We know little from history of his feelings for Caesar. We may discount the slander put about by Antony that the young Octavian has prostituted himself to Caesar. Such allegations were the common currency of Roman politics. But, though Augustus honoured Caesar in his public references, and initially derived his authority from his position as Caesar's heir, I saw no reason to suppose that he need have felt any affection for the Dictator; and so I permitted him some disparaging remarks.

As for Antony, he is almost the hero of the novel, coming close to displacing Augustus. Augustus is aware of this himself. He can list all Antony's faults, but he cannot escape his magnificence. Again, our knowledge of their actual relations is not great. Suetonius quotes one letter from Antony which suggests they were on terms of easy familiarity. That said, I would confess that my Antony owes more to Shakespeare than to any historian - but then Shakespeare owed a debt to Plutarch. I might add that my picture of Antony may reflect something of Sir Ronald Syme's very evident preference of him to Augustus.

Agrippa and Maecenas are flat characters in my novel. So I do neither of them justice. I hope the early chapters capture the sense of the astonishing adventure on which these young men embarked, like Dumas's Musketeers. But afterwards, Agrippa exists to be bluff and vigorous, and to give common-sense advice, while sometimes missing the point, and Maecenas to be subtle, intelligent, and effeminate. They appeal to different sides of Augustus's nature.

Livia (Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 209)

Livia is the most important person in his life - apart from himself. I rather agree with Anthony Powell that trying to catch the essence of a marriage is one of the most difficult things a novelist can attempt. There is always something mysterious and secret in an enduring marriage. It was my intention from the start to rescue Livia from the type-casting as she-devil imposed on her by Robert Graves. In any case his picture of her makes little sense to me. Augustus, as I conceived him, could never have endured half a century of marriage with Livia as Graves drew her. That doesn't mean that I didn't agree with the Graves view that Augustus was a little frightened of her. But, in my book, his fear arises from the knowledge that she is at once more virtuous than he is, with higher standards, and yet also more limited in her sympathies.

There is little to be said of my version of Tiberius as relayed by Augustus, for I kept that conventional. But there is one other relationship which is important.

The last figure of great significance is Vergil. I didn't know what to do with him at first, but I knew that I wanted to use him to express something of Augustus's profound feeling for Italy - and I hope that the sense of an Italian, rather than purely Roman, Augustus comes through.

Then I realized that it would be effective to have Augustus turn to Vergil, after Livia, whenever he

has a moral problem to resolve. And so came one of those happy strokes which can take the writer by surprise, being unplanned, unforeseen. I had Vergil speak to Augustus first of Cincinnatus and then of the Golden Bough and Diana's temple at Nemi, and then say:

'Caesar, I know little of history and less of politics. But listen: Cincinnatus is legend; he belongs to a young world when everything was straightforward, and right-doing was rewarded by a calm spirit. As legend, it is for children, it is an ideal to present to them that they may grow up seeing and admiring whatever is good, straight, and true. But the priest of Diana who guards the Golden Bough and the Temple at Nemi presents no legend, but myth, which reveals the truth darkly to grown men. The world has gone beyond Cincinnatus, and you cannot lay aside your toga and return to the plough. You are bound for life to prowl with naked unsheathed sword round the Temple that is Rome...'

So: the paradox of power, that the man of power is as much acted upon as acting. This is, I suppose, a truism. But the other feature of power was exemplified for me in the myth of the Golden Bough. Augustus, setting himself to restore the State to health, and conscious of his imperial mission, of the promise of *imperium sine fine*, is also forced to realize how he must damage his own character through the exercise of the responsibility which he assumes.

It is in the nature of all public life, perhaps all human life, to end in failure: the greater the success in one sphere, the more absolute the failure in another. Every new triumph kills something in the man who achieves. For me, Augustus is the supreme example of a man who, in saving the State, destroyed himself, or at least destroyed what is most valuable in us: the capacity to love without calculation. Although in public life he appears to contradict Acton's adage about the corrupting influence of power, yet the corruption is there. He knows it, accepts it, cannot in the end regret it. The job was there to be done, greater and more necessary than the man who performed it.

Tiberius offers an equally fascinating, but perhaps more conventional puzzle. It is at least a puzzle which has been long recognized. I suppose the monster of depravity who rises from the pages of Tacitus and Suetonius has long been discredited. Montaigne seems to have been one of the first to doubt whether Tacitus could be trusted. Napoleon called the great historian 'a detractor of humanity'. So, to suggest a revisionist version of Tiberius, could hardly be thought either daring or original - even though my conviction of this has barely survived some of the reviews the novel received.The problem of Tiberius was stated, in lapidary and ironic fashion, by Norman Douglas: 'After a youth of exemplary virtue, and half a century of public life, during which the manners and morals of Tiberius were an honour to his age, he retired in his sixty-ninth year to the island of Capri, in order at last to be able to indulge his latent proclivities for cruelty and lust.'

Put like that, the problem evaporates; it is too absurd to contemplate.

And yet the reign of terror was real enough; the hatred and fear which he inspired were real enough. These are things which can't be dodged.

So, for me, the autobiography became an exercise in simultaneous elucidation and concealment. Tiberius was in some way, for all his ability, damaged, incapacitated. However great and even admirable a figure, he is a failure as a man. It may be a tragic failure. I think my Tiberius is that. He is a man both disillusioned and resentful; and also afraid.

Tiberius (Baumeister, *Denkmäler, fig*)

He is disillusioned by public life. I am prepared to accept that his reluctance to assume the burden of Empire was sincere. Indeed he disapproves of the Empire as strongly as Tacitus did, and like him regrets the passing of the aristocratic Republic. But, unlike the historian, he knows that the achievement of Empire - in the sense of dominion over lands far distant from Italy - has made the continuation of the Republic impossible, since its institutions were incompatible with the requirements of Empire. When he tries to compel the Senate to assume responsibility and fails, and then sighs 'O generation fit for slavery!' - what is that but the voice of the disillusioned realist?

He was resentful because he felt his merits were long overlooked and disregarded; because he knew he lacked charm; because he was not easy with other men.

His private emotional life is known to have been difficult. I have hazarded the suggestion that in childhood his relationship with Livia was passionate and intense; that, as a consequence, he is jealous and scornful of his stepfather Augustus. I have followed the conventional line about his first marriage to Vipsania: that it was happy, that she understood his difficult and reserved temperament and that its abrupt ending at the command of Augustus pained him. As for the marriage to Julia, I have guessed that it both excited and disgusted him; that she appealed to an essentially timid and repressed emotional nature; that her demands frightened him too.

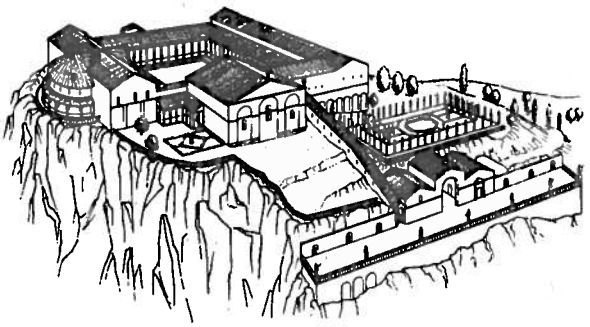
If he was a mother's boy, as I have suggested, then it seemed to me probable that he was also a repressed homosexual, and that, for other reasons, he would disapprove of this tendency in himself. I also allowed him to feel that the sort of love he felt for young men - for in particular two German boys of my invention - degraded them, or was in danger of doing so, and that he should therefore practise abstinence. Some may find this un-Roman, as one reviewer found it un-Roman and therefore unconvincing, like his expressed dislike for gladiatorial contests, though this is attested to by Suetonius, who did not find it to his credit. Nevertheless it made sense to me, artistic sense certainly. My final stroke in this direction was the suggestion, never made explicit, that he was in love with Sejanus, and that this accounted for the ascendancy which Sejanus achieved over him.

To quote Norman Douglas again: 'If we knew exactly why Tiberius, as a young man, shut himself up in Rhodes, we might understand the reason for his retirement to Capri. This departure for Rhodes may be regarded as the key to his character, and a great variety of motives - fear, disgust, cunning, hatred of Julia, ambition, self-abnegation, disappointment, pride, general moroseness - have been assigned by various writers for this step.'

To which one might reply: they can't all be right, and the springs of action are so shadowy that the probability is that Tiberius didn't himself know.

Fortunately, the novelist doesn't always have to give reasons for what his characters do. It is often enough to let the action speak for itself. So I allowed the decision to retire to Rhodes to surprise Tiberius, as an abrupt expression of refusal to let Augustus rule his life. It was unpremeditated. 'It had sprung,' he says, 'from the deepest recesses of my being: that flat obdurate negative. All my life, I realized, I had wanted to utter that clanging "No".'

Pliny called him 'the saddest of men'. Was it perhaps because he had glimpses of a happiness which he knew he could never attain? I have Livia tell him that happiness is an idea for middle-class poets; no doubt she was thinking of Horace. But years later, on Capri, in an idea I stole from Axel Munthe, the genius of the island appears before him - suitably in the shape of a beautiful boy - and promises him 'such beauty, peace and oblivion as is within your means, if you consent to let your name be branded with infamy down the ages of time...'



Reconstruction of Tiberius' villa in Capri (Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, 34)

That accounts - neatly, I fancy - for Tacitus and Suetonius, though the boy or god - as boys and gods do - cheats him. The bargain is deceptive. Such beauty, peace and oblivion as are within his means are less than he would desire.

In the end, of course, he is desolate:

'Everything I have held good has been tarnished and made to seem filthy and disgusting. In the city, that sink of iniquity, the senators busied themselves with accusations and revenge. I scarcely cared now what charges were brought against whom. Let them kill each other, like rats in a trap, I thought...'

If Tiberius was indeed a misanthropist, wasn't it perhaps that unlike Augustus he had hoped for too much from men?

'As the sun sinks, I look across the bay to the Sirens' rocks, and weep that I have never heard the Sirens' song, and never will... In the night I listen for the owl, Minerva's bird, but hear cocks cry instead, and dogs bark. My life has been consecrated to duty...'

Perhaps he wasn't like that at all. The historical novel is as unreliable as history. But our images come from artists, and the historical novel is an attempt, probably vain, to shed light on the darkness of the past by means of the imagination. If I have done anything to alter the image of Tiberius, it will be a reward for the pleasure which the contemplation of Imperial Rome has brought me.

I have gone further in my elucidation of my own novels than I originally intended, further than the title of my talk promised, further indeed than may be seemly. But I have done so much because in the end it appeared the best way of showing how the Rome of the emperors still exerts its fascination on the imagination and the intelligence.

It does so because it remains for us a living and significant society; because its political problems are not remote; because the display of naked

power it offers is both compelling and salutary; because it presents, in intelligent and articulate fashion, the widest range of human types, among whom even the most apparently typical retains, or rather achieves, a keen individuality. We shall never come to a full understanding of men like Julius Caesar, Augustus and Tiberius. We shall fail to do so because they are too like ourselves, beyond understanding, beings alive and changing in our imagination. All we can do is seek to suggest what manner of men they were. In that we have the incomparable aid of Latin authors - even when we find ourselves in profound disagreement with them.

You will all know the proverb: *Roma, vita non è basta*. The more one knows, the more one imagines, the truer this is. All the novels set in Republican and Imperial Rome are first of all explorations of the fascination that the city and its civilization still exert. They are, at best, modest contributions to understanding. If they succeed in pleasing readers, it is because the grandeur that was Rome, its splendours, miseries, and lofty and unrealized aspirations, its human quality, continue to puzzle and entrance the novelists themselves.

Allan Massie, the Scottish writer, is author of several historical novels including *Augustus* and *Tiberius*.

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INTERVIEW WITH HANS VAN WEES

By Fiona McHardy

Hans Van Wees lectures in Ancient History at University College, London. He has written several articles and a book, *Status Warriors*, on Homeric Society.

Why did you choose to take up classics in the first place? What were your influences?

Strictly speaking, I did not take up classics, but ancient history. I think that there is a significant difference there, but the way I got into it, I suppose, was through classics. At school I was at taught both Latin and Greek and I did those for six years. Also I had an interest in history more generally. I think the combination of interest in history plus the background in ancient languages made ancient history a fairly obvious choice. The question "Why history?" is more difficult to answer. I think it is part of an even more general interest in the study of society and in that respect I am quite keen on social anthropology as well, which in fact was one of the things I studied at university as a subsidiary subject. But I think I chose history rather than anthropology ultimately, partly because I like looking at texts better than working with people and interviews! Partly also because it has an extra level with the change over time. There are quite significant cultural differences between the modern world and the ancient world which are very fascinating.

I really enjoyed your book which takes an historical and anthropological approach to Homer, which is an approach which I like to take myself. But I would call myself a classicist, so I am interested in this distinction.

I think that this is a matter of debate. Certainly when I was an undergraduate, I felt quite strongly that historians look at the material in one way and classicists look at it in a quite different way. But I do agree that very often there are ancient historians who are looking at the material as much from a literary point of view as anything else and there are classicists who look at the historical context as much as at the literary qualities of the texts. So I am sure the distinction is blurred.

Actually, at University College, there is an "Ancient World Studies" degree scheme which has a number of courses in it. The theory behind it is that each of three departments, classics, ancient history and archaeology contribute to it and demonstrate the differences in approach to similar material. In places I think that works. Quite often there are discussions about this course asking whether there is any real difference or whether these are just individual differences; some people look at it this way and some another way; or are there categoric differences between classicists, archaeologists and ancient historians? Usually the upshot of those discussions is that it is very difficult to pin anything down.

A lot of your work so far has been on Homer. What motivated that?

I think that is mostly explained by this combination of interest in history and anthropology. If anthropology has been applied by ancient historians or classicists at all, it has been primarily to Homer because it just seems that there are things in Homer which lend themselves more than most to an anthropological analysis or comparative study. Finley was the one who studied gift exchange, bringing in anthropological studies. Since then it really has taken off, though not immediately, but since the late 70s and 80s. People have quite seriously looked at anthropology to study Homeric society in the light of the anthropological models. So it seemed to me that Homer was the obvious place to start.

Now you are going to do something slightly different. Are you going to take a similar approach?

Yes, it is a similar sort of study, but for a different period. I have maintained this interest for anthropology and tried to bring in more and more explicit anthropological comparisons.

The other difference will be that with the study of Homer I feel quite strongly that the literary evidence in its own right allowed me to reconstruct a picture of Homeric, heroic society. But what I am doing more and more is to look at the material evidence as well. This is for the practical reason that if you study Archaic Greece, there is little literary evidence. So, you need to look more widely at anything that helps. Also, I am finding that iconography, and vase painting more specifically, still has quite a lot of potential for historical analysis rather than art historical analysis.

What texts are you using?

Poets, essentially. The fragments that are available for Theognis, Hesiod and others - and, in fact, I am still looking at Homer too because part of my argument is that Homer is late. So, by this sleight of hand I move Homer into the Archaic period too! I keep promising myself that I am going to do something radically different next, but then, when I refer back to Homer, I find that there are things which I haven't yet discussed.

Do you see a change occurring over time from Homer down to the Classical period?

On the one hand, I am keen to stress the similarities, which I think are continuities, simply to argue the case that Homer isn't entirely fictional; although he is essentially fictional, much of that fiction is based in reality. On the other hand, I am equally keen to point out the differences and actually trace the changes over time. On the whole I am very sympathetic to the idea that there are some fundamental changes through the Archaic period and indeed throughout Greek history, but perhaps especially in the Archaic period when Greek society transforms into pretty much what it looks like in the Classical period.

To what extent does that bring cross-cultural comparison into difficulties?

I don't think it does bring it into difficulties. I think this is where ancient historians and classicists can contribute things to anthropology, because in social sciences it is often very difficult to study change. Although quite a few anthropologists and sociologists have made an effort to study change, it is fairly limited. I think what you can do with Archaic Greece is to propose how one type of society, one type of culture, changes into another and you've got at least some historical evidence to show how it happened and perhaps even why it happened. I don't see that it is a problem to make a comparison between two societies which are very similar and which change over time. Societies do change. Although anthropologists usually show a fairly static picture, that doesn't mean that a primitive society doesn't change.

I am thinking in particular of those who argue for the continuity of Ancient Greece into Modern Greece and those who oppose them saying, although those two societies look similar, things are working in a different way.

There are difficulties with making comparisons between Modern and Ancient Greece because there are some interests at stake. Some people are very keen to see continuity there. So, there is an ideologically laden element to the debate as well. But again there do seem to be similarities; whether they are continuities is another matter. I would stress that the differences are at least as significant as the similarities. But similarities do tend to occur where you are dealing with essentially similar circumstances, as my former colleague at Cardiff Peter Walker makes a point of arguing. Agricultural societies create a certain environment which produces similar patterns, but which does not in itself imply continuity.

Your point about ideological bias among Greek scholars is an interesting one. Do you think other scholars suffer from this kind of problem?

I think that traditionally this was a much greater problem than it is now, although it did not involve the same idea of national pride. There is a certain identification of Western culture as we know it with our Greek ancestors, which has affected the interpretation of antiquity. Clearly, this was the case in Victorian times when English gentlemen liked to see the Greeks as essentially English gentlemen. Obviously, there are similar problems with people looking at the text in a very particular light, wanting to see mirrored in it what they think themselves to be. I think that this happens much less frequently now, but I am not sure that that attitude has completely left us. There are still a lot of classicists and ancient historians who are not entirely aware of the cultural differences between us and the ancients. You can still find interpretations, especially of something like tragedy, in terms of issues that interest us instead of the issues that might have interested the Greeks at the time.

Finally, which ancient author or work which is not now extant would you like to recover?

First of all I have to say that when making this choice of which ancient author I'd like to recover, it wouldn't be based on literary merits. It would be going slightly too far to say I didn't care how good a poem it was, but nevertheless that would give you the general sentiment. What I'd really like to recover is a source that tells us a lot about ancient society that we don't yet know, which means from a literary point of view I'd prefer to have a fairly mediocre work that tells us a lot of useful information.

Since I am working on Archaic Greece now, I'd have to go for some Archaic poetry. I can't decide between Archilochos and Hipponax. I think those would be useful because they represent the sort of poetry that we have rather less of; the rather more scandalous sort of poetry. Archilochos I'd

like very much because he's very early and, from what I've seen, he does represent a really significant change from Homer. So, I think that might be most useful for my own personal purposes. But as for Hipponax, the bits that survive are even scrappier than for Archilochos and they do suggest wildly different stuff. I like to think that seeing more of Hipponax might transform our understanding of what sixth century Greece was like at the time.

Not as my personal favourite, but something I'd like to see - two prose sources which have a very bad reputation, Hekataios and Hellanikos. Herodotos is always having a dig at Hekataios and Thoukydides implicitly at Hellanikos and I suspect that they've been done a gross injustice by these two sources. Hekataios again is an early source on the sixth century and despite Thoukydides' objections, I suspect that Hellanikos' version of the *Pentekontaetia* might well have been more accurate and informative than his own! So, I'd like to have a bit of them as well.

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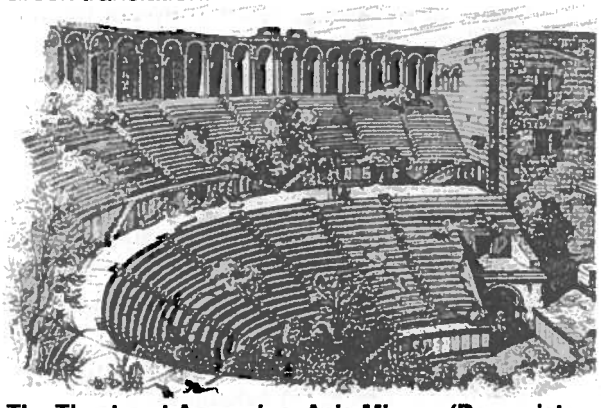
SOPHOCLES' *ANTIGONE* IN OXFORD

By Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus

Between July 22 and 27, 1966, the Theatriki Leschi of Volos, directed by Spyros Vrachoritis, put on Sophocles' *Antigone* at St John's College, Oxford. This was the production that won the Volos Theatre Company its Unesco prize for the Promotion of Arts at Seville in 1992. Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus attended the matinee performance on the 27th which was followed by a panel discussion.

The originality of this production lay, ironically enough, in its fidelity to the text and metrical rhythms (if not the precise vowel quantities) of the classical Greek original. The performances of ancient Greek plays for which Epidauros is still famous are, of course, presented in Modern Greek translation.



The Theatre at Aspendos, Asia Minor. (Baumeister, *Denkmäler, fig* 1822)

As a former classicist (Exeter University 1966-69) who went on to specialize for an Oxford D.Phil. in the modern Greek drama of the Cretan Renaissance (*c*.1600), I had many reasons for being interested in this production. I had two goals in mind: to see what a modern Greek troupe did with the metre, and to study the staging. As it turned out, the metrical experimentation was so fascinating a component of the performance that I completely abandoned my second goal and attempted to follow the whole play with the text. The task was not facilitated by middle-aged sight and the crepuscular lighting, and I suffered sporadic confusion when the chorus unexpectedly repeated a strophe or antistrophe, and when part of one episode, played initially by men, was immediately repeated by women. I put down the book at the end ocularly exhausted, but intellectually elated by the remarkable textual accuracy and fluency of the actors.

The Theatrical Club of Volos deserve sincere congratulations for a truly astonishing collective feat of memory (I noticed only one missed cue, adroitly covered) and voice control. They managed to create the illusion of personal engagement in an engrossing dramatic conflict, while simultaneously using intonation in a variety of ways to imitate the metrical beat or ictus of the original, as prescribed by their 'philological adviser', Dr Michalis Kopidakis. They had to maintain this artificial tension against the position of stress on related or identical Modern Greek words, and against the position of the traditional written accents (not always the same thing, especially in dissyllabic prepositions). In general, they succeeded in giving quite a fair impression of the underlying pulse of the original metre.

However, entrenched pronunciations are difficult to override (try insisting on '**e**xquisite' with the initial 'e' stressed instead of the first 'i', as most people now pronounce it). Because these actors were distorting their natural speech-rhythms continually, often several times in a verse, there were some inconsistencies. The written accent tended to take over from the metrical ictus especially at the end of the verse, where the iambic rhythm seemed to lose momentum as the actor tired. For example, the phrase *καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν* (723) emerged with two beats and a non-iambic rhythm as /kal**o**n to manth**a**nin/ (following Modern Greek accentuation), instead of with three beats set by vowel quantity, (roughly) /kal**o**n to m**a**nthan**e**in/; something similar happened with *εἰ κέρδος φέρει* (1032), pronounced /i k**e**rdhos f**e**ri/ instead of /**e**i kerd**o**s fer**e**i/. But the attempt was none the less

valiant for the occasional lapses, which testified to the heroism of the enterprise.[1]

Unfortunately, the verbal complexity of Sophoclean drama is not easily accessible to Greeks of today, who mostly absorb their classics by gist rather than detail, through translations varying in style from old-fashioned literal to slangy paraphrase (i.e. no better than ours). From occasional mismatches between content and expression, perhaps attributable to idiosyncratic direction, I doubt whether even the Volos actors properly understood everything they were saying. They seem to have been instructed to produce a plangent tone in certain passages as a whole, but a peak in their lamentation did not always coincide with an intensification of the pathos at that particular point. There were also several mistakes in the placing of punctuation, which reinforced my impression of lack of detailed comprehension.

Whether Sophocles would have recognised his own text in the form it was given by the actors of the Theatriki Leschi is arguable; but it would have sounded more Greek to him than a performance given by Anglo-Saxons, with English intonations and their strange approximations of Greek diphthongs (e.g. *ευ*, never in the history of Greek pronounced like 'ewe'). Conventional British pronunciations of Greek proper names betray our habit of ignoring the accent position or stressing Greek words as if they were English. We accord the same cavalier treatment to our own ancient texts; how many British scholars can read the verse of Chaucer aloud in contemporary pronunciation? How many British actors would pronounce the full ten syllables of Shakespeare's iambic pentameter 'They have proclaimed their malefactions'?

It is perhaps not generally realized that the Greeks of today usually find the pronunciation of classical Greek impossible to distinguish in practice from that of the modern language. Greeks have understandably resisted the Erasmian pronunciation since the sixteenth century, when the Cretan classicist Francesco Porto quarrelled with Buchanan over it. Even now, when scientific research into changes in pronunciation has resulted in a few virtual certainties, some still maintain that Greeks, being Greek, have a natural insight into how classical Greek was pronounced. It should not, therefore, surprise us that classical Greek texts of twenty-five centuries ago are generally spoken by Greek classicists with modern phonetics and the Modern Greek stress accent.

The evolution of consonants during these centuries has been relatively slow, essentially involving the pronounciation of beta as /v/; delta as /dh/, like 'th' in 'the'; and gamma as either jod, /j/, or a guttural fricative /gh/. Much more disorienting for the purposes of word identification is the evolution in vowels. No distinction is made between the vowels *ι η υ* and diphthongs *ει οι υι*, all pronounced as /i:/ ('ee' in 'feet'); nor between the vowel *ε* and diphthong *αι*, both pronounced as /ε/ ('e' in 'set'). In practice, this means that Greeks listening to the New Testament being read in church cannot distinguish *ὑμεῖς* (you) from *ἡμεῖς* (we). Whole auditoria of students at Athens University during the junta howled in protest when unfamiliar archaic words such as *οἰονεί* (= Latin *quasi*) were resuscitated to adorn lectures obligatorily dictated and taken down in *katharevousa*. British classicists would thus have found it almost impossible to follow this production of the *Antigone* in Modern Greek pronunciation. It produced odd effects, as for example in the lament *αἰαῖ αἰαῖ* (1306) as /ε.ε ε.ε/ (with intervening glottal stops): an unnatural disortion of the human cry of pain /aïaï aïaï/. This demonstrated the phonetic shift between classical and Modern Greek almost as tellingly as the baaing of sheep (*βῆ βῆ*, pronounced originally 'beh beh'; or did ancient sheep say 'vee vee'?).

Especially difficult problems are caused by the evolution from an ancient metrical system based on vowel length or quantity, which makes it virtually impossible for the Greeks of today, reading in modern pronunciation, to reproduce the rhythmical patterns of a classical text. They are preconditioned -- as we are -- to read ancient Greek with the polytonic accent positions imposed by Hellenistic grammarians; but instead of observing vowel quantity, they mark the prescribed predominant syllable by an increase in volume and a change, usually elevation, in pitch: the Modern Greek stress accent. Where this production innovated was in its imitation of Sophocles' quantitative metres by emphasis, sung or spoken, on the syllables carrying the strongest beat or ictus in each verse. It may be objected that the subtle ancient patterns based on syllables calculated as short or long by vowel length or density of following consonants can never be represented adequately by the cruder technique of foot-tappable rhythm; but it is difficult to evade the implication of some kind of prominence associated with the long syllables and their arrangement in mathematical patterns, a prominence which might as well be approximated by vocal emphasis as by any other means.

Three main methods of dealing with the metre were imposed upon the Volos troupe, who were presumably coached in these by their metrical consultant. The least aesthetically pleasing method was the spacing out of iambic trimeters in separate feet, heavily stressing the second syllable of each pair, thus (taking v. 1 as an example):

ὦ κοι-νὸν / αὐτ-ά / δελ-φον / Ἰσ-μή / νης- κά / ρα

O ki - non aft - a dhel - fon iz - mi nis - ka ra

[1] Symbols between slashes (/x/) are an approximate guide to pronunciation.

This technique was sometimes combined with semi-singing or chanting, which partly justified the artificiality. Whether the trimeter ever sounded so rigidly regular is very doubtful, but this approach served one useful purpose, to teach the audience what basic shape to expect from the iambics. Classicists in this country have probably always used rhythmical pronounced stress as an aid to mastery of the patterns of ancient metre.

The second method, again for iambic passages, was to preserve the di-dah-di-dah rhythm, but to patter it off more fluently, like prose dialogue. This is a method much used by our Shakepearean actors, and perhaps for that reason my ear accepted it readily. There was occasionally the impression of enjambement between verses, but in general each verse was somewhat artificially set off from the preceding and following verses by a little pause. Perhaps because of the intense strain of observing the ictus, the performers sometimes failed to highlight the dramatic conflicts with the necessary clarity, delivering their lines correctly but without expression. In passages of stichomythia, while greatly admiring the fast pace maintained, I wondered if such speedy delivery was desirable or authentic. Each speaker began his single-verse riposte almost before his interlocutor had finished. The density of meaning in these often enigmatic single verses seems to call for a more measured delivery; in real life such compressed sentences would require time for composition, let alone for someone to assess their implications and formulate a reply. Their primary function was surely not speed of delivery, but the heightening of tension, which can be enhanced by pause.

The third method, used mainly for the choric passages in lyric metres, was a kind of musical recitative varied with some chanting in Gregorian or Eastern Orthodox style; in the latter, the actor's voice mounted in pitch over several verses to a climax, then dropped to mark the end of the 'paragraph' as in Scripture readings. This set the predominantly ritualistic style of the production, a religious subtext which perfectly suited the theme of piety towards the dead. The liturgical atmosphere was further maintained by having one strophe repeated by a semichorus as background music to the next; annoying if you were listening for the words, but stylistically effective. As far as I could judge, all the complex lyric metres were treated in this semi-operatic way.

I was puristically irritated by the practice of repeating the separated syllable at the beginning of the second line where words are split (hyphenated) across two lines of lyric. Presumably this was meant to facilitate comprehension by completing the word, but it distorted the metrical integrity of the second verse by adding a redundant (hypermetric) initial syllable, as for example:

ἰὼ Διρκαῖαι κρῆ-
[κρῆ]ναι Θήβας τ' εὐαρμάτου ἄλ-
[ἄλ]σος, ἔμπας ξυμμάρτυρας ὔμμ' ἐπικτῶμαι
(844-6)

This odd technique occurred with some frequency. It must be stressed, however, that this was the only deliberate departure from the overall policy of following the outlines of Sophocles' metrical patterns. Perhaps it arose from an honest conviction on the part of the adviser that this was how the poet meant the actors to deal with split words. My own belief is that their existence proves rather that passages in lyric metres without strong sense-breaks were meant to flow unimpeded from verse to verse. The ancients did not need to have their metres spelt out by pauses; writing verse down in discrete metrical units is an obvious graphic convenience not necessarily observed in recitation.

In the panel discussion which followed the performance, the patience of the Greekless section of the audience was somewhat tried by the difficulties of communicating between four English classicists led by Oliver Taplin, and the producer, Mr Vrachoritis, backed up by a Greek research student doing his first stint as translator. In spite of this linguistic confusion, compounded by some unfamiliar 'English' words such as dochmiacs and chthonic, the discussion permitted the panel and audience to express their appreciation of the musicality, ritualistic dignity and visual beauty of the performance.

The producer explained that he had aimed at a production which broke with all precedents in Modern Greece by preserving the language and rhythmical structure of the original. He judged from the metrical complexity of this play, especially Creon's dochmiacs at the end, that a 'conversational' production was not Sophocles' intention. Hence, interlocutors were often placed facing the audience and not each other, because the producer saw this play as a dialogue between Sophocles and the audience, not between actors. The half-masks worn by the actors were a compromise between the stiffness of a full classical mask and the expressiveness of modern theatrical makeup. The white costumes of most were meant to present a liturgical appearance; but Antigone was dressed in red because her nature was encapsulated by the verb *καλχαίνουσ'* in line 20, literally 'make purple', figuratively 'trouble' (transitive) or 'ponder deeply'. Black was used to create the impression of chthonic (pertaining to the underworld) grief. The dim lighting at this production was not typical of other performances, often staged in the open air. The beautiful hand-gestures of the actors were intended as a supplement to, or fulfilment of the metre (*συμπλήρωμα της προσωδίας*). The producer's interpretation ran counter to more feminist approaches to *Antigone*

in that it removed the focus from the heroine to the figure of Creon (because he speaks the largest number of lines; a simplistic criterion), emphasizing his gradual acceptance of guilt and his final grief partly through the visual trick of maintaining his presence centre-stage throughout. The spectator goes on his way rejoicing (*αγάλλεται*) in Creon's grief, thus producing tragic catharsis -- a rather novel interpretation of the Aristotelian concept.

In view of my preoccupation with the text, I missed most of the spectacular dimension of this production; but as it turns out, this may have been its least significant aspect. A fellow-member of the audience, who knew the play well, confessed herself disappointed by the staging, which she found static and lacking in clues as to identity. The male actors of Antigone and Ismene were not costumed recognisably as women, and made no attempt at feminine voices. The dramatic confrontations between male characters were not put across with enough gesture and expression to enable the audience to follow the action. I was thus better equipped, with my eyes glued to the text, to work out who was who than the audience watching the performance. My neighbour looked in vain for some indication of the beauty of the famous odes to Eros and the Sun, and missed altogether Antigone's touching speech regretting that she must die unmarried. I too missed a certain dramatic highlighting of these key elements. Perhaps we were reacting as women against the virility of this unusual production, which deliberately underplayed the more charming aspects of Sophocles' play.

Nevertheless, the interest aroused by this production, which was well attended throughout the week, was thoroughly merited. If my own reactions and those of the panel and questioners are characteristic, it made the audience think hard about the conditions of ancient performance and to what extent these can, or should, be reproduced in a modern production. It set an exciting precedent for the staging of Greek productions elsewhere in the European Union, including (why not?) the lively translations of classical Greek tragedy and comedy put on at Epidauros and in Athens. Educated audiences in Italy, France, and England would find fascinating classical echoes in the works of the Cretan Renaissance theatre put on at the Athens Festival and in Crete, as well as those of the Dalmatian Renaissance performed at the Dubrovnik Festival. With explanatory programmes, these productions would make an excellent cultural export from which we in Northern Europe would have much to learn.

Rosemary Bancroft-Marcus is a former student of the Dept. of Classics and Ancient History at Exeter; (see this year's *Res Gestae*). Her article on the Greek language question, 'Lord Professors & Prophet Papadopoulos', can be found in *Pegasus* 13 (1971).

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VIOLENCE AND POLITICS IN THE AGE OF CICERO

By Jessica Dixon

Violence and disruption were rife in the late republic. Violence was inextricably linked with politics: it was used at elections to intimidate the electorate into voting for a certain candidate; at the assembly to force through laws or prevent the tribune using his power of veto; prior to elections, to ensure support; and against individual citizens to prevent their opposition, or even to eradicate them altogether. There are numerous examples of the first form of violence, for example, in 55BC, violence was used during the elections of praetors and aediles; in 54-53BC there was constant violence over the consular elections, including a number of deaths, when tribunes intervened to obstruct Pomptinus' surreptitiously voted triumph; in 53-52BC the candidates for the magistracies of 52, including Milo, Clodius, Plautius Hypsaeus and Metellus Scipio, employed violence as a considerable part of their electoral campaigns, culminating in the murder of Clodius by Milo's gang on the Appian Way. [2] In 61BC, Clodius' supporters occupied the *pontes* [galleries leading from the voting enclosures] and distributed tablets among which there were none for the ayes. Such highly illegal practices are to be expected of the violent thug which Cicero represents Clodius to be in his *Pro Milone*.

Obviously, since the speech is in defence of Milo, Clodius' murderer, Cicero is attempting to portray Clodius in the worst light possible to make his murder seem justified, therefore much of what he says is likely to be exaggerated, or even fictional. Cicero implies that the mere presence of Milo is enough to disperse Clodius' gang, but it is far more likely that the sight of Milo's gang of gladiators was the actual cause of Clodius' terror.

The basis of Cicero's argument in *Pro Milone* is that violence can sometimes be justified as a last resort, and the speech is therefore helpful when trying to understand how politicians could justify the paradox of deploring violence unless they themselves were the perpetrators. Cicero begins by pointing out that there is a natural law which lays it down that,

> *if our lives are endangered by plots or violence or armed robbers or enemies, any and every method of protecting ourselves is morally right (p222).*

He also cites human law:

[2] Lintott (1968) 214.-15.

The Twelve Tables themselves ordained that a thief may be killed by night under any circumstances, and that he may be killed also by day, if he attempts to defend himself with a weapon (p221).

However, the main method, and the most forceful, which Cicero utilises is the citing of precedents. In a society in which *status dignitas* was of utmost importance to a citizen, the recollection of their worthy ancestors was integral to their claim to *dignitas*, and a similar ideology was used to link the great men of the past with those of the present, to the aggrandizement of the latter. Conversely, an "evil" man of the present was made to appear even worse by connection with an "evil" man of the past. Cicero therefore uses these tactics to defend Milo's actions.

If it is automatically wrong to put Roman citizens guilty of criminal acts to death, then the famous Servilius Ahala and Publius Nasica and Lucius Opimius and C. Marius and the Senate during my own consulship, should all have to be regarded as having acted sinfully (p221).

These examples are repeatedly used to justify execution outside of the law, as in the First Catilinarian Speech in which Cicero says he was encouraged to meet Catiline's violence with violence,

...seeing that our most eminent and distinguished citizens of earlier times, when they shed the blood of Saturninus and the Gracchi and Flaccus and many others, did not by any means stain their reputations but even enhanced them (p91).

This attitude goes some way to account for the violence in the late republic: politicians saw it as a convenient means to the end of their personal advancement, and were able to meet violence with violence, justified by past precedent, where men who posed a threat to the state could be executed with impunity.

Violence was only used by the senate in response to violence when the matter was already out of control: there were no preventative measures. There was nothing resembling a permanent police force which might deter people from using violence. The magistrates had the power of *coercitio* which originally covered scourging and execution, though the former was made illegal under the *lex Porcia* at the beginning of the second century BC and the latter was usually a military procedure, the threat of which was normally enough.[3] It also covered arrest and carrying to prison of a disobedient person, imposing a fine and seizing a pledge, but this power was not absolute, it could be resisted. Lictors were used by a magistrate to ensure he could carry out his function, but they were a tiny minority regarding the size of the assembly and were therefore only effective if they had the support of the crowd. This is shown in Asconius' account of C. Calpurnius Piso's opposition to Cornelius:

And when he ordered those who were raising threatening hands against him to be seized by a lictor, his fasces were broken and stones were thrown at the consul even from the fringe of the assembly. (58C)

Troops could only be conscripted if the city was under outside attack, so if force was needed inside the city, it had to be implemented by the citizens themselves - there was no state patrol. Cicero sent L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus to the Milvian bridge, with:

...a considerable company of staunch followers and ... a picked unit from the country town of Reate, which I regularly employ for police duties on national business (p112).

Their purpose was to ambush the envoys of the Allobroges and appropriate the letters to Catiline from Lentulus, Cethegus and Statilius which would prove they were guilty of conspiracy against Rome. The fact that the force is made up of "staunch followers" indicates that the citizens would offer their services to a potentially violent confrontation because they believed in the cause, or perhaps because it was advisable to be seen to support the senate lest they should be accused of supporting the conspirators. The band from Reate which Cicero refers to would have been semi-professionals whom he had hired privately for the occasion, and, as he says, also on previous occasions. However, the "staunch followers" in the passage might not always be "staunch followers" prepared to fight under Cicero's command. Indeed, these same men may later be nowhere to be found, having shifted their political allegiances. My point is that there was no permanent objective force to deal with transgressors of the law. This means that though temporary solutions could be reached, as we can see by Cicero putting down the Catiline conspiracy, no permanent way of dealing with violence was established.

The idea of judging a matter by its circumstances contributes considerably to the amount of violence in the late republic. There were laws concerning violence, but they could not touch an influential citizen unless there was considerable support for his conviction in the senate. Cicero himself points this out:

P. Clodius was able to murder a very distinguished knight, Marcus Papirius, without the crime apparently calling for any punishment whatsoever. For the murderer was an aristocrat, surrounded by his own family memorials; and the man he was disposing of was merely a Roman knight (p227).

Of course this is particularly relevant to Cicero, who, being a *novus homo*, would be especially sensitive to aristocrats pulling rank to commit murder. An influential citizen could be accused of violence: Clodius was being indicted by Milo under the *lex Plotia de vi* after Cicero's recall from exile (57BC), but the charge was never brought to court. When Clodius was elected aedile (56BC), he prosecuted Milo in return, but it is doubtful whether the final vote ever took place. Just as the elections for 53BC were prolonged by rioting, law

[3] Nippel (1981) 21.

cases could be prolonged or postponed so that really powerful men were often never even brought to court. If they were, they were frequently acquitted, unless an even more powerful man was forcing the result.

This is basically what happened at Milo's trial: it was in Pompey's interest for Milo to be convicted, and evidently it was in 38 of the 51 judges' interests to keep Pompey happy, although Cicero does his best to deny the result is a foregone conclusion.

This may be a kind of desperate backlash from Cicero to deny there is one person, Pompey, who is the prime mover behind everything, despite the evidence to the contrary glaring him in the face:

> *Let us suppose that your recruiting officers are justified in their assertions that these call-ups of Italians and these weapons and these units on the Capitol and sentries and police and the picked bodyguard which watches over your own person and your home, are all specifically designed to resist an onslaught from Milo (p257)*

His implication is that it is ridiculous to think that Pompey would make such an effort just to resist Milo, but he is in fact revealing the extent to which Pompey is physically in control of the situation, as he should be, considering the senate has given him ultimate power. Cicero seems very reluctant to admit that Pompey's power is far greater than his was under the SCU of 63BC, because it goes against all his principles, and, in fact, all the principles of the republic.

This reluctance can be seen in the following passage, which ostensibly flatters Pompey, as he was obliged to do:

> *this year, under the exceptionally great consul who is with us today, is going to bring significant benefits to Rome. Turbulence is going to be put down and evil passions subdued; the authority of the law and its processes will be supreme (p263)*

Cicero is presenting Pompey as a champion of the law, not as the self-interested, ambitious man he was likely to have been. He seems to envisage a future where the law has been re-established, Pompey will have subsided after fulfilling his task, and everything will be the same as it always was (with possibly another consulship on the cards for himself).

Of course, Cicero is deluding himself. The law never had sufficient authority for Rome to be governed impartially and it never would. When Tiberius Gracchus tried to flout the law by standing for the tribunate for a second year, the reason he was murdered by Nasica was not because he had broken the law but because he was attempting to accumulate too much personal power, thus posing a threat to the senate. The reason the senate supported Nasica's illegal action was that he was acting in their interests. Cicero himself should have known the law was just a tool in the hands of powerful men: in 58BC Clodius passed a law to exile him for his part in the executions of the Catilinarian conspirators; in 57BC Milo, now tribune, helped pass a law to recall Cicero. Even the opponents of Cicero allowed his recall as a concession to Pompey, who was generally sympathetic towards Cicero, on the understanding that, newly appointed as *cura annonae*, he would solve the corn supply problem.

This brings me to the demographic reasons for the prominence of violence in the late republic when hunger was the main cause of much of the rioting. Corn shortage was not a new phenomenon in Rome, and the way it was dealt with also did not differ greatly: temporary, occasional solutions were offered which were barely effective at the time, let alone long-term. For example, in 62BC, to soothe the restless plebs, Cato "of Utica" persuaded the senate to distribute corn at the Treasury's expense. However, such a measure, as Veyne points out, was hardly effective, since only a small number of the many who required corn received it, and the amount they were given was not enough to feed their whole household anyway, so they still had to recourse to the public market, where there was either not enough corn, or it was extortionately priced. The measure clearly did not help:

> *... in 57BC Rome suffered famine and riots. The hungry plebs thought that the dearth was a punishment from heaven because the rich had recalled Cicero from exile.*[4]

The actual reasons were that some corn-growing countries had no corn, or the corn had been exported to other countries, and some corn was being held in custody until the famine reached its height.[5] However, the fact that the plebs blamed the recall of Cicero for the famine indicates how receptive they would be to a man such as Clodius, who was an enemy of Cicero and could convince them that he would be their mouthpiece against him. His law which provided for the free distribution of corn (58BC) would obviously ingratiate himself to the plebs. In fact,

> *the problem of corn ... was to serve the magnates as a pretext for having the senate confer on them those commands which, more than the magistracies, had become the real instruments of political power. In 57BC, Pompey was appointed commissioner of corn, with full powers in this sphere throughout the empire, for a period of five years.*[6]

In other words, anyone with ambition would try to tap in to the popularity obtainable by being in charge of a corn-growing province - but the efforts of all of them, especially Clodius, were thwarted by Pompey's appointment, which gave him the monopoly, and helped to consolidate his already enormous power. It would be an oversimplification to say that hunger leads to violence, but it would be fair to say that it made the plebs more

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[4] Veyne (1992) 235.

[5] *Ibid,* 236.

[6] *Ibid.* 240.

susceptible to the appeal of a man like Clodius, and they would be willing to carry out violence on his behalf, to break up meetings, or force a result. For example, in 57BC, when Sestio tried to use *obnuntatio* against Metellus Nepos, he was attacked by Clodius' gangs and beaten up.[7]

Another major group which Clodius appealed to was the collegia. A collegia had three aspects - a trade guild, religious brotherhood and local association[8] - and

> *to a certain extent [it was an] autonomous organisation beyond the control of the nobility, which served especially to articulate the cultural identity of the urban masses.*[9]

The fact that the collegia were not strictly controlled by the nobility meant they were suspect to a senate alert to any hint of conspiracy, as can be seen by the Twelve Tables (VIII.26) which bans any *coetus nocturnus*. Any kind of 'secret' meeting which the collegia may have held was considered suspicious: this inherent prejudice and

> *the violence used by Manilius' freedmen in 67BC, and the growth of armed gangs must have persuaded the senate to forbid the meetings of these guilds, and especially their annual games, so provoking widespread hostility.*[10]

This hostility meant that when Clodius became tribune he made himself very popular by not only reviving the annual games, Compitalia, but also by passing a law to restore the official status of the old collegia, and allow recognition for new ones.[11] Thus he proved that Cicero was utterly wrong to say that Lentulus' agent had failed to recruit members of the collegia because they were well aware their livelihoods would be destroyed and their shops burnt if they supported Catiline. He concludes:

> *an enormous majority of the workers in the shops, in fact, I may say, the entire class, are thoroughly devoted to peace (p141).*

It is as untenable for Cicero to generalise about this class, or any class, as it is for anyone to argue that Clodius' power lay in his support from all the plebs and all the collegia, but it is true to say that the majority of his support did come from these areas, a feat which lay in his ability

> *to identify his own cause (whatever his personal aims may have been) with the general issue of libertas.* [12]

There were demographic reasons which are partly an explanation for the violence occurring specifically in the late republic: the population explosion, with its attendant problems, for example corn shortage and bad housing, leading to social unrest, and the much higher number of freedmen in Rome, which greatly enlarged the collegia, as a result, for example, of the ten thousand slaves freed by Sulla. However, these factors alone are not enough to explain the amount of violence and disruption there was in the late republic. The ambition of the influential men of the time drove them to employ violence in the often successful attempt to prevent laws being passed which would not further their interests. The primary way in which they did this was to exploit the tribune's power of *intercessio* or *obnuntatio*. This power meant that a plebiscite to quell public disorder would simply not be passed, and the only way to get over this problem would require a reconstruction of the constitution. No politician would want to propose this because it would very likely be considered to amount to a threat to overturn the senate and could result in execution. Therefore violent means, which were largely futile, were employed to counteract violence. For violence was counteracted by more violence, with everyone trying to ensure that no one person was more powerful than anyone else. All the major politicians employed a bodyguard of some sort, made up of a mixture of gladiators and clients. In short, if a man were powerful enough to muster the support of men willing to perform violent acts, he was powerful enough to get away with violence, because there was nothing to stophim, other than the violence of other powerful men, as can be seen by the clash of Milo and Clodius on the Appian Way. As Cicero points out, if Milo's gang had not killed Clodius, Clodius' gang would certainly have killed Milo. By this time, the strength of the gangs could only be met by that of troops, which is why the senate appointed Pompey as sole consul with the power to levy troops in Italy.

The year 52BC saw the end of the republic, but there were still the ambitious men, with many supporters, whose attempts to secure power for themselves made it impossible for this to coincide with the end of violence in Rome.

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[7] Lintott (1968) 70.
[8] *Ibid.* 80.
[9] Nippel (1881) 28.
[10] Lintott (1968) 81.
[11] *Ibid.* 82.
[12] Nippel (1981) 23.

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A POETIC GEM: POSIDIPPUS ON PEGASUS

Translation and Notes by Kostas Niafas

One of the most remarkable papyrus finds of recent years - indeed, the most substantial discovery since Menander's *Dyskolos* - has been that of the text of over a hundred epigrams by the Hellenistic poet Posidippos.

At the beginning of 1992, thanks to a generous donation on behalf of the Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, the Università degli Studi in Milan acquired a mummy cartonnage, which turned out to have been put together by glueing used papyrus leaves. Among the carefully retrieved documents was a sensational find: a large part of a papyrus roll containing about one hundred epigrams of Posidippus, one of the major figures in the Alexandrian literary scene of the 3rd century B.C. If his name is not well known today, it is because until recently we have had only a handful of his epigrams - twentythree in all. Therefore, this find is extremely important not only because it quintuples the available corpus of epigrams by a poet central to the development of the genre - it gives us no less than 600 new lines - but also because it dates from the second half of the 3rd century, very close to the poet's lifetime, which makes it a unique example of book production in early Hellenistic Egypt. The eagerly awaited first edition of the papyrus is being completed at the moment by two Milan papyrologists, Guido Bastianini and Claudio Gallazzi, who have already provided us with their account of the discovery ("Il poeta ritrovato", Rivista "Ca' de Sass", n. 121, March 1993) and a welcome first sample of the epigrams (*Posidippo. Epigrammi*, Il Polifilo, Milano 1993). The principle of arrangement in the collection was thematic: more than twenty form a group about stones and gems, their properties and the subjects engraved upon them. To that group belongs the following epigram, which after twenty-three centuries we can read again from an unexpected source, so close to the time and place of its original composition. We thank Professors Bastianini and Gallazzi for their kind permission to reproduce the text.

εὖ τὸν Πήγασον ἵππον ἐπ' ἠερόεσσαν ἴασπιν
χεῖρά τε καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἔγλυφ' ὁ χειροτέχνης·
Βελλεροφόντης μὲν γὰρ Αλήιον εἰς Κιλίκων γῆν
ἤριφ', ὁ δ' εἰς κυανῆν ἠέρα πῶλος ἔβη,
οὕνεκ' ἀηνιόχητον ἔτι τρομέοντα χαλινοῖς
ἵππον ἐπ' αἰθερίωι τῶιδ' ἐτύπωσε λίθωι.

Excellently has the craftsman engraved the steed Pegasus
on sky-blue chalcedony, with skill and insight.
For Bellerophon fell to the land of Aleia in Cilicia,
but the colt went up in the blue sky;
that is why he has depicted a steed unfettered by reins
and still trembling on this celestial gem.

Notes. With divine help the hero Bellerophon captured Pegasus, the winged horse born from Medusa's blood when she was slain by Perseus. After performing many feats together Bellerophon overreached himself by trying to climb the heavens. He duly dropped to earth in the Aleian plain of Cilicia (*Iliad* 6.200-2, Pindar *Isthmian* 7.43-8, *Olympian* 13.63-6, D.P. 871 f.), while the horse was entrusted by Zeus with carrying his thunder and lightning (Hesiod *Theogony* 284-6). Testimonies and bibliographical references for the myth in F. D. Harvey, "Pegasus: a cup, a coin and a context", in: *Pegasus. Classical Essays from the University of Exeter*, 1981, pp. 19-24 (v. esp. p. 23, n. 1), and Catherine Lochin's recent survey in *LIMC* s.v. *Pegasos* (vol. VII.1, 1994, pp. 214-230). Pindar's thirteenth *Olympian ode*, based on the myth, is discussed by K. M. Dickson, *Ramus* 15, 1986, pp. 122-42, and T. K. Hubbard, *HSCPh* 90, 1986, pp. 27-48.

Representations of Pegasus on gems, both classical and Hellenistic, are not uncommon: one example, now in Hanover, is shown in our illustration above.

Line 1. *Εὖ* holds the first place in the first line of an epigram in *AP* 10.35.1 (Lucian) and *APlan.* 27.1 (anon.). In neither case does it stand independent, but in connection with the adjacent par-

ticiple (*εὖ πράττων..., εὖ εἰδώς...*). Its emphatic use here is quite unparalleled and suggests an exclamation at the revelation of artistic skill rather than a simple qualitative statement. With *ἠερόεσσαν* Posidippus adapts to epic language the term for a kind of blue chalcedony which is known to Pliny as *aerizusa*. Both he and Dionysius Periegetes, who uses Posidippus' term, *ἠερόεσσαν ἴασπιν*, inform us that it came from the Caspian region (*NH* 37.115, 37.116, D.P. 724. Cf. Gutzwiller, *GRBS* 36, (1995), 386).

Line 2. *χείρ* is commonly used for craftsmanship, cf. *AP* 9.752.1 (Asclepiades) and Gow-Page, *HE* 1014. For the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction *χεῖρά τε καὶ κατὰ νοῦν*, cf. K.-G. §451.3 and *AP* 6.14.5 (Antipater of Sidon), 7.21.3 (Simias), 7.738.3 (Theodoridas).

Line 3. *Αλήιον...γῆν* is a variant (*hapax*) of *Αλήιον πεδίον* (*Iliad* 6.201, Hdt. 6.95).

Line 4. *ἀήρ* here is feminine as in Homer and Hesiod (from Herodotus onwards it becomes masculine). Although in archaic epic it always means "mist", not "air", which is a later sense, Aristarchus believed Homer used it meaning the lower air (LSJ s.v.).

Line 5. The verbal adjective *ἀηνιόχητον* is found only here (*hapax*); *ἔτι τρομέοντα* is paralleled by Virgil *G.* 3.189: *etiamque tremens* (cf. ibid. 3.250).

Line 6. *αἰθερίοι λίθοι* echoes both the reference to the ascent of Pegasus in the blue sky (*κυανὴν ἠέρα*, line 4) and the colour of the gem (*ἠερόεσσαν*, line 1). The point of the epigram seems to be that the artist has made a good choice of subject, with the colour of the gem available to him (a similar thought is expressed in *AP* 9.748, 751, and 752. Cf. Gutzwiller, *ibid.*).

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SCHAMA BY THE SEASIDE

Classics and Ancient History Reading Party, Lamledra House, Gorran Haven, Cornwall.

By Matthew Leigh

Lamledra House

At the start of the second book of his *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius offers a memorable account of philosophical detachment and impassivity:

> *Sweet it is when out on the broad sea the winds disturb the waves to watch from the land the great struggles of another; this is not because it is happy and pleasant that another be distressed, but because it is sweet to see the troubles from which you yourself are free.*

The metaphor of the sea voyage was acutely felt in antiquity: the Lutine bell rang with too frightening frequency for it to be otherwise. To reach old age, to survive an affair, to complete a poem was to be a sailor garlanding the prow as he entered port and hanging up his sodden garments as an offering to the savage god of the sea. Forever to pursue an end other than what truly mattered was, in Seneca's phrase, to sail past one's life. If Stoic activism required that the sage immerse himself in the waves of civil strife, the detachment of the Epicurean was that of Lucretius gazing contentedly as another fought for life out on the cruel sea. When Persius in his last satire tires of his previous efforts to cure society, dialogue is replaced by the quieter tone of the epistle, the urban setting by a villa looking over the seething sea of the Ligurian coast, landscape is figured and loaded with the memory of Lucretius.

Lamledra House was built at the turn of the century by the Fisher family. It is a substantial family summer house set apart on a cliff, above its own beach, just outside Gorran Haven on the south coast of Cornwall. If the village itself seems to testify to the sort of adventures experienced by the young John Trenchard in Faulkner's *Moonfleet*, the house itself is one of the best possible places whence, like Trenchard in age, to look on the sea "lashed to madness in the autumn gale" and to listen to "the grinding roar and churn of the pebbles like a great organ playing all the night".

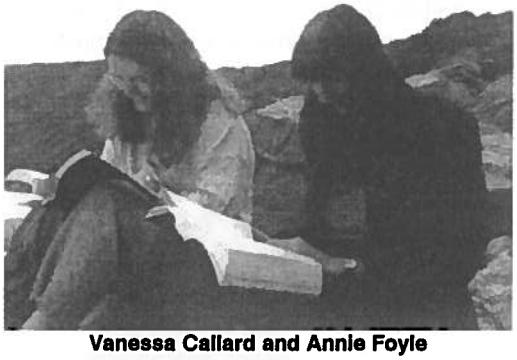
Matthew Leigh

At the end of Trinity Term, 1996, Mrs. Jennifer Hart kindly allowed me to lead a reading party of

students from the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Lamledra House. Our subject was Simon Schama's study of nature as figure, of representations of forest, river and mountain as inscriptions of human ideas and ambition: *Landscape and Memory.* How important were such ideas for antiquity? What would *Classical Landscape and Memory* look like?

I first visited Lamledra House at the end of my first year as an undergraduate. It was rather appropriate that we should spend a week discussing the contributions to the history of pleasure of Foucault, Veblen, Huizinga and Freud. We returned to Lamledra twice in subsequent vacations and made other visits to Craster Tower in Northumberland, Broomhall in Fife and the Chalet des Anglais in the Alps. For brief periods, I became an expert on the novels of Samuel Butler and Sigrid Undset, the histories of Keith Thomas and the philosophy of Thomas Nagel. None of this contributed directly to my degree course, none of it helped me pass an exam. That was not the point. Now, more than ever, students in debt, staff obsessed with research assessment exercises and five-year plans need to remember that not all scholarship has an ulterior motive.

Landscape and Memory is a big book. It may have one basic if rather vaguely expressed contention, but it presents an extraordinarily rich range of examples from across history: the myth of Arminius is traced from Tacitus' *Germania* to the art of Anselm Kiefer, the idea of Arcadia from Vergil's *Eclogues* to the Fontainbleau paths of Denecourt. In a series of four evening seminars, one of the participants guided the party through each of Schama's four basic themes - Vanessa Callard on forests, Elly Simmons on rivers, Annie Foyle on mountains, Sarah Iles on Arcadia - and then related these ideas to the literature and landscape of the ancient world.



Vanessa Callard and Annie Foyle

My own contribution was a talk on deforestation and enlightenment in antiquity. I have learned a lot from Schama's account of the landscapes of the German Romantics, especially Friedrich.

Schama indulges in a virtuoso concatenation of stories and anecdotes. In the sections on forests and mountains, these lead effectively into each other and ideas emerge across and at the end of them. This is less obvious in the discussion of rivers. Schama meanders more than is really good for him and ends up a little like Raleigh, high and dry at the source of the Orinoco, or John Taylor, sinking in his paper boat. When things go wrong, it is easy to be irritated by the overuse of certain linking devices or the cosily avuncular tone which pretends to more confidence and control of the material than Schama really possesses. It is certainly bemusing to read about Varro's criticisms of Pliny's villa and provoking to be treated by a scholarly interloper to judgements on Silius when it is still a boast even among hard men of classical philology actually to have finished the *Punica*. If thirty historians, art historians and literary critics pooled their individual objections to this sort of trespass, it might make for a very ugly review. Had Schama been frightened of pedantry and intellectual provincialism, he would not have written *Landscape and Memory*. That he was not, is hugely to his credit. *Landscape and Memory* is a holiday from academic specialisation. It allows you to think more creatively about your own subject by taking time out to think about something else. As such, it has the virtues of a good reading party.

The week in Cornwall was a special time. Lamledra House was more beautiful even than I had recalled and it was a great privilege to be there. Everyone revealed hidden gifts, most notably Vanessa, whose piano playing amazed us all. Kostas Niafas joined us for the first weekend and Marina Spunta from the Department of Italian brought a group of friends for the final Friday evening. Gorran Haven has only one pub, but we found it in time and made what contribution we could to Cornwall's faltering economy.

Gorran Haven

Many thanks to the Staff Development Unit and the Vice-Chancellor for the financial support which made the week possible.

Lamledra House has been booked again for the last week of June of 1997. I look forward to going back.

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THE GODS AND THE POOR MAN'S HOUSE

By Kevin O'Sullivan

In this essay I shall carry out a detailed literary criticism of three passages concentrating on themes related to the general theme of "The Gods and The Poor Man's House": Ovid's *Metamorphoses* V111, 611 - 724, which is a complete story within Ovid's epic; Lucan *Bellum Civile*, V, 504 - 596, which we join *in medias res* as Caesar leaves his camp and strives to journey back to Italy, and Silius Italicus' *Punica* VII, 162 - 211, which constitutes a digression from Silius' plot. For the purposes of this essay, I shall quote from the original text since translations distort ideas.

First, I shall investigate the origins of the story of the gods visiting the houses of poor people, in order to see what other versions and variations need to be considered in the comparison. It seems that Ovid's account of Baucis and Philemon is the earliest extant treatment of the story. However, Hollis points out that we can trace the idea back to Homer's *Odyssey* XVI,[1] referring to the saga in which the swineherd, Eumaeus, receives Odysseus, - a hero/demi-god, not a god in this case - into his home, feeds him and offers him a drink.

Callimachus in his *Hecale* follows a similar pattern when describing Theseus' visit to the home of Hecale, an old woman of Attica:

...τὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἀσκάντην κάθισεν...

(*Hecale* Fr. 240)

This line of the *Hecale* bears a great resemblance to line 639 of Ovid:

...membra senex posito iussit relevare sedili...

Though Philemon is bidding the gods to sit down rather than a mortal female, the act of offering the seat is still echoed. In the next line, Ovid introduces the idea of "*ἀσκάντην*":

...cui superiniecit textum rude sedula Baucis...

(*Met.* VIII, 640)

Again this is partially an echo of the idea from Callimachus:

...αὐτόθεν ἐξ εὐνῆς λιίγον ῥάκος αἰθύξασα....

(*Hecale*, Fr 241)

The general sense of the passage indicates a detailed knowledge of Callimachus' text. Since we only have fragments of the *Hecale*, we cannot say much about its connection with Ovid, but we can assume that Ovid had Callimachus and by extension Homer in mind when he wrote this episode. We can be certain of Ovid's familiarity with Callimachus' writing because his *Erysichthon* - the story following *Baucis and Philemon* - has been proven to have undeniable associations with Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*. Callimachus seems to have set a vogue in Hellenistic poetry for visits by gods to poor people's homes with his description of Heracles' brief stay at the old man's hut in Cleone in his *Aetia*. Eratosthenes, a pupil of Callimachus, wrote an elegiac poem, mainly lost to us now, called *Erigone*. In this, he included an episode which has even greater relevance to Ovid's story in that it relates how Dionysus came to the home of Icarius, was treated hospitably and rewarded Icarus with the gift of wine. However, when he offers the wine to his neighbours, they believe it is poison and kill him. Erigone, his daughter, searches for him and finally discovers his body. She then hangs herself through grief. The elements of wine, the god and the poor man's house link the story to Ovid, but perhaps a more obvious link can be made between *Erigone* and Silius Italicus' digression in the *Punica* in which Dionysus, wine and vines are treated almost identically. It is also appropriate to prove Ovid's knowledge of *Erigone*, since he makes reference to it on two occasions:

...Liber ut Erigonen falsa decerperit uva...

(*Met.*VI, 125)

and

...primus tegis, Icare, vultus
Erigoneque pio sacrata parentis amore

(Met X,450 - 451)

There are strong links between Ovid's piece and Silius' piece, and the presence of *Erigone* links the three inextricably.

Virgil also includes a hospitality episode with similar themes in the *Aeneid* when Evander takes Aeneas into his home:

...et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aeneam duxit stratisque locauit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae...

(*Aeneid* VIII, 366 - 368)

So, we can deduce that there was already a tradition of such episodes before Ovid wrote about Baucis and Philemon. The existence of such literature gave scope for imitation for all three authors.

Food preparation is the first theme that I shall discuss. In each episode the hosts begin to prepare a meal for their guests. In Ovid, while Baucis stokes the fire and prepares the vegetables, Philemon:

...servatoque diu resecat de tergore partem
exiguam sectamque domat ferventibus undis...

(*Met* VIII, 649 - 650)

servato diu emphasises the couple's generosity and hospitality in that they use their best, treasured meat to entertain two random guests. The mention of pork is informative for the debate concerning Ovid's setting for this metamorphosis. At the beginning of the episode, Lelex dedicates Phrygia as the setting and indeed the name Philemon is said to have been connected to Phry-

[1] Hollis (1970)

gia.[2] However, pork, traditionally the poor Italian's meat as opposed to the Greek poor person's fish (as Fraenkel points out[3]) is mentioned. Further, *radix* and *nux,* a regular part of the Roman dessert, are also "romanising" the story. Silius Italicus' character Falernus also prepares a good meal for his guest although he serves no meat:[4]

...nulloque cruore
polluta castus mensa cerealia dona attulit...
(*Punica* VII.183 - 184.)

Falernus prepares wholly Roman food; *cerealia dona* for example. The mention of *fauisque* perhaps harks back to *candidus...fauus* in Ovid. Silius mentions that food had been picked *irrigus...hortis* which is very close to Ovid's *riguo...horto.* The fact that in each the *hortus* part is emphatically positioned at the end of the line and is separated from its defining adjective, connects them further. Such positioning emphasises the poverty and self sufficiency of each of the hosts.

The theme of old people receiving unknown guests into the home is one which is constant for all the passages. In each episode the respective poet stresses the poverty of the host on a number of occasions. Ovid and Lucan use the same expression to describe the origin of the materials which were used to make the dwelling. Lucan says:

...Haud procul inde domus, non ullo robore fulta
sed sterli iunco cannaque intexta palustri...
(V, 516 - 517)

and Ovid says:

...Haud procul hinc stagnum est, tellus habitabilis olim... (*Met.* VIII, 624.)

in reference to the nearby marsh and:

...parva quidem, stipulis et canna tecta palustri...
(*Met.* VIII, 630)

We can see that the language and even the structures of the two descriptions are too similar to be coincidental, especially when we bear in mind that some commentators on Ovid suggest that *tecta* is a discrepancy in the text and suggest *texta*. Such similarity is perfect evidence of Lucan's knowledge and use of Ovid's work. It is also an indication of Lucan attempting to alter Ovid's version to include his personal touch. Silius Italicus decided not to imitate these two poets. We do know that he possessed the knowledge to do so, since his description of the camp of Syphax (XVII, 88) completely reconceptualises Ovid's line. This shows the poet's eagerness to create his own version of a story which is obviously someone else's work. He may have felt that such a line was too full a description for the piece he was writing which is much more condensed than the others, and so he inserts the idea of poverty with a different phrase:

...nec pigitum parvosque lares humilisque subire
limina caelicolam tecti... (*Punica* VII, 173-4)

This is more concise, but still illustrates the point.

Each poet also takes time to illustrate the rustic life of the hosts. The phrase *cannaque intexta palustri* or *et canna tecta palustri* ensures this feeling to some extent in Ovid and Lucan, but each poet goes further with description. For example, Lucan says:

...Molli cosurgit Amyclas
Quem dabat alga, toro... (V, 520-1)

Amyclas lives on the shore, while Falernus, Baucis and Philemon dwell in the country. Therefore, Lucan uses *alga* for a bed to demonstrate being at one with nature. Ovid and Silius use food and gardens in the same way. The connection of Baucis and Philemon to nature is crucial, since they are destined to become trees and, therefore, part of nature. Similarly Amyclas needs to be at one with nature in order to be knowledgeable about the safety of the sea and the natural omens which signify the situation of the sea (V, 540).

The joy and hospitality which each host shows in entertaining his guests is another common theme. Ovid describes Baucis and Philemon busying themselves but still:

interea medias fallunt sermonibus horas...
(*Met.* VIII, 651)

and also:

...super omnia vultus
accessere boni nec iners pauperque voluntas...
(*Met.* VIII, 677-8)

Their overwhelming gratitude is expressed further by comparison with

mille domos adiere locum requiemque petentes,
mille domos clausere serae...
(*Met,* VIII. 628-9)

The repetition and symmetry of these two lines is particularly stylish writing by Ovid and gives emphasis not only to the situation and the apparent need to punish these people with the forthcoming flood, but also to Baucis and Philemon's good qualities. Lucan describes Amyclas lighting the fire thus:

...O vitae tuta facultas
Pauperis angustique lares! (V, 527-8)

The exclamation mark suggests that Amyclas is aware that he is in no danger from the visit and so is willing to help where he can. Silius Italicus' Falernus is described as rushing around *grato...studio* (*Punica* VII, 178) and *laetus.* The epithet *volentem* a few lines before is also trans-

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[2] This is alluded to in Aristophanes *Birds* (*Av.* 763), when the character Philemon is taunted with having Phrygian blood. This may just be coincidental, but alongside the flood tradition which is connected to the land, (Nonnus *Dionysica* XIII 522ff) and the fact that "Noah's Ark" floating on water is pictured on a coin found in Apamea (which is in Phrygia), it serves as conclusive evidence. A similar flood is described in Ovid's *Baucis and Philemon* and book one of the *Metamorphoses,* so the connection with Phrygia is formed.

[3] Fraenkel (1960) 124 - 5; 408ff.

[4] The reason for this will be discussed later under the theme of sacrifice.

ferred onto Falernus by its emphatic position at the end of the line although it refers to Bacchus being a willing guest. This may be contrasted with *volenti* in Lucan (V, 536) which is Caesar's attempt to put words into Amyclas' mouth when he is, in fact, not willing to carry out Caesar's command.

The theme of epiphany is present in all three passages, although Caesar's role is a transgression of the pattern established by the others. We know that the guests being entertained are divine, but it is not until the epiphany that the hosts realise. In both Ovid and Silius' story we are alerted by a miracle involving wine. This is marked by *mirable dictu* (*Punica* VII, 187) in Silius' story. The containers at each table swell with wine. Baucis and Philemon react with amazement and yet are fearful, whereas Falernus seems to take it all in his stride or at least no reaction is mentioned after *...haud ultra latuit deus...*

On entering Amyclas' home, Caesar makes no secret of his importance; he says in his first speech:

...ne cessa praebere deo tua fata volenti
angustos opibus subitis inplere penates... (V, 536-7)

He is also described as *indocilis privata loqui* which underlines that he is not a god since gods do what they want. This does not really allow scope for a true divine epiphany. So, the promises which Caesar makes characterise him as arrogant. Barratt suggests this in her introduction[5] when she lists numerous other examples of his arrogance, one of which falls in our episode:

...Sola placet Fortuna comes... (V, 510)

Usual practice would be to have been chosen by the god, but Caesar chooses the goddess Fortuna himself. A feature common to the two true epiphanies is that the hosts are aged and this is alluded to regularly, especially in *Baucis and Philemon* where *anus* and *senex* are common. Falernus is called *senior* and adjectives like *senili* and *senectae* are employed. Perhaps the reason for this is that older people are more pious on account of being closer to death and are, therefore, closer to the gods. So, the epiphany is better received by the older characters. We notice that Amyclas is a *iuvenis* because here the epiphany is less important.

The idea of the hosts receiving a reward is covered in all the episodes. It seems that the gods' visit is a test of piety. Both Falernus, Baucis and Philemon stand up to the test of piety with their hospitable and happy manner and are justly rewarded. Silius Italius says:

...deesse tuos latices, hac sedulitate senili
captus, lacche,vetas... (*Punica* VII, 186-7)

He goes on to explain how Bacchus gave the gift of wine to Falernus and the wine is better than the efforts of the Greeks:

...Tmolus et ambrosiis Ariusia sucus
ac Methymna ferox lacubus cessere Falernis...
(*Punica* VII, 210-11)

This ties up the connection between the character and the well known Roman wine from Falernia, which was the name traditionally given to the place where Falernus lived.

For Baucis and Philemon the reward is firstly salvation from the impending flood:

...quantum semel ire sagitta missa potest...
(*Met.* VIII, 695-6)

Next they are given an elaborate temple in place of their humble shack in which there are fated to be *sacerdotes delubraque.* They also request that:

...auferat hora duos eadem nec coniugis umquam
busta meae videam, neu sim tumulandus ab illa...
(*Met.* VIII, 709-10)

However, they are given this in return for the fact that they have always lived their lives in accordance with the gods. In Ovid and Silius, the characters gain rewards without even realising that they are in line for them:

...laetus nec senserat hospes/advenisse deum...
(*Punica* VII, 176-7)

Amyclas on the other hand was promised the rewards by Caesar before he knew his task:

...expecta votis maiora modestis
spesque tuas laxa, iuvenis... (V, 532-3)

He, of course, fails to fulfill the task set due to the storm and is never rewarded. So, *pauper* (V, 539) has a double meaning; it is meant in the material sense and in the prophetic sense that he will remain poor because he is so helpful and unlucky.

I have pointed out some of the numerous differences and contradictions in the passages. These differences can be due to the poets trying to introduce an element of originality, but is often because each poet has a different aim. I do not believe that any of the pieces of poetry are improvements on the others since each poet's aim is so different.

I have enjoyed analysing these passages but my limited scope means that there are many more comparisons yet to be discovered!

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[5] Barratt (1979)

VIOLENT FEMMES: WOMEN AND REVENGE IN ATHENIAN TRAGEDY

By Fiona McHardy

When I first began my study of tragedy, I was overwhelmed by the amount of vengeance in it. Orestes is particularly famous as an avenger, but many of the cases of homicidal vengeance in tragedy are by women: eg. Medea, Klytaimestra, Hekabe. These women notably do not act with divine aid, like Orestes who is helped by Apollo. Rather, the key to understanding their behaviour is, I believe, their isolation.

In this paper, I aim to show that tragic women taking vengeance represent the extreme of a cultural un-ideal for the Athenians. In order to do this, I shall draw on evidence from Herodotos and from laments which feature a *topos* of women taking revenge.

In order to use lamentation as a comparison with tragedy, it is necessary to resort to laments from modern times, as the only surviving ancient examples occur in our literary sources, eg. at the end of *The Iliad* or in tragedy itself.

The use of modern evidence, if admitted as relevant, will enhance my study of tragedy, in that the role of women is portrayed more extensively in it than in the ancient texts, which have a tendency to focus on the actions of men. In this respect, it is important to note that the evidence of the ancient world was written and preserved by men, whereas the lament is composed and passed on orally by women. Key works which focus on the comparison of ancient and modern Greek lamentation are Alexiou's book on ritual lamentation and Holst-Warhaft's *Dangerous Voices*.[1]

WOMEN IN THE FEUD AND LAMENTS OF MODERN GREECE

Much of the modern research on lamentation and revenge in Greece has taken place in the Mani in the Southern Peloponnese. The survival of traditional customs there until quite recently has led to this popularity with researchers. The type of vengeance attested to in the evidence is mainly in the form of the blood feud. The lack of state control or central authority in the Mani during the *Tourkokratia* led to the Maniates developing and following their own code of rules. This is a significant factor in all feuding societies.

It is possible to define two forms of vengeance killing: what I shall call "feud" - a public and official form of vengeance - and private individual vengeance killing. The official kind dominated in previous centuries. There was a male council (*gerontiki*), which deliberated on whether or not collective response was required, what type of response ought to be made, who would make it and at what target. This ensured that the interests of one household were not allowed to override the interests of the whole clan. The more individual vengeance of the beginning of this century came into being because of the decline in importance of the clan system, and frequently involved offences against women. These were also of great importance in the past, as a woman was seen as the weak link whose sexual purity was therefore an appropriate symbol of a family's honour. Honour, a key factor in feuding societies, can only be re-established by taking vengeance, which demonstrates that the family is not weak and is able to defend itself. In this situation a woman is used as an "excuse" for violence and as such her role is in a passive capacity.

Cretan men enacting a feud (*Observer* 10.3.96)

Notoriously, women do play a more active role in starting a feud by inciting the men of the family to vengeance. The most frequent and effective forum for this is the *klama*, where women sing laments for the deceased in the presence of the whole community. Their participation in the *klama* allows them to leave the private space of the household and enter a public space in which they have the ability to influence social and political matters. At the *klama,* it was possible for women to sing laments publicly demanding vengeance, even when the *gerontiki* was against it for political reasons. Further, men could be goaded into taking revenge by women's sarcasm and constant reminders. One way of doing this was by the use of a lament where the woman says that she herself will exact vengeance in order to shame the men of the family into action.

Although women are of great importance in starting the "war", their actual participation in it is limited. It is the role of men to avenge murder. Women are known as "moving sticks" or "strongholds" during a feud because they are not targets and so can continue with agricultural work and other tasks necessary for the survival of the family, while their menfolk fight or stay under protective cover to avoid attack. Even if a woman

[1] Alexiou, M. (1974) *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition.* Cambridge.
Holst-Warhaft, G. (1992) *Dangerous Voices : Women's Laments and Greek Literature.* Routledge, London.

is shot, this is not an insult which requires washing away.

However, some laments provide examples of females who took their families' right. Although men were generally expected to take revenge, if there was no male member of the family and the man had no sons who could take vengeance on their coming of age, then it was possible for women to take vengeance into their own hands.

And Ligorou let out a shrill cry
that made the place shudder all around
_Did Vetoulas have no brother,
Did he have no first cousin?
If only I'd been a male
and could wear trousers myself!
To have shouldered the gun myself
and chased the murderer!

It is important to note, however, that the large size of the clans must have made this a rare occurrence.

The laments in question are usually sung by the alleged exactor of vengeance and on the whole conform to a certain pattern. While it was common for a sister or daughter to sing about taking vengeance, there are hardly any examples of a wife taking vengeance for a husband. This is because it is not a blood relationship and it is not expected that you should take blood for someone of a different clan. In fact, the ties of a woman with her own clan could be so strong that they would overcome even her feelings towards her own children.

This divide between affinal and natal kin places women in an ambiguous position which leads to a general apprehension of her in feuding societies.

The lament of Kalopothos Sakkakos from the mid-19th century demonstrates the strong ties of a girl to her natal kin. The lament is sung by the sister of the dead man, Paraski. In it, she expresses grief and explains how she took vengeance for the death of her brother. She discovers that the murderers are none other than her own husband, father-in-law and brother-in-law. She calmly puts poison (the woman's method) into the omelette that she has cooked for them and watches them die, before returning to her parental home, where she receives the congratulations of her parents. It is important to note that in the lament she refers to Kalopothos as her only brother, emphasising her isolation. Another lament tells how a different Paraski takes the place of her brother after he is attacked and taken to hospital in Kalamata.

-Let's leave now Paraski
so that by evening we shall reach
the doctor in Kalamata
to see if he's alive.
-You leave, Pantelis,
and travel wherever you please.
I shall go up into the tower
and fire down on the enemies.
As long as I am alive
no one will set foot in the tower.

In both of these examples, a woman prefers the cause of her natal family over that of her husband. This preference can even lead a woman to disown her own children. In one lament, a woman tells how her two sons, Davos and Nikolas, kill her own brother and his son for an offence against their paternal uncle much against her wishes. The mother wishes that her sons had died rather than her brother, emphasising the primary link with her own clan. This also demonstrates that the sons are only sons of the father, as they prefer their father's cause over that of their mother, even against her own express wishes. Such tales are prolific in feuding societies, although they may, of course, be anecdotal.

The evidence of the laments is important, although they may be factually inaccurate, as they serve as a gauge to the thought of the community on certain issues. In this respect it could be argued that even if the actual revenge of women is not historical, its portrayal as something either acceptable or unacceptable demonstrates the society's views on the subject. For example, the vengeance of a daughter or a sister in the absence of male relatives is representative of the affiliation expected of these women to their natal family. The lack of wives who avenge their husbands further testifies to this view. It is probable that this kind of killing did occur on occasion and the evidence would suggest that it would not have been thought of as socially unacceptable in these circumstances. However, this kind of vengeance can only pertain to the more recent variety of individual vengeance killing and as such is therefore lacking the more official status of vengeance sanctioned by the *gerontiki*. Many examples are of vengeance taken by a wife against her husband and even her children because of a dispute with her natal kin. The social ideal of allegiance to natal kin encounters a problem in that the wife is in a position where she is living in a family to which she does not owe such great allegiance. The laments in which this situation occurs may well be expressing a social anxiety towards the position of such an alien woman in the household. Certainly these situations involve a complexity which would not occur in an instance where kin were not involved. They express the expected outcome of a dilemma which the woman faces when in a position where she needs to choose between her natal and affinal kin.

It should now be clear that we are talking about women taking vengeance in a specific social context.

FEUDING, LAMENTATION AND ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

According to Holst-Warhaft and Alexiou, laments took a similar form in the ancient world, in that they share many structural elements and are said to be composed and performed by women. Holst-Warhaft emphasises the fact that the laments focus on the pain of the bereaved rather

than being an encomium of the dead.[2] In this respect, they are the opposite of the male *epitaphios logos*, which makes a virtue of death in the service of the state, since laments treat death as the enemy. Plutarch comments on the effect of lamentation on the war effort in his *Life of Nikias*. He implies that the women's lamentation at the Adonia during the Peloponnesian war challenged the war effort because it stressed the consequences of death for the survivors (Plut. Nik. 13.7). In lamenting there is a shifting of pain outwards by the blaming of an agent of death. In the absence of a human enemy, God or Charon takes on this role in the modern evidence. Otherwise vengeance is instigated by women singing the lament. Alexiou suggests that this is the prime motive for the introduction of the funeral legislation of Solon in Athens:

> *The restrictions imposed on women in funeral ritual might well have been designed to end internecine strife between clans by removing the responsibility for punishment in cases of homicide from clan to state, as Plutarch implies himself by connecting them with the Kylon affair and with Drakon's homicide laws.* [3]

Holst-Warhaft also argues strongly that the state felt the need to remove the threat which was posed by the "violent rhetoric" of laments, since they were responsible for inciting reciprocal violence. She suggests that after Solon's legislation, the state channelled the passion of the lament into male tragedy and funeral oration instead.[4]

The further implication of the funeral legislation is that the power of the aristocratic families (or clans) will be reduced. Seaford points out in *Reciprocity and Ritual* that all of the restricted practices would either encourage excessively strong loyalty towards members of one's own clan or would provoke hostility towards enemy groups.[5] As an example of how this was put into action he cites the disinterment of the Alkmaionid tombs (Thuc. 1.126.12, *Ath.Pol.* 1, Plut. *Sol.* 12.3).

This is important as women work themselves into a frenzy and sing laments inciting violence at the tomb. In order for democracy in Athens to work, it was necessary to diminish the power of the large families, thereby encouraging unity. Indeed, it is clear that Athens was a victim of political instability and inter-familial feuding. The prime example of this is the Kylonian affair, in which the Alkmaionid clan and the clan surrounding Kylon involved Athens in a prolonged civil and religious conflict. This conflict was resolved by the trial and exile of the Alkmaionid clan and the subsequent religious reforms of Epimenides, as Plutarch tells us (Plut. *Sol.* 12). Also the laws of Drakon written in the aftermath of the Kylonian affair served to strengthen the judicial process. The traditional right of the family to self-help in avenging murder was reduced to a few well defined situations by the homicide law. So, at this point begins the process of reforms which led eventually to the radical democracy of the 5th century, where *isonomia* (equality in the face of the law) was the rule, as can be seen from Thoukydides' version of Perikles' funeral oration (Thuc. 2.37.1). Both of these passages emphasise the importance of the law courts to the Athenian *polis*.

ATHENIAN VIEWS ON WOMEN

At this time the *polis* also chose to restrict women in the interests of its own self-preservation. Rather than clans, the 5th century Athenian *polis* was built up of small household units. A woman was brought into a man's household primarily for the purpose of rearing his children. As such she was viewed very much as an outsider and the children were not truly her own. For this reason, there was a great fear of adultery in Athens, not to be found in Homer. Xenophon describes what he perceives to be the requirements of an Athenian wife in *The Oikonomikos*. He cites procreation of children as the most important reason for marriage (Xen. *Oik.* 7.19). The man is envisaged as working outdoors, while the woman is expected to remain indoors. The fact that each partner has different aptitudes means that they work well as a pair, making up for each other's deficiencies. This division of space and labour between the sexes in the household seems to have represented a cultural ideal if not a reality. It is notable that this division appears to be less radical among the aristocratic men and women in earlier texts. For example, Arete (*Od.* 7.73-4) arbitrates quarrels outside the household.

Women in Athens were lifelong legal minors. Their exclusion from politics meant that they were denied participation in what was of fundamental importance to a citizen of a democracy. Respectable women were confined to the household, to public silence and invisibility. It is clear from Perikles' funeral oration in Thoukydides that the expected role of a woman was to remain quiet and unspoken of by men (Thuc. 2.45.2). For this reason, women are not prominent in the prose works of 4th and 5th century Athens.

In this respect, Herodotos differs from the Athenian writers, but it is noticeable that the women who figure in his work are mostly foreigners. Although Herodotos offers no explicit comment on his beliefs about the role of women in society, nevertheless his stories can provide a guide as to what contemporary expectations might have been. He cites several examples of powerful, ruling women in foreign societies, making it clear that this would appear unusual in Greek eyes.

One of the most prominent of these is Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, who continues ruling after the death of her husband although she has an adult son (Hdt.7.99). Her bravery and intelligence are remarked upon by Xerxes, who fa-

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[2] Holst-Warhaft (1992) 97.

[3] Alexiou (1974) 22.

[4] Holst-Warhaft (1992) 6.

[5] Seaford, R. (1994) *Reciprocity and Ritual.* Oxford, 83.

mously comments that while his men are behaving like women, Artemisia is the one who is behaving like a man (8.88).

Tomyris, Queen of the Massagetae, also has an adult son who acts as her field general (1.211). The unusual nature of her position is emphasised by Kroisos, who points out to Kambyses that it would be an intolerable disgrace for him to withdraw before a woman (1.207).

Pheretima, the mother of Arkesilaus of Kyrene, is also portrayed as a woman in an unusual position of power. She represents her son in his absence by attending to the business of government and sitting on the council (4.165). The fact that this is viewed as unusual can be seen from the story of her embassy to Cyprus for an army (4.162.5) Instead of granting her request, Euelthon presents her with a golden distaff and spindle, stating that these are more appropriate gifts for a woman than an army.

Women are also portrayed as having a strong influence over their families by their use of persuasion. Atossa, for example, induces Darios to invade Greece (3.132), Kandaules' wife urges Gyges to kill her husband and take her as his wife (1.8) and Kambyses invades Egypt spurred by his mother's anger at his father for taking a concubine (3.3). These women seem to hold positions of power equivalent to the women of the feuding societies discussed earlier. Further proof of this can be found in the tendency of sisters to support their brothers, even at the expense of husbands and sons. For example, Nitokris, Queen of Egypt, kills hundreds in revenge for the death of her brother (2.100.2) and the wife of Intaphrenes asks for her brother to be spared as she can get a new husband and sons, but not a new brother (3.119).

The women mentioned here are foreign, indicating the strange nature of the events related. the actions of Athenian women are for the most part absent from the work, implying that they do not participate in exciting actions worthy of remembrance. However, one somewhat mythical group of Athenian women are described as performing a feat of vengeance on a par with that of the Lemnian women. After only one survivor of an expedition to Aigina returns to Athens, the wives of the men who did not return stab the unfortunate man to death with their brooch pins. Herodotos then reports the (symbolic) restriction of the women from using brooches with long pins (5.87-8). This indicates that their position in society is viewed as being constrained by men, so that they are no longer capable of such dreadful acts.

So, a cultural ideal of women acting on behalf of their natal kin was thought to have existed outside of the 5th century Athenian *polis*, although the actual fulfilment of the deed must have been rare, if indeed it ever occurred. However, what remains important here is the apparent Athenian belief in such a cultural ideal and their need to avert it happening in their own society.

WOMEN AND REVENGE IN TRAGEDY

The ancient evidence suggests that the ethic of vengeance existed throughout the Greek world. Vlastos, in his chapter on Sokrates' rejection of retaliation, offers a good summary of the attitudes found in Greek writers towards this subject.[6] (eg. Solon Fr 1, Pindar *2Pyth.* 83-5, Plato *Rep.* 332a, Thuc 3.38.1, 39.1+6, 40.4-7). He concludes that Sokrates held a unique position with his non-retaliatory stance.

In Athens, however, this ethic of vengeance was controlled by the institution of the law court. So, the first distinction to be made is between violent, physical vengeance administered by the victims or their kin (self-help) and the state sanctioned vengeance (retribution) administered on behalf of the victims by the court.

Secondly, we can differentiate between vengeance of a more political nature, involving the killing of a usurper by the rightful ruler, and vengeance for a private reason, for example, rape. In the modern evidence also, there is a clear distinction between feud, as a political type of vengeance, and individual killing, which satisfies only private personal demands.

As to why women take vengeance in tragedy, two views frequently emerge from the critics. The first is a simplistic account of a person driven mad by the extremes of her situation.

A second view is based on the idea that women in tragedy undergo an inversion and become like men. The main candidates for this kind of analysis are Aischylos' Klytaimestra, whom the watchman calls manlike in her counsels (*Ag.* 11) and Medea who is given masculine heroic qualities by a host of critics.

Neither of these opinions is, in my opinion, a satisfactory way of understanding the reason why women take vengeance in tragedy. The first places too much emphasis on the notion of individual characterisation which is an unfamiliar concept to the Greeks.[7] The second ignores the fact that the representation of women as men makes them total abhorrences in Athenian eyes. So, Klytaimestra is manlike in the respect that she is an abnormal and undesirable woman.

It is my belief that these women are in fact portrayed as women, but women in a very particular social position. They are aristocratic women who are in the first instance suspect for their membership of an anti-democratic royal family. Also they are perceived as being less repressed than the ideal *polis* wife. As such they pose a threat to the male order of society. The implication of this is

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[6] Vlastos, G. (1991) *Socrates : Ironist and Moral Philosopher*. Cambridge.

[7] Jones, J. (1962) *On Aristotle and Greek Tragedy*. Chatto & Windus, London, 32

that tragic women behave as typical clan women would be expected to behave by the Athenians. Evidence for this can be drawn from the modern lament, where a woman in an isolated position can take vengeance and a woman tends to prefer her natal kin over her affinal kin. Further, the method used by women is often somewhat deceptive, typically the use of magic or poison.

Medea killing her son from an Apulian volute-krater by the Underworld Painter(Baumeister, *Denkmäler fig* 980)

Medea, the arch poisoner and deceiver, is perhaps the most well known and certainly the most extreme of Euripides' female avengers. She stands on the edge of society as a woman and a foreigner. Furthermore, she cannot return to her natal kin after her rejection by Jason (*Med.* 502-3), because of the way in which she betrayed them (166-7). Her isolation means that she is compelled to act on her own behalf against Jason, because it is impossible for her to ask her own family to intervene for her. Furthermore, the fact that the dispute is within the family group means that Medea cannot turn to her husband for help. She does however have her children and she uses them to complete her vengeance. They carry the poisoned gifts to the princess and they are killed to wound Jason. However, she also elects to kill the children as she recognises that it would be foolhardy to kill Jason and leave his sons alive. This is the mistake of Klytaimestra who fails to kill her children when she murders their father. The maxim 'Foolish to kill the father, spare the sons' appears throughout tragedy. The *Medea* exhibits the tension of bringing an alien woman into the household for the procreation of children. Medea takes the most extreme action possible for such a woman, the killing of the children to spite the husband. A fragment from Sophokles' *Tereus* gives a good indication of the phenomenon of the alien in the household. In this play Prokne supports her sister over her husband and takes vengeance on him by killing their son. This extract shows the dangers of putting a woman with a strong affiliation to her father into a home that she views at best bleakly and at worst with hostility.

> *But now outside my father's house I am nothing.*
> *Often I have looked on woman's nature*
> *in this regard, that we are nothing. We young*
> *women, I believe, live the sweetest life of mortals*
> *in our fathers' houses. For innocence always rears*
> *children happily. But when we come of age and*
> *can understand, we are thrust out and are sold*
> *away from our ancestral gods and our parents,*
> *some to strangers, others to foreigners, some to*
> *joyless homes, some to hostile. And once the*
> *first night has yoked us to our husband, we are*
> *forced to praise all this and to say all is well.*
> (Soph. *Tereus* Frag. 583)

This kind of situation has been shown clearly in the lament where the brother and husband of the singer are enemies.

In Sophokles' *Elektra,* the protagonist resolves upon revenge only when she thinks that her brother is dead and can no longer perform the deed himself (Soph. El. 948-57). In her new found isolation she calls on her sister to help in the vengeance claiming that it will be honourable for them to avenge their father. In this play Elektra aims to act not against her husband, but against her mother and her lover. The preference for father over mother has been seen earlier when the children act against their mother on behalf of their father. This debate also occurs in the *Eumenides.* Elektra points out that it will be impossible for the girls to marry as Aigisthos will not allow them to bear children who will be brought up encouraged by their mothers to take revenge.

> *You should no longer hope to marry;*
> *for Aigisthos know better than to*
> *let our tree bear fruit; life born from me*
> *or you would mean his death.* (Soph. *El.* 963-6).

Likewise at the beginning of Euripides' *Elektra,* Aigisthos aims to prevent such an occurrence by marrying Elektra off to a peasant. This speech is very close to that seen in the laments from Mani. While a woman has male kin, she will be satisfied to incite him to take revenge. However, it would appear that in the rare circumstance of a girl being left without male kin, she will choose to act herself.

> *For one of the townsmen or a stranger*
> *seeing us will greet us with praise:*
> *See those two sisters, friends, who*
> *upheld the honour of their father's house,*
> *who stood up to their enemies who were*
> *flourishing and risked their own lives*
> *to avenge a murder.* (Soph. *El.* 975-80)

Female vengeance in this case is the only option to preserve the honour of the family which would otherwise be vulnerable to attack by all comers.

CONCLUSION

The comparison here between lament and tragedy suggests that the portrayal of women taking vengeance is in some way generic to both of these forms, but with a completely different interpretation. In the lament, women from a feuding society sing about their valiant deeds in taking vengeance, whereas in tragedy, men in a non-feuding society deplore what they see as unacceptable behaviour by using this *topos* of the lament. In this way the women of tragedy are the opposite of the women of lament. The women of

lament represent a cultural ideal, while the women of tragedy are the extreme of a cultural un-ideal.

1. They are undesirable because they incite feud.
2. They are more powerful than the ideal *polis* woman because they belong to aristocratic or clan society.
3. They represent the very worst aspect of a feuding society in that they are women taking vengeance - often against their own husbands.

So, I believe that the Athenians utilised myth to their own political advantage in tragedy. On the one hand, they emphasise the undesirability of clan society through the portrayal of violent, powerful women who take private action. On the other hand, by the Athenianisation of certain myths (eg. *The Eumenides*, *The Oidipous at Kolonos*, Euripides' *Suppliants*), they emphasise the desirability of Athenian democratic society which represents the rights of suppliants and guests, and tries people fairly in the law court.

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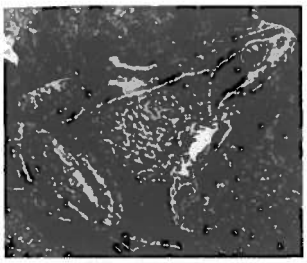
Jupiter - by Stella Lumsden

There's no parity in Heaven,
They're the dough and I'm the leaven,
I'm the head on everybody's mug of beer.
In every port I have a son,
My chief activity is fun,
I've never had to heave a sigh or shed a tear.

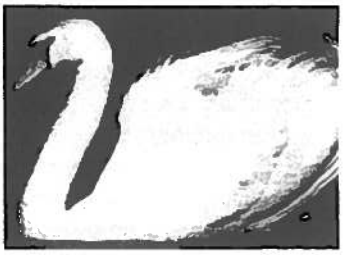
As a tutelary deity,
I bring you mirth and gaiety,
I don't admit the meaning of despair.
So forget your po-faced piety,
Your Puritan sobriety,
Chin up, keep smiling, just let down your hair.

Though I'm gracious when invoked,
I can be nasty if provoked,
I keep a thunderbolt for vengeance up my sleeve.
I'm all powerful, the King of Gods,
So keep me sweet, you little sods,
Displease me and you'll find there's no reprieve.

Remember, you can't hide your daughter
From my lust, and when I've caught 'er,
There's no doubt that she'll be in the family way.
So I'll take your sacrifices,
And indulge your little vices,
And we'll keep smiling through the live-long day.



NERO'S TRANSFORMATION AGAIN:
Plutarch, *de sera numinis vindicta* 567F-568A
By Alexei V. Zadorojnyi



Nearly a third of Plutarch's treatise *de sera numinis vindicta* (*On the Delays of Divine Vengeance*) is reporting an elaborate vision of the underworld by a certain Thespesios. Among other exciting things, Thespesios sees the souls of the wicked being punished. His attention is drawn to the soul of Nero, pierced with red hot nails[1] and already prepared by the daemonic *demiourgoi* for transformation into the shape of a viper. Suddenly, majestic light shines forth, and a mighty voice coming out of the light orders them to substitute for the viper a "milder species, some singing animal inhabiting marshes and pools" (*εἰς ἄλλο γένος ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλεῖν, ᾠδικόν τι μηχανησαμένους περὶ ἕλη καὶ λίμνας ζῷον*). Although Nero committed crimes in his lifetime, he also gave freedom to the nation "best and most dear to the gods" among his subjects, i.e. the Greeks. The gods, in their turn, owe him some kindness for that (567F-568A).

The passage, set emphatically at the very end of the treatise, can be understood in two different and opposing ways. One may read it literally as an expression of Plutarch's gratitude towards Nero, letting the emperor become a frog instead of a viper. That would mean that the patriot here prevails over the moralist in Plutarch. Philhellenism and freedom for Greece[2] outweigh even the most gruesome crimes.[3]

However, F.Brenk argued against this traditional view. His first point is that Plutarch's attitude to Nero elsewhere in the surviving works is hostile (*de adul. et am.* 56E; 60D; *de coh. ira* 461E-462A; *de garr.* 505 C-D; *praec. reip.* 810A; *Galb.* 4; 14.3; *Ant.* 87.9). On the other hand, the Platonic tinge of the episode in *de sera* is essential. The viper kills its mother by eating its way out of the womb (567F), and, we may infer, is itself killed in a similar fashion by its own children. To a connoisseur of Plato, such as Plutarch was (*Quaes. conv.* 718C), the viper would therefore be a form perfectly suitable for the matricidal Nero's reincarnation (see Pl. *Leg.* 872 d-873a). The frog is, in fact, hardly better: in *Tim.* 92b, Plato has the most worthless souls turned into water creatures. While physical suffering is alleviated for Nero as a frog, he is denied the only chance to expiate his misdeeds. The meaning of the scene is sarcastic, no hope being left for the depraved emperor;[4] Plutarch is still a moralist, not a nationalist. On the whole, Brenk's line of interpretation seems to be the correct one. I shall try to contribute to it by focusing on further, latent facets of the text.

It should be noted that both views given so far assume that 'the singing animal of the marshes' is a frog. Now, L.Torraca proposed that we understand the Greek phrase as a circumlocution for a 'swan'. He refers (unconvincingly) to Plutarch's *De sollertia animalium* 973A, 974A, where Plutarch speaks of the singing of the swans, but also adduces a marginal scholion *ad locum* from Cod. Ambros. gr. C 126, an important manuscript accepted by some to be the original edition of Plutarch's *Moralia* by the Byzantine scholar Planudes. The scholiast writes: *Νέρωνος ψυχή · ἐχίδνη, κύκνος.*[5]

If Torraca is right, the case for interpreting the passage as favourable to Nero is made very much stronger. For the frog is certainly a grotesque figure and out of tune with the solemn theology of the treatise. Swans, on the other hand, were regarded as sacred to Apollo (Aristoph. *Av.* 774; 870; Pl. *Phd.* 85b, etc.).[6] Plutarch would be paying the emperor a posthumous honour by turning him into the noble bird.

However, the argument does not seem to hold water. To leave aside the overall improbability of Plutarch ever excusing the 'notorious Nero' (*Praec. reip. 810A ὁ Νέρων ἐκεῖνος*) from a moral standpoint,[7] it is clear that Plutarch as a priest of Delphi would be reluctant to associate him with Apollo, especially since he knew that the emperor

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[1] Echoes Pl.*Phd.*83 d4-5.

[2] In his youth Plutarch witnessed Nero's journey to Greece (*de E delph.* 391E) and, perhaps, was even present at the Corinthian proclamation (*Flam.*12.13).

[3] See J.Dumortier, 'Le châtiment de Néron dans le mythe de Thespésios' in *Actes du VIIIe Congrès, Ass.G.Budé* (Paris 1969), 552-60; C.P.Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971), 16-9, 120; D.A.Russell, *Plutarch* (London 1973), 2-3.

[4] F.E.Brenk, 'Plutarch's Life "*Markos Antonios*": A Literary and Critical Study' *ANRW* 2.33.6 (1992), 4356-60, 4362-3.

[5] L.Torraca, 'Linguaggio del reale e linguaggio dell'immaginario nel "De sera numinis vindicta"' in G.D'Ippolito, I.Gallo (ed.) *Strutture formali dei "Moralia" di Plutarco* (Napoli 1991), 119-20 n.178. The idea emerges already in K.Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* (Stuttgart 1949), col.212. For Codex Ambrosianus see J.Irigoin, 'Histoire du texte des "Œuvres morales" de Plutarque' in J.Irigoin, A.Philippon (edd.) *Plutarque. Œuvres morales*, t.I.1 (Paris 1987), CCLXXII.

[6] See J.Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (Plymouth 1977), 144-6.

[7] Notably, several manuscripts read *ἄδικον*, not *ᾠδικόν*: see R.Klaerr, Y.Vernière (edd.), *Plutarque. Œuvres Morales*, t.VII.2 (Paris 1974), 172.

sought to present himself as Apollo-Helios.[8] Plutarch is generally critical of the ruler's divine self-assimilations. He normally brings the motif of supernatural pretences into play in order to censure a character, not to praise.[9]

If Plutarch intended the 'singing animal' to be understood as 'swan', why did he choose to express it with such a periphrastic twist? The phrase can hardly be seen as a quasi-oracular enigma. In fact, it creates a close allusion to the description of swans in Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, IX (615 a33 *βιοτεύουσι περὶ λίμνας καὶ ἕλη* ; 615 b2 *ᾠδικοὶ δέ, καὶ περὶ τὰς τελευτὰς μάλιστα ᾄδουσιν*).[10] Indeed, this helps to explain the origin of the scholion in Codex Ambrosianus. Our learned Byzantine editor would seize upon his chance to display knowledge of Aristotle (or, possibly, Aristotelian tradition). Yet for Plutarch's audience, nourished on classical literature from the earliest age, 'swamp singing' would be rather an immediate reference to Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Both the words 'song' (*ᾠδή* 244-5; cf. *μέλη* 206-7) and 'marsh' (*λίμνη* 211; 232-4) occur in the first choral scene of the comedy.

At the same time we should not disallow the fact that there may be a deliberate ambiguity ('frog/swan') in the passage. Verbal parallelism with *Historia animalium* must be taken on board seriously, because Plutarch was familiar with this work by Aristotle[11] and hence capable of contriving an elegant double allusion. The closeness of the phrase to Aristotle's account of swans is but a ruse, for the readers are expected to see through it to appreciate the ingenious irony. The real 'singing animal of the swamps' is the frog (characteristically, Aristophanes, *R.*207 speaks of 'swan-frogs', *βατραχοκύκνοι*).

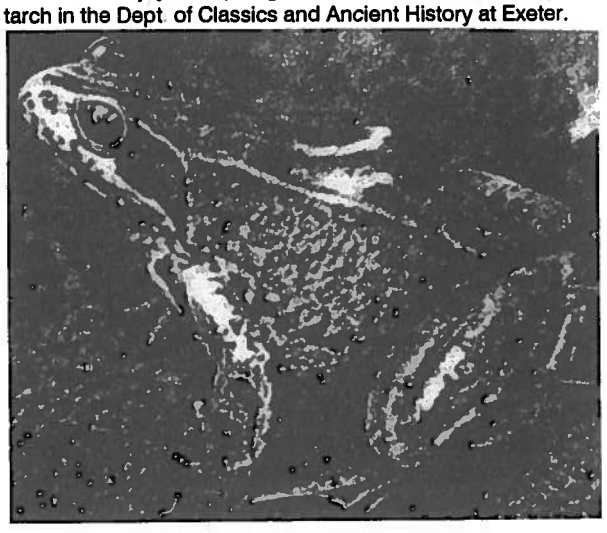
A few brush-strokes should be added to the picture. Brenk very plausibly thinks that the 'singing' of the frog is a jeer at Nero's activity as a vocalist. It is worth noting that the emperor's dabbling in poetry was likewise a well-known fact (Sen. *Apolocyth.* 4.23; Tac. *Ann.* 14.16; 15.49; Mart. 8.70.8; 9.26.9-10; Pliny *Ep.* 5.3.6; Suet. *Nero* 42; 52; *Dom.* 1; *Poet.: Luc.* 2; Juv. 8.221; Philostr. *Vita Ap.* 4.39).[12] The tendency to depreciate the quality of his poetry is also evident; Tacitus, Suetonius' Lucan, and Philostratus being especially contemptuous. No matter how biased such criticisms were, they were certainly widespread — note Suetonius' call for objectivity (*Nero*, 52). Plutarch, who wrote a *Life* of Nero (fr.5 Sandbach = *Galb.* 2.1; cf. # 30 in 'Lamprias Catalogue'), must have gathered ample information on his personality and would know of his poetical experiments, albeit Plutarch's Latin would not allow him to read the original (*Dem.*2.2-4).[13] We may suppose that he was also aware of contemporary Roman opinions about Nero's poetry, relying on which he could afford to scoff.[14]

It is also highly likely that Plutarch knew about Nero's Golden House in Rome. The House had a system of artificial pools,[15] *stagna* being the Latin word:

Suet.*Nero* 31.1 *item stagnum maris instar circumsaeptum aedificiiis ad urbem speciem*
Tac.*Ann.*15.42.1 *arua et stagna et in modum solitudinum hinc siluae inde aperta spatia et prospectus*
Mart.*Spec.*2.5-6 *hic ubi conspicui uenerabilis Amphitheatri erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant*

Again, indignation at this luxury is manifest in the sources. Now, since *λίμνη* translates nicely as *stagnum,*[16] it strikes me as possible that Plutarch wittily transferred the historical fact into a satiric *mise en scène*. Irony is even more poignant because to Nero the significance of the Golden House with its sumptuous *stagna* was to foster his own assimilation to Apollo-Helios. Ending up a frog in an actual swamp would mean his ambitions were badly thwarted: Apollo-Helios and frogs are, for Plutarch, incompatible images (*de Pyth.or.*400C-D).

Alexei Zadorojnyi is a postgraduate student researching Plutarch in the Dept of Classics and Ancient History at Exeter.



[8] Cf. Lucan, 1.33-46; Antiphilos in *Anth.Pal.*9.178; W.Dittenberger (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, v.II (3d ed. Leipzig 1927), # 814.10; for references to numismatic evidence see M.T.Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (London 1984), 216-9.

[9] See K.Scott, 'Plutarch on the Ruler Cult' *TAPhA* 60 (1929), 117-35, and recently, F.Brenk, 'Heroic Anti-Heroes. Ruler Cult and Divine Assimilations in Plutarch's *Lives* of Demetrius and Antonius', in I.Gallo, B.Scardigli (edd.), *Teoria e prassi politica nelle opere di Plutarco* (Napoli 1995), 65-82.

[10] See Pollard, 64.

[11] See W.Helmbold, E.O'Neil, *Plutarch's Quotations* (London 1959), 9.

[12] See Griffin, 150-4.

[13] For a recent treatment see A.De Rosalia, 'Il latino di Plutarco' in *Strutture formali* [n.5], 445-59, esp.457.

[14] See my article 'The Roman Poets in Plutarch's Stories', forthcoming in the Actas of the V Simposio Español sobre Plutarco, June 1996, Zaragoza (Spain).

[15] See D.Hemsoll, 'The Architecture of Nero's Golden House' in M.Henig (ed.), *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1990), 10-38; Griffin, 133-41.

[16] In poetry *stagnum* coincides with *limne* referring to the underworld (Tib.1.3.77; Prop.4.7.91; Verg.*A.*6.323; Sen.*Her.O.*1162).

STAYING IN ATHENS

By Nick Walter

The British School at Athens with hospital in the background: by Nick Walter

Everyone going to Athens has their own agenda. Mine was to visit some of the main classical sites in Attica and in the city itself, and to take some ferry trips to nearby islands. I stayed at the British School in Athens for nine days last July and found it was the ideal base, located near the city centre in Kolonaki, an upmarket residential area that is pleasant and safe.

The School premises, consisting of a residential house, library, small museum and laboratory for archaeologists, are situated in a spacious garden which must be one of the last remaining private gardens in the centre of Athens. It has been on its present site since 1886: there are very few similar buildings left.

Breakfasts were simple and the evening meals adequate. I am not sure how many people were around at lunch-time. Meals were left in the fridge and could be warmed up in the microwave. There were two choices each day, one was vegetarian. Bread, fruit and wine were left on the table. People came and went and the atmosphere was easy-going and friendly. I met people from Australia, America and Ireland as well as students from British universities. One evening at dinner, we had a lengthy discussion on whether the so-called "Elgin Marbles" should be returned to the Athenians. Opinions were about evenly divided.

Thankfully, there is mosquito netting across the bedroom windows, so they can be left open at night. I found that noise was not a problem, as there is an enormous hospital directly opposite, about eight storeys high. This acts as a sound barrier so the traffic noise from nearby Vasilissis Sofias is (almost) blocked out.

The office staff were on duty in the mornings and were most helpful. We were supplied with keys for the garden gate and front door and there were no unreasonable restrictions. Beer and soft drinks were left in the fridge; occasionally the beer ran out. It was very hot during my stay, about 40 degrees C. One of the great luxuries I found was to walk over the road to the Athens Hilton, buy a paper and sit in the hotel garden with half a litre of ice-cold Heineken. This was not cheap. Guinness and Murphy's were not to be found, but somehow this did not seem so important.

The School obtained my student pass for free entry to museums and sites. This document was liberally endorsed with rubber stamps and signatures, and always checked very carefully by site attendants. Public transport from the airport is not well signposted, and it helps to know in advance where buses wait. I took the bus to the city centre and then went by taxi the last few hundred yards to the school.

This year I shall be returning to Athens. The recently discovered foundations of what is claimed to be the Lyceum of Aristotle are quite close to the British School. The remains are not yet open to the public, but I hope to see something of the first university in the West.

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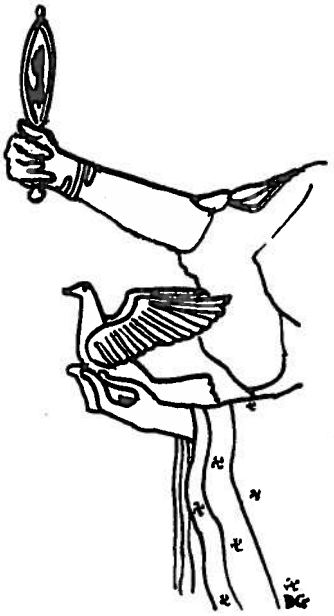
For more information contact:
The Secretary
The British School at Athens
31-34 Gordon Square
LONDON WC1H 0PY.

Last year's rates:
Associate membership for undergrads: £30
Board & lodging: £12.50 a night full-board.

Venus - by Stella Lumsden



I am Heaven's perfect beauty,
Not just any common cutie,
I'm eternal and my looks will never fade.
I make men forget their duty,
Leave their glory and their booty,
For they know my wishes have to be obeyed.

When you've risen from the sea,
Upon a scallop-shell, like me,
You know that you have something others haven't got.
So don't invite me round to tea,
Or I'll be on your husband's knee,
And do believe me when I tell you that's his lot!

I've got a son who doesn't grow,
He's just a small boy with a bow,
But being airborne gives him quite a lot of scope
For causing mischief down below,
As he goes winging to and fro,
And once you're hit by Cupid's arrow, there's no hope.

In conclusion I can claim,
That many artists owe their fame,
To inspiration from myself and from my lad.
We've posed for hours without complaint,
And been portrayed in stone and paint -
For a single parent family that's not bad!

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T.P.WISEMAN - *REMUS*
A Review by Neville Morley

T.P.Wiseman, *Remus: a Roman Myth* (Cambridge, CUP, 1995)

The story of the she-wolf and the twins, Romulus'n'Remus, is a familiar one, first encountered by most of us in the early stages of learning Latin or Roman history. As Professor Wiseman points out, the story may in fact be *too* familiar; we have tended to take it for granted, entirely failing to remark upon its oddities. Foundation myths, embodying the core values of society or legitimising key institutions, are common to most cultures: but what does it say about Roman society that the city was said to have had twin founders, one of whom was murdered by the other? Classicists have not simply neglected the problem of the story of Remus, they have rarely noticed that there might be any problem; they (well, let's be honest, we) have tended to treat it as a diverting fairy story, rather than giving it the serious attention appropriate to a Myth. From the first page, where he notes that the traditional English pronunciation of the twins' names is incorrect (the 'o' in *Romulus* is long, the 'e' in *Remus* is short), W.'s book aims to undermine such complacency and force us to think seriously about what the story and its many variants may have meant to the people who first told and retold the tale.

W. defines his chosen problem clearly: why a twin? why a twin called Remus? and, having determined the need for such a character, why then kill him off? The search begins with an elegantly dismissive discussion of Jaan Puhvel's theory that the myth relates 'the primordial sacrifice of the Indo-European cosmic twin'. Why is Puhvel thus

introduced, only to be killed off immediately? It seems that he is to stand for the wrong sort of answer to the problem of Remus. W.'s next four chapters, surveying the evidence for the origins of the story, argue that it is not a timeless myth, but is rather the product of specific circumstances in the fourth century. As such, it does not require a timeless explanation, structuralist, functionalist, psychological or whatever, but rather an explanation which relates it to the specific political context; above all, the momentous events of 367, the secession of the plebs.

A story of twin founders suggests that the state they founded was in some sense a double one. Niebuhr proposed that there had once been a city called Remuria, later absorbed by Rome; Mommsen argued that the myth related to the double authority of the consuls. W.'s persuasive explanation is that the twins stand for the two parts of the Roman community, the patricians and the plebs, and that the story celebrates their new equality within the state after the consulship was opened to plebeian candidates. One version of the etymology of the name 'Remus' suggests that it means 'delayer' or 'slowcoach': the plebs came late to full power. In the usual account of the augury contest between the brothers, Remus takes his stand on the Aventine, the hill associated with the secession. He accepts defeat with a riddling prophecy that might be seen as fulfilled by the eventual triumph of the plebeians: 'In this city, many things rashly hoped for and taken for granted will turn out very successfully'.

However, if the story of Romulus'n'Remus is so important as a legendary analogue of the political situation in Rome after 367, why is it that most versions of the story involve the death of one of the twins? W. argues that this must be a later development, reflecting either changed circumstances or other, more imperative necessities than those which had determined the original form of the story. He chooses to emphasise the accounts of Remus' death which present it as a sacrifice to consecrate the city's defences, rather than as a punishment for transgression. This is then linked to an account of the sinister portents and prophecies which swept through Rome in 296, in the face of a hostile alliance of Etruscans, Samnites and Gauls. The horrific demands of the prophets were, he argues, for a human sacrifice to protect the city from disaster, and the story of Remus was altered to provide a legendary analogue for the deed. A fourth-century grave, uncovered in excavations of the western corner of the Palatine in the region of the temple of Victory, is added to the hypothesis.

As W. admits, 'my argument in this section is even more tenuous and conjectural than usual'. It is, in fact, a prime example of what might be termed 'the *X-Files* approach' to history: the assumption that the truth is being systematically covered up. Human sacrifice was utterly un-Roman and horrific; the lack of direct evidence for any such sacrifice is therefore entirely understandable, since the Romans would wish to forget that they had ever been forced to resort to such desperate measures. Once it is accepted that the truth *is* out there, the few scraps of evidence remaining can be interpreted in such a way as to fit in with the plot. It seems better to invoke Occam's Razor: do we really *need* this sacrifice to explain the evidence? Remus' death might be designed to encourage self-sacrifice on the part of citizens in defence of the city (a similar interpretation has been suggested for the Athenian story of Erechtheus' sacrifice of his daughter). We might also wonder about the political, not to say subversive, overtones of the fact that it is the 'plebeian' Remus who is the sacrifice.

There are further echoes of conspiracy theories in W.'s account of the means by which the myth was created, or, rather, 'presented to, and accepted by, the community'. The shift in emphasis is significant: we are dealing with the propaganda activities of a shadowy group of aristocrats manipulating the gullible masses, in this case through the medium of theatrical performances. We know next to nothing about the dramatic festivals of the early and middle Republic. Comparison with democratic Athens does suggest that such occasions could be used to promote civic ideology — although the tragedians reworked traditional myths, rather than inventing their stories from scratch. But is it really true that, for a largely non-literate audience, 'what you see performed *is* what happened'? There is no space in W's construction for debate, dissent or uncertainty on the part of the audience: the masses can easily be convinced of the official story, and then reprogrammed a decade or so later with a new version. This seems a little paranoid.

It is abundantly clear that much more work needs to be done to study the contexts of Roman mythology, a subject which has long been neglected in favour of the more glamorous Greek myths. The greatest contribution of W.'s book is the way in which it exposes our ignorance and complacency: there *is* a problem here. This surely marks the beginning of a productive debate on the meaning of Roman myth and the nature of the pre-imperial Roman community. However, we may wonder whether the theories of Puhvel and other comparative mythologists, sacrificed at the beginning of the book to ensure the success of W.'s political interpretation, might not at some time return to reclaim a place in the community of interpretation of this subject.

Neville Morley is Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Bristol. His book *Metropolis and Hinterland: the city of Rome and the Italian economy* was published last year.

CHRISTOPHER GILL - *GREEK THOUGHT*

A Review by John Glucker

Christopher Gill, *Greek Thought* (*Greece and Rome*. New Surveys in the Classics, no. 25). Oxford, 1995. 103pp

Since I am about to take issue with some aspects of this book, I should make it clear that I do not for a moment question the author's competence, both as a Classical scholar and as a philosopher, to deal with the subjects he has selected for treatment. I am not simply being polite. At a time when Ancient Philosophy has become a major industry, much of what is published in this wide and complex field shows signs of Classical illiteracy or semi-illiteracy and/or philosophical naiveté. Christopher Gill's previous and forthcoming publications are proof enough of the seriousness of his approach and the solidity of his learning, both in Classical philosophy and literature and in the modern - especially contemporary Anglophone - philosophical tradition.

The topics surveyed here are Greek ideas about the self, or personality (Ch. II); some ancient ethical values like shame and guilt, morality and happiness (Ch. III); the individual, the community, and the ideal community (Ch. IV); and the relation between ancient Greek ideas of nature and of ethics (Ch. V). Most of the literature discussed here dates from the 1980s and 1990s, and includes some of the major works on these issues published in these two decades, mainly by philosophical scholars and in English. Much of the discussion relates these recent works - mostly by contrast - to the approaches and ideas lying behind some of the earlier works on such themes, and to the ideas of some important contemporary philosophers. Considerable attention is paid to some fundamental differences between ancient Greek attitudes and outlooks and their modern counterparts, especially where some of these modern counterparts - ideas like 'the individual vs. society'; 'the unity of the self'; 'the autonomy of the moral life'; or 'duty' and 'altruism' - have been taken for granted by various modern thinkers as necessary foundations for any morality worthy of the name. The survey also makes some new contributions to the debate - especially the idea of 'reciprocity' as an adequate term for 'other-benefiting' acts and virtues in ancient Greece than the modern 'altruism'. This is already more than a handful. What is there then to complain about?

First, the title. Apart from J.B. Skemp's survey on Plato, long out of print, this is the first *Greece and Rome* survey in the field of ancient philosophy, and the first one with the general title *Greek Thought*. The reader may expect to find here a survey of work done, in the last generation or so, on the various periods, subjects and issues included under the 'umbrella-name' of ancient Greek (and Roman) philosophy. It is true that the author declares on page 1 that "The subject of 'Greek thought' is a potentially huge one"; that he has "chosen to focus on four interconnected topics"; and that "this leaves scope for future possible surveys to cover subjects such as Greek medicine, science, and cosmology, as well as other central issues of Greek philosophy, such as the theory of knowledge or metaphysics, which I do not discuss here." *Euge*. But why call this *survey*, then, by such a very general name, when two of the three central divisions of ancient philosophy - logic (including dialectic, poetics and rhetoric) and physics (including parts of psychology, in our sense, and theology, in the ancient sense) - are not in it? Moreover, since this is a survey *in the Classics*, for readers of a *Classical* periodical, some might have expected some information on recent work on the ancient texts and their transmission, on fragments, testimonia, doxography, the historiography of ancient philosophy, on ancient literary forms and their importance for the analysis of ancient philosophical works, and other more 'philological' and 'literary' subjects *de genere isto*. Yet there is no mention here, for example, of Giannantoni's *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* of 1990, of Fortenbaugh *et. al., Theophrastus of Eresus* of 1992, of Decleva Caizzi's *Pirrhone* of 1980, of Hüstler's *Die Fragmente zur Dialektik der Stoiker* of 1987, or of Dörrie - Baltes' *Der Platonismus in der Antike*, of which vols. 1-3 were available by 1993. Nor would the reader find any reference to the new Überweg (vol. 3, 1983), or to Kidd's commentary on Posidonius (1988). These are only a few of the more basic *instrumenta studiorum* published in the last twenty years. Nor would the reader find anything on the recent, and revolutionary, work in the study of 'doxography' - and the historiography of ancient philosophy in general - produced by Jaap Mansfield and his colleagues. The only book mentioned on this issue - in note 20 on page 84 - is Catherine Osborne's *Rethinking Early Greek Philosophy* of 1987. The reader is told in the same note that this issue, "the importance of locating the 'fragments' of the Presocratics in the context of the writings that quote or comment on them", has "possible implications for the question being pursued here." But the question, or questions, are then pursued (pp. 71-3 and nn.21-43, pp.84-5), "as interpreted in some recent work": mostly works by philosophical scholars which do not take into account the serious - sometimes disturbing - implications of the re-examination of the whole nature of the 'doxographic' tradition.

To take a literary example, the issue of the Platonic dialogue as a drama is only touched on *en passant*, on pages 50-1 and in note 40 on pages 62-3, which mentions articles by Charles Griswold, Michael Frede and the author. The reader is not told that the book in which Griswold's article appeared, *Platonic Writings, Platonic Readings* of 1988 (edited by Griswold himself), represents some of the recent attempts to treat dialogues not as philosophical treatises *manqués*, but as organic wholes, in which drama, literature, characters and philosophical arguments and statements are interrelated and interconnected, and the speaker of a philosophical statement or argument, his audience and the background are crucial to understanding the import of his statement or argument in the whole drama. Michael Stoke's *Plato's Socratic Conversations* of 1986 is never mentioned. Nor is Jacob Klein's *A Commentary on Plato's Meno* of 1965 - presumably because it was rejected or ignored, on publication, by philosophical scholars: Klein was a friend of Leo Strauss - *quantumque mutatus ab illo*! The reader of pages 54-7, for example, will receive the clear impression that *Republic, Politicus* and *Laws* represent, with minor variations, developments, and changes, Platonic political doctrines, *tout court*. Not that I would expect everyone writing on Plato today to adopt the relatively new approach; but it does represent a serious challenge, made in recent works of scholarship, to the traditional way of reading these dialogues, and it is based on the undeniable fact that Plato's works are dialogues.

One more gap: no philosophy later than that of the Stoics and Epicureans is considered. The reader may get the impression that the sceptics - both Pyrrhonian and Academics - or the 'middle' and 'neo' Platonists, are of no great importance; or - *and this applies to the other gaps as well* - that recent scholarship in such fields is not as interesting or important as the works discussed in this survey and the issues they are concerned with. This despite the interesting new work done recently on these philosophies by Annas, Armstrong, Barnes, Blumenthal, Burnyeat, Dillon, A.C. Lloyd, Sorabji, Tarrant and Whittaker - to mention but a few names, and in English.

But the reader *has* been warned on page 1, and again on page 92: "I have not attempted to provide a comprehensive survey of Greek philosophy as a whole..." Yes, but in the next sentence we have: "But I hope that those readers for whom this book has served as an introduction to Greek philosophy may be motivated to pursue some of these other areas." - and the reader is referred to the bibliography on pages 93-7. Yet, almost none of the works I have referred to are listed even here. How can a reader be 'motivated' to pursue targets which have not even been indicated to him? The proper title of this survey should have been something like *Recent Philosophical Scholarship on Greek Ideas and Attitudes to Man, Ethics and Society.* If this is a long title, at least it would have told the reader what to expect and what not to expect. *The Roman Law of Sale in the Late Republic* is a long title; but *Roman Law* would be a misleading title for the same book - or survey.

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The heroes of this survey are mostly philosophers and philosophical scholars: Bernard Williams, Alasdair MacIntyre, A.W. Price, Julia Annas, Martha Nussbaum, Douglas Cairns, Long and Sedley - and the author himself, who reminds us (note 1 on page 4) that in the first two chapters, he has drawn extensively on his (then forthcoming) book *Personality in Greek Epic, Tragedy and Philosophy* (1996). The reader should come out with a fair impression of the work of these authors and some others. He would also be able to see why some of the views of earlier scholars like Dodds, Snell and Adkins, especially on personality and ethics in ancient thought, have been rejected and modified in more recent works on the same issues. Gill rightly emphasises - following, mainly, Williams - the role played (consciously or not consciously) by the thought of some major figures in modern thought, such as Descartes and Kant, in shaping some of the ideas and presuppositions of these earlier scholars. Some of these earlier scholars' 'developmental' approaches to Greek ideas of the person, morality, the will, egoism and altruism, or the individual and the state, were based on the idea of progress...towards the views of Descartes, Locke, the Enlightenment or Kant, taken for granted as the 'end of the road' and 'the proper study of mankind.' The work of some of the scholars surveyed by Gill emphasises, on the one hand, some recurring patterns of thought and sensibility, from Homer to the Stoics, and points out that some of these ancient approaches, far from being crude or primitive, were much more in tune with the human condition, with all its messiness and unpredictability (as well as its occasional grandeur), than the more 'consistent' and 'autonomous' depictions of 'rational beings' by more modern thinkers. What disturbs me slightly is the presupposition (e.g. pages 7-9) that if one can show that ancient Greek views were nearer the contemporary thought of Williams, MacIntyre, Donald Davidson or Daniel Dennett than to the thought of Descartes or Kant, this would make the uninitiated immediately realise their superior value. Is 'the Homeric presentation of human psychological life as an interplay between a complex of parts and agents' an established fact? Williams spends much of Chapter 2 of *Shame and Necessity* on showing that at the base of these 'agents' there is a unified person, even if it has no single term. Are Homeric *θυμός, φρήν* and *κῆρ* mere functions, similar in any sense but that of a plurality of psychic 'forces' to

Dennett's? Are Aristotle's *μόρια ψυχῆς* mere Dennettian functions? Is the Socratic *ψυχή* as in Plato and Xenophon, or the tripartite soul of *Republic*, anything like what one finds in Dennett?

In a survey like this one, on the other hand, it might have been rewarding to inform the Classical reader who is not quite at home in contemporary philosophy that much of what is new, and often exciting, in the work on the ancient Greeks of Classically-educated philosophers like Williams, Davidson and MacIntyre originated in their disillusionment with much of what has been going on, for a long time, in modern moral and political philosophy, and in their attempt to discover alternative ways of approaching some of the problems of man, society and the state in ancient thought and literature. The paradox here is that, while some full-time Classical scholars like Snell and Adkins took modern philosophical ideas as established and adequate, and were thus led to regard ancient approaches to the same (or similar) issues as somewhat retarded or primitive, it took some modern philosophers - with good Classical grounding - to show the Classicists as well as the philosophers that not everything modern was quite as superior and as firmly based as the sanguine 'progressivism' of the last three centuries has lulled us into believing. It is not only Williams' *Shame and Necessity* of 1993, but also his *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy* of 1986, and many of Davidson's articles on 'mental acts', which demonstrate this fructifying effect of a renewed preoccupation with the ancient Greeks - and with their literature just as much as with their philosophy - both on modern ethical thinking and on the interpretation of ancient ideas, attitudes and texts. (I also suspect that Williams' 'moral luck' and 'agent regret' - discussed on page 7 - owe more than a little to his preoccupation with the Oedipus and Iphigenia myths and with the Peripatetics' emphasis on *τύχη* and *τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθά*.)

I have mentioned the substitution of 'reciprocity' for 'altruism', in discussions of 'other-regarding' acts and virtues in ancient Greece, as one of the main contributions of this book, and the scholarship it represents, to the debate. Much of Chapters III and IV could be construed as leading slowly to this conclusion. It is indeed time we re-examined the idea of 'ancient altruism' - which I have always found rather suspect - and attempted a more sophisticated approach to 'other-regarding' actions and attitudes. I shall await impatiently the collection of articles, edited by Gill, Postlethwaite and Seaford, on *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*. Meanwhile, shelving (I hope) the ugly hybrid 'altruism' - invented, I believe, by the coiner of that other hybrid 'sociology' - how about a nice Greek neologism, 'allelism' (*ἀλληλισμός*)?

What, then of 'the individual and the state'? Is there (page 43) no adequate word for the idea of 'individual' in ancient Greek? What about the very frequent *ἰδιώτης*? It is, of course, usually contrasted with *πόλις* and similar expressions of 'the state', 'the people', or 'the government'. So what? Of course, the mythified and mysticised 'Great Individual' of the Romantics and Nietzsche is a modern creation, and it may have been facilitated by the greatest distance between the modern *ἰδιώτης* and his big, somewhat impersonal modern state - and by bourgeois attitudes with roots in the mediaeval boroughs and Hansa towns. But conflicts are not lacking in ancient Greece. Achilles, Ajax and Socrates of the *Apology* may, indeed, not be as 'anti-social' as some people would like them to appear (pages 46-52). But what about the advice of Antiphon the Sophist to each man to 'follow nature' - as against 'the justice of the *πόλις*' - whenever there are no witnesses? And is Antigone merely following 'family values' as against 'state values'? What of Callicles' 'Real MAN' of Plato, *Gorgias* 484a-c? That even such cases happen *within* the *πόλις* is only to be expected. even the Cynic, or the *μὴ πολιτευόμενος* Epicurean, live parasitically on the political order they think they can put behind them. Nietzsches' *Übermensch* is a vision for the future, and Kaspar Schmidt (who published his book under the pseudonym 'Max Stirner') spent most of his life as a teacher in a *Gymnasium* and a girls' school. Tensions between an individual and the state are only to be expected in societies where individuals are not slaves or vassals, and many of the ancient Greek *πόλεις* were among the first of such societies. With all the differences between the *πόλις* and the modern state, the individual as someone who naturally wishes for his own happiness, and requires his *πόλις* to provide for such happiness, is no stranger to ancient Greek thought.

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These are some of the issues which I have found it useful to discuss in a review. What I say about them can be indicative of much of my attitude to other parts of this work. One final, and more general issue. The author is a teacher of Classics, and the survey is issued by the Classical Association, for readers of a (popular) Classical periodical. And yet....The language and presentation, as well as the works chosen to be discussed or listed in the bibliography - all these resemble much more the customs and the discourse of the contemporary philosophical community, with emphasis on making everything, from Ideas and the Unmoved Mover to the texts, fragments and testimonia, 'accessible' to 'the Greekless Reader', 'the Philosophical Reader', or 'the Modern Reader'. Whether the ideal contemporary philosopher should be like this is none of my business; but from a Classical scholar one should expect much more - and one should assume that he would expect much more from us. One could - should - give him much more Greek and Latin,

without the ridiculous transliteration, and one should tell him more about our basic evidence, on which, and on which alone, all our more lofty and nobler speculations ought to be based. This returns us to some gaps pointed out in the earlier parts of this essay. But any reader, once he has realised the inadequacy of the title and the limitations of scope, will gain a great deal, as far as the circumscribed topics of this book are concerned, from studying it and following up some of its suggestions for further reading.

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EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA* PERFORMED BY THE ACTORS OF DIONYSUS

A Review by Larry Shenfield

The well known professional company, Actors of Dionysus from York, came to Exeter in March with a revival of their 1994 Euripides' *Electra* in modern dress, starring Tamsin Shasha. Outstanding was the lucid, pared-down but consistently faithful and vigorous translation by the Company's artistic director, David Stuttard, who in the true tradition of the Classic era writes, directs and often acts with his group of young talent. Maximizing the meaning for us of Euripides' musings over the play's moral dilemma of revenge by kin-killing, David has cleverly interwoven Euripides' poetically charged choruses into the very fabric of the tragedy. This he has done by dispersing most of their lines among all his five actors with speaking parts, chiefly to a forthright Pylades (Stephen Dionne) whose slight role in the Greek text is thus much expanded. Hence the *coryphaeus,* Anita Wood, and her lone chorister, Mary Eyston, are left to make only selected pronouncements.

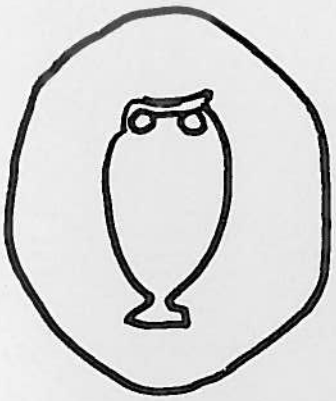
This I found most effective, given the exceptionally clear and poignant diction of all the players, as we did not lose the vital poetry of the choruses in the noise of drums, flutes and cadenced song of so many well-meaning choreographed productions. Even without drums, the sheer energy and tragic exhuberance of this *Electra* was impressive and carried the full-house audience relentlessly forward. Especially rewarding in the all-important prologue was the diction of Tom Davidson, who set the scene as the peasant farmer to whom Electra is married in name only, to escape death by Aegisthus' order. Talented Mark Katz as Electra's hesitant brother, Orestes, brought out his needing to be pushed by Electra to do the matricidal act. Tamsin Shasha, in typically Euripidean very dirty rags throughout this her eighth role with the Company, was unerringly vengeful in the title role, and dramatically volcanic at the climactic moments. Mary Eyston (in her first professional roles) changed from a winsome chorister to a regally dressed, formidable Clytemnestra arguing cogently (1011-46) in her hopeless *agon* with her determined daughter Electra.

An example in this *Electra* was David Stuttard's horrific *coup de theâtre* of Electra in her virulent tirade at 907-956 directed at Aegisthus (who had abetted her mother's murder of her father Agamemnon), *holding in her own hands* his bloody severed head. This is taking dramatic but perhaps not unwarranted liberty with the ambiguous text, in which Orestes returns (the messenger says at 855-6) "carrying not the head of the Gorgon, but Aegisthus whom you hate" (trans. Cropp). Some critics (Verrall, Keene, Denniston 1939, Vermeule 1959, Webster 1967, Sider *AJP* 1977, Hammond *GBRS* 1985, Diggle 1981) have taken this text (with the other Gorgon's head reference at 459-62) to mean Aegisthus' head alone (though of course the body in the text comes in at 895 and is hidden backstage at 961). Favouring only the integral body being brought onstage (at 895) are Vickers 1973, Gellie *BICS* 1981, Kovacs *CP* 28, 1987 and Cropp 1988 among others In this performance the body was not produced at all, the head being hidden by Electra backstage at 961 before Clytemnestra's entrance. Michelini (1987, citing Segal 1982) assumes Aegisthus' head on stage alone, represented perhaps on the Athenian stage of ca. 417 by Electra holding the detached mask Aegisthus would have worn had he appeared alive in this play (which he does not).

What made David Stuttard's version so gruesomely striking, and Tamsin Shasha's invective all the more poignant, was the amazingly life-like face and hair of the freshly severed head, in wax as if from Madame Tussaud's, cradled in her arms.

And also the profusion of blood, on the reddened white bag in which the head is brought in, and spattered on Orestes' and Elextra's clothes; and above all from the severed neck itself, pointed toward the audience, oozing profusely what seemed not stage but real red blood. A mother turned to her twelve-year-old boy next to me, going pale, "Would you like to go outside, dear?" He shook his head, staring fixedly ahead, as if inured to a sight of violence more menacing than ever he might see on TV. Better proof there could perhaps not be, this performance, of the enduring potential of Classic tragedy, metamorphosed, to thrill a modern audience.

Larry Shenfield is a postgraduate student in the Dept. of Classics and Ancient History at Exeter.



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