PEGASUS

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PEGASUS

The Journal of the University of Exeter Department of Classics & Ancient History

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SUBMISSIONS FOR FUTURE ISSUES

Contributions of any sort—articles, reviews, or other items of Classical or Exonian interest—are always welcome. Such pieces may be submitted in any easily decipherable form: paper, disc (MS Word format if possible), electronic (*M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk*), *etc.* A complimentary copy of *Pegasus* is sent to all authors of published contributions; in addition, undergraduate contributors are rewarded with a modest fee.

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There remain a few copies of the book *Pegasus: Classical Essays from the University of Exeter* (ed. H. Stubbs, Exeter 1981). If you would like one, please send a cheque for £3 to the address above.

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PEGASUS
ISSUE 46 (2003)

Table of Contents

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION
South-West Branch

Meetings of the Classical Association have not yet been planned for the 2003-4 programme, but there will be a range of lectures and events, including joint meetings with the Hellenic, Roman and Devon Archaeological Societies. New members are very welcome! (Fees: individual membership £5 per annum; life membership £50; schools £8 per annum.)

Information about events: Miss E. Chambers, Dept of Classics & Ancient History, Queen's Building, University of Exeter, EX4 4QH.

Department News

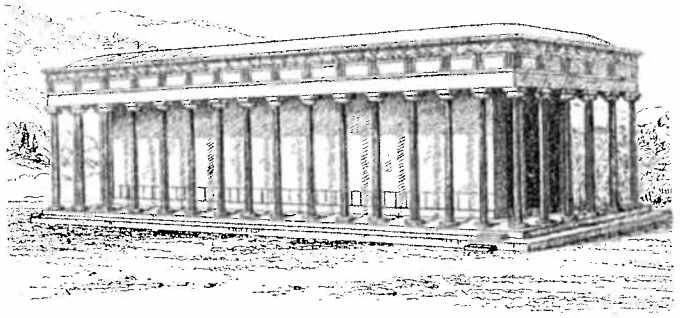
by Richard Seaford, Head of Department

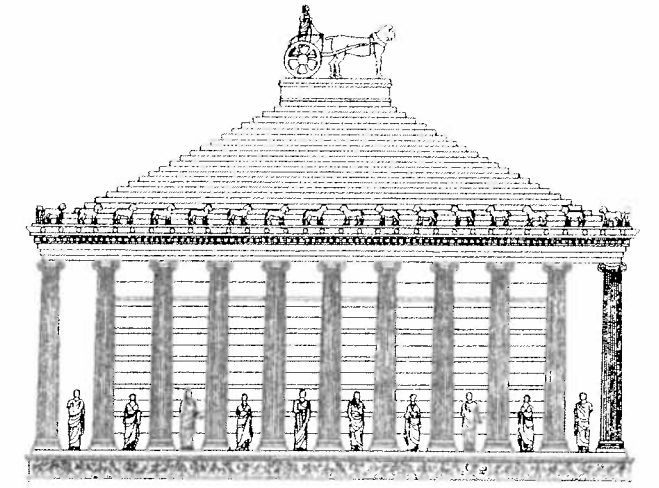
LAST YEAR John Wilkins as Head of Department wrote that 'five new colleagues have joined the Department'. This year we have appointed another five, with the result that next year the number of full-time academic staff will be fifteen (I can remember when it was five), as well as all the invaluable help we get, especially in teaching undergraduates, from graduate students and others. Our new colleagues will be Daniel Ogden from the University of Swansea (an expert on Magic, Hellenistic history, et al.—appointed to a Readership), Elena Isayev, who has already been with us for a year on a temporary appointment (a historian with special expertise in Southern Italy in the Hellenistic age), Peter O'Neill from the University of Iowa (Latin literature and Roman society), and two temporary appointments, Ugo Zilioli from the Universities of Bologna and Durham (Greek philosophy, especially Protagoras), and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones from the Open University (an expert on Greek costume, et al.). We have also acquired a new School Administrator, Jenny Hocking, who has adapted admirably to our academic eccentricity. And we count ourselves fortunate in retaining the services of our excellent secretaries Claire Turner and Kerensa Pearson.

There have also been retirements—of Norman Postlethwaite after many years as Head of School [see also Peter Wiseman's tribute to Norman in *Res Gestae*], and of Emma Gee, the birth of whose baby Hal was announced in the last *Pegasus*. The retirement of Peter Wiseman was celebrated by a lecture and a party, at which he was presented with a volume of essays published in his honour by Exeter University Press [Peter's message of thanks is printed on page 24; see also the advertisement on the back cover of this issue]. Our administrator Chris Austin, having sorted us out, has moved on to other matters that need sorting. Ugo Zilioli will replace Chris Gill, who (like David Braund last year) has managed—a remarkable achievement—to obtain a three-year Leverhulme grant, to enable him to write a book on Greek notions of personality, centred on the second century A.D.

Our thriving graduate culture continues to grow, with a healthy new intake, and successfully completed PhDs by Arlene Allan, Wolfgang Blaine, Konstantinos Doulamis, Matthew Wright and Sergio Zedda. Undergraduate recruitment continues to thrive, and in the spirit of Widening Participation has acquired funding for an assault on local schools, led by Ian McGregor Morris.

The Department has hosted various external speakers throughout the year, including (as a research fellow for one term) Ian Storey from the University of Trent in Canada, who is working on the Greek comic dramatist Eupolis. We also hosted the Manhattan Verse Theater Company for a memorable performance of *War Music* by Christopher Logue [Henry Box reviews the performance on page 19]. Another notable event was the Classical Association Centenary Conference at Warwick, where our graduate students and staff were much in evidence.





STAFF RESEARCH NEWS

David Braund (D.C.Braund@ex.ac.uk)
I have been using my Leverhulme leave to push ahead with various books and articles. I helped organise a conference at Vani (Georgia) in September 2002 and seem to have been going from one Black Sea gathering to another since then. The region seems to have become (very) strangely fashionable. With Chris Gill I have also edited a volume of papers to celebrate Peter Wiseman's contribution to the subject. It's called *Myth, history and culture in Republican Rome* and is available at a ridiculously low price from University of Exeter Press.

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@ex.ac.uk)
During the last year I have mainly been writing conference-papers and book-chapters on Plato and Hellenistic thought, especially Stoicism. I aim soon to finish a book, *The Structured Self in Hellenistic and Roman Thought*, for Oxford University Press, and then to write a further book on the interplay between philosophical and medical ideas of personality in the second century AD. I am delighted to have been awarded a Major Research Fellowship by the Leverhulme Trust for three years (2003-6) to complete the latter book.

David Harvey (F.D.Harvey@ex.ac.uk)
I have completed my contributions to *Greek Democratic Origins*, the volume of essays on Greek History by my late supervisor Geoffrey de Ste. Croix, which will be published by the Oxford Press later this year—though I should make it clear that it is others who have done the lion's share of the donkey-work on this! I am now struggling with several other projects—most urgently, my chapter for the Exeter volume on Tragic Fragments. And I need to tidy up the seminar paper about Thucydides 4.80 that I gave last autumn for publication in a collection of essays on Sparta edited by Tom Figueira.

Elena Isayev (E.isayev@ex.ac.uk)
Currently my energies are focused on completing a book on the Lucanians (for publication with *BICS*), finishing an excavation report for San Martino (Italy), and working on collaborative projects with Archaeology and Arabic Studies.

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@ex.ac.uk)
I am currently on a year's research leave, partially funded by the AHRB, finishing a monograph, entitled *Pudicitia: Sexual Ethics in Ancient Rome,* for Cambridge University Press.

John Marr (J.L.Marr@ex.ac.uk)
I am continuing to work on my edition of pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of the Athenians.*

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@ex.ac.uk)
Work on my new book *Panhellenism and the barbarian* continues apace, and I hope to have this with the publisher before the end of the year. Meanwhile, I am also turning my attention to questions of oligarchy at Athens, and the way in which, in Athenian rhetoric and political thought, oligarchy came to be associated with tyranny. I will be giving a paper on 'Tyrannical Oligarchs at Athens' at Cardiff in July.

Stephen Mitchell (S.Mitchell@ex.ac.uk)
I have completed my commentary on a major unpublished Greek inscription which contains the full text of a treaty between Rome and Lycia dated to 46 BC; this should appear in a Collection of Greek Documents in the course of 2003. Also in hand are revised versions of conference papers on Roman colonial coinage and the cultivation of olives in Asia Minor.

Ruth Parkes (R.E.Parkes@ex.ac.uk)
I have recently completed an Oxford D.Phil., a commentary on Book 4 of Statius' *Thebaid*, which I plan to turn into a book.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@ex.ac.uk)
I have recently finished several projects, including the Introduction to the new Everyman *Oresteia*, part of the

Introduction (on literature) to the new Blue Guide to Greece, a paper on Aeschylus and the Unity of Opposites (*JHS* 2003), and a big book entitled *Money and the Early Greek Mind: Homer, Philosophy, Tragedy* (Cambridge University Press). Current projects include books on Aeschylus and Dionysus.

Tim Whitmarsh (T.J.G.Whitmarsh@ex.ac.uk)
In the last year, articles have appeared on Alexander the Great and Samuel Butler, as well as my translation of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (World's Classics). Diverse articles will appear in 2003, and my *Cultural History of Ancient Greek Literature* should hit the shops in time for Christmas. The next major project is a book on identity politics in the ancient Greek novel, for Cambridge University Press; I am also editing the *Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel.*

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@ex.ac.uk)
My work on Galen and Athenaeus continues. I am putting together a collection of essays entitled *Athenaeus the Navigator*, while in December 2003 a conference is to be held in Paris which locates Athenaeus in his second-/third-century world with Plutarch, Galen and other encyclopaedic authors. On Galen, meanwhile, I am writing articles on nutrition, and am also part of a research team with Tim Whitmarsh and Chris Gill entitled The World of Knowledge, in which we study Galen in the context of his own world and the previous centuries of scholarship on psychology, lexicography and the history of ideas.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@ex.ac.uk)
Three fairly chunky items came out in 2002, on (a) how poets and historians deal with miracle stories, (b) Circe, Thetis and Flora as drama heroines in Ovid, and (c) why it's time to put the ideology back into Roman republican history. Also a small contribution to a debate on Roman historical drama. At the moment I'm wrestling with the antepenultimate chapter of my book *The Myths of Rome.*

Karl Woodgett (K.A.Woodgett@ex.ac.uk)
I am working on a—soon-to-be-finished—doctoral thesis, which looks at how the Roman historians developed the idea of the moral danger of peace, and how their narrative of key events and individuals is informed by this concept.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@ex.ac.uk)
My book *Euripides' Escape-Tragedies*—a revised version of my doctoral thesis—will appear before too long. I am also completing articles on Stesichorus and Sophocles' *Electra*, as well as planning (in association with Ian Storey of Trent University, Ontario) a conference on the comic poet Cratinus.

Dissertations completed for higher degrees during the period 2002-3 (an asterisk denotes a Distinction in the M.A.):

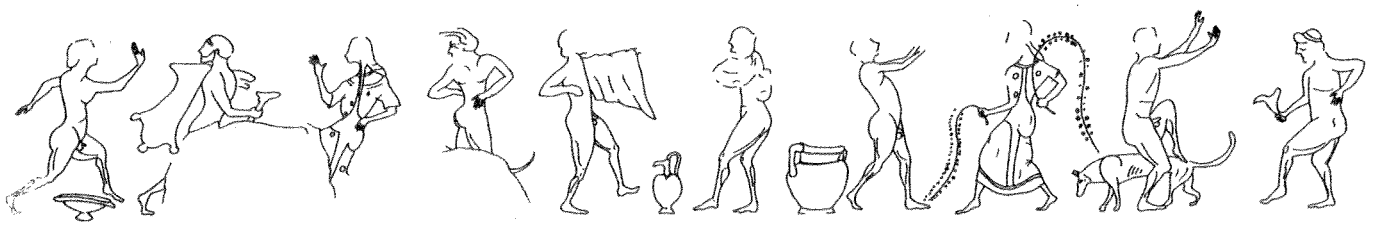
M.A. in Roman Myth and History:
Katherine Boddy, 'House Destruction Myths: Their Transmission and Exemplary Use'
Andrew Clark, 'Cultural Convergence: The Interface of Roman History and French Culture in Asterix'
*Sarah Mark, 'Exemplary Duels and *Cognomina ex virtute*: How Torquatus and Corvinus Won Their Names'
Robert Southgate, 'An Instant Myth: The Image of the Emperor Nero'

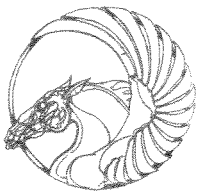
M.A. in Ancient Drama and Society
Nikos Pagourtzis, 'Ritual in the *Oresteia*'

M.A. in Homeric Studies
Stewart Sharland, 'Agamemnon in the *Iliad*'

Master of Philosophy
Jenny Andrews: 'July to December: The Roman festivals without Ovid'
Anna Feakins, 'Altruism in Greek literature?'

Doctor of Philosophy
Arlene Allan, 'Readings in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*'
Konstantinos Doulamis, 'The rhetoric of eros in Xenophon of Ephesus and Chariton'
Sergio Zedda, 'Theory of proportion in Plato's *Timaeus*'





Religions of Rome: homogeneity and diversity

The twenty-fifth Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, 30th April 2002

Simon Price

The dominance of Christianity is an obvious feature of the modern world. This lecture takes us back to a period when this dominance was not a fact of life. It also takes us back to a period when the orthodoxies of Christianity and Judaism were not yet in place, namely the period of the Roman empire, between Augustus and Constantine, the first three centuries of our era. More specifically, it concentrates on the city of Rome itself. As Jackson Knight was much interested in Roman religion, I hope that this lecture may give some pleasure to his Manes.

The city of Rome used to be a great black hole in our understanding of Roman imperial history: we knew more about the provinces than the capital. One aspect of our ignorance concerned the religious life of Rome during the principate. Many histories of Roman religion used to peter out with the reign of Augustus. Attention shifted to 'Oriental cults', and to Judaism and the triumph of Christianity. The challenge facing us now is both to argue for the importance of official cults of Rome under the empire, and also to integrate into a general picture material on the various cults of Rome. The usual segregation of 'official Roman cults' and 'foreign cults' into separate studies is regrettable. But we need to do more than put together 'official Roman cults' and 'foreign cults'; we need also to analyse Jewish and Christian material alongside the evidence for other religious cults of the period.

In addition, we need to be as inclusive as possible in the types of evidence exploited for religious history: not just texts, but also physical evidence (both iconography and buildings). The images included here are therefore not just pretty pictures, but examples of the importance of the physical evidence.

This lecture is concerned with the question of how to characterize religions in this period. People usually talk of the cults of this period as if they were homogeneous entities that were exclusive of each other. The terms homogeneity and exclusivity need to be thought about again, and thought about critically. The lecture is structured round three questions: (1) is it right to think of religious groups at Rome as homogeneous? (2) were they exclusive at the theological level? (3) were individual allegiances to these groups exclusive?

Before addressing these questions, a few remarks about the official cults of Rome are needed. Religion was important in the ancient world to everyone's sense of identity, whether one thinks of classical Athenians, Jews or Republican Romans. Religion was an element of a more general identity: 'Athenian', 'Greek', 'Jewish', or 'Roman', which is characteristic of a situation in which religion was embedded in other, social and political, institutions. This role for religion remained important throughout antiquity.

The state cults of imperial Rome should not be seen as a formality of interest at most to emperors and senators; in fact they and the official religious festivals formed an integral part of the rhythms of urban life. For a start, Rome was surrounded by a sacred boundary, the *pomerium*. This was made much of in the early empire: it was said that the original *pomerium* was defined by the founder of Rome, Romulus, and emperors proclaimed their right to extend the *pomerium* as a result of the conquest of new territory. This was not a merely a line on a map; it was marked by massive stones, 2m tall, each numbered in sequence along the line of the *pomerium*. The *pomerium* helped (amongst other things) to define a zone of Roman religious identity. Augustus banned Egyptian rites within the *pomerium*, 'restoring' (or inventing) the principle that the worship of foreign gods should not occur within the sacred boundary of Rome.

Leadership of the official cults of Rome rested with the emperor and the senatorial class. The senate under the empire handled numerous items of religious business; from the senate were drawn most of the priests of the official cults; and the senatorial magistrates continued under the empire to be responsible for putting on the games that formed part of the official festivals. Though the emperor was himself very prominent at the games, the senatorial class still exercised powers of patronage over the Roman people

through the official cults.

The people of Rome were, however, also involved in many of the cults, both as office-holders and as participants. Minor priesthoods, and the positions of Luperci, were reserved from Augustus onwards for the *equites*, the second order of Roman society. In Rome there were 256 local ward cults, which involved lower orders of Roman society. Four annual magistrates, who were mainly ex-slaves, ran each of the cults. They were responsible for the local festivals, including the local games, and the names of the magistrates were inscribed on official lists. The public functions and forms of the magistracies gave a real status to ex-slaves within the imperial system.

Official festivals themselves also had a considerable impact on the public. Some festivals indeed consisted wholly or partly of events at the family level: Parentalia and Lemuria, for the dead; Liberalia, the coming of age of boys; the Saturnalia, involving the whole household. Other festivals entailed popular participation through their associated games. It is a mistake to see the games as purely secular entertainments; circus races, theatrical performances and gladiatorial shows were given as part of festivals to the gods or deified emperors. (See *Figure 1.*) Images of the appropriate gods were paraded through the streets of Rome to the Circus or theatre, where sacrifices were performed. The audiences for such spectacle were vast: 50,000 could sit in the Colosseum, with another 5000 standing at the top, and no less than 150,000 in the Circus Maximus. (And unlike in the film *Gladiator* those audiences were not computer-generated.) The official system was not simply a sop for the senatorial class. The people, both citizen and non-citizen, were deeply involved in the official cults of imperial Rome. So the official cults of Rome were an important part of their sources of identity. But religious life in imperial Rome was highly differentiated: there were many other cults not part of the official system.

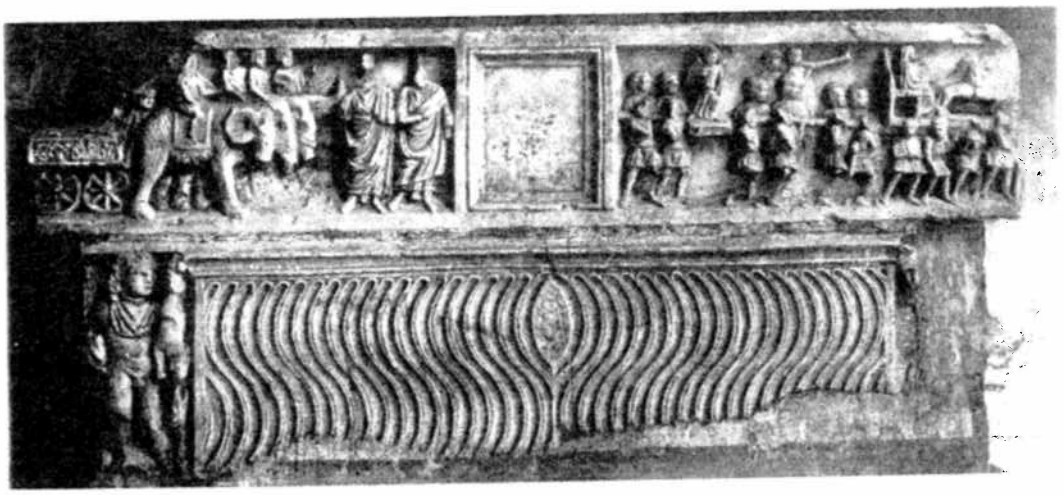


Figure 1: Sarcophagus of c. 350 CE. On the left four elephants pulling a carriage on which was probably an image of the deified emperor; on the right Mater Magna is carried on a litter. The images commemorate the carrying of images to the circus, where the deceased was responsible for putting on circus games. Height 0.40m, width 2.05m. Rome, DAI (Inst. Neg. 7002).

I. CHOICE AND HOMOGENEITY: IS IT RIGHT TO THINK OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS AT ROME AS HOMOGENEOUS?

In addition to the official cults, other cults in Rome had an ethnic basis (see *Figure 2*): Jews, for example, or the immigrants to Rome from Palmyra in Syria who established a sanctuary to Palmyrene gods in Trastevere, on the west bank of the Tiber (no. 15 on map); there they made dedications to 'their ancestral deities' in a combination of languages, Latin, Greek and Aramaic (the common language of the near east). We cannot hope to understand imperial Rome without thinking also about the Roman empire. Rome comes to symbolise the empire; it is also the place to which inhabitants of the empire were drawn, and in which they practised their ancestral cults.

But religious choices also developed, outside the framework of both official and ethnic cults, which offered possibilities for new religious identities. A useful name for them is 'elective cults'. Figure 2 shows the locations of just some of those cults: those allegedly originating in Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor. At Rome such choices existed from at least the early second century BC onwards, and were well established

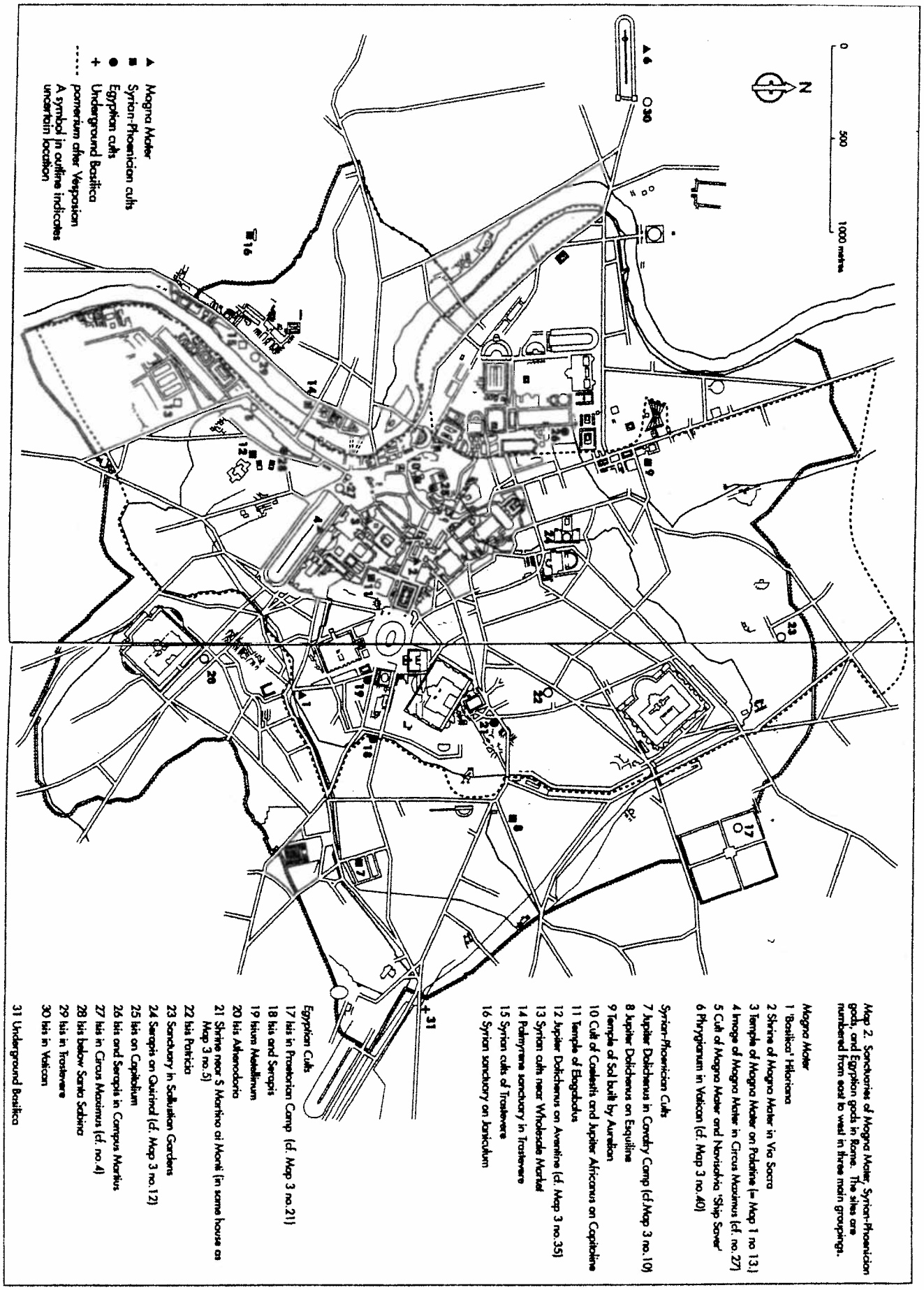


Figure 2: 'Oriental' cults at Rome. Taken from M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Vol. 1, Map 2.

by the imperial period. There is also evidence for some twenty-five Mithraic sanctuaries in Rome (not shown on this map). We shall come back to three of these cults: the Dolocenum on the Aventine (no. 12 on the map), the Mithraic sanctuary below S. Prisca (near to no. 12); and the sanctuary of Isis in the Campus Martius (no. 26).

These religious groups, coexisting with the official cults, were novel with respect to their demands of personal commitment: they offered a new sort of identity. Religion was not just one of a bundle of characteristics defining ethnic or civic identity, it was *the* defining characteristic. The cults offered, in short, *religious* identity to their members.

The interesting issue is to see how these identities relate to one another, and to ethnic or civic identities. Here it is crucial to be as comprehensive as possible. We shall never make progress if we remain locked into particular specialisms: historians of Isis, of Mithras, of Judaism, of Christianity. To exclude any of these at the outset is to prejudge the issues: in particular, it is important to have Judaism and Christianity in the picture, otherwise one is liable to uphold a priori a dichotomy between 'paganism' and 'Christianity', and to exclude Jews from the picture altogether, which is deeply unhelpful.

In examining such connections we need to avoid the conventional category 'Oriental religions'. In the hands of the brilliant historian of religion Franz Cumont, the category seemed to be the key to understanding the religious history of the period. But in fact the category conflates things that need to be kept separate and is founded on arbitrary premises. Even though several of the cults proclaimed an eastern 'origin' for their wisdom, the 'origins' were quite different (Egypt, Syria, Persia) and do not constitute a homogeneous 'Orient'. Some of the cults (Mater Magna, Isis) began as public cults and only later acquired private mysteries, which were quite distinct. Some of these mysteries, even if they claimed an eastern origin, are in fact descended from earlier Greek initiation cults. Nor can one assume a common preoccupation with 'salvation', which made the 'Oriental cults' precursors of and rivals to Christianity. For there is no real body of evidence to show this, and the assumption is illicitly Christianising.

In the past scholars have assumed that ancient religious groups, especially Judaism and Christianity, were homogeneous and exclusive entities. That is, their theological and practical positions each had a normative core, consistent across place and time; round that core were a number of awkward heretical or deviant groups which could be treated as simply marginal. They were exclusive of each other and of other religious groups of the time. The current trend in the study of Judaism and Christianity is firmly against the normative assumptions of the old picture. Many scholars would now wish to talk not of core and periphery, but of clusters of ideas and people for each cult. This trend in the study of Judaism and Christianity has led me to wonder how far one should rethink the old model for understanding other cults of the period. This lecture focuses on Mater Magna, Jupiter Dolichenus, Isis and Mithras, though it also touches on Jews and Christians.

The background to the issue of homogeneity is the wide geographical spread of these cults, though the precise distribution pattern varies widely from cult to cult. Mithras was common in Italy (especially Rome and Ostia) and along the Rhine-Danube frontier zone, but appears hardly at all in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, North Africa or Spain. The cult of Isis is found in the Hellenistic period in Greece, but its expansion under the empire was largely western, in Italy, Africa, Spain and Gaul. Jupiter Dolichenus proclaimed its origin at Doliche in North Syria, and some 17 sanctuaries of the cult have been found, ranging from Dura Europus on the Euphrates to Germany. There were three sanctuaries in Rome: on the Aventine (no. 12), the Caelian (no. 7) and the Esquiline (no. 8), of which that on the Aventine is the best known.

Despite being quite widespread, each cult was relatively uniform. Dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus from various parts of the empire employ a very similar iconography. The cults of Mithras also display a striking degree of uniformity. (See *Figure 3.*) Shrines excavated in Britain or Germany are much the same as those in Rome or even at Dura Europus: a long cave-like building with benches along the side and a relief or painting at the far end of Mithras slaying the bull.

All that is obvious enough, but how far did such homogeneity go? How indeed are we to assess degrees of homogeneity? The inevitably fragmentary and disparate nature of our evidence makes it almost inevitable that those seeking to interpret the cults should set up clear and

unitary models within which the individual items of evidence can fit. The assumption of homogeneity is almost a necessary heuristic device. But for how long should one maintain it?

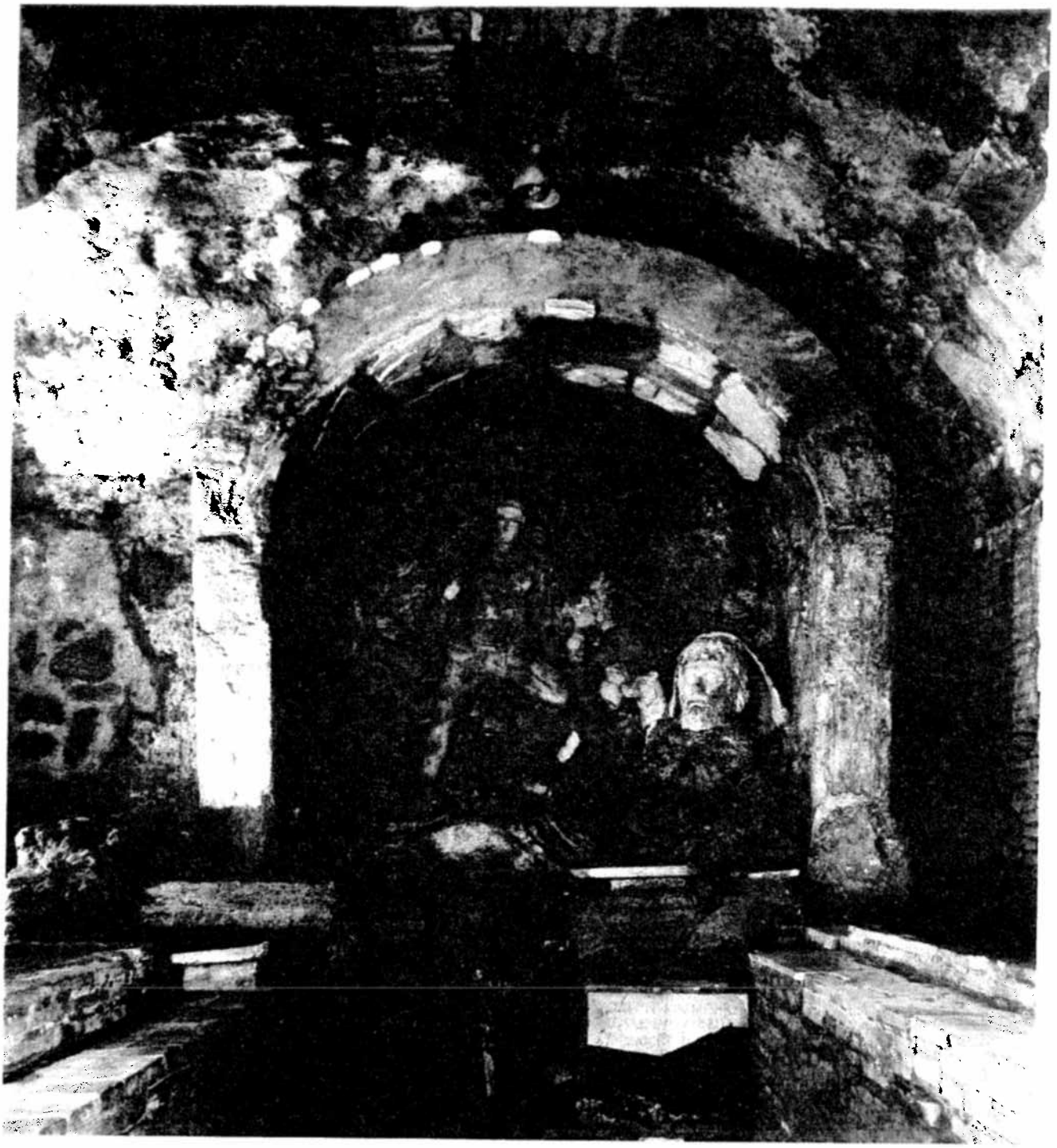


Figure 3: Mithraic sanctuary below S. Prisca, Rome. Benches run along the side walls, leading up to an image of Mithras slaying the bull. This sanctuary is famous for the paintings and dipinti along the side walls. Taken from Carlo Pavia, *Roma sotterranea e segreta* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1985), 89.

The best example for exploring the issue of homogeneity is the cult of Mithras, one of the most complex, and most complexly documented, cults of the Roman empire. This cult, allegedly originating in Persia in the remote past, in fact developed in the Latin west in the late first/early second century AD. (See *Figure 4.*) Though the bull-slaying scene was an easily recognisable icon wherever the cult existed, the extent of iconographical uniformity should not be exaggerated. The side scenes round the representation of Mithras and the bull do not appear in a fixed sequence; there seem to be two major groupings, found primarily in the Rhine

and in the Danube areas, but Italy was different and even within the two areas there was much diversity. Such diversity might be taken as regional variations, drawing on a common repertoire of images, but more worrying are the sequences of planetary gods. Some studies bravely try to make the maximum degree of order out of these sequences, but the evidence just does not fit together very neatly. In fact there are different sequences in different contexts, which it is not possible to reduce to a central normative core with peripheral elaborations.

If one does not start from the assumption that there is a core of 'real' Mithraic doctrines and a penumbra of divergences or misunderstandings, a possible solution would be to say that the mysteries of Mithras consist of a cluster of overlapping readings, offering different (and sometimes incompatible) systems. If that is the correct interpretation of some rather thorny aspects of Mithraism, it suggests that one should return to the so-called 'Mithras liturgy', preserved as part of a long sequence of magical texts. This is an amazing text, which gives instructions about the gaining of divine revelation from Helios Mithras. Early in the twentieth century it was argued that it was an actual text of the Mithraic mysteries (hence its common name, the 'Mithras liturgy'). This idea was so roundly criticised that the text practically dropped out of discussions of Mithraism. In fact one should not try to decide if it was 'really' Mithraic; it is more useful to look at the way that it employs Mithraic themes. Or take at a different level the issue of women in the cult. They were not initiated into the cult, and indeed Porphyry says that they were classified as noxious hyenas. But the place of women in the cult is more complex than the image of the hyena might suggest. Take the excavations of the S. Prisca Mithraic sanctuary in Rome. The sculpture included the portrait bust of an old lady. She was not necessarily initiated, but hardly a hyena. Perhaps she was the mistress of the house in which the sanctuary was located. Or take a find from another Mithraic sanctuary in Rome: the inscribed version of a prayer to Mithras by a woman, one Cascellia Elegans. 'Not really Mithraic', some experts claim, but there is nothing in it that is impossible in a Mithraic context. The ideology of the cult was perhaps not as homogeneous as modern theory would like, and there are indeed cases where women make dedications to Mithras. So I submit that a cluster model does look rather helpful, and is in general a better initial starting point.

Figure 4: Mithraic relief from Aequiculi, Italy. In the centre is Mithras slaying the bull; below the bull are the dog, snake and scorpion, symbols of constellations. On either side are six panels with scenes from the life of Mithras. Height 0.81m, width 1.04m. Rome, DAI (Inst. Neg. 36.949).

It is easy to assume that the peculiarities of each cult left no place for the ordinary Graeco-Roman pantheon, and that if any ordinary gods do appear in the cult they have to have peculiar interpretations placed on them. In fact, this assumption needs to be rejected. Consider, for example, the sanctuary of Mater Magna at Ostia. Within it there were not only temples of Mater Magna and of Attis, but also of Bellona, all of Antonine date. What is Bellona doing here? Scholars sometimes say that she is here seen as an aspect of Mater Magna, but is this a necessary assumption? Then there are statues of other gods dedicated in the sanctuary: Pan (twice), Dionysus, Venus (five times) and perhaps Ceres. They certainly do not play a fixed part in the cult of Mater Magna, and there is surely no reason to deny that these gods carry with them all or most of the evocations they have in other contemporary contexts. But, one might argue, Mater Magna was an institutionalised if marginal cult, whose official acceptance at Rome makes it unsurprising to find other gods in her sanctuary.

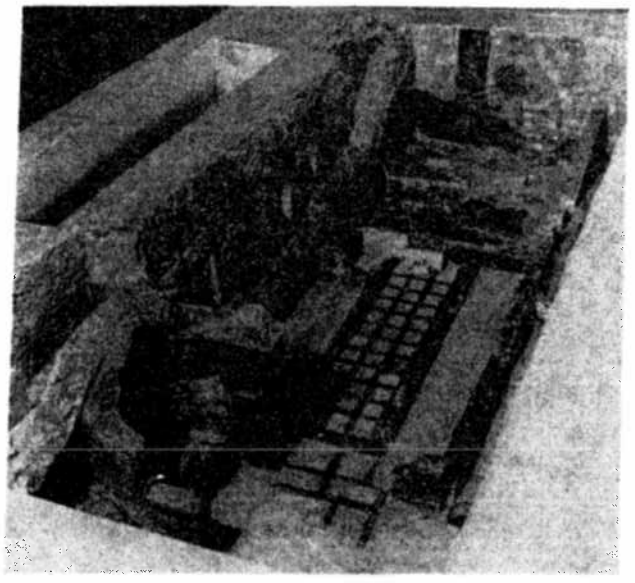


Figure 5: The Dolocenum on the Aventine, Rome. The area of the sanctuary is 22.60m x 12m. In the centre is a main room, with a bench along one wall, presumably for dining. The sanctuary was originally open-air ; the buildings date to the mid-second century AD. The sanctuary flourished in the early third century. Taken from M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), pl. LXIX.

What about Jupiter Dolichenus, whose cult was not institutionalised? (See *Figure 5*.) The sanctuary on the Aventine in Rome (frequented by civilians) is perhaps the best known of his sanctuaries in the empire. The adherents formed a tightly knit group, with a complex hierarchy: here a 'father of candidates', priests, and 'patrons' presided over a series of candidates. Jupiter Dolichenus was here described as 'protector of the whole world', and is often called Optimus Maximus and his female partner Juno Regina, the technical names for the first two members of the Capitoline triad. So the cult borrowed elements of the Capitoline triad, but to assert the overarching position of *this* deity. In addition, all sorts of other gods were also represented in this sanctuary. First, the ordinary Graeco-Roman gods, for example, Apollo; it is striking that the statue of Apollo was put up 'on the order of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus'. Secondly, there were images related to the Egyptian gods Isis and Sarapis. Thirdly, there were some Mithraic reliefs. Presumably the implication of these dedications is that Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus was the new head of the old pantheon, superior both to the gods like Apollo, and to the Egyptian and Persian gods. This sort of cosmology would have no need to be exclusivist: indeed incorporation would reinforce its strength.

Mithras is more of a problem. (See *Figure 6*, over page.) Mithraic cosmology was radically novel and allowed no place for the ordinary gods of the pantheon. What mattered was the ascent of the initiate through the seven grades; as each grade was correlated with a different planet (e.g. Lion with Jupiter, Father with Saturn), the soul of the initiate was probably conceived to rise during his lifetime further and further away from the earth, finally achieving *apogenesis*, or birth away from the material world. Does that mean that for the Mithraic initiate (at least in certain contexts) the traditional Graeco-Roman gods had no role? Scholars sometimes give the impression that this is the case, but again the finds from the S. Prisca sanctuary show that the matter is more complex than theory would suggest. The excavations revealed, along with all the Mithraic material, representations of various Olympian gods. The text of the final report mentions only three stucco heads; the rest are buried in the catalogue of finds and the problems they raise for the issue of Mithraic exclusivity have been little discussed.

There are, however, parallels for this range of dedications from other Mithraic sanctuaries.

The Walbrook sanctuary in London contained, in addition to Mithraic images, images of ordinary Olympian gods: for example, Mercury. Mithraic sanctuaries were, at least from time to time, quite hospitable of other gods.

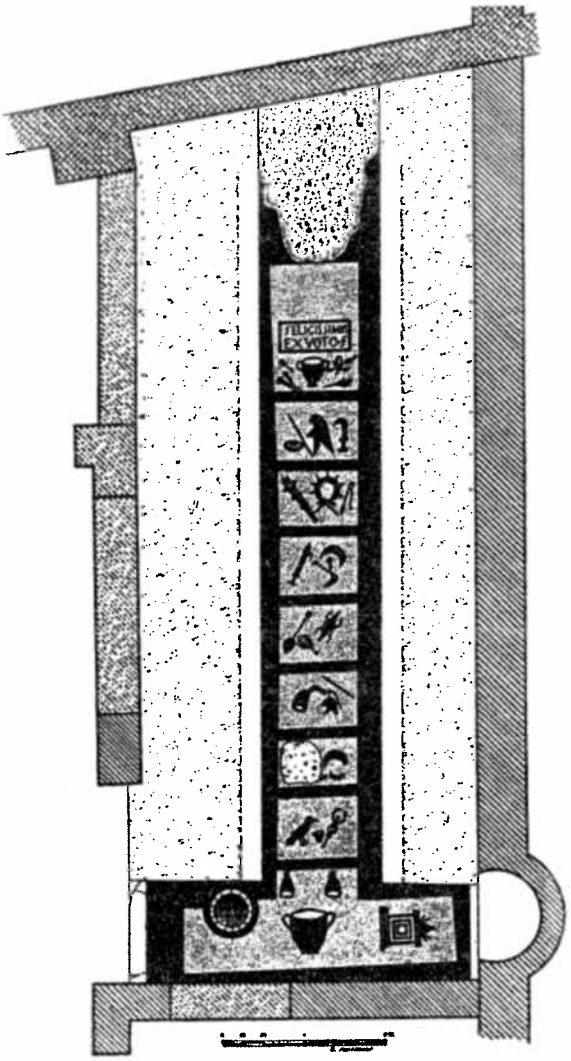


Figure 6: Sanctuary of Felicissimus, Ostia. The mosaic on the floor depicts the seven grades of initiation (Raven, Male Bride, Soldier, Lion, Persian, Sun-Runner, Persian) and the tutelary deities associated with each grade. Benches ran along the side walls. Taken from G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia* 2. *I mitrei* (Rome: La Libreria della Stato, 1954), 107, fig.22.

One scholar argued that the gods represented in the Walbrook sanctuary cohered with the basic ideology of the cult, in that all were concerned with salvation. That does not really fit all the deities found there (e.g. Minerva), and it does not account for the range of deities found at S. Prisca. Instead one might suggest that the current interpretations of the cult, which privilege the arcane and astronomical aspects of the cult, have to be seen as coexisting, rather messily no doubt, with all sorts of gods familiar to the initiates from the rest of their lives. Presumably they were not structured, as in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, into a new pantheon (that was hardly possible with the overall Persian ideology of the cult), but individuals did think from time to time that particular Graeco-Roman gods had their place in a Mithraic sanctuary. Thus the cult of Mithras, which is often implied to be exclusive, in fact turns out not to be so.

Isis is also surprising, but perhaps for exactly the opposite reasons. According to the ideology of the cult, Isis was all-encompassing. For example, in a surviving cult hymn from Kyme, on the west coast of Asia Minor, Isis is made to say, 'I taught humans to honour images of the gods, I founded sanctuaries of the gods'. So Isis, though of firmly Egyptian origin, was responsible for the apparatus of the ordinary Graeco-Roman pantheon. She was also worshipped under various names throughout the world. This cosmology is very inclusive, but we need to see what the actual sanctuaries of Isis were like. Those in Italy do *look* resolutely Egyptian in tone. The great sanctuary of Isis and Serapis on the Campus Martius in Rome had a large obelisk, a Serapeum modelled on that at Alexandria and a sanctuary of Isis with a processional route lined with Egyptian statues. The sanctuary of Isis at Beneventum in Italy had an obelisk, images of Isis, Apis bulls, lions, sphinxes, statues of priests or worshippers, and even images of Domitian as Pharaoh. The iconography could hardly be more resolutely Egyptian than that, but there and elsewhere we do also find images of ordinary, non-Egyptian gods.

The proclamation of one, supreme god was characteristic of the new cults. Jupiter Dolichenus was described in the Aventine sanctuary as 'protector of the whole world'. Isis was believed to be the supreme power in the universe and the origin of civilisation. The cult of Mithras focussed on the exploits of Mithras. Judaism and Christianity both stressed the might of one god. But this does not mean, as scholars have sometimes claimed, that there was a general move towards 'monotheism'. As we have seen, the cosmologies of the various cults were quite different, and describing them all as 'monotheistic' blurs profound differences between them. Indeed the label may in fact be inapplicable even for Judaism and Christianity. In Judaism god was generally seen as the head of

a number of divine beings, who were not always under his control, and in Christianity the supreme god was related, in different ways and by different groups, to the Son and Holy Spirit. Nor was the claim of supremacy for one god wholly new: that position in the official cults of Rome was traditionally held by Jupiter Optimus Maximus. However, the claim to a new, though not necessarily exclusive, supremacy was an important part of the appeal of the elective cults.

Where does this brief account of Mater Magna, Jupiter Dolichenus, Mithras and Isis leave us? The cosmologies of all four are quite different, three inclusivist, and one (Mithras) exclusivist. And yet at the level of sanctuary dedications, Mater Magna, Jupiter Dolichenus and even Mithras accommodated the ordinary Graeco-Roman gods; only Isis may have excluded them, perhaps to maintain the Egyptian allure of her sanctuaries, but perhaps also because (as we shall see) the level of allegiance to her was very high.

III. EXCLUSIVITY OF ALLEGIANCE: HOW FAR DID THESE CULTS CLAIM EXCLUSIVITY OF ALLEGIANCE BY INDIVIDUALS?

There are two ways of thinking about this question: initiation into one cult precluded membership of others; the cults served different functions for the same people at different times. The second alternative is what one would expect in the ordinary Graeco-Roman pantheon. The various gods of the Roman calendar had particular functions to serve; individuals, families and other groups would turn to one or another deity depending on the circumstances. On the other hand, exclusivity of allegiance is what one would expect to follow from the profound differences between the cosmologies of the different cults. Whereas the gods of the Roman calendar were perceived as belonging together in one pantheon, Isis and Mithras proclaimed that they were responsible for different and incompatible cosmologies. It is hard to imagine reconciling the two, but could individuals live with such inconsistencies?

There is some evidence that this was indeed possible. A fine Mithraic relief from central Italy (*Figure 4*) has an inscription on the bottom: 'Apronianus the civic treasurer made it at his own expense'. It so happens that we have another inscription from the same town in which Apronianus the civic treasurer proclaims that he paid for the erection of statues of Serapis and Isis. This suggestion of multiple allegiances (whether serial or contemporary) is reinforced by the terminology of the cults themselves. It seems that the initiates of most of the cults did not generally use any particular term of self-description to define themselves as potentially exclusive adherents of the cult concerned. Modern scholars may talk of 'Mithraists', but there is no corresponding term in the ancient sources; while the grades of initiation were precisely that—not terms regularly used outside a specifically cultic context. The most we can detect are some much vaguer terms of self-description (*syndexios*—'he who has performed the ritual handshake', or *sacratus*—'devotee').

In some cults there is a difference between those whose religious, and maybe social, identity had come to depend on the worship of their particular deity (and who were rarely involved in more than one of the new cults) and those nearer the margins (who were much less likely to be so exclusive). In the cult of Mater Magna, for example, the castrated cult servants, the *galli* are not found playing other religious roles. This exclusivity is predictable, insofar as their castration marked them out in perpetuity as belonging to this one deity; for the *galli*, that is, this religious role was their principal role, their claim to status and self-definition -- as is suggested by the fact that some chose to have themselves represented on their tombstones in the costume of, and with the symbols of, their religious office.

With the cult of Isis too there were some overachievers whose physical appearance was crucial. Those who had shaved their heads as priests of Isis displayed to the world that they belonged to Isis. And Lucius in Apuleius' novel, *The Metamorphoses*, is presented as having no time for any deity other than Isis. Lucius says to Isis before leaving her sanctuary in Corinth, 'I shall make sure I do all the things a religious but poor person can: I shall for ever guard your sacred appearance and most holy divine power in the depth of my heart and gaze upon it'. When he went from Corinth to Rome, on the instruction of Isis, he was again initiated into her mysteries there. The story presupposes and evokes the idea that some people were exclusively attached to the cult of Isis (even if the story is in the end

critical of such fanaticism). Funerary inscriptions with Isiac language or decoration again help to confirm this impression about allegiance. Some begin with the traditional formula 'Dis Manibus' ('To the Spirits of the Dead') and continue with references to attachment to Isis. But what is particularly striking about the texts is the range of positions that was commemorated on the tombstones. Unlike Mater Magna, where only the *galli* commemorate themselves, all sorts of Isiac offices are mentioned. In Rome, for example, a wife was commemorated in a long verse epigram as 'chaste and attentive worshipper of the Pharian goddess [i.e. Isis], with whom I spent thirty years of happiness'.

No other cult, it seems, generated such an extensive public display in funerary monuments. One might say that this is because of the connection between Isis and the after-life. There certainly was such a link. For example, some funerary inscriptions from Rome hope that Osiris will grant the deceased refreshment in the afterlife. So tombstones were at least an appropriate context in which to commemorate Isiac attachments, but they do not read like a form of Pascal's wager, to maximize the chances of the deceased. Rather, they pick out Isiac attachments as crucial attributes of the *living*. And the cult offered an extremely wide range of positions in which people could feel proud. Unlike the cult of Mater Magna, there were many ways in the cult of Isis of marking one's primary if not exclusive allegiance to the cult.

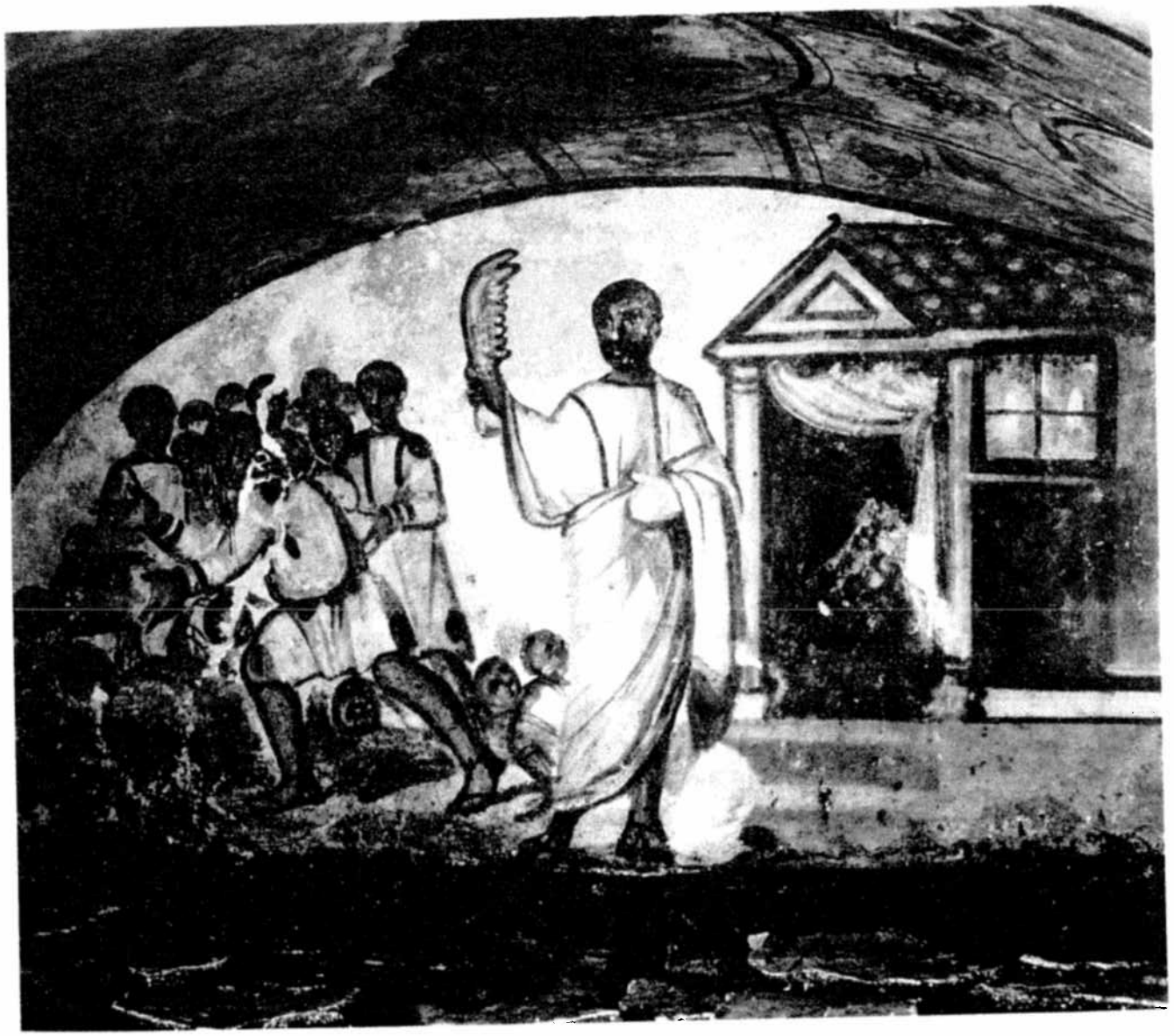


Figure 7: Via Latina Catacomb. Taken from Antonio Ferrua, *The Unknown Catacomb: A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art* (New Lanark: Geddes and Grosset, 1991), 107, fig. 87.

The argument as presented so far has implications for our understanding of the exclusivity of Jews and Christians in this period. There are certainly monuments peculiar to each of the groups: for example, catacombs containing images of the Jewish *menorah*; or the memorial to Peter below St Peter's.

However, the exclusivity of Judaism and Christianity is difficult to assess because of the dominance of later orthodoxy which sought to exclude overlapping involvements and which has been projected back onto our period. Jews in some places simply kept apart and (so far as we know) did not produce treatises on the nature of the debarred cults; in contrast 'godfearers' may not have expected to reject all of their own religious heritage. Some strands in Christianity did, however, seek to explain how Christianity was superior both to Judaism and to the traditional cults. The relationship between Judaism and Christianity, a crucial issue from the earliest days of the Christian church, was articulated in various ways. Some, like Marcion, who taught in Rome in the mid-second century AD, rejected both the Old Testament and the god of the Jews. Marcion was a controversial figure, condemned by self-styled 'orthodox' writers, but the founder of long-lived Marcionite communities. This 'hard line' rejection of Judaism was, however, only one strand in second-century Christianity. Some Christians practised circumcision and followed an obviously 'Jewish' way of life. (See *Figure* 7.) Others who rejected Judaism as a system nonetheless borrowed much from Jewish thought. For example, images in the Via Latina Catacomb in Rome use images from the Old Testament as precursors of Christ's actions; here Samson smites the Philistines with an ass's jawbone.

If one accepts the suggestion about the relative *lack* of homogeneity and exclusivity among at least some of the traditional cults, it perhaps becomes easier to understand the behaviour of some Jewish and Christian groups. That is, the 'cluster' approach to the two religions, which formed our starting point and which is normally applied *within* the context of Judaism and Christianity, can be extended to the relations between Jews and Christians and between them both and traditional cults.

If the experience of the cults of, for example, Jupiter Dolichenus or Mithras, let alone of the ordinary civic cults, was of a kind of inclusivity, it is perhaps easier to see how some individuals could be led to at least the fringes of Judaism or Christianity. Jewish 'Godfearers' or their Christian equivalents might expect not to have to reject all of their own religious inheritance, however much hard-liners might denounce the whole apparatus of 'paganism'.

In the second and third centuries there were debates about how much traditional thought should be taken over by Christians. Some Christians even felt that they could participate in traditional cults. Some of these were said to eat sacrificial meat and gather at pagan festivals, imagining that they were beyond pollution. Others held that traditional cults preserved part of the truth. The Naassenes were said to hold that performances of the mysteries of Attis were under the guidance of providence. Without themselves being castrated, they would attend the mysteries of Mater Magna 'considering that they can actually observe their own mystery in those rites'. Hippolytus, who reports their actions in his treatise on 'heresies', is horrified, and most church historians have not really escaped from his perspective, but the attitude of the Naassenes should perhaps be seen as predictable, and perhaps even normal, in the religious life of the Roman empire.

One further aspect of some of these cults is gender participation. Did women and men have different religious identities at this period? In terms of ethnic and civic identities the picture remained much as it had been in the classical period. The religious systems of Rome and of individual cities in the empire drew on women so far as was necessary for cults of a peculiarly 'female' nature, and permitted their attendance at public ceremonials. Were women short-changed, and ready for new roles? Upper class men feared any activity by women outside these closely defined roles, and operated with a stereotype of extensive female participation in some elective cults. But the extent of female participation was in fact not as great as feared in the stereotype. Though women, as we have seen, took part in the cult of Isis, they did not predominate numerically, and men held the principal offices. Lower class women generally could not join the occupational or burial associations formed by slaves, ex-slaves and free poor; only in the purely domestic associations of the great households were women normally members. It was the *mixed* membership of *some* of the cults (Isis, Judaism, Christianity) that differentiated them from the traditional cults of

Greece and Rome, where the norm was segregated participation. Such freely mixed participation in elective cults was extremely radical.

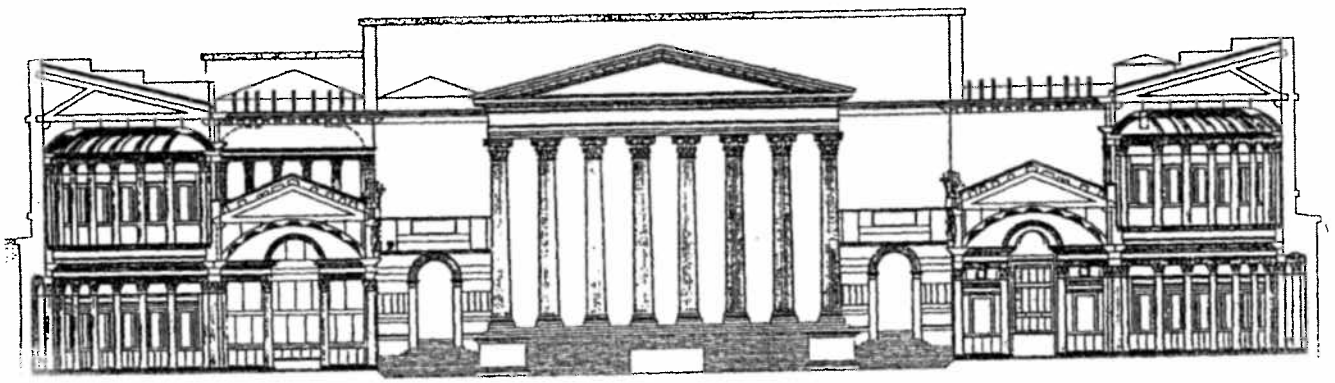
In conclusion, this lecture has tried to show something of the pluralism of religious life in imperial Rome. These 'elective' cults were recognisable all over the Roman empire, but their identities should not be seen in this period as monolithic. By the fourth century boundaries had become harder, and more policed, by traditionalists, Jews and Christians. But in the first three centuries of our era religious identities were more fluid and variously defined.

The evidence on the ground shows that the cults which are often seen as both homogeneous and exclusive are neither. The hypothetical creator of a cult like Mithraism might have expected both homogeneity and exclusivity for his new vision of the world, but the worshippers had quite different expectations, derived from ordinary polytheism. The worshippers did not treat the cults as homogeneous: after all, the cults of individual Graeco-Roman gods were not homogeneous. Nor did they treat them as exclusive, any more than the traditional cults were exclusive. But the cults do have a recognizable degree of cluster cohesion. And, with the exceptions of Judaism, Christianity and Manichaeism, they are found only within the bounds of the Roman empire. Their adherents desired cults that were not limited to one town, but transcended particular places or regions. These cults offered new religious identities within the framework of the Roman empire. As was said in the cult of Mithras, 'Hail to the Fathers from East to West'.

Simon Price is Fellow and Tutor in Classics at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. He is the author of many books and articles on ancient history and religion, including *Religions of Rome* (with M. Beard and J. North, Cambridge 1998).

NOTES FOR FURTHER READING

Religions of Rome, 2 vols, by Mary Beard, John North and myself (Cambridge, 1998) contains a version of the contents of this talk (embedded in Vol. 1, ch. 6); Vol. 2 features many relevant texts in translation, and both volumes illustrate and discuss many of the monuments and images referred to here. Simon Price and Emily Kearns (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of Classical Myth and Religion* (Oxford, 2003) provides guidance on points of detail. J. A. North, *Roman Religion* (Greece and Rome, New Survey in the Classics 30; Oxford, 2000) is the best beginner's guide. Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford, 2002) locates the imperial cult in Rome and Italy in the context of traditional religious practices. Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1996), despite its misleading title, outlines some of the evidence for 'Oriental' cults in the Roman empire. Manfred Clauss, *The Roman Cult of Mithras* (Edinburgh, 2000) is a sane introduction to one of these cults (though it underplays the arcane, astronomical elements of the cult); Roger Beck, 'Ritual, myth, doctrine, and initiation in the mysteries of Mithras: New evidence from a cult vessel', *JRS* 90 (2000), 145-80, shows more of the creativity of Roman Mithraism. Mark Edwards, Martin Goodman and Simon Price (eds), *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews and Christians* (Oxford: OUP, 1999) discusses the self-presentations of pagans, Jews and Christians in relation to each other. Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1994) sets Jewish 'proselytizing' in the context of pagan and Christian religious promotions. M. R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1990) and John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 2000) take the analysis on into the fourth century.



Alexandrian library quiz

complied by Jemma Reynolds

In the Hellenistic period the Ptolemies of Alexandria created a huge library and spent a long time collecting works from all over the ancient world. The scholars of this period who were based at this library directed much of their attention to creating indices and forming categories of these many and varied works. Much of the time, these scholars would use a number of ways of identifying a piece of work, owing to the fact that sometimes they would find copies of the same piece of writing to which had been ascribed a different title or author. It seems that, if they could, they would give the author's name or names, the title or titles of the work, and the opening line, in order to avoid confusion as far as possible.

Last term, *Pegasus* invited students to assume the role of Hellenistic scholars and identify ten ancient works and their authors by their opening lines. Our congratulations go to *GILLIAN WEBER* (first year, Classical Studies), who alone out of a huge number of entrants correctly identified all ten: she is the lucky winner of a fabulous prize. The ten opening extracts are reprinted below, for the benefit of readers who want to test their own Classical knowledge. (The answers are printed, upside-down and in minuscule letters, on the inside back cover.)

1. And as for the fact that the Athenians have chosen the kind of constitution that they have, I do not think well of their doing this, inasmuch as in making their choice they have chosen to let the worst people be better off than the good.

2. If earlier chroniclers of human affairs had failed to bear witness in praise of history, it might perhaps have been necessary for me to urge all readers to seek out and pay special attention to writings such as these; for mankind possesses no better guide to conduct than the knowledge of the past.

3. My purpose is to tell of bodies which have been transformed into shapes of a different kind.

4. *Strength:* Here we have reached the remotest region of the earth, the haunt of Scythians, a wilderness without a footprint.

5. *Carion:* Zeus, but it's hard being a slave when your master's out of his mind!

6. O Lord, the son of Leto, child of Zeus, I won't forget you now or at the end.

7. Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, was one of the most illustrious of the kings of Sparta.

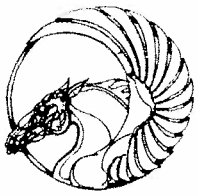
8. Ouranos was the first ruler of the universe.

9. Beginning with thee, O Phoebus, I shall recount the famous deeds of men of old, who, at the behest of king Pelias, down through the mouth of Pontus and between the Cyanean rocks, sped well-benched Argo in quest of the golden fleece.

10. A considerable number of the most outstanding physicians have written about the powers of foods.

Maritime competition: issue 45 (2002)

We can now reveal that the author of the peculiar poem—'O billows bounding far'—which we featured in the last issue was A.E. Housman, classical scholar and author of *A Shropshire Lad*. The winner of our competition, who receives a five-year subscription to *Pegasus*, is *JOE CANNING* from Cardiff.



An interview with Sarah Pomeroy

David Harvey

Sarah B. Pomeroy is Distinguished Professor of Classics, Emerita, at Hunter College, City University of New York.

Why (or do I mean how?) did you decide to become a professional classicist?
I grew up near the Metropolitan Museum of Art and used to like spending time among the antiquities, especially the mummies. I wrote my dissertation in Papyrology and received my Ph.D. at the age of 21.

You frequently visit Britain. What do you find are the most striking differences, for better or for worse, between University classics departments in the USA & the UK?
Departments in the USA seem more heterogenous than those in the UK. Among the faculty we certainly have more women and a greater range of ages since teaching assistants are graduate students, and there is no set age of retirement. In Classics Departments we also teach a variety of courses, not only language and literature, but often art, archaeology, and ancient history.

Your first book had the memorable title Goddesses, Wives, Whores and Slaves. *Can you tell us how you thought of it?*
The inspiration was the categorization of women in Pseudo-Demosthenes 59: 'We have mistresses for our pleasure, concubines to serve our person, and wives for the bearing of legitimate children.' My adjective 'respectable' in reference to citizen women has become the standard.

There has been a great surge of interest in women in the ancient world during the past few decades. How would you explain that?
Thirty years have passed since I taught the first course in the USA on 'Women in Classical Antiquity'. Establishing women as a legitimate area of study in Classics was a struggle. I was a member of the first group to request that the American Philological Association support the establishment of the Women's Classical Caucus and was elected the first Chair of that group. The Caucus presented panels on women at the annual APA meetings. The growth in Women's Studies and Women's History in general created an audience for the study of women in antiquity.

What subject within classical Women's Studies do you think most needs to be investigated now?
As we have moved from an Athenocentric and fifth-century focus in Greek history in the past few decades, I would like to see more scholarly work on non-elite, provincial women in time periods that have not been much studied. Such a project could require working with unpublished or poorly edited inscriptions and papyri.

What are you working on now, and what will you be working on next?
I have just begun to work on gender and ethnicity in the Greek world.

And finally, our standard question: what lost Greek or Roman work would you most like to see recovered?
Aristotle's *Constitution of the Spartans*. Then we would know how much of the tradition we can believe, and how much of it is idealising propaganda.

Christopher Logue's *War Music* at Exeter

Henry Box *reviews Verse Theater Manhattan's stage adaptation of Logue's modern verse version of the* Iliad (Roborough Drama Studio, 12th March 2003).

The advertising for the performance had been rigorous: not only had posters been strategically placed around Queen's but members of staff were briefed: *get as many students as possible to come along*. So, on 12th March, as I lowered myself down onto a nice plastic seat (watching with pity those who made do with a few cushions and hard metal staging), I began to contemplate what the forthcoming play was to be like. Before now, I had never been a fan of Greek drama—all its screaming and prophesies of death make me want to call from the back of the auditorium, *get a life!*

However, (and I *do* like surprises) I was spectacularly surprised: Verse Theater Manhattan, a company consisting of three actresses, put on a powerful, albeit minimalist, performance (no set, props, nothing...). Angela Moore was cockily and petulantly American as Achilles; Jo Barrick (an English actress amongst two Americans) was romantically tragic as Patroclus and played Odysseus as a sneering schemer; Marybeth Bentwood, as Hector and Agamemnon, played the former with a clear determination and fortitude, and the latter as regally demanding and egotistical.

What I found particularly intriguing, almost to the point of grotesque fascination, was the adaptation's portrayal of women. There were some superbly erotic images of Helen, Thetis and Briseis: one that springs particularly to mind is the passage in which Logue describes 'Briseis in their midst, / Her breasts so lovely that they envy one another.' Helen was painted as carnal and proud, whilst Thetis and her nymphs danced serenely, lavishly and sensually in their depiction of the sea goddess, Achilles' mother.

After the performance, there was an open question session, in which members of the audience fired insightful words and comments at the actresses and the director, James Milton. Obviously, the depiction of Achilles, Agamemnon and Hector by women threw up questions of gender which proceeded to dominate the majority of the discussion—but not all of it. Professor Wiseman suggested that the impact of the piece owed not a little to the transatlantic divide (traditional English reserve *versus* jocular American informality). Dr Whitmarsh raised the ugly issue of Iraq, 11/09 and the question of whether the actresses felt strongly about performing such a play in the current political climate; this question provoked interesting and heated responses.

Achilles (Angela Moore and Patroclus (Jo Barrick) in an emotionally-charged scene

Verse Theater Manhattan must be thanked and applauded for putting on a clear, intelligent, concise and ultimately a very, very sexy adaptation of Logue's *War Music*. I enjoyed a twofold benefit from the performance—first, I got to see an amazing play, and second, I managed to pilfer several pints from various lecturers in the Ram afterwards.

Henry Box is a first-year undergraduate, reading Ancient History.

Archaeological field work: Summer 2003

James Young

Being a first year undergraduate, I have had a lot of information and new experiences thrown at me since September. As an ancient history and archaeology student, and not having read too much into my course before I came to Exeter, it was a pleasant surprise to find out that we have to do four weeks' excavation work in the summer as part of our course.

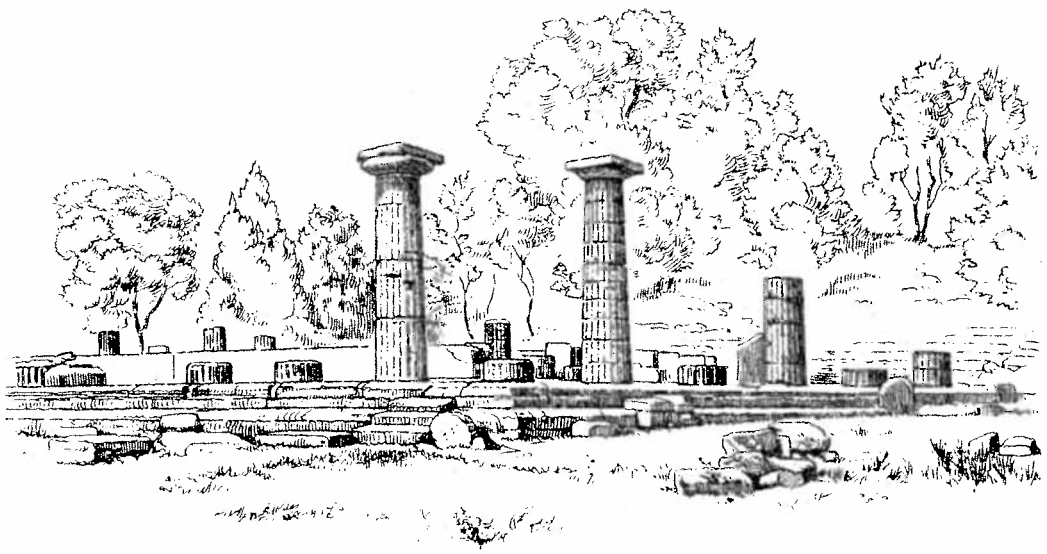
The first thing that I thought of was the idea of running around, Indiana Jones style, with a whip, finding lost treasure, being chased by bad guys—and of course a token blonde in tow. Reality, however, had other ideas for us: the images of wellies, mud, peat bogs and girls with moustaches soon hit home. Not that British archaeology isn't interesting—far from it—but some friends and I decided that we wanted to go abroad for our excavation in search of a little more adventure (added to that, a little holiday and some sun never hurt anyone).

So where to start? We first hit the web and found the perfect place almost immediately...Israel! You may be thinking of bus bombs, terrorists and a besieged Bethlehem, but from an archaeological perspective there's a lot more to Israel. The site we chose was the biblical city of Hazor, in the North of Israel between the sea of Galilee and the disputed Lebanon boarder. The city is mentioned in the books of Judges and Kings: 'the Lord sold them into the hand of Jabin, king of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor.' (*Judges* 4.2). The idea of biblical archaeology fascinated me, even though I am not a religious person. The thought of excavating a site mentioned in the most widely read book in the world seemed like a dream come true. I mean, what else (from an historian's point of view) could be more amazing than being in the middle of a desert with so much history at your hands? Having travelled before University, the idea of being out of the country again excited me, and the cost was surprisingly reasonable. Our places were confirmed through the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, but then disaster struck—a Foreign Office warning, in the light of the impending Middle Eastern situation. 'We advise you not to make any non-essential travel including holiday travel to Israel....'

So we were back to square one. Where would we go now? Still determined to go abroad, we are still searching. Sites in Greece, Cyprus, Italy and (being a little more adventurous) Kasikstan are all of interest. The limiting factor is, as always, money. It seems a strange concept that you should have to pay to go and work, but unfortunately that's the way it is. There was once a time when inexperienced archaeologists could make a little bit of summer money on digs, but these days you can pay up to £2,000 for a four-week expedition. Looking for sites and placements has helped open my eyes to the workings of our own education system compared to those in other countries. Using the web as our chief resource means, inevitably, that most of the sites that come up are American sites. They seem to be able to give full grants and other assistance to their students, but all we are entitled to is about £150 towards our costs. £150 is better than nothing—but it seems sad that there isn't more help available to students wishing to go on these types of placements, especially as sites in our own country can be just as expensive. Okay, we can go on the university expeditions to Yorkshire and Exmoor, but it still seems a shame that more opportunities are not available outside the university sphere, particularly since Exeter has the second best Archaeology department in the country.

Putting politics aside, what do I hope to gain from my excavations? Well, wherever we end up, four weeks of digging will be hard and challenging work. I'm sure that they will also be very fulfilling. I hope to gain not only educational, cultural and historical experiences, but also greater insight and respect for an area of science that explores the way in which we came to live in the world as it is today.

James Young is a first-year undergraduate, reading Ancient History and Archaeology.



A historical fragment

H.W. Stubbs

Some older readers of *Pegasus* may recognize the occasion of this photograph—Hugh Stubbs's retirement party twenty years ago, June 1983, in the Margaret Room. There's Hugh with John Woolner's superb portrait of him, presented by his colleagues and pupils of over forty years; looking on are Ljubica (Mrs Stubbs) and Peter Wiseman, the then Head of Department.

Among the papers Hugh left to the Department after his retirement is a typescript memoir of Exeter in the Forties. It was written about 1970 at the request of Professor G. Wilson Knight, for use in the biography of his brother that he was writing at the time, and a slightly edited version of it duly appeared there (*Jackson Knight: A Biography*, Oxford, Alden Press, 1975, pp. 286-94). But Wilson Knight omitted the opening passage, on how Hugh first heard the name of Jackson Knight, early in 1942. Here it is:

It was a Tuesday morning. On the preceding Saturday I had said a final goodbye to the Battery Sergeant-Major ('So you've got your ticket, Stubbs. Lucky devil—I wish I could get mine'), and to the orderly-room sergeant, a red-headed Liverpool man with extremist views ('So long, Hughie—see you on the barricades'). I had gone, not as instructed straight to the Labour Exchange nearest my home, but to the Oxford lodgings where I had spent most of my short leaves; and on Monday I had arranged to appear before the Secretary of the University Appointments Committee. I had never applied for a job before—apart from scholarships and my weekly guinea at the Pay Parade, I had never earned money—and I probably overestimated the powers of the Appointments Committee, which was, and is, a rather superior (and gratuitous) equivalent of a domestic servants' registry. The

amiable man in glasses on the other side of the desk seemed to be standing at the gate of my whole future existence. (As, indeed, he was.)

'I think I have a position which will suit you nicely. Though it's only temporary. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, University College of the South-West, Exeter.'

'Good. When do I begin?'

'Steady. You haven't got the job yet. You must write to Major W.F. Jackson Knight, University College of the South-West, Exeter, stating your qualifications and giving references.'

The interview followed fairly quickly. Interviews are horrible experiences; but I didn't know that, I was not frightened of classical scholars, and I had a reasonable confidence in my own abilities—all the stronger because it was commonly believed at that time that any young man seeking almost any employment was in a seller's market. The ice was broken by some casual remarks about air-raids (it was some three weeks after that epoch-making *Götterdämmerung* known locally as The Blitz [when much of Exeter had been destroyed by incendiary bombs on the night of 3rd-4th May 1942]), and then the questions became more personal. I was not asked why I wanted to take up teaching, nor even what I considered to be the relevance of classics in the modern world. I was, however, asked what aspect of classics interested me most, and I came out with the anthropological-and-sociological angle. This set JK [Jackson Knight] talking about Tylor, Morgan, George Thomson; luckily I had read, swallowed, and absorbed the latter's *Aeschylus and Athens*, then a novelty and best-seller. Then I was asked about my own scholastic record; I tried to extenuate a second-class in my Finals while emphasizing that in 'Mods' [i.e. 'Part 1'], which seemed to cover all I would be expected to teach and more, I had had an Alpha, of a kind, in every paper. I gave details of the Alphas, and this produced the most searching question of all—of course, from JK himself: '*Why* do you think that you got an Alpha *treble* minus in Greek Lyric Poetry?'

I have no idea what answer I gave, and I do not think it mattered very much. The interview was pleasant—though I heard no results for another month—and after it I was taken, by JK, through the parks and round the ruins, discussing the disintegration of one world and the possible emergence of another.

Hugh taught in the Department for forty-one years. That might seem enough for anyone, but he was still ready for more: he gladly helped out as part of the teaching cover when Prof. Wiseman was on study leave in 1983-4. So it was that he found himself lecturing to an unfamiliar audience of Greek and Roman Studies students which included Joanne Rowling ('JK II', French with Additional GRS)—an encounter not without consequence for the staffing of Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry.

See *Res Gestae* XIII (2001) for an update on Hugh, who celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday last Boxing Day. He and Ljubica have been married for forty-one years. *Pegasus* sends congratulations and best wishes to an old and inimitable friend.

Mythological answerphones

This game takes its inspiration from the Radio 4 programme *I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue. Mythological Answerphones* has nothing to do with answerphones that have entered into the realms of myth in their own right; rather, it ponders what form of greeting might have been used by characters from the mythological world, if Messieurs Bell and Hashimoto had been born a little earlier. For instance...

'This is Miss Pallas Athene. Please do leave a message. If you are enquiring about the jolly old basket weaving, meetings take place in the sweeeet village hall at 7.30 pm every other Tuesday. Tea and coffee to be provided by those nice people at the WI.'

'Hello this is Hermes, here. These bloody answerphones have put me out of a job so don't bother to leave a message!'

'Hello, this is Achilles. Am not here at the moment but if this is the chiropodist calling, I am in Troy. You can contact me by e-mail at: petulantdemigod@thirdgroundedmyrmidonshipontheleft.com.'

If you fare any better than my paltry attempt above, e-mail me at *H.R.E.Box@exeter.ac.uk* and I'll buy you a pint.

An embarrassing essay

...received from one of our spies in another University Classics Department. No doubt the author would wish to remain anonymous.

Q.: Discuss the role played by misunderstanding in the plays of Plautus.

A.: In the plays of Plautus, misunderstandings play a slight role. For instance, in general, translations can cause many misunderstandings as the translation from one language into another can prove to be difficult as certain words and phrases do not have the same meaning or strength once translated.

Other misunderstandings in the plays of Plautus are that there is not always a clearly written part for each character. This can create some confusion as the reader has to have an extremely sound base of Latin to be able to understand what and who exactly is do (*sic*) what...etc. [*The manuscript breaks off at this point.*]

Catching birds in ancient Persia

Stephen Mitchell

NOT THE LEAST of the pleasures for a newcomer to Exeter is to enjoy the stupendous ornithological riches of the Exe estuary, and watch the brent geese, duck (wigeon, teal, pintail, merganser), and waders (curlew, godwit, redshank, avocet and lapwing) in spectacular numbers, as well as the choicer rareties such as scaup, slavonian grebe, spoonbill and glossy ibis, almost in arm-chair comfort from the hides on Bowling Green Marsh at Topsham or from a boat deck plying upriver from Exmouth. By coincidence Aristophanes's *Birds* was the first Greek play that I read, in the school lower VIth form and if much of the Greek was still then beyond me, the birds were not.

Eastern Turkey provided one of the most memorable moments. Walking in the hills around Asvan, a short way east of the upper Euphrates, where I took part in an excavation in the early 1970s, I almost stumbled over a flock of seven Great Bustard, the heaviest flying bird of Eurasia, larger than a well fattened Christmas turkey. They were grazing like a bunch of sheep in a field of stubble before they became aware of me and lumbered slowly into flight.

I got not less archaeo-ornithological pleasure in spring 2002 from finding in the State Museum of Western Azerbaijan, in the Iranian city of Tabriz, a magnificent piece of Sassanian silver tableware of the third century AD. The relief decoration of the plate represents the greatest of the Sassanian kings, Shapur 1, lassoing a bird on a hunting expedition, while a second specimen has been bundled over beneath the horse's hooves. Hunting was one of the typical kingly recreations of the Sassanians, as it was of most of their predecessors in the Near East. The birds are instantly identifiable from their shape and their fanned tail feathers as Great Bustards. Aelian in his *Animal History* (5.24) explains how the birds were so bulky that they had trouble getting airborne and tended to fly low above the ground, thus often falling prey to hunting dogs. In a well-known passage at the beginning of the *Anabasis* (1.5) Xenophon describes how they were hunted by Cyrus along the right bank of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia: "it is possible to catch bustards if one of them starts up quickly. For they fly only for a short distance and quickly get tired. Their meat is delicious." The Latin name for the species is *Otis Tarda*, and they were easy enough prey for this Persian royal pursuit.

Stephen Mitchell is Professor of Hellenistic History in the University of Exeter. His books include *Anatolia* (1993) and *Cremna in Pisidia* (1995).

Peter Wiseman writes: I'd like to record my deep gratitude to my colleagues for the *Festschrift* volume which they presented to me on 3 February. It's a really beautiful book (so thanks to the University of Exeter Press too!), and even though I don't always recognise the person praised in the introduction, I'm very, very pleased and proud to be the cause of it. Thank you all very much indeed! *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in honour of T.P. Wiseman*, edited by David Braund and Christopher Gill, is available now from University of Exeter Press (ISBN 0 85989 662 5; price £40)

Athenaeus redivivus

David Braund and John Wilkins (eds.), *Athenaeus and his world* (Exeter, 2000)

Reviewed by Matthew Nicholls

Athenaeus has been a strangely neglected author. The sheer scale and range of his compendious *Deipnosophistae* presents scholars with an *embarras de richesse*, and the work has, accordingly, been treated as a rich seam to be mined for quotations and fragments of lost literature rather than as a socio-historical or literary document in its own right. The result is that while Philostratus, Pausanias, and the Second Sophistic have moved into the limelight in recent years, Athenaeus has been left to wait dolefully in the wings.

Academics generally abhor a vacuum, and current trends in scholarship have made the correction of this shortfall an increasingly urgent matter. Important recent work on literate education, the impact of Rome in the provinces and of provincials at Rome, the culture of the symposium, the nature of pleasure in the ancient world, and the interaction of the Hellenistic Greek world with the expanding Roman empire—to name but a few—has struck chords which resonate in this splendidly polyvalent volume.

Readers unacquainted with Athenaeus and the *Deipnosophistae* might appreciate a brief introduction. Athenaeus was a native of Naucratis in Egypt, working in the last decade of the second century AD at Rome (where the *Deipnosophistae* is set) under the patronage of one Larensis, who may or may not be the Publius Livius Larensis, Pontifex Minor, of *CIL* VI.212. Larensis appears from his portrayal in the *Deipnosophistae* to have been a man of means and taste: he had a large library (larger even than that of Ptolemy Philadelphus, it is claimed) and, in Athenaeus, a dedicated literary protégé.

This interest in the world of literature and *belles lettres* permeates the *Deipnosophistae*. The conceit of the work is, as the name suggests, that the action takes place at a series of symposiastic gatherings *chez* Larensis, where food and wine *de haute qualité* mingle with learned discussions on law, medicine, literature, philosophy, gourmandism, and esoterica of every sort. This narrative framework allows Athenaeus to locate in the mouths of his diners a range of opinions and, most importantly, a huge wealth of literary references and quotations. The *Deipnosophistae* contains over 10,000 lines of quoted verse (much of it from Middle and New Comedy) and cites well over a thousand authors.

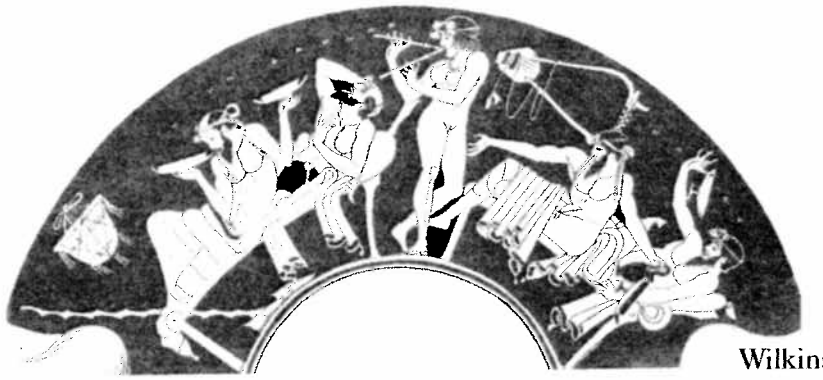
This wealth of preserved material is so large that scholars have been accustomed to take from it what they need while ignoring the totality, plucking an occasional dainty from the endless succession of rich dishes set before us by the author. The often-criticised structure of Athenaeus' *magnum opus* doesn't help; his narrative framework is usually thought to be rather dull, though not unenlivened by flashes of humour or panache. Even if the beginning and end of the *Deipnosophistae* survived, it would not be a work to read from cover to cover, and it is accordingly (and rarely, for an ancient text) treated as the author seems to have intended: as a useful florilegium, rather than an interesting cultural artefact in its own right.

The editors of *Athenaeus and his World* aim to correct this: "while the significance of Athenaeus is widely recognised, his work has seldom been considered for its own sake. This book is the first sustained attempt to understand and explore Athenaeus' work as a whole and in its own right."

This aim is clearly a sensible one. Now that various aspects of the Second Sophistic have been investigated in a series of publications, there is certainly a gap in the intellectual market for a work on Athenaeus. While Braund and Wilkins would not claim to cover every aspect of Athenaeus—their introduction clearly states that their aim is not to be exhaustive—they do approach the *Deipnosophistae* and its Epitome with holistic intent, looking to "address what seem to the editors and contributors to be the principal issues at stake", and promising in their title not just Athenaeus, but his world withal.

The editors have set about their task by

gathering together a series of forty-one essays on various aspects of Athenaeus and the *Deipnosophistae*, the fruit in part of a conference held at Exeter in 1997 and the process of collaboration which it set in train. This approach immediately introduces to their project the risk common to any collection of essays on a central theme, that of potential disunity and confusion; a risk writ large in this case because of the enormous range of the subject, the fact that Athenaeus is unmapped territory, and the large number of contributions from different disciplines.



It is perhaps inevitable for a volume of this size that this risk should to a certain extent have been realised. A reader plotting his course through *Athenaeus and His World* will find himself veering from Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, to the significance of icthyophagy in the ancient world, to eighteenth-century regulation of French prostitution via a feminist piece on 'Athenaeus as Ur-Pornographer'; some chapters overlap with or disagree with others; one or two seem more about the World than about Athenaeus himself. If there is any central premise or conclusion to the work, it is hard to find. To expect any such, though, would be naïve, and good reasons can be adduced to account the variety of approaches and subjects covered in *Athenaeus and his World* a strength rather than a weakness.

Firstly, and least importantly, there is a rather picturesque symmetry between this book, with its series of loosely related academic excursuses grouped into a single structure, and the *Deipnosophistae* itself. This pleasing parallel is, of course, not lost on the editors (who dedicate their work to Professor Keith Cameron, "an archdeipnosophist") or on Glen Bowersock, whose preface notes that the format of *Athenaeus and his World* is itself "a worthy homage to this delightfully chaotic writer." Secondly, the editors note the differences of opinion and perspective which characterise the volume, and choose to view them as a positive asset—"constructive dialogue"—rather than a flaw. This choice is, I think, justified by the strength of the contributions taken individually. Moreover, the editors conscientiously strive to lessen the reader's difficulties by providing him not only with a useful general introduction (which outlines this approach) but also a series of shorter introductions to each of the sections within which they group (thematically) the essays they have collected.

These sections are seven in number. The first is the shortest, consisting of a sort of apologia for the book as a whole. Each of the two editors provides an introductory chapter. Braund discusses Athenaeus' Roman patron, Larensis, and argues that the *Deipnosophistae* as a whole illustrates the "warm accommodation" between cosmopolitan Rome and her Greek subjects. Wilkins examines the structure of the work, concluding that its internal architecture is carefully articulated to impose order of the wealth of bibliophilic detail that Athenaeus includes: by drawing on the traditions of the philosophical symposium and on comedy, Athenaeus is able to vary the pace and tone of his work, introduce narrative colour and moments of levity to bring relief (such as the comic cook of Book 9.376c.ff.), and locate different interests and opinions in his panel of imaginary diners.

These useful introductory chapters act as an hors-d'oeuvre; the remaining six sections contain more abstruse and densely argued material. Section two is entitled Text, Transmission and Translation, and contains a brace of essays: one on the textual transmission of the Deipnosophistae and its Epitome, the other on the 1556 Latin translation of de' Conti. These interesting pieces adumbrate the history of the work, charting its voyage into darkness and emergence into the light of Renaissance philhellenism. There is, perhaps surprisingly, no critical survey in this section of current editions or translations of Athenaeus. *Athenaeus and His World* sets out to revise previous assumptions about its subject's working methods (arguing, specifically, that he made many of his excerpts from complete works, rather than earlier epitomes or compendia) and, if the work succeeds in rekindling general interest in Athenaeus and

propelling him into the academic spotlight, there will presumably be a need for a wholly new critical edition of the text which takes these arguments into account. Any such survey, though, would have swollen *Athenaeus and his World* still further; perhaps its omission was a judicious one.

Section III, 'Athenaeus the Reader and his world', examines the social and intellectual milieu in which the author, his patron, and his fictional diners existed. An absorbing essay examines the local particularism of educated Hellenes in the Roman empire, and a pair of essays examines the librarianship of Athenaeus' work. Here we find one of those productive tensions between contributors: Yun Lee Too argues that the perishability of the book *qua* object meant that the mental, memorised libraries of Athenaeus, his subjects and his predecessors, enjoyed a privileged status. Pulling in a slightly different direction is Christian Jacob's examination of the library resources described by Athenaeus, and the rôle of the library in the world of patronage and scholarship that Athenaeus inhabits. Athenaeus' symposium is a structural fiction, a device created to impose order on what is essentially a written collection excerpted by a single scholar from written sources, and it seems to me that access to real libraries housing large and systematically organised collections was a *sine qua non* of Athenaeus' project; his lavish encomium of the book collection of his patron-host and the fact that he lived and worked in Rome—a city adorned by successive emperors with public library resources—can only underline this. Nonetheless, Too's emphasis on performance and memory has useful things to say about the sympotic world that Athenaeus tries to invoke and the way in which he worked.

A further four chapters in this section examine in more detail Athenaeus' reading in Greek elegiac and iambic poetry, Lucian, Harpocration and Polybius, raising again the question of whether Athenaeus used whole works or epitomes. The jury is out; the editors favour the former, some of their contributors the latter. Further chapters move in another direction, considering Athenaeus' attitudes to art and artefacts, luxury and the East, and – rounding off this wide-ranging chapter with what proves to be a central and recurring theme in the book as a whole - the interplay between Greece and Rome, past and present. This is a very current debate, and Hopwood's intelligent case study of Smyrna sheds new light on issues of local identity within the Roman empire that have been much discussed in recent years; there is little in this chapter directly about Athenaeus, and one begins to see why the editors added the "World" to the title of their book. This is a useful chapter on its own and within its context, though, adding shape and direction to the book as a whole.

Section IV moves its nose back to the text and examines the structures used by Athenaeus to organise his work: we see discussions on Athenaeus' chapter-division, the elision of speakers with the narrative voice, the connection between food and poetry, the creative tension between eating and speaking, and the importance of fish. Tim Whitmarsh supplies a chapter pointing out the tensions between Athenaeus' treatment of parasites in Book VI and the ambivalent position of Larensis' guests (and the author's own position?). Section V examines the key authors used by Athenaeus, beginning appropriately with Homer and Homeric scholarship and moving through Plato to Crates of Mallus; chronological order is abandoned with a backwards step to Lynceus of Samos, but happily so: that author's generic range and flair for anecdote form a natural link to Section VI, a discussion of sympotica. Here we find treatments of laughter, an explanation of the role of Athenaeus' cynical interloper Cynulcus, the author's treatment of musicianship and oenology and medicine and hetaerae—another section, then, whose breadth is necessarily imposed by the breadth of Athenaeus himself. Finally, a separate section contains a couple of chapters on Athenaeus' other known works (mentioned in the *Deipnosophistae*). These, a treatise on Archippus' *Fishes* and another *On the Kings of Syria*, are further indications of the breadth of interest which is evident from Athenaeus' surviving work.

Athenaeus and his World, then, contains a set of pieces with very different methodological backgrounds and approaches, only loosely bound together by the presence of Athenaeus running as a *fil d'Ariane* throughout the volume. Some of these essays look at existing debates through an Athenaean lens; some aim at providing answers to the problems they address, while others stake out new territory, constrained, by the brevity of their format and the novelty of the ground they are covering, to plant signposts by the road ahead and go no further. As long as the book is approached on these terms—and it openly confesses them in its foreword and introductory remarks—it provides a very useful insight into the life and

work of this Greek *lettré* in imperial Rome.

The book is large and attractively printed, with a small selection of plates at the beginning. Assembling and editing such a range of material from so many contributors must have been a truly Herculean labour, and the occasional major proof-reading error has slipped through. On page 73, for instance, we read "Sidwell tackles Athenaeus' engagement with the numerous plays of comedy his relationship with with the slippery works of Lucian": slippery indeed.

Such quibbles, though, should not overshadow the achievement of Braund, Wilkins, and their contributors. The editors state in their introductory remarks that "our collective aim is to encourage a more sympathetic approach to Athenaeus and his works." This good and useful book deserves to succeed in that aim, and it is to be hoped that much of the territory it maps out will be further explored in works which take it as their starting point.

Matthew Nicholls is North Senior Scholar of St John's College, Oxford; at present he is working on libraries in the ancient world.

Latest update on the Jerash project

Larry Shenfield

This news item follows on from Larry's earlier article, 'Chariots again in the Roman circus at Jerash?', in Pegasus 42 (1999). There Larry gave a description of the Jerash project, an ambitious collaborative project, headed by Jeff Cullis and Stellan Lind, which aims at a virtually complete reconstruction of the Roman hippodrome at Jerash in Jordan.

Jeff Cullis returned from Jordan in November 2002 after a very useful visit. He was able to report the signing of the memorandum of understanding between the project's committed investors and the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities; the investors had a good meeting with the new Minister, Dr Rifai, who (like his predecessor) is very supportive. Following this meeting, Cullis and Lind have been moving on with the formal registration of their company (for running display events in the hippodrome) and also with the updating of the web-site.

It was thought that some of the investors might be nervous on account of the present political situation and possible military involvement in the region. Accordingly, the project team have presented a two-part programme calling for, firstly, only capital expenditure on infrastructure and equipment. This, it is hoped, will be followed by the recruitment of personnel and the acquisition of more horses. In fact, the investors are strongly of the view that the whole programme should progress as soon as possible. As they said: 'This is the Muddle East! If you wait around for tranquil conditions, you will wait for ever and nothing will be achieved.'

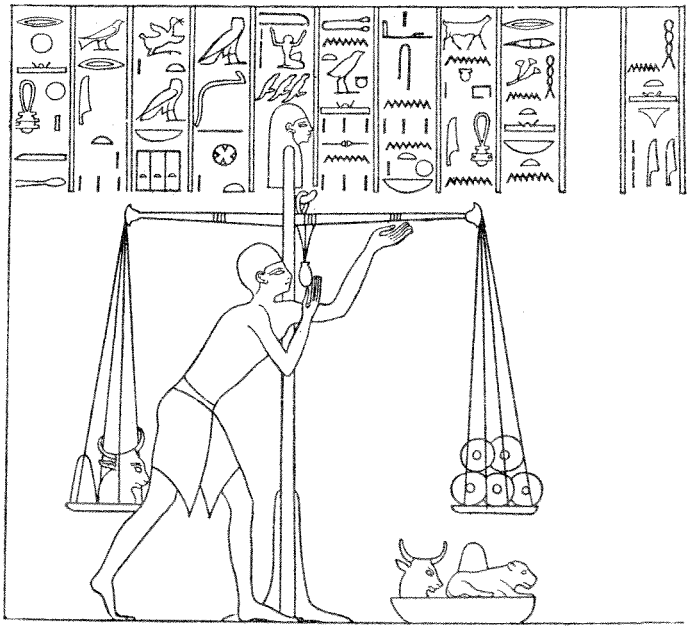
Meanwhile, the restoration work at the hippodrome continues, with some four hundred of the stone seats now back in place, with another hundred or so left to go. The western boundary wall is almost complete, with a gap left for the team to move equipment in and out. The ramp from the staging area to the arena level has also been completed. As Cullis writes, 'It looks more and more impressive!'

Larry Shenfield completed his Exeter Ph.D. thesis, on chariots in antiquity, in 2001. Since then, he has been busily employed, not only as technical consultant to the chariot project at Jerash, but also as research consultant to a documentary film-making company. (Readers may have seen the recent Channel Four film, produced with Larry's input, featuring the spectacular racing of four authentically reconstructed Roman chariots, with specially trained young American charioteers in traditional garb, in a replica hippodrome in Spain.)

Evaluating web-based research in ancient numismatics

Constantina Katsari

It has now been a number of years since the internet became an important tool for teaching and research in the Universities. Nevertheless, many historians are still highly sceptical about computerized research, mainly because they are concerned about, firstly, the quality of information that is published on the internet (specifically the contextual detail and the digitalization process), and secondly, about the longevity of the articles, since some of them lack adequate permanence to be cited. With regard to databases of primary sources, it is only recently that classicists started using such tools as the CD-ROM Thesaurus Linguae Graecae or the Perseus project. However popular these may be, recent studies indicate that over 40% of historians have never accessed digitized archives of an academic institution—thus showing a strong objection to electronic resources. Even those who do use web-based resources often prefer to cite monographs and periodicals.[1]



In view of the above, it is not surprising that internet resources for the study of numismatics exist only at an embryonic level. Modern numismatists not only avoid consulting databases with bibliographies and ancient material on the net but they also obstruct the futher modernization of the discipline. It is not a coincidence that the available web sites on ancient coinage were created mainly by private collectors or merchants interested in buying and selling rather than studying the numismatic evidence. It may be the case that universities in the English-speaking world, with their consumerist ideology, are not interested in the advancement of a subject which attracts comparatively few students; but, without the financial backing of the academic community, the introduction of large-scale numismatic programs is impossible.

This article provides a review of the best sites on ancient coins currently available on the internet, and could be used as a guide for the study of the subject.

APPROACHING NUMISMATICS

Since the majority of classicists do not have a first-hand knowledge of numismatics, I thought it would be useful to start with a few sites that provide information regarding ancient coinages. Taking into consideration that *Pegasus* circulates largely within the British Isles, I have concentrated on English-language sites. Furthermore, a certain preference has been shown towards web resources relating to Roman Republican and Imperial coinages.

(a) Private sites

It has been suggested that the ancient historians prefer to cite .edu and .gov extensions because of the superior level of credibility and permanence of those items. However, .com and .org sites outnumber both .edu and .gov references combined.[2] Because of the large number and, in certain cases, the exceptionally high quality of such 'non-academic' web-sites, the numismatist sometimes finds it necessary to consult them. Although most of these sites belong to collectors or merchants, they offer to the public general information mostly regarding technical aspects of the identification of coins. This type of

[1] S.R. Graham, 'Historians and electronic resources: patterns and use', *Journal of the Association of History and Computing* 5,2 (2002).

[2] Graham, 'Historians and electronic resources', p. 2.

information, which stems from years of experience and sometimes cannot even be found in books, is indispensable for the beginner whether s/he is a collector or a numismatist. A few of the best examples are presented in this article.


First of all, the researcher is able to find the most comprehensive introduction of Roman coinage in www.usask.ca/antiquities/coins/roman_coins.html. In just a few pages are included the essentials on the origins of coins, the denominations, the mints and minting authorities and the coin-legends. The various examples of coins and the numismatic glossary complete the general picture and allow the scholar to proceed to an in-depth study. In fact, more details on the development of coinages could be retrieved from the following web-pages. Doug's web-site on Ancient Greek and Roman Coins in http://mywebpages.comcast.net/dougsmit/ includes useful information on the typology of the Roman Imperial coinages until the fifth century AD, ancient Greek coins and the coinages of the Parthian and Byzantine empires. The illustrated lists facilitate the identification of different types of coins from different historical periods. The web-master declares that "featured coins are not selected for value or condition but to illustrate some subject of interest. Images posted on this site are taken from a variety of sources including my personal collection and several other private collections.... These coins are typical, not exceptional, examples of what is available from many coin dealers either on the web, by mail or at local coin shows". A coin or small group of coins is featured every week, while an archive is maintained of all the past features, thus adding up to an interesting mini-encyclopedia. Furthermore, a list of articles on various subjects is an informative source of the development of coinages in the ancient world. David R. Sear, the author of the standard handbooks for collectors of Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine coinage, offers another contribution to the development of internet resources on the study of numismatics (www.ece.iit.edu/~prh/coins/RiN/rc.html). Although the site cannot replace his books, which remain invaluable in the identification of coins, this short introduction of the history of numismatics, accompanied by pictures of coins, provides to the beginner a significant source of information.

The next step of the researcher is to learn how to identify the coins he is interested in. The following are the best among hundreds of sites for the identification of Roman coinages. Warren Esty in www.math.montana.edu/~umsfwest/numis/sitelinks.html gives to the reader general information regarding identification, cleaning, a glossary of terms and the typology of coins, as well as several links to other educational sites. Another useful collector's site is Barry and Darling Ancient Coins, which includes introductions on topics relevant to the beginning of coinage, the deciphering of coin inscriptions, the mythological background, mint marks and other information as regards both imperial and provincial issues (www.bitsofhistory.com/index_info.html). Finally, an exceptionally complete gallery of Roman portraits on coins, accompanied by several examples of legionary types, can be found in http://home.tiscali.be/andreas.pangerl/ .


Existing articles make it possible to acquire a yet more specialized knowledge of the subject. A few collectors include in their web-sites a number of essays (of differing length and quality) on a variety of topics. Rune's Ancient Coin Page includes articles on minting authorities, dating and typology that are combined with the examples of coins and several links to numismatic and other journals (http://mynter.org/roman/html). Another site containing articles on the dating and typology of coins from the Roman period is Ars Numismatica (www.geocities.com/Athens/Aegean/5603/). In the same site you will find a list of handbooks relevant to the Roman Republican and Imperial coinages. A series of articles relating to counterfeits, the diameter of coins, their historical background, information on typology and practical tips to new collectors may be found in another web-page, the Forum of Ancient Coins (http://ancient-coin-forum.com/Collector_Resources.html). Finally, a list of the Roman emperors necessary for the dating of coins, mint marks, a map of the Roman empire with the Roman mints, a catalogue of coin denominations,

various examples of numismatic inscriptions, essays on types and tips for new collectors is available in Tom Buggey's site (www.people.memphis.edu/~tjbuggey/coin.html).

b) Universities

The first web site that ought to be consulted issues from the Department for Numismatics and Monetary History in the University of Vienna (www.univie.ac.at/Numismatik/E_frameset.htm). This is probably the only university that treats numismatics as a separate discipline, rather than an appendix of either archaeology or history. The web page covers such themes as the staff of the Department, among which we note the prominent names of Stefan Karwiese and Wolfgang Szaivert, responsible for the teaching of ancient coins. In the same site you will find links to the catalogues of Austrian libraries, which are always useful to the historian in search of sources in the continent. Another interesting feature is a description of the contents of the Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, organized according to the name of the writer, the title of the article and the relevant volume.

Although in the University of Vienna you will find short descriptions of the courses, the syllabi themselves are not available. One of the best designed online courses belongs to Prof. Kenneth Harl from the Tulane University in New Orleans (www.tulane.edu/~august/handouts/). He explores the history of numismatics from the beginning of coinage until the end of the Byzantine period. In the course of his lessons he describes various numismatic edicts and other documents issued at different historical periods, and he gives details on the currency systems, measures and prices. Even though some of the links may not work, the material that remains accessible is of high quality. John Porter from the University of Saskatchewan provides more information concerning Greek and Roman weights and currency standards in his site, completing Prof. Harl's list (www.usask.ca/antharch/cnea/CourseNotes/weightmeasures.html).

Especially helpful is the web-site of the Otilia Buerger Collection of Ancient and Byzantine Coins at Lawrence University, which includes a series of introductory articles to general ancient history, and the history of numismatics in particular, as well as a comprehensive catalogue of coins with information on the history of the period, the typology and bibliographical notes of the coins in question (www.lawrence.edu/dept/art/buerger/). More information on typology is provided by the College of Education at San Jose State University. This series of articles on Roman coins and the virtual art galleries (http://myron.sjsu.edu/romeweb/coins/coins.htm) is invaluable for any scholar who wishes to learn about ancient numismatics.

Finally, if you are looking for general bibliographical information, as well as links to various numismatic associations, instructional sites, databases, journals and museums, you will find this information through the following address of the University of Pennsylvania (http://pobox.upenn.edu/~ekondrat/numismatics.html). Although the list remains incomplete, it could provide an insight to the most significant sites.

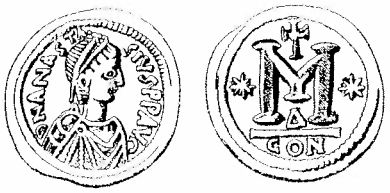
RESEARCH

The professional numismatist or historian can consult different web sites in order to find more specialized information. The search for bibliography, online periodicals, articles, books or databases is imperative for anyone interested in the compilation of a coin catalogue or other aspects of the study of ancient coinages. The following section aims at the provision of a few useful links to facilitate numismatic research, hence saving the scholar from the nuisance of looking into hundreds of useless sites.

(a) Bibliography

Compilation of available bibliography is usually the first step of all historical research. So far, only two databases provide such information, but neither is nearly as effective as one might wish. First of all, in the official site of the American Numismatic Society you will find Numismatic Literature, the Society's annotated bibliography of published work in all fields of numismatics (http://amnumsoc.org/numlit). Although its format causes certain difficulties to the user, it remains the best tool for finding the available bibliography. It is sorted by author, subject or date, but in most instances it works better if you search all three fields. The second database, called the Numismatic Indexes Project (http://www.harrybassfoundation.org/search_numlit.asp), has been constructed by the Harry W.

Bass Jr. Foundation. Although it is relatively easy to use, it indexes only the major American periodicals of the past 120 years (including the American Journal of Numismatics).



(b) Periodicals

I recently noticed with great regret that some of the most important periodicals have not yet explored the possibilities that the internet offers. The Israel Numismatic Journal, Annali dell' Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Annotazione Numismatiche, La Revue Numismatique and, finally, Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie have not constructed their own web-pages. Fortunately, certain editors make available online at least the contents of their periodicals. A list of these follows:

Numismatic Chronicle: published by the Royal Numismatic Society, this contains more than 200 pages of articles, notes, reviews and notices of selected new publications. Although the periodical is over 140 years old, the online Index includes the contents of the volumes from 1971 to 1998 only (www.rns.dircon.co.uk/NC.Index.htm).

American Journal of Numismatics: contents become available through the Periodicals Contents Index (http://pci.chadwyck.com/public?XXrequest=/home.cgi/), but subscription is necessary. A second path is through the Harry W. Bass Jr. Foundation's Numismatic Indexes Project (mentioned above).

Boletín Numismático: this Spanish periodical is not fully online. However, the 1998 volume's table of contents and abstracts of two articles may be found in www.ctv.es/USERS/alejo/ .

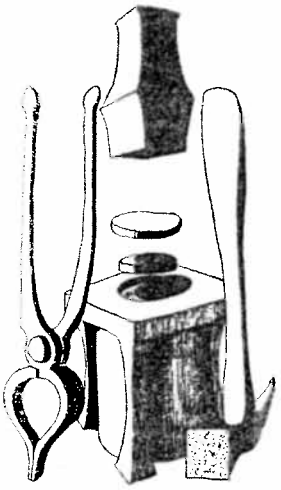
Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte: The contents of this periodical since its first publication in 1949 are available (www.univie.ac.at/Numismatik/JNG.htm). Unfortunately, the search engine is quite primitive and you need to know the name of the author before you embark on the adventure of looking through the alphabetical lists.

The Journal of the Russian Numismatic Society can be found online at www.russiannumismaticsociety.org/JRNS.htm. The chronological index includes the contents of all volumes since 1979.

Nomismatika Khronika: a Greek periodical which includes articles in the mainstream European languages. An index of the contents since its first publication in 1972 appears online at www.helicon.gr/hellenum/khronika.htm.

Eulimene: this new bilingual (Greek and English) periodical, containing articles on ancient numismatics, is worth a look. The web-site (www.phl.uoc.gr/eulimene/) provides a table of contents and abstracts of the articles (in .pdf).

(c) Books



Since few non-specialized libraries make provision for the study of numismatics, modern researchers who live far from the London-Oxford-Cambridge triangle in the future may prefer to use the internet as an alternative. In the meantime, there is an incredibly low number of books published online, which are seldom cited, possibly because no standard form for electronic citations has been developed.[3]

One of the first attempts to publish parts of a book on the internet was made by Glyn Davies (*History of Money from Ancient Times to the Present Day*, Cardiff: University Press of Wales, 2002). The web-site (www.ex.ac.uk/%7ERDavies/arian/llyfr.html) includes essays, written by Roy Davies, on various themes using information based on the book. Some of the most interesting essays are entitled 'A comparative chronology of money', 'Inflation and the pendulum metatheory of money', 'Origins of money and of banking', and 'Warfare and financial history'. Although these titles sound impressive, the content will be found to vary in appeal to the specialist reader. However, both the enormous book and the internet site manage to give an idea of the development of monetary history throughout the centuries and the current questions arising from the study of monetary systems in antiquity or later.

Another interesting site regarding older numismatic books can be found at www.i-

[3] S.R. Graham, 'Historians and electronic resources: a citation analysis', *Journal of the Association of History and Computing* 3,3 (2000), p.3.

numis.com/books. I-numis was created by Jérôme Mairat, a specialist in Roman numismatics, and by Stéphan Sombart, a specialist in French royal numismatics. Their site currently hosts studies, articles and works on numismatics which are difficult to find without the support of an editor (because they have been published decades ago or in another country). For the moment, the web page includes articles on the Roman Empire written by Jérôme Mairat, Michel Prieur and Laurent Schmitt. The books that have already been scanned and appear on the site are usually old numismatic editions.[4] The site is very well designed, although the quantity of the material is as yet quite small. Surfing on i-numis enables you to have access to digitized works on line through various links (Bibliography [still to be written], On line articles, On line books, Greek coins, Celtic coins, Roman coins, French coins, European coins, Medals and tokens, Banknotes).

(d) Google

Google is a search engine that may alter the way research is conducted in the humanities. In a recent volume of Newsweek, we read: "Because of [Google's] seemingly uncanny ability to provide curious minds with the exact information they seek, a dot-com survivor has superchanged the entire category of search, transforming the masses into data-miners and becoming a cultural phenomenon in the process".[5] Google proves to be invaluable in compiling a numismatic catalogue. Until now, numismatic auctions were published in books or pamphlets circulating among a small group of well-known collectors, numismatic associations (such as the American Numismatic Society) and museums (such as the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum); the numismatist was forced to pay regular visits to these libraries and go through thousands of volumes of auction catalogues until (s)he found the desired coin. The internet has changed the way in which business and research are conducted. Hundreds of small collectors as well as large auction houses can now publish their coin-lists on line in order to achieve a wider response from customers living in different parts of the globe. At the same time, the researcher can access them as easily as other interested parties.

In particular, the use of Google simplifies the search for coins from specific mints in all the auction catalogues that may be found online. For example, if someone compiles a catalogue of the coins from the mint of Amorion, (s)he simply has to type the words AMORION+COIN and the list of the relevant collector's sites will appear on the screen in a fraction of a second. The information on the coin usually includes the date of issue, the denomination, the approximate weight, the obverse and reverse types, the condition and a picture.

(e) Museums

The purpose of modern museums is mainly the collection and subsequent exhibition of archaeological material discovered in the course of excavations or purchased through the antiquities trade. Apart from the obvious educational character of such institutions, we should not disregard their contribution to the research pertaining to the ancient world. The vast collections of coins gathered in the museums of Britain, Germany, Italy, Greece and elsewhere are sources of knowledge with everlasting value. Nevertheless, only a very small number of museums consider the internet an effective medium for the display of numismatic evidence.

The Department of Coins and Medals in the Fitzwilliam Museum (http://www-cm.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins) was the first to construct a database with detailed information on ancient Greek coins. The web-page makes available part of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (*SNG*), presenting coins from the collections of museums in England. *SNG* is a British Academy Research Project, the purpose of which is to publish illustrated catalogues of Greek coins in public and private collections in the British Isles. *SNG* has retained the traditional definition of 'Greek' to include the coins produced by all ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean and neighbouring regions except Rome, though it does include the Roman Provincial series. Over 30 fascicules, from many different public and

[4] Of particular interest are Ernest Babelon, *Numismatique d'Edesse en Mésopotamie* (Paris 1904), Friedrich Imhoff-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf Römischen Münzen der Republik und der Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1892), and Ernest Babelon, 'Moneta', *Mémoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres* (Paris 1913).

[5] S. Levy, 'The world according to Google', *Newsweek*, 16th December 2002, pp. 50-53 (esp. p. 50).

private collections, have so far been published, while the total world-wide *SNG* already exceeds 120 volumes. Currently some 25,000 coins from *SNG* volumes are available online in the form of a searchable database, and the original data has been normalized to ensure consistent searches across the volumes. Eventually this reader-friendly database may be expanded to include the rest of the numismatic material.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston has also created an online collections database (www.mfa.org/artemis) which includes ancient Greek and Roman coins. A search for the word COINS will yield 309 entries. For some of these, the images are not yet on line; however, I expect that the project will be completed shortly. Further images may be viewed through the Perseus Project. Last year, the Perseus Project and the MFA announced the second illustrated Web catalogue of ancient art from the MFA. Over 775 ancient coins from this collection are now illustrated with 1,500 pictures. This online publication uses the interconnections in the Perseus library by allowing keyword and full-text searching. Connections can easily be made between individuals portrayed on coins and other resources in the Perseus library.

It is also worth looking at the Odessa Virtual Museum of Numismatics (http://www.museum.com.ua/en/o_musee/ab_mus.htm). This online version is part of a project begun by the Odessa Museum of Numismatics in January 1999. The museum's collection includes more than 2000 coins from different periods (Ancient, Medieval and Modern). Numismatists with specialized interests will be pleased to know that numerous unpublished, unique or rare coins are included. The museum publishes online its own collection of articles in the *Bulletin of the Odessa Museum of Numismatics*. So far, 12 issues have appeared on the web-site, the latest of which was published in June 2002. At the moment, we anticipate the publication of a project entitled 'Antique and Medieval coins of the Northern Black Sea Area', which will be executed in two language versions (Russian and English) and will be part of the official museum catalogue.

Last, but not least, is the searchable database of coin types from Asia Minor mints hosted by the University of Düsseldorf (http://hist3-10.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/isegrim/). The database includes 60,000 descriptions of ancient coins minted from the seventh century BC to third century AD, based on coin collections, various corpora, and articles in periodicals. Descriptions include the place and time, the coin representation, legend, material, diameter, weight and die-axis, as well as detailed literature and bibliographical references.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that the internet should serve both educational and research purposes; in this capacity it is a valuable tool for higher education. However, the notoriously few University web-sites on ancient numismatics cannot possibly compete with the numerous private web-pages that were initially designed for commercial reasons. Individual enterprises fill a gap in the education of the young numismatist which ought to have been met by the efforts of the academic community. Museums could also intensify their attempts to approach the general public with more online exhibitions of higher quality, instead of relying on the occasional visit of the tourist.

The use of cyberspace in numismatic research remains at an embryonic stage. The internet tools which I have described represent only a few databases, the contents of certain periodicals and the ambitious but as yet unfinished projects of a handful of museums. Online publications are widely avoided, since the internet is not yet considered as prestigious as the older and established periodicals of the discipline, such as the Numismatic Chronicle or the Revue Numismatique. Furthermore, the newly formed copyright laws and the relatively short life of the internet sites could cause even more reservations.

However, despite this scepticism, I feel confident that the internet will overcome the current obstacles in the near future. Both technology and academic attitudes are changing rapidly under the intense pressure for research development and personal acknowledgement, 'publish or perish' being the motto. The internet has the capacity to realize not only these needs but also the requirement for more accessible information. It is possible that visits to foreign libraries will no longer be necessary, if all the material can be found online. Consequently, secondary research institutions will have the opportunity to produce more material and eventually compete with the universities that presently enjoy international recognition.

Dr Katsari is a Research Fellow in the University of Exeter Dept of Classics and Ancient History.

Classics and the 'White Paper'

Tim Whitmarsh

The government's White Paper on higher education came as something of a bombshell. While it can't claim the distinction of being the most destructive bombshell of 2003, this assault on UK universities will certainly have some nasty consequences, and some collateral damage too.

Tuition fees received the most press—understandably, given that this issue is most likely to have the most direct impact on the real people who read the press. But monumental though this change in the funding structure is, it is only the beginning of the proposed reforms.

Tuition fees are intended to serve as the extra income that will allow universities to compete in research terms on the world stage. Whether universities will see the money directly is a different matter (one Whitehall source was quoted as fearing that they would 'fritter it away on salaries'!) But it is certainly the case that the money is earmarked for research, which drives everything in the current climate.

This sounds at first blush as though it might be OK for our department. The 'right' to charge fees will not be granted to all universities, only those that perform well in the Research Assessment Exercise. 'Well' means, on the current criteria, being scored at above 4 out of 5. Exeter's Department of Classics and Ancient History did well in the last two RAEs, scoring 5 in both (though missing out on the top bracket, 5*), which indicates research of international standing.

But matters are not that simple. The next RAE will introduce a new score, 6. Is this new score supposed to designate research of more than international standing? Interplanetary, perhaps? What is clear is that scoring 5 again will not do. The goalposts are moving all the time. This amp, as Nigel Tufnell famously said, goes up to 11.

A further problem is that what really matters is not the success of the department, but that of the university as a whole. We might be the best department in the country (we might well be, in fact), but if the university's average score in the RAE does not shoot up then we will be in a pickle. The White Paper advocates driving a wedge between research and teaching, with top universities as 'research' universities and bottom ones as 'teaching-only'. Universities like Exeter, which have neither the reputation of Oxbridge nor the vocationally specialist teaching of the former polytechnics, may get caught in the middle, allowed to flounder with no real purpose in the brave new world.

There are all sorts of paradoxes and contradictions in this model. Ironically, the universities that focus least on teaching will charge the highest fees. Value for money? I don't think so! Then there is also the famous 'access regulator', checking that fee-charging universities take enough people from underprivileged backgrounds. All very laudable, but how are the universities that charge the highest fees supposed to attract the poorest students? Isn't there a tension between the drive towards social justice and the desire to use students to generate cash? Oh hang on, they've spotted it: the 'access regulator' has just become an 'access watchdog', all its punitive powers removed. When push comes to shove, it's income-generation that is prioritised over social justice. What a surprise.

The biggest contradiction of all emerges out of the gap opened up between teaching and research. Firstly, of course, the two are inextricably linked: you can't really teach at degree level without being at least up-to-date in the subject, and conversely you can't really do proper research if your ideas are untested. Though this is a concept that might not fit the

hack line-management models the government favours, it really is possible to do two jobs at the same time, provided that they complement one another.

Secondly, and I think even more disturbingly, in divorcing research from teaching, the government is quite deliberately cultivating an anti-intellectual view of university teaching. In a notorious recent interview in the *Sunday Times*, the Rt Hon Charles Clarke attacked the idea of 'education for its own sake', specifically naming Classics as the kind of indulgent degree in which he had no interest.

Now of course he has retracted these comments, under pressure from figures as diverse as Boris Johnson, M.P. (with friends like that ...!) and our very own Ph.D. student Paul Scade, who heroically extracted an emailed apology for 'flippancy'. But the fact remains that Whitehall does want to see a much closer link between university education and employment—much more of a vocational mission in degree programmes.

As with all such grand rhetoric, there is a grain of truth in this charge. Or, rather, there *was* a time when degrees like Classics, Classical Studies and Ancient History involved a leisurely, ambling crash-course in the cultured civility of the gentry. But the heyday of that elitist amateurism was over a century ago! Classical degree programmes these days are specifically designed to teach an impressive array of employable skills, and are valued by employers precisely for that reason. That they also teach critical judgement, articulacy, creativity and independence of thought—the rounded 'humanity' so central to the enlightenment tradition—should be considered as (at the very least) an added bonus.

To attack Classics as 'education for its own sake' is another example of the obsession with line-management that seeps out of every pore of the White Paper. Just as academic lecturers can happily manage to combine research and teaching, so well-motivated and bright students can find a subject both engaging and socially constructive too. As Horace said (and *he* wouldn't have put up with such clumsy priggery), 'you hit the mark if you combine usefulness with pleasure'.

Is there also a hidden agenda? After all, humanities students in general have the proudest record on demonstration and social protest. For many of us, the ability to think outside of current orthodoxies is one of the most treasured blessings of an encounter with cultures that are radically unlike our own. But this government, which for sheer authoritarianism challenges the Thatcher government of the late 80s and early 90s (when I was a undergraduate), would like nothing more than to mechanise the young, to transform them (via gainful employment) into efficient but blinkered subjects.

These are dangerous times for Classical degree programmes. Need we fear the worst? Well, panic is premature: the White Paper simply can't be implemented as it stands, it contains too many problems (it is already beginning to unravel). But nor is this a time for complacency. If you care about higher education, you should write to your MP, or to Charles Clarke or Margaret Hodge. Because these are issues that affect not just a minority of graduates, but the entire structure of our society.

Dr Whitmarsh is Leverhulme Lecturer in Hellenistic Culture and author of (*inter alia*) *Greek literature in the Roman empire: The politics of imitation* (Oxford, 2001).

TRIREME CREW WANTED

The Council of the Trireme Trust is currently exploring options for a possible set of sea trials in 2004 or—more likely—2005. If you are at all interested, and could be available for about three weeks in July-August either year [although trials would not overlap with Olympics in 2004], please let us know.

You need to be no more than 5 ft. 10 ins. (177 cm.) tall, and of a reasonable rowing standard. We suggest a 2k ergo test score for men of 7.30 or better, and women 8.00 or better. Do bear in mind that this is a working expedition, and the rowing will take up to 3 hours per day—possibly up to 6 hours depending on the final trials format.

If you are at all interested, please drop a line to Andrew Ruddle, 59, Berkeley Court, Weybridge, Surrey KT13 9HY U.K., or *apruddle@tiscali.co.uk*, and you will be contacted as soon as further information becomes available.

The Classics Society

Owain Bale

'There is one living thing, a bird, which reproduces and regenerates itself, without any outside aid. The Assyrians call it the phoenix. It lives, not on corn or grasses, but on the gum of incense, and the sap of balsam. When it has completed five centuries of life, it straightaway builds a nest for itself, working with unsullied beak and claw, in the topmost branches of some swaying palm. Then, when it has laid a foundation of cassia, and smooth spikes of nard, chips of cinnamon bark and yellow myrrh, it places itself on top, and ends its life amid the perfumes. Then, they say, a little phoenix is born anew from the father's body, fated to live a like number of years.' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* Book 15)

The Classics society has, of late, been very quiet in its supposed syllabus of:

- Money-off exciting day trips
- Mind-blowing socials
- Reduced theatre tickets
- Symposiastic drinking

Sadly, for one reason or another, the Society was unable to do any of the above and stagnated. Now, however, it is hoped that the Classics Society can be saved and once again become an integral part of the Department of Classics and Ancient History and as part of the University as a whole.

With the restoration of the Society, a new committee will be put in place to oversee and orchestrate events that are organised both within and without the University.

WHAT WILL BE GOING ON?

The Classics Society is intended to be a resource to allow students and staff of the Department of Classics and Ancient History, as well as other members or associate members of the University, to further explore and appreciate the Classical world, in addition to enjoying themselves and the company of other like-minded individuals.

The Classics Society will be responsible for organising certain events and activities specifically of a Classical (or equivalent) nature.

Such things will include trips to various places of interest: that is, museums and ancient sites such as Caerleon and Bath, as well as hopefully going further and organising trips abroad. There will be talks with guest-speakers on a variety of topics, and discussion-groups to supplement and support lectures and seminars. Trips will be organized to see performances in theatres across the country. There will be regular screenings of films and television series, including *I, Claudius*, *Gladiator*, *Jason and the Argonauts* and many more. The inevitable socials will also occur—but such events as Classical food nights will compliment these. Other planned activities also include outdoor gaming events (think of the Olympics, but on a somewhat smaller scale and budget) in which staff and students throughout the University will compete; and then there is the possibility of amateur dramatics....

The Society will also be keeping close relations with the Student-Staff Liaison Committee, the teaching staff, the Guild of Students and the University authorities as a whole, as well as with other societies, to try and ensure that the Classics Society becomes as integrated and as well known as possible throughout the University.

JOINING

Absolutely anyone may join the Society, whether they are staff and/or students of the Department, from outside the Department (such as other students), or outside the University itself.

Each member of the society will be required to pay an annual subscription fee, but for that measly sum (just £2 for student membership and £2.50 for other memberships) they will be able to participate and voice their opinions on any matter that affects the Society (for example, Committee elections), as well as receiving information from the Society on forthcoming events etc.

For further information about joining the Classics Society, write to:

THE CLASSICS SOCIETY
Department of Classics and Ancient History
Queen's Building
The Queen's Drive
Exeter EX4 4QH.

ALEXANDRIAN ANSWERS: 1. ps.-Xenophon ('Old Oligarch'), *Constitution of the Athenians*; 2. Polybius, *Histories*; 3. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*; 4. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*; 5. Aristophanes, *Wealth*; 6. Theognis, *elegies*; 7. Plutarch, *Agesilaus*; 8. Apollodorus, *Library*; 9. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*; 10. Galen, *On the Powers of Foods*.