PEGASUS

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PEGASUS

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Edited by Robert Bostock; *Res Gestae* edited by David Harvey.
Editorial Board: Owain Bail, Robert Bostock, David Harvey, Alex Adams and Matthew Wright.

♠ All correspondence about *Pegasus* should be addressed to:
Dr. M. Wright, *Pegasus*, Dept of Classics and Ancient History, Queen's Building, University of Exeter, EX4 4QH (E-mail: *M.Wright@Exeter.ac.uk*).

♠ All correspondence about the *Res Gestae* supplements should be addressed to:
Mr. David Harvey, 53 Thornton Hill, Exeter, EX4 4NR (E-mail: *F.D.Harvey@Exeter.ac.uk*).

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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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HAPPY BIRTHDAY PEGASUS!!!

2004 BRINGS WITH IT THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF *PEGASUS*. STARTED IN 1964, *PEGASUS* HAS WEATHERED THE SLINGS AND ARROWS OF OUTRAGEOUS FORTUNE AND CONTINUES TO PROVIDE A VOICE FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT – UNDERGRADUATE, POSTGRADUATE, STAFF AND ALUMNI. FROM CYCLOSTYLISTIC SURPRISES TO THE WONDERS OF THE WORDPROCESSOR, *PEGASUS* CONTINUES TO BOTH INFORM AND AMUSE ITS READERS.

Department News

By Richard Seaford, Head of Department

This year has seen the arrival of the five new academic staff promised in last year's report, as well as three new Graduate Teaching Assistants (Emma Aston, Francesco Bergamesco, and Eleni Fassa) and – of course – numerous other students, graduate and undergraduate. We now have fifteen full-time academic staff (that includes David Braund and Chris Gill, both of them recipients of three-year Leverhulme awards for research). And our secretarial and administrative staff have just been increased by the arrival of Jean Wyatt, who will work part-time for Jenny Hocking. A major loss will be John Marr, who after many years teaching and supervising exams in the Department, as well as being an effective Tribunus in the university, retired in the summer of 2003 (and has continued teaching, part-time, for a further year). He is as I write no doubt preparing his talk to the Classical Association on his ineffective predecessor Thersites.

Teaching developments within the Department have included the reorganisation of our MA courses, discussions on how to integrate visual material more effectively into our mainstream courses, and the introduction of another MA, in Visual and Material Culture, by Elena Isayev. We have also now developed a series of courses in Latin and Greek that cater for all levels, including a course entitled 'Fast-track Greek', mainly for those who already have A-level Latin and graduate students who need to know Greek for research. Despite the near-disappearance of the ancient languages from state schools, interest in the ancient world remains as broad, and perhaps broader, than ever.

As for conferences, one has been held on Athenaeus, organised by John Wilkins in Paris, and two are to be held in July in Exeter — one on Local Knowledge and Macro – Identities, organised by Tim Whitmarsh, the other on Ancient Epiphanies, organised by Georgia Petridou.

The University now has a new and dynamic duo of Vice-Chancellor and Registrar, who favour yet more growth for the Department, with the result that we have the prospect of yet another appointment at a senior level (an 'Anniversary Chair'). I remember the time when we were down to five members of academic staff. But the department is undoubtedly now one of the leading centres for the subject both nationally and internationally.

Staff Research News

David Braund

I currently hold a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship (2002-5) and am working mostly in Europe. Based in Greece, when not in Exeter, I am conferring with colleagues in Russia, Ukraine and Georgia, as well as visiting Black Sea centres in western Europe (esp. in Denmark and Germany). I have produced a string of articles over the last year or so, clearing the way for three book-length studies. I will shortly be submitting to Oxford University Press a collection of papers on ancient Olbia (a Greek city in Ukraine) by UK, Russian and German scholars.

Christopher Gill

I am in the first of three years' full-time research supported by a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship. I am completing *The Structured Self in Hellenistic and Roman Thought* and an edited volume, *Norms, Virtue, and Objectivity: Issues in Ancient and Modern Ethics*, both for publication by Oxford University Press. I have started preliminary work for a book on medical/scientific and philosophical conceptions of personality in the Second Century AD.

David Harvey

The air is thick with the pullulating feathers of chickens coming home to roost [please see back issues of Pegasus for what follows]. The ste. Croix volume (*Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays*, ed. R. Parker and FDH, OUP) will appear in March 2004; *Lost Dramas of Classical Athens* (ed. McHardy, Robson & FDH, University of Exeter Press), on Greek tragic fragments, in May; and my article on Thucydides 4.88 in a volume edited by Tom Figueira (Classical Press of Wales) and one on Herodotus 1.23-24 ('Arion and the Liar') in *The World of Herodotus* (ed. Karageorghis & Taifacos, Nicosia) will be published sometime thereafter. What next? I must (1) blow the dust of my notes on David Hume's 'Populousness'; (2) gird my loins for the second volume of Ste. Croix's 'Essays'; and (3) time permitting, write a few short bits of my own.

Elena Isayev

Much of this year has been spent putting the final touches on my book on Ancient Lucania, a historical study of the region in the last four centuries BC, primarily based on archaeological evidence. I am also preparing an article on Rome's

relations with the Italians in the period of the Gracchi, and particularly the ways in which settlement pattern in the period may have some of the answers. The next big project will be considering the interactions in South Italy between the varied Greco-Italic communities before Roman hegemony.

Rebecca Langlands

I am currently finishing my book on *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome: A Study of Pudicitia*, for Cambridge University Press, and have recently completed a couple of articles on Valerius Maximus. After this summer I plan to move onto a new long-term project in collaboration with a colleague from the Department of History, Dr. Kate Fisher. This is an interdisciplinary study of the reception of erotic images from ancient civilisations in Europe from the 18th century to the present day. As part of this project we recently co-presented a conference paper on 18th and 19th century responses to erotic images found during the excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum. I am also organising a panel on classicism and the history of sexuality in Britain ('Sexual Revelation') for a conference on 'Classics in 19th and 20th century Britain' in 2005.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones

My current research occupies three main areas of my interest in antiquity: gender, Persia and reception. I am currently engaged in co-translating and preparing a commentary on Ctesias of Cnidos' *Persica*, full of stories of harem intrigues, eunuchs, concubines and power struggles in the Persian court. Linked closely with this is a monograph project entitled (tentatively) 'Harem: the Court of Women in Anitquity' (CUP – in negotiation), which will examine the concept of royal polygamy in the civilisations of Egypt and the Near East. Going to print within the next six months or so (hopefully) is my *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Dress* (Routledge) and an edited volume entitled *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* (Oxbow). I'm also working on several projects centred on the cinematic uses of the past, one of which being an article on Greek gods and religious ritual as portrayed by Hollywood.

John Marr

Now I am retired I don't have an official research plan. I do have a retirement plan, which involves inter alia reading things I should have read but didn't because of research plans! However, readers may like to know that I am hoping to finish an edition of pseudo-Xenophon's *Constitution of Athens* as a co-author with Peter Rhodes at Durham.

Lynette Mitchell

I have just completed a book, *Panhellenism and the Barbarian in Archaic and Classical Greece*, which I expect to be published by Cambridge University Press. My next project is concerned with tyranny and political theory, and should result in a couple of articles and a small book.

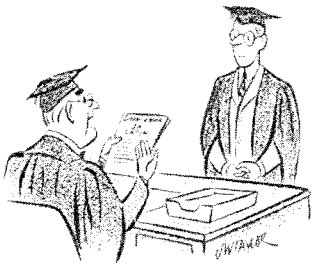
Stephen Mitchell

During my year's study leave I am attempting to write *A History of Late Antiquity 300-600* for Blackwell. I am also editing, with C. Katsari, *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*, the

publication of a conference held in Exeter in July 2002, to be published by the Classical Press of Wales. My own contribution is on olive cultivation in Asia Minor. I have also written papers on Greek epigraphy and onomastics in the last year.

Daniel Ogden

I'm shortly to publish a monograph entitled *Aristomenes of Messene* (Classical Press of Wales), and am working on a series of articles on Lucian's *Philopseudes* ('Lover of Lies'). These may in due course be worked up into a book of some sort. I'm also editing a very large *Companion to Greek Religion* for Blackwell.



'It's your break, Parker' – a new series at a peak period, with a weekly quiz, audience participation, script by Julius Caesar and a free hand with additional gags'

Peter O'Neill

My current project is a book examining representations of popular speech and popular sociability in the late Republic, focusing in particular on the 'compita', the crossroads at the heart of the Roman neighbourhoods, and on tabernae. The book is focused on Roman freedmen and attempts to show the politicised nature of the cultural activities associated with this section of the urban plebs. Other current projects include an examination of the triumphal aspects of Plautus' *Amphitruo* and a paper on the implied performance context of Horace's *Epodes*. In the near future I have plans to explore further my interest in Roman topography, and have long-term plans to write a book on a selection of imperial texts, taking issue with sociological readings which focus solely on aristocrats and Princeps and neglect the role of the urban plebs.

Richard Seaford

In 2003 I have published various papers on Greek drama. February 2004 saw the publication of *Money and the Early Greek Mind: Homer, Philosophy, Tragedy* (Cambridge University Press) and my Introduction to the Everyman *Aeschylus: Oresteia*. I have several other papers in the pipeline, as well as part of the Introduction to the new Blue Guide to Greece, and am currently working on a book on the god Dionysos for Routledge.

John Wilkins

My research continues to focus on Athenaeus and Galen and the commentary they make on food and eating in the Greek and Roman worlds. The latest developments are the conference Athenaeus II, held in Paris in December 2003, the papers of which are to be published in two volumes, and a bid to the Wellcome Trust to support the translating of Galen's main treatise on pharmacology known as 'On Simple Medicines'. The aim is to have a translation volume and a commentary on books one and five which discuss the methodology of the work.

Peter Wiseman

I'm writing an article on the newly discovered inscriptions from the sacred spring of Anna Perenna and the 'nymphae sacratae' in Rome; and at the same time trying to organise 150 or so illustrations for *The Myths of Rome*, which is due to appear later in 2004.

Tim Whitmarsh

I have completed my *Cultural History of Ancient Greek Literature* (Polity Press), which should be out shortly after *Pegasus* appears. I am currently working on the Greek novels, attempting to locate them in terms of the history of ideas and ideologies: a book on the subject is due to Cambridge University Press next year. Meanwhile I am spilling those spare hours editing *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel.*

Karl Woodgett

I am currently working on two articles on Livy: 'The Enemy Within in Livy I and II,' and 'Hannibal: A Prophet of Rome's Decline?'. I was at a conference in St. Petersburg in early March (on the Bosporan kingdom) and gave a paper there on Mithridates VI last year, which I have been invited to publish in a Russian journal.

Matthew Wright

My book *Euripides' Escape-Tragedies* (Oxford University Press) is in the press and will be available later this year. While I wait for it to appear, I am working on Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides' *Alcestis*, the causes of the Trojan War, and the neglected tragedy *Rhesus*. I am looking forward to a year's study leave (2004-5), during which I plan to start a new book on ancient literary criticism and catch up on some housework.

Ugo Ziglioni

My main research area is ancient philosophy, although I have quite a strong interest in contemporary philosophy, especially the later Wittgenstein and Derek Parfit on the philosophy of personal identity. I am currently writing a book on the sophist Protagoras, which is to be a revised and expanded version of my PhD thesis. I am also interested in ancient ethics, especially the concept of pleasure, which is the topic of my third year module this year. Once the book on Protagoras is completed, I will start working on the idea of pleasure in Plato, which will form the subject of my next book.

Viele versuchten umsonst das Freudigste freudig zu sagen.
Hier spricht endlich es mir, hier in der Trauer sich aus.

Hölderlin, *Sophocles*.

O Tempora! O Mores!: Youth culture in late Republican Rome and today.

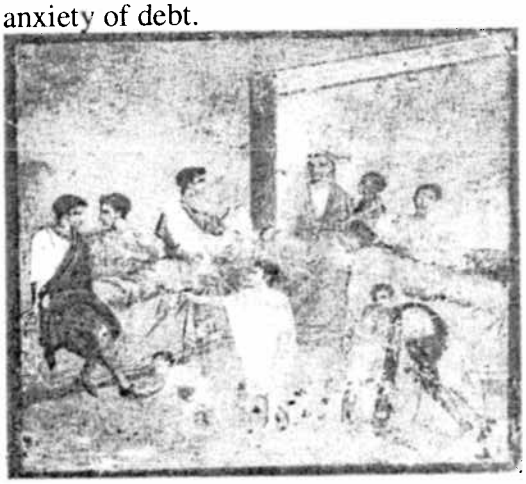
Lee Pretlove

The inspiration for this article first arose whilst I was reading Cicero's *Pro Caelio* accompanied by Jamie Cullum's debut jazz album *Twentysomething*. Study habits and musical taste aside, one may question how these two media could ever be possibly linked. Both, however, are concerned with aspects of youth culture and seem to reveal striking similarities in behavioural patterns despite the gap of two millennia. In 'Twentysomething,' Cullum reveals his attitude to debt, drunken, rowdy behaviour and sex.[1] Cicero's *Pro Caelio* paints a picture of his defendant, Marcus Caelius Rufus, in a similar situation: accused of debt, surrounded by drunken, rowdy behaviour and a woman of supposed sexual immorality.[2] Therefore, it superficially seems that today's youth have much in common with their late republican elite counterparts. But is that where the similarity ends? This article intends to thematically place each cultural parallel alongside each other to examine the reasons behind this striking cultural congruence. Whilst Cicero and Jamie Cullum have been used as a link to make comparisons between the ancient world and modern culture, other social observers and commentaries will be employed, where possible, to strive for a 'realistic' portrayal of the past. The better this 'realism' is portrayed, the more straightforward it will be to understand the cultural comparisons.

Cullum acknowledges that "years of expensive education" have left him broke and feels somewhat disillusioned that his university education is superfluous to requirements in the job market.[3] His solution out of debt is to "maybe...move back home and pay off my loans | Working nine to five, answering phones."[4] Cullum is certainly not alone in being ridden by debt from a university education. When the government were recently voting on the Top-Up Fee Bill, protesting students outside of Westminster were keen to make their voices heard. Ian Evans recorded that "one student held a banner that read 'We can't afford to top up our phones - let alone our fees.'"[5] In Exeter, a recent

[1] Cullum, J., '4. Twentysomething' from Twentysomething (2003) © Sony Music.
[2] Debt: Cic. *Cael.* 17; drunken rowdy behaviour: 20, 30; woman of ill-repute: 36, 49.
[3] Cullum, J., '4. Twentysomething', 1-4.
[4] Cullum, J., 'Twentysomething', 13-14.
[5] Evans, I., 'We can't afford to top up our phones – let alone our fees', *The Times*, 28 January, 2004.

feature in *Exeposé*[6] written from an overseas perspective argued that debt is something that the young have to accept. Larson highlighted that student debt was just as much a problem in the US as it is in this country. In recognising that university education is no longer fully-subsidised, she pleads that "times are changing and today's youth need to change with them."[7] It seems that student debt is becoming a social norm and, instead of constantly worrying about it, it is something that is accepted or conceded as a part of life. Britain today is a borrowing nation and the average household owes approximately £4,000. Cullum's suggestion of moving back home rent-free and paying off his loans comes secondary to his attitude that he does not "want to get up, just let me lie in | Leave me alone I'm a twentysomething..."[8] Cullum and Larson both seem to be suggesting that the young may as well face up to the fact that their bank balances cannot possibly stay in the black and that you can't live a normal life without the anxiety of debt.



[6] The student newspaper of Exeter University.
[7] Larson, F., 'Please ease the fees', in *Exeposé*, 16 February, 2004.
[8] Cullum, J., 'Twentysomething', 17-18.

The situation seems to be similar for our late republican counterparts. The problems of using persuasive oratory as a source aside, the *Pro Caelio* suggests that Caelius was accused of being a spender. Cicero refutes this charge of debt in the following way:

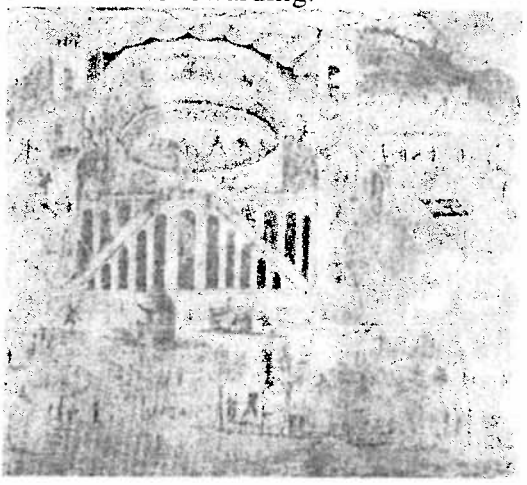
As for the reproach that he is in debt, his expenditure blamed, his account-books demanded, see how brief is my reply. One who is still subject to his father's authority does not keep accounts. He has never borrowed any money.[9]

Therefore it seems that if Caelius was in debt, he turned to his father to settle his accounts. This ostensibly echoes two thousand years later where we have already seen examples of dependency of youths on their parents when in financial hardship. He also lived in a culture where debt had become socially acceptable. Cicero "owed it to his *dignitas* to have a ruinously expensive house,"[10] and when buying his house on the Palatine he sought a loan from Crassus, justifying himself to Atticus (and perhaps himself?) that "folk have begun to realize that it's legitimate to make a respectable show in the world with purchases financed by one's friends."[11] Catullus, whose purse was famously "full of cobwebs,"[12] also records a generation of borrowers and debtors. His friend Furius had a debt of "fifteen thousand tenscore sesterces," and seemed to be in need to borrow one

[9] Cic. *Cael.* 17 (tr. Gardner).
[10] Wiseman (1985) 102.
[11] Cic. *Epistulae* I.13 = 8 tr. Shackleton-Bailey.
[12] Cat. 13.8 (tr. Lee).

hundred thousand sesterces.[13] Mamurra, the chief engineer of Caesar, is twice referred to as the "bankrupt from Formiae"[14] in his pursuit of owning a large house. A picture begins to emerge that for most late Republican Romans as well debt was socially acceptable.

This seemingly blasé attitude to money must have filtered through to the young. The young had become profligate in their appearance largely influenced by Greece and the east. Although possibly exaggerated for the purpose of his speech, Cicero described Catiline's supporters as "individuals glistening with scent and glittering with purple."[15] The *Pro Caelio* indicates that Caelius had rented an apartment on the Palatine for a considerable sum. This seems to imply that Caelius was following the lead of older citizens like Cicero in spending money to extend his reputation amongst Rome's elite. In keeping up with the latest fashions and residential trends the young appear to have thrown their — or their fathers' — money away. It was very important in Rome to be seen and, furthermore, to be seen to be keeping up with the latest expensive trend. The general attitude to money in Rome looks as if the causes of debt amongst the young were bought on by themselves. In order to make a name and career for themselves, they felt obliged to buy or rent expensive properties and have the best, ostentatious clothes to make themselves noticed. The members of the elite aspired to a political career, and to make their transition up the *cursus honorum* a smooth one, they had to be seen to be spending money in order to build and enhance their reputations. Their investments in these respects were investments in their futures. The same can be said for university students. Although they do not (or typically ought not!) spend vast amounts of money on clothes and property as their republican counterparts, the debts they run up during their education are viewed as an investment for their future careers. It has been documented that graduates tend to earn more than non-graduates and government targets are also pushing more and more into further education.[16] Therefore both sets of youths feel that they have an obligation to enter into debt in order to make their futures more rewarding.



A Riot in the Roman amphitheatre.

Yet while appreciating that they are running up debts in the cause of their

[13] Cat 26; 23 (tr. Lee).
[14] Cat. 41; 43 (tr. Lee).
[15] Cic. *Cat.* 1.5: 'qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura.'

[16] Maddern, K., 'Arts Degrees', in *Exeposé*, 16 February, 2004.

future careers, investments in alcohol seem to appear in both cultures. Alcohol consumption and its inevitable by-product of unruly behaviour also seem to be a common activity among both ancient and contemporary youth alike. To return to Jamie Cullum, he asserts to his listener, "Don't make me live for my Friday nights | Drinking eight pints and getting in fights."[17] His attitude to the weekend is not only relevant to student life (although in Exeter, any night of the week is a weekend), but to youth culture as a whole. The weekend expectation of a 'good night out' has produced the label of a 'binge-drinking' culture of the young and the ensuing anti-social behaviour that follows a night of excessive alcohol is exemplified in Cullum's song. Sir Michael Marmot draws attention to the effects of a 'booze culture' in the "drunken behaviour in the streets, [and] in crimes of violence."[18] Jeremy Paxman, in his portrait of the English as a people, attempts to explain this island's relationship with alcohol and violence. He cites an example of Bill Bruford, a writer, observing English football hooliganism in Turin in the late 1980s. An Italian asked him 'Why do you behave like this?' to which "he was lost for answer."[19] Paxman instead tries to answer this question, suggesting that "far from being ashamed of their behaviour, they see fighting and drunkeness as part of their birthright. It is the way they proclaim their identity."[20] The behaviour of football hooligans can be extended to the behaviour of the young when abroad. The notorious behaviour of Club 18 - 30, especially in its excessive alcohol consumption and reckless behaviour, is a way of forging an identity amongst the British abroad, bringing their weekend drinking habits with them. Much of social youth culture seems to be related to alcohol in one way or another as a means to broaden their enjoyment of a good time.

The youthful behaviour described by Cicero is also far from exemplary. Young men are depicted as being involved in "parties that last all night long,"[21] or lurking in dark alleys at night waiting to assault passing ladies "while on their way home from a dinner-party."[22] While Cicero was trying to acquit Caelius, he nevertheless concedes that:

however discreditable young men's...excesses and profligacy may be generally regarded at this present time (and I see this feeling in us is a strong one), the offences of others and the vices of his age and of the times may not damnify Caelius.[23]

He earlier states that "by common consent a young man is allowed some dalliance, and nature herself is prodigal of youthful passions."[24] It seems that the elder members of society realised that their youths were

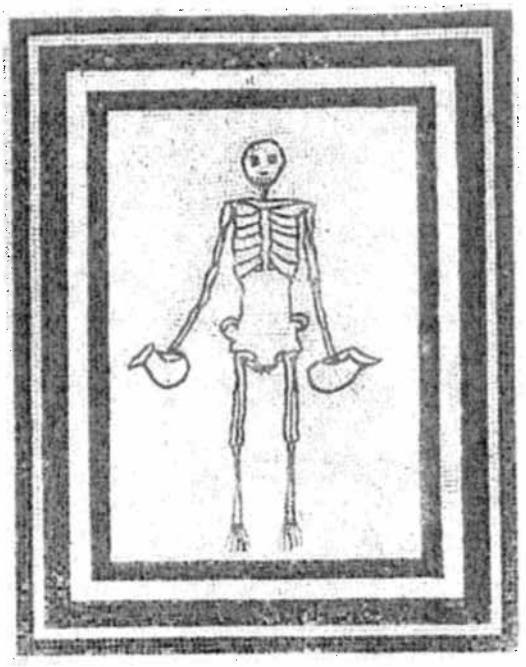
[17] Cullum, J., 'Twentysomething', 15-16.
[18] Hawkes, N., 'Answer to drink problem is double the price, say the doctors', *The Times*, 5 March, 2004.
[19] Paxman, J. (1999) 245.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Cic. *Cat.* II.22 (tr. Grant).
[22] Cic. *Cael.* 20 (tr. Grant).
[23] Ibid., 30 (tr. Gardner).
[24] Ibid., 29.

out of control but it was recognised that everybody at some point in life is entitled to let off some steam and usually whilst young. When holidaying away from Rome, the unruly behaviour seemed to continue at Baiae, in the Bay of Naples. Although he uses Clodia's holiday home as a basis for an invective on her supposed voracious sexual appetite,[25] a picture of drunken debauchery emerges. While I am not suggesting that Clodia should be perceived as "a type of the elite Roman woman of the period,"[26] — indeed, Skinner has done much to correct this historical myth — there possibly is some truth in what Cicero claims. She seems to be a part of the young, rich set and was just as guilty as the men in carefree living. The gang violence of the late republican period was no doubt fuelled by alcohol, and stabbings between factions became common, especially in the case of Milo and Clodius and Gaius Vibienus, "who was mauled so badly that he lost his life."[27] Therefore the picture he paints seems to be very similar to the contemporary Club 18 - 30 images that are received in Britain through newspapers and on television. One such report in *The Times* seems to best capture the image of these holidays:

In Faliraki a 17-year-old British holiday maker was stabbed to death in a pub brawl, a teenager was threatened with jail for flashing her breasts in a bar and 20-year-old man was fined £2,000 for "mooning" in a street.[28]

It is hardly exemplary behaviour but nonetheless apparently typical of both periods. For the republican Romans, it seems that it was accepted that the young would run amok. There was an expectation that they would eventually settle down and be of great use to the state. Until the introduction of a more formalised policing service under Augustus,[29] it seems the young were left unchecked in their behaviour. The political climate of mob warfare probably exacerbated this problem, as is seen in the involvement of young elite members. Civil order in today's society on the other hand is much more controlled, as is indicated in the fines and jail threats in *The Times* report, but it still does not deter the young from behaving in a similar way to their ancient counterparts. There is still the expectation to get unruly behaviour 'out of your system' when you are young and many at university seem to adhere to this principle.

[25] Ibid., 47, 49.
[26] Skinner (1983) 274; the idea of stereotype is further discussed by Dufallo (2001) 119.
[27] Cic. *Mil.* 37 (tr. Grant).
[28] Coates, S., '"Tacky" 18 – 30 holidays to get Saatchi revamp', *The Times*, 4 March, 2004.
[29] Stambaugh (1988) 125-27.



Therefore it appears that the financial situations and unruly behaviour of both ancient and modern young generations bear many similarities. Their causes also seem to be strikingly similar. Both live in a culture where debt seems to have become a social norm as a whole. Although today's expenditure is directed towards a university education, while the ancients were more focussed on extending their careers through material means, they still seem to have had the same goal of securing respectable occupations. However, only slight differences seem to be involved in the causes and consequences of alcohol consumption. Both feel a certain expectation is placed upon them to enjoy their youth while they can. While enjoying their reckless behaviour both seem to share in common pursuits, such as excessive drinking and unruly behaviour. Whilst the factional period of the late republic probably increased the regularity of wild behaviour, comparable incidents occur today. The evidence of the late republic suggests that the traits and circumstances of youth bear significant resemblances to contemporary society. Cicero's declamation on youth still rings true.

Lee Pretlove is a third year undergraduate, reading Classical Studies.

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THE Exeter Classics Syllabus For 04-05

David Harvey

I have in front of me the Exeter Classics syllabus for 04-05. No, not the coming year, but the Royal Albert Memorial College prospectus for 1904-05, borrowed from my wife's extensive collection of Exoniana. It is hardly an enticing publication, with its grey cover that looks as if it would rather have been green but couldn't really be bothered (no doubt the result of fading).

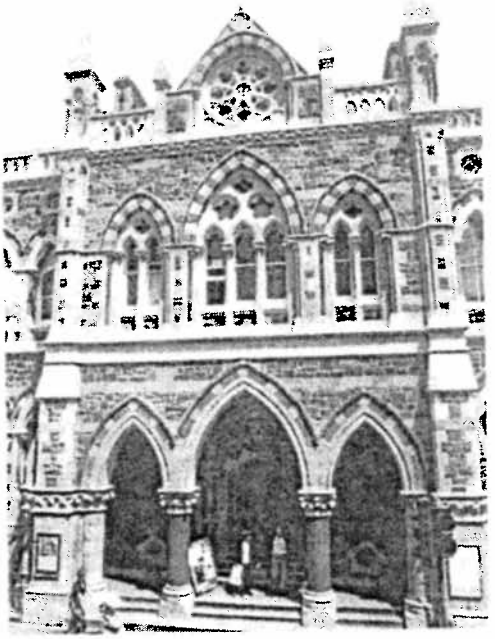
The Introduction explains that the Royal Albert Memorial College, the County Museum and the Library are all under the same roof (i.e. housed in the present Royal Albert Museum in Queen St) 'and therefore mutually helpful.' In 1901 'the Royal Albert Memorial became a University College, in that Students may proceed to London Degrees direct from its classes.'

Readers of *Pegasus* will want to know what Classics courses were on offer. But before we get to that, we are faced with a page of stern

REGULATIONS TO BE OBSERVED BY ALL STUDENTS.

1. — Students are not permitted to be in the College before 9 a.m.[1] nor after 6 p.m.
2. — All students are required to conduct themselves in a quiet and orderly manner whilst in the College.
3. — Smoking is prohibited.[2] Students are not permitted to loiter about in the corridors.[3]

And so on. These quiet, non-smoking, non-loitering students lived in Hostels[4] 'managed by an influential Committee presided over by the Mayor of Exeter' (p. 45). The adjective is unexpected: who did the Committee influence? what difference did it make?



The Royal Albert Memorial Museum

To make sense of the syllabus we need to set it in its context, fortunately

[1] Was there a serious risk of that?

[2] Though at the back of the book we find that **the DEVON and SOMERSET STORES** offer Tobacco and Cigars of the 'UTMOST VALUE FOR READY MONEY', and Wheaton's provide Cigar cases and Cigarette Cases to keep them in.

[3] That seems a pity: one can learn quite a bit while loitering. Perhaps students were allowed to loiter, but not to loiter *about*, thereby wasting prepositions.

[4] On the early hostels see B.W. Clapp, *The University of Exeter: a history* (Exeter 1982), 30-2, 69-70. This book is now nearly a quarter of a century old; may we expect an updated edition in 2005 when the University celebrates its semicentenary?

provided in chapter III of Brian Clapp's *History* of the University (see n. 3) At that time the College was mainly a 'Training College', or, in modern terms, a College of Education, whose courses led to a Certificate of Education. By 1904 the college had 120 'students in training', as they were known. 'The number of students reading for degrees was small. In 1901 the college began to offer courses for the degrees of the University of London. 1914 was the first year in which the number of graduates reached double figures. ... On average only four students graduated in each of the years from 1904 to 1914' (Clapp 27-30, 34-5).

What the College did offer was training for matriculation, roughly equivalent to five good passes at O level or later GCSE; and Intermediate (= five A levels), which was often taken in the first year of a degree course. If we were unaware of this, the syllabus would come as something of a shock. Here it is:

CLASSICS
R.A. Jones, M.A. Lond., B.A. Cantab.

GREEK (London B.A.)
Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, 5-6.

GREEK (Intermediate.)
Preparatory Class — *Monday, Wednesday, 10-11.*

Advanced Class — *Thursday, Saturday, 12-1.*
Books in use: North and Hillard's Prose, Abbott and Mansfield's Greek Primer.

LATIN (London B.A.)
Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, 6-7.

LATIN (Intermediate.)
Tuesday, Thursday, 10-11.
Books in use: Arnold's Latin Prose. Revised Latin Primer.

LATIN (Matriculation.)
Monday, Wednesday, 12-1. Friday, 11-12. Saturday, 10-11.
Books in use: Arnold's Latin Prose. Revised Latin Primer. Anglice Reddenda.

LATIN (Evening Class.)
Friday, 7-8.

It is startling that students taking Latin for a London B.A. were required to infringe Regulation no.1. Since the average number of honours students in all subjects was four, I calculate that the average number of Classics students will have been nil. This would mean that the problem will not have arisen. If numbers shot up to one, or even two, perhaps classes were held outside the College. Otherwise candidates would have been faced with an unusual choice: break the rules or fail your exams.

So Arnold's Latin Prose[5] and the Revised Latin Primer[6] were

[5] By the mid-century Arnold's Latin Prose had been revised several times, so that it had become 'Mountford's Bradley's Arnold'. I once adapted some of its exercises for an examination, and credited it to 'Harvey's Mountford's Bradley's Arnold', a byline that mysteriously disappeared between draft and final version. The only explanation I received was a misquotation from Longfellow's *Song of Life*: 'Life is grim and life is earnest'.

[6] No need to state whose: 'Kennedy's *Revised Latin Primer* has probably become the most widely used Classical textbook in this country since it first appeared in 1888.' Benjamin Hall Kennedy had been Regius Professor of Greek (not Latin) at Cambridge. But he was not the author of the revision (so the title-page contains a falsehood): he was in his mid-eighties, and in poor health. The syntax was the work of his elder daughter Marion, while his younger

recommended to Latinists in 1904, as still at the end of the century. No Latin literature at all, apparently — and similarly with Greek. Good Lord. Can that be right? There is a less startling explanation. The set books for Matriculation and Intermediate students would have been prescribed nationally by the examining boards, and would have changed each year. My guess is that it was easier simply to omit them (since the information must have been available elsewhere) than to revise the prospectus every time it was reprinted.

The B.A. students must surely have read some Latin; presumably they obtained the details from London. We are left wondering what guidance (if any) they received at Exeter.

The same must have been true, *mutatis mutandis*, of Greek. Half a century later, I was taught from the same textbooks (North and Hillard, Abbott and Mansfield), and I believe they are still going strong.

Where does ancient history belong? In Classics or in History? British universities have come up with different answers to this question at different times. In 1904 Exeter firmly located it in History, thus:

HISTORY
Professor Harte and Miss Rogers.
Ancient. GREEK (London B.A.)

Monday, 5-6, once a fortnight

GREEK (Intermediate).

Friday, 10-11, once a fortnight

Book in use: Robinson's History of Greece

ROMAN (London B.A.)

Monday, 5-6, once a fortnight

ROMAN (Intermediate.)

Friday, 10-11, once a fortnight

Book in use: Shuckburgh's History of Rome

Roman and Greek History were taught in the same year, then. I would not care to estimate how much of an understanding of the Greek world, or of Rome, can be gained from one hour's teaching a fortnight, and (apparently) no direct access to primary sources. Professor Harte and Miss Rogers were clearly multi-talented: they were responsible for the whole of History, Modern (1485-1901, English and Foreign) as well as Ancient, and English literature (Chaucer to Tennyson) too.

What were those 'Books in use'? Robinson's *History* is not the *History of Greece* by Cyril A. Robinson published in the 1920s, but must be the *Short History of Greece* by William Spry Robinson. First published in 1895 (392 pages), there was a second edition in 1896, a third in 1897, a fourth in 1899, and a fifth in 1902. All these later editions have 397 pages, which suggests that the successive revisions can have

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daughter Julia wrote the philological introduction. 'The authoresses deserve to be remembered with both respect and commiseration' — commiseration because they were just too old to benefit from the opportunities for women's education that opened up in the 1870s. I take this (and the quotations) from Chris Stray's article, 'Who wrote Kennedy?' in *Ad familares* 5 (1993), ii.

incorporated little or nothing about Arthur Evans' discoveries in Crete. (I have not seen the book, so I may be wrong.) It is surprising that Robinson was recommended rather than J.B. Bury's *History of Greece*, which had been published in 1900 and has served successive generations well for over a century now. But Bury was no doubt too recent to have proved its worth by 1904. (Down yer us've often bin about ten years behind the rest of the country.)

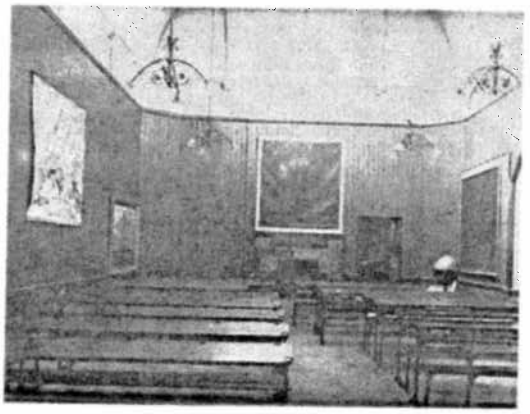
Shuckburgh's *History of Rome* is *A History of Rome to the battle of Actium* by the amazing E. S. Shuckburgh,[7] published by Macmillan in 1894 in a format very like that of the unrevised Bury. We have a copy of it in the University Library (no Robinson, though), inscribed 'G. McN. Rushforth, Oriel College', which prompts me to recommend Peter Wiseman's splendid article 'Rediscovering a Benefactor' in *Pegasus* 24 (1981) 10-31. I have not read the book, but a quick glance makes it clear that it is thorough (over 800 pages), and duly equipped with references to sources. The narrative appears to be primarily military.

One of the fundamental principles of research that students are rarely taught is that if you are looking for an article you'll always find something else more interesting in the journal. So too with this syllabus: just look at the advertisements. If you wanted to stay in London (and smoke, or perhaps just loiter about), you could choose between the THACKERAY HOTEL, Great Russell Street (Opposite the British Museum), which boasted **Electric light throughout**, FIREPROOF FLOORS and PERFECT SANITATION. Bedrooms cost from 2s 6d [12½ p]; with breakfast and dinner 8s. 6d. [42½ p] If that was too expensive, there was, under the same management, the ESMOND HOTEL, 1 Montague Street, Russell Square ('exceptionally quiet'), where the Bedrooms were available from 2s [10p] per night.

Local advertisers include Hinton Lake (who were still in business not so long ago) selling home-grown cameras loyally named Lake's Isca and (secondhand) Lake's Exon; and Hoskins

[7] E.S. Shuckburgh (1843-1906) must have been a remarkable man. His parents, not content with saddling him with the androgynous first name Evelyn, made things worse by adding Shirley in the middle. Undeterred, he became Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1866-74) and master at Eton (1874-84). Thereafter, he published commentaries on Aeschines' *Against Ktesiphon*, all the books of Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Cicero's *de Senectute, de Amicitia* and *Second Philippic*, books 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9 of Herodotus, Horace *Epistles* I, sixteen speeches of Lysias, most of Nepos' *Lives*, Ovid's *Heroides* and *Tristia III*, Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*, Terence's *Hauton Timoroumenos*, selections from Vergil, and books I and II of Xenophon's *Cyropaideia*, as well as abridgements of three of Jebb's commentaries on Sophocles, translations of the whole of Cicero's correspondence and of Polybius, *The Life and Times of Augustus*; a revised edition of Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration; Greece from the coming of the Hellenes to AD 14*; and a collection of Latin unseens. He also brought out revised editions of most of his commentaries. To judge by the Lysias, which I used to use in teaching, his notes are thorough and helpful. In his spare time Shuckburgh edited Sir Philip Sidney's *Apologie for poetrie* and wrote the history of Emmanuel College, not to mention *A Latin Vocabulary: or, John's First Latin Book*. Of these, only this last item (1882), the *Second Philippic* (1872), Ovid's *Heroides* (1879) and the Terence (1877) were published before his retirement; all the rest are dated between his retirement at the age of 41 in 1884 and his death at the age of 63 in 1906. (He managed to bring out a few after his death; presumably the manuscripts were already with the publishers.)

and Son, bakers and confectioners, 25 Sidwell St., the family of the distinguished historian W.G. Hoskins, author of the classic volumes *Devon* (revised edition recently published), *Two Thousand Years in Exeter* (revised edition forthcoming). The University awarded him an honorary degree in 1974. The back-page advertisement thus happily bridges the commercial and the academic.



Our illustrations show A LECTURE ROOM, adorned with a religious image, which has displaced the blackboard (to the right); on the left, what looks like a ferociously modern painting is in fact a map of Europe. That can hardly be Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* (1888-9) next to it.

THE REFERENCE LIBRARY has the distinctive narrow barley-sugar pillars of the kind that are still to be seen in the Restaurant and elsewhere in the Museum.

Don't laugh – it could have been you!

Some curious interpretations of the ancient world from discipuli incogniti.

The women never seem to look on the bright side of things – not that there is much to look forward to in the Iliad – but they could at least be a little encouraging.

After all it is rather difficult to imagine your city being burned down, wandering about for 7 years, taking a trip to the Underworld and only then returning to fight an epic war. Not many people today have to do this.

Aeneas doesn't have much luck with women, I'll say: his wife dies whilst fleeing Troy, his mother plays tricks on him and won't be hugged, Dido kills herself and Juno hates him with a vengeance...

This is a very important passage as it is the first time Ascanius is prepared to stand out in the thong of battle.

Romanization: Scholarly perfection or analytical minefield?

James Young

Romanization is a modern historical term that has been in use for nearly one hundred years. Since its conception in the early 20th Century it has been redefined. More recently Romanization has been questioned as to its significance in our analysis of Roman history. The problem that faces us about Romanization is whether it is a term that conceptualises cultural change, or whether it is a concept that is too laden with historical baggage that it can continue to be of use.[1]

The debate surrounding Romanization has led to different values and attitudes being implied by the way it is spelt.[2] Some scholars capitalise the 'R', others do not. The variant *Romanization* will be used in this essay unless quoting original works.

The constant redefinition of Romanization and its relevance in today's analytical history are issues that have been hotly debated. Romanization is used in a variety of ways to define different processes of cultural change that occurred between various social groups and 'Roman' culture. Originally Romanization was defined as a one way process of native assimilation into Roman culture. Today there are a variety of definitions, but they all include three key components. Romanization was a 'highly complex process that produced a new entity';[3] that interaction happened 'between two supposedly distinct cultures';[4] and that it was the 'outcome of either a negative or a positive response to changed military and political circumstances'.[5]

Ivory statuette of Lakshimi, Indian goddess of good luck and prosperity, found at Pompeii.

[1] S. James (2001) 187
[2] R. Hingley (2000) 111
[3] N. Terrenato (2001) 5
[4] S. Jones (1997) 33
[5] J. Drinkwater and H. Vertet (1992) 25

Laurence states that 'new-found interest in theory and interpretation has led to a fundamental questioning of the meanings of our evidence and key concepts in the disciplines'.[6] The debate of Romanization is one of these concepts and has brought together people from various disciplines. Initially the debate was a 'healthy and helpful discussion' that caused concepts and issues to be 'newly appreciated in their full complexity'.[7] The debate has now turned from trying to define Romanization to discussion about its validity as a continuing concept.

Opinions on Romanization range from 'an ambiguous concept, referring to a complex phenomenon'[8] to recognition that it is value laden term, but 'still captures the essence of a simple truth: the imposition of political rule by one people over another'.[9] The aim of this essay is to analyse these differing opinions.

Romanization was a term that was first used by Francis Haverfield in the early 20th century. Haverfield's work was heavily influenced by Mommsen, a mid 19th century scholar. Mommsen was a product of his time and saw Rome's unification of Italy as a model for contemporary German unification.[10] Mommsen combined literary evidence with epigraphy and numismatics.[11] Haverfield extended Mommsen's research by including archaeology, it was this influence that led Haverfield to produce his theory of Romanization.

[6] R. Laurence (1998) 1
[7] S.E. Alcock (2001) 227
[8] E. Benelli (2001) 7
[9] E. Benelli (2001) 7
[10] P.W.M. Freeman (1997) 20
[11] P.W.M. Freeman (1997) 45

Terracotta version from Pakistan of the Apollo Belvedere.

Haverfield's Romanization theory was an attempt to use Rome to develop the 'representation of Englishness'.[12] Haverfield states that the 'men of the Empire wrought for the betterment and the happiness of the world', and that this 'formed the ground-work of the best culture today (the British Empire)'.[13] Haverfield's direct and obvious correlation between British and Roman imperialism form the basis of the Romanization debate. Up until the 1990's Haverfield's views were built upon by various scholars such as Collingwood, Rivet, Freres and Millet.[14] These scholars expanded and adapted Haverfield's original work to make it fit in with contemporary ideals and ideas about Rome. The main pattern that they continued from Haverfield is one of progressive history. The Romans were

[12] R. Hingley (2000) 4
[13] F. Haverfield (1915) 11
[14] R. Hingley (2000) 130-42

always seen as the more advanced race socially and culturally — they were civilising 'native' peoples, and the 'natives' were better off with 'Roman' control.

The Romanization debate and its use by English scholars seems to stem from our views on 19th century British imperialism and its place in the modern world. Past and contemporary British scholars may be placed into one of the following categories regarding their views on Romanization:

-Those who see the British Empire as the peak of the British and embrace the parallels that Romanization brings.

-Those who are disgusted by recent British imperialism and see it as the forbearer of problems in the modern world, and so want to discard the term Romanization and the stigma it carries.

-Those who do not want to associate the two because they have a romantic notion of one, but not the other.

-Those who want to use clear, more scientific, terminology when analysing history.

These differing opinions for what Romanization conceptualises have caused a stalemate in the debate about its place in modern scholarship.

This essay has so far focused on British scholarship. Yet Romanization is not just a term for interaction with British cultures, but is used to describe Roman interaction with North West European cultures in general. It is not, however, a term that is used for Roman influence in the East. The West had always been viewed as less 'civilised' compared to the Romans. The Eastern civilisations, in comparison, have been viewed as comparable to the Roman civilisation. This implies that Romanization is used to describe a civilising effect caused by the Romans. Romanization's absence from Eastern scholarship seems to confirm its imperialistic conception, or does it? The term has more recently been used in modern scholarship concerning the unification of Roman Italy.

In Italian scholarship Romanization seems to have found a new life away from the stigma of imperialism. Romanization within Italy is not seen as a civilising mission but as a means 'employed to unite and unify Italy'.[15] It is a process that did not transform cultures but 'reduced differences across a range of disparate phenomena such as elite taste, the organisation of land or political systems'.[16] Is this seemingly more enlightened Italian scholarship indeed that? Or has Italian historiography evolved Romanization into a different product of history? Torelli states that Italian 'Romanization was paradoxically held fast on the reefs of two antinomies:

-The mythical perfection of pre-Roman civilisation brutally wiped out by Rome.

-The mythical national unity achieved by Rome'.[17]

The neutrality of Romanization in Italy seems to be another historical product like British Romanization. The difference is that the neutrality cited in Italian scholarship concerning

[15] P. Bruun (1975) 496
[16] N. Terrenato (2001) 3
[17] M. Torelli (1999) 2

Romanization is still acceptable, but will it remain so in the future?

Are we worrying too much about the origins of a word? Can it be used safely and practically if properly defined? Romanization has found a new home in Italian scholarship, but can it be used safely back in England? Recent work demonstrates that Romanization cannot be left to be defined by historians individually, as the following examples will demonstrate.

Millet, in his book *The Romanization of Britain* (1990), states that Romanization is the synthesis of Roman and native cultural interaction.[18] Unfortunately Millet seems to be unsure of his own interpretation and uses it in many contradictory ways. In the phrase 'The value of a veteran's Romanitas in stimulating native Romanization',[19] what is meant by 'native Romanization'? It implies that a Roman could also be Romanized, which is contrary to his definition.

Burial in Scandinavia with Roman bronze vessel.

Simon Clarke produced an interesting article on Romanization in the hinterlands of Gloucester.[20] The article was a reflective piece of work that did not fall into the trap of traditional linear Romanization views. The problem is that in a seven page article he has to devote one and a half pages to defining and justifying what his view of Romanization means.

One article talks about the 'de-romanization' of Belgic Gaul.[21] De-romanization follows 19th century views that if the Romans left areas that they had 'civilised' the natives would revert back to 'barbarism'. Implied, also, is that the Romans could actually remove their cultural influence at will. De-romanization is a word that does not make sense.

These three examples show that if historians are left to define Romanization for themselves confusion and complications will arise. Interpretations by one scholar can make it difficult for another to understand what he/she is trying to achieve, or scholars themselves are confused by their own definition.

If Romanization is confusing and widely challenged, why has it not been replaced? Indeed Romanization has been compromised, but widespread usage is an insufficient reason for retaining it.[22] The Word Celt was found to be unsuitable and has been widely replaced, so why not Romanization? The main problem is that no one can agree on what should replace it. It seems that in our quest to redefine and understand modern historical terms we have clouded the future for progress towards new definitions and concepts. In fig. 1 I have attempted to separate the concept of Romanization into various separate categories. These categories are not perfect and are broad in themselves, but their aim is to demonstrate that new

[18] M. Millet (1990) 1
[19] M. Millet (1990) 87
[20] S. Clarke (1996) 72
[21] C.C. Haselgrove and C. Scull (1992) 9
[22] S. James (2001) 206

ways of thinking are needed to move forward in our debate on Romanization.

Term	Meaning	Examples in Archaeological record
No Cultural Contact	No contact between two cultures	No proof of contact
Cultural Influence	One culture influences another	Foreign influence detectable in a materials typology
Binary Cultural Influence	Both cultures influence each other	Foreign influence detectable in a materials typology
Cultural Development	One culture is slightly culturally advanced by another	Advancement Ideologically or Materially
Binary Cultural Development	Both cultures are culturally advanced by each other	Advancement Ideologically or Materially
Cultural Transformation	Radical change in one culture	Language revolutionized, Political System changes, Infrastructure reorganized
Binary Cultural Transformation	Radical changes in both cultures	Language revolutionized, Political System changes, Infrastructure reorganized
Cultural Unity	The point at which two cultures become indistinguishable	No archaeological difference between the two cultures

Fig 1. Possible new categories into which the term Romanization could be divided.

Unfortunately all fig. 1 demonstrates is that trying to redefine Romanization into separate categories is itself an issue. The categories cited do not show the range and complexities of the individual processes. The word 'cultural' is also a problem as Romanization and culture are generally only associated in the late imperial period. If Romanization cannot be separated out into different categories, how can we redefine it, and what will a redefinition achieve if new definitions will always be looked on with suspicion?

Some scholars have attempted to leave the Romanization debate behind and concentrate on the future, but what have they achieved? And does Romanization have a future in their research? As early as 1975 new aspects of looking at Romanization emerged, away from the traditional schools of thought. Paavo Hahti attempted to analyse Romanization through the eyes of an Etruscan.[23] The main problems with this method were that it created a very elitist model and most evidence was gained using ancient historical sources. Using ancient sources in this context is liable to cause distortion because the literary evidence is primarily from Roman authors and native characters are only incidental to the main purpose of their narratives.[24]

More recently Barrett tried to deconstruct our notions of 'Roman' and 'native'.[25] The article is interesting because it compels us to question not only how we perceive Romanization, but

[23] P. Hahti (1975) 405
[24] P. Bruun (1975) 441
[25] J.C. Barrett (1997) 60

also how we perceive the entire construct of history.

History, at present, is generally viewed as one event or period followed by another. Areas that involve the transition between two periods, such as Romanization, cause problems. Specialists generally specialise in one period or another. For example Romanists see the end of Roman Britain in AD 410 but Anglo-Saxon scholars prefer the date AD 450, leaving a 40 year gap between disciplines.[26] There is a need for specialisation in these transitional periods so that the subjects can be examined in a neutral way and not from one cultural viewpoint.

For the study of cultural contact to move forward, with or without Romanization, several areas need to be addressed. Cultures need to be analysed as separate entities, but not always as two opposing cultures. We need to move away from looking at cultural contact as progressive — some contacts could produce a negative reaction. People of all disciplines, whether ancient historians, classicists, archaeologists, Romanists or pre-historians, need to work together. I am not suggesting that all disciplines have been separate in the past but that the whole subject of Romanization needs looking at and not just specialised areas.

The term Romanization is not an obsolete one. It is, however, likely that it will become less frequently used. The term has been, and will continue to be, viewed with scepticism. Its place in historiography as an imperialistic reference is assured, but whether it will be viewed as a developed concept that moved away from its imperialistic origins is uncertain.

The progressive ideology on which Romanization was initially based has seen the word being used as a scapegoat for a variety of issues on how we should analyse history. Romanization is part of a much bigger debate on how we should use terms, concepts, paradigms, and models in our writing, recording and analysing of history.

If the term Romanization was to stop being used in analytical history we certainly would not be at a loss for words to replace it, yet these are likely to be more specialised terms for each aspect of Romanization. Why do we then continue to use Romanization? It seems that the debate has become a victim of its own success. The Romanization argument is only one aspect of much broader issues that need consideration. Issues such as the attempt to understand our own period in history, how scholars define themselves within our own time, and how our own terms and concepts will be perceived in 50 years' time. All these issues have led to a more structured and scientific approach to history. We seem to have lost sight that history is always going to be analysed in different ways, using different approaches and with contrasting views. We need to concentrate in writing the best history we can for our generation and not try to write perfect history that will stand the test of time.

James Young is a second year undergraduate, reading Ancient History and Archaeology

[26] K. Hunter-Mann (1993) 67

Silver cup from a grave in Scandinavia.

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Dissertations completed for Higher degrees in the year 2002-3.

<u>*M.A. in Roman Myth and History*</u>:
-*Karen Bradshaw*, '*Scaevos iste Romulus*: An Analysis of the Hostile Myths Relating to the Life of Romulus.
-*Galadriel Conway*: '*Corialanus*: The Vengeful Boy and the City of Voices: A Textual Analysis of Shakespeare and Plutarch.'
-*Nicholas Cotton*: 'The Image of Caesar in the *De Bello Gallico*.'

<u>*M.A. in Hellenistic Culture*</u>:
-*Angharad Dowling*: 'What can we do with Death?: A Case Study in Death and Burial in the Hellenistic East.'
-*Owen Hodkinson*: 'Sophists in Disguise: Rival Traditions and Conflicts of Intellectual Authority in Philostratus' *Heroicus*.'
-*Tiffany Luxton*: 'Appolonius' Jason in his Ptolemaic Context.'
-*Tom Mansfield*: 'A study of Herodas' Characterisation of Women, Slaves and the Social Troubles they Reveal within the *Mimiamboi*.'
-*Loveday Matthews*: 'How do Medical Approaches towards Nutrition Place Humans in the Natural, Social and Cultural Order, with particular reference to Galen.'
-*John O'Callaghan*: 'Four Battles in Hellensistic Anatolia: the Influence of Topography and Local Politics upon Military Campaigns.'

<u>*Doctor of Philosophy:*</u>

-*Eleanor O'Kell*: 'Practising Politics in Sophocles.'

The Postgraduate Experience→

An Interview with Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones on Oliver Stone's 'Alexander'

Owain Bale

Dr. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones is an Admissions Tutor at Exeter University.

How did you become involved with the making of Alexander*? And what was your role?*

Two things lead to my involvement with the film. Firstly, I had a book published of which I was the editor, namely *Women's Dress in the Ancient World*, and had been giving seminars on the subject. I was also involved with a Channel 4 production on ancient Persia and Iran.

Later two people approached me from the same film for separate reasons: notably to consult on the wardrobe and on Persia.

It was around this time that Mel Gibson's company had planned to do a twelve-part television series on Alexander the Great. I was also involved with this, but sadly the adventure fell through.Originally my role was simply that of a historical consultant, but this increased to take in all aspects of the way the film looked. I also had some considerable input on how scenes should be 'peopled' or dressed with extras — guards, harem, women — the kind of things that give a film visual depth and authenticity.

What can you tell us about this version of the film? How does it differ, say, from the original Richard Burton version?

Well, this has been a project of Oliver Stone's for around ten years now. Stone worked closely with Robin Lane-Fox who, being an expert on Alexander the Great, had a terrific influence on the director. Such that this version is much more historically accurate than the Burton film.

The film begins with Alexander's death in Babylonia and from there the story of his life is told in flashbacks, though not in a chronological order. The film is a much different one to that of the 1956 *Alexander* (Burton's film), which covered his battles, and the progression of his empire. In fact there are only two battle scenes: Guagamela and the India King. It is a film that deals with Alexander's politics, love affairs and marriages, with a particular emphasis on the Persian court.

Collin Farrell plays Alexander the Great

What problems, if any, did you encounter during the filming? Did the directors and producers want to go in an opposite direction from the history?

There was a problem with the original way the costumes were being designed

and made, to such an extent that the designer had to be replaced by someone more experienced and who had more accurate views about ancient dress. To give an example of how the costumes were originally looking, the wedding dress worn by Roxane (Alexander's bride) looked as though it had come out of *Xena*!

I did have to sit down with some of the actors to explain how to move in the costume and the characterisation of their part etc. Another thing was that I had to go over set designs etc. with Stone to make sure they were accurate enough.

We know that Colin Farrell plays the title role of Alexander; do you know how he and the other actors approached their characters?

When I first met Farrell, he didn't seem to be particularly interested in getting to know his role really well, although he immersed himself in the history books as we got nearer to the shoot. Brian Blessed (who had to be removed from the film due to injury) knew a lot and really took to his role in his typical fashion.

Alexander's harem

How do you think the film will compare with the other Alexander, *and the very much-anticipated* Troy*?*

Personally, I feel that it will be much more accurate and gritty than the other version that is going to be released. Moreover, it doesn't shy away from some important home-truths about Alexander: Stone decided to keep the homosexual element of Alexander's life in his film. In fact, his love affairs with men are central to the story – quite a move for a mainstream Hollywood movie.

In comparison to *Troy*, though... *Troy* is going to be a fantasy movie; it will have a completely different feel to it, although from what I've seen and heard it looks as though it is going to be quite authentic.

On the subject of Troy, *there are synopses on the internet about how the real reason for Achilles' rage is that one of his slave girls is captured. Of course, we all know that this is not the case in the* Iliad*: so do you feel that* Alexander *will be a more historically accurate film?*

It's typical for directors to remove or converge events — after all, it is a free adaption of the *Iliad*, not a seminar paper on the Homeric plot. But I feel that to tell the real story is much better than to 'twist' it. This is what Stone thankfully has done with this film.

When Gladiator *was released it was a massive hit. Do you think this was in part due to the setting in the ancient world, and do you believe that this will also be true of* Alexander*?*

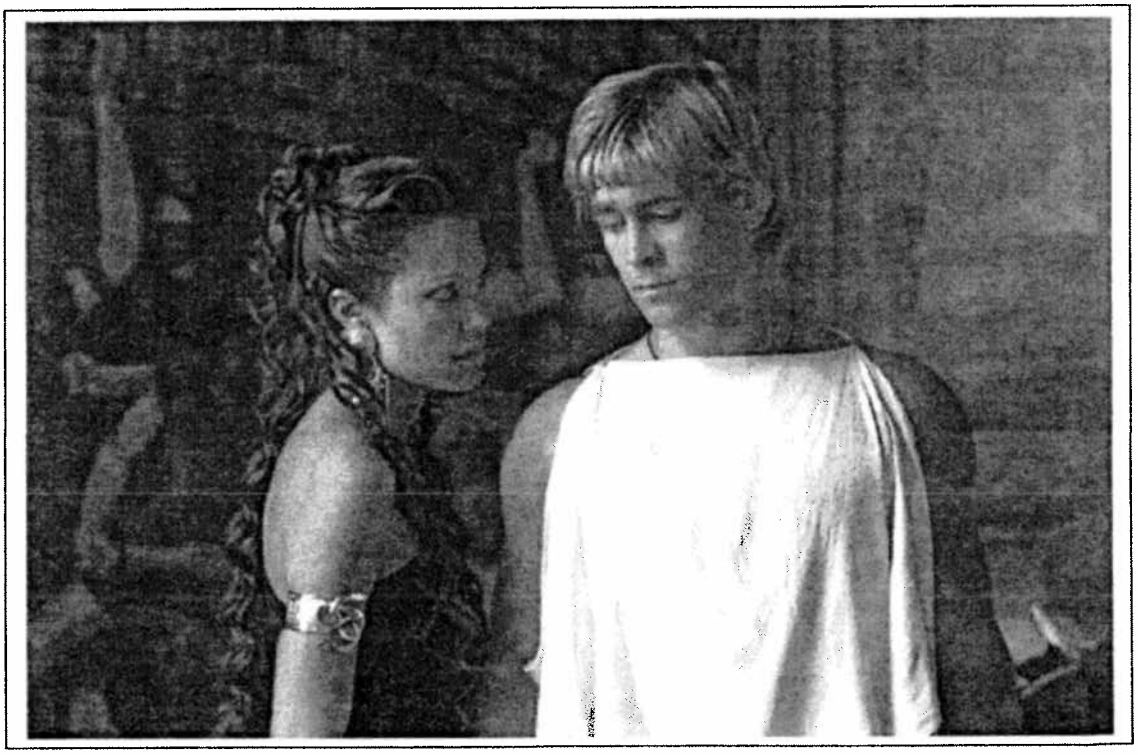
I think it is slightly different. With *Alexander*, everyone has heard of him but no-one truly knows why they have; they will be thinking "What is it that makes Alexander 'great'?", and they'll go to see this film to find out. Not only that but it has always been vogue to make biopic films of individuals from antiquity — we only have to recall *Cleopatra* and *Spartacus* for that.

There have been articles in newspapers and magazines reporting how, with the Harry Potter phenomenon (especially in the US), there has been a resurgence of people, both young and old, wishing to study Latin. What do you think the effect that these future films on classical subjects will have on the public and the subject of Classics as a whole?

I think that it is an inevitable effect of this kind of exposure that the public becomes interested in the genre — Harry Potter being one of the best examples. And certainly, if these films make people think seriously about getting into the Classical world, then that is great for our subject.
I think Classics Departments across the world could have no better promotion for our subject than to have free marketing via these forthcoming films.

And finally, when can we expect to see Alexander *released?*

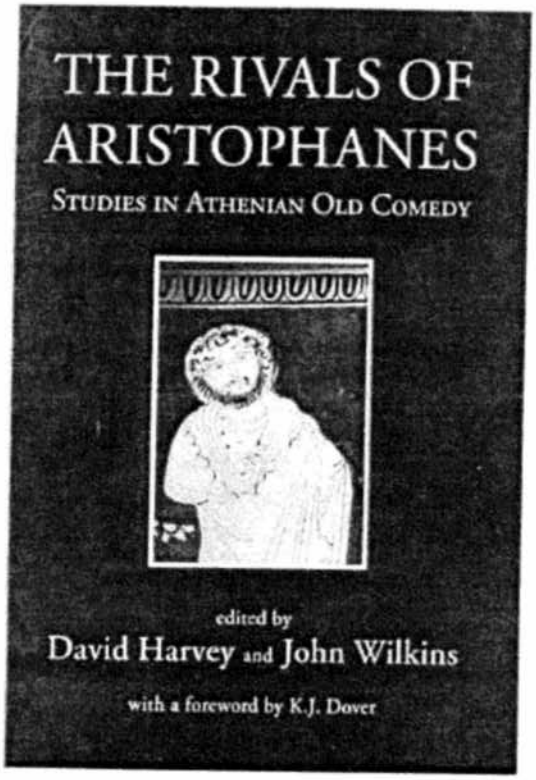
It should come out on December 24, 2004. Expect to see me in a DJ on the red carpet in Leicester Square...



Olympias (Angelina Jolie) casts an imposing glance upon her son Alexander

The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy, edited by David Harvey and John Wilkins, with a prelude by Kenneth Dover; pp. xx, 556, with Biographical Appendix and General Bibliography. Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales, 2000.

Reviewed by Nan Dunbar, Somerville College, Oxford



Most of the two dozen or so comic poets known to have competed in the Athenian dramatic contests during Aristophanes' career survive only in titles and perhaps dates of plays, in many cases, plus a scattering of quotations and references, nearly always brief, in later Greek grammarians and historians. More fortunate are Cratinus and Eupolis, who along with Aristophanes were in antiquity the triad of Great Comic Poets: some substantial papyrus fragments have survived of the text and ancient commentary on two or three of their plays, revealing important facts and raising unanswered questions. When it was first proposed to hold an international conference in London in 1996 on Aristophanes' rivals, elderly sceptics, including the reviewer, could be heard muttering "making bricks without straw." The event itself confounded us doubters; an international gathering of those active in many different aspects of Old Comedy produced a series of papers demonstrating that despite the sadly fragmentary remains of all the rivals — we cannot safely reconstruct any entire plot — a surprising amount of interesting and important light can be convincingly shed on the dramatic aspects of several lost plays, and on the predominant interests of several poets.

Of the 28 chapters in this large and splendid volume, all but four are based on papers presented to the conference; four more chapters were commissioned later from other scholars. Exeter University's classicists are strongly represented: David Harvey, whose wife Hazel was treasurer of both conference and publication, and John Wilkins not only organised the conference but have edited the volume with impressive thoroughness, and also contributed papers: Harvey is entertainingly persuasive on Phrynicus' *Muses* (ch. 7), and with an editor's intervention in ch. 17 (Bernhard Zimmerman on lyric in the fragments) he refutes on legal grounds Kaibel's identification, accepted by Zimmerman, of the chorus in Hermippus' *Stratiotai* (or *-ides*) as effeminate Athenians now returning to Attica from an absence to avoid military service (they'd have been disenfranchised if so); Wilkins with 'Edible Choruses' (ch. 21) develops his

earlier researches in Greek eating habits as dramatically exploited in comedy. David Braund, starting from the two meagre fragments quoted for Strattis' *Kallipides*, judiciously speculates on how they might connect with ancient anecdotes about this pompous tragic actor.

The dangers of trying to deduce anything about the plot or dramatic technique of lost comedies are entertainingly demonstrated in a cautionary prelude, "Frogments" (*sic*), by the *doyen* of Old Comedy studies, Sir Kenneth Dover, who was unable to take part in the conference. Fifteen 'fragments' from *Frogs*, of the kind that ancient scholars quote from plays now lost, illustrate how e.g. the title would immediately produce a mistaken idea of the chorus's identity. But in what follows in the book, as at the conference before it, the prevailing tone is vigorous yet cautious. Inevitably much attention is focussed on the two poets of whom most survives, Cratinus, Aristophanes' older rival, and Eupolis, his exact contemporary and most formidable competitor.

Several chapters are devoted to various aspects of Eupolis' *Demoi*, for which substantial papyrus fragments (fr. 99 in Kassel – Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* Vol. V), first published in 1911, reveal some major dramatic features and have kept scholars arguing over details ever since. The Eupolis specialist Ian Storey (chs. 11 & 12) discusses the dating problem, interpretation of the fragments, whether the four dead statesmen were fetched up by a katabasis, like Aeschylus in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, or conjured up by necromancy; Thomas Braun (ch. 13) considers at generous length why the great Themistocles was excluded from the four, but not the controversial Pericles; Alan Sommerstein examines (ch. 26) how *Demoi* relates to the development of the demagogue play, examining also Eupolis' *Marikas*, attacking Hyperbolus, for which papyrus fragments of an ancient commentary (fr. 192 K-A) tantalizingly reveal two opposed semi-choruses, like *Lysistrata*, of rich and poor men; Ian Ruffell contributes the final chapter (28), an excellent and wide-ranging study of the developments in the handling of the utopia theme by several (more or less) lost comic poets, discussing *Demoi* and Cratinus' *Ploutoi*, another comedy for which papyri now give us some idea of how the utopia theme fitted into the play.

Aristophanes himself in some parabases says things about other comic poets, particularly Cratinus and Eupolis; but in a highly competitive situation, where rhetorical exaggeration and sheer misrepresentation are sometimes certain and were probably part of the game, it would be rash to believe anything he says. Wolfgang Luppe in ch. 2 and Ralph M. Rosen in ch. 3 deal with the notoriously patronising picture of Cratinus in *Knights* (536-36), contrasting his former vigour (like a mighty torrent) and great success with his present pitiful state as a hopelessly decrepit old drunk pouring out dramatic drivel — a pathetic picture triumphantly refuted by Cratinus the next year when *Clouds* was beaten by his clearly uproarious *Pytine* (*Wineflask*), a play with sadly few fragments, but from the scholia on the *Knights* parabasis we know that Cratinus himself was the main character, caught in a domestic tug of war between his wife Comedy and his mistress Methe

(Intoxication). They disagree on whether the description of Cratinus' earlier career is wholly positive (Luppe) or obviously critical (Rosen), but neither of them brings out the humorous contrast in Aristophanes' criticism of the audience: the earlier comic poets Magnes and Crates had their careers ended when the ungrateful audience withdrew its favour, but the same audience's ingratitude to Cratinus consists in their pitilessly *failing to end* his senile drivelling when he deserves to be enjoying an honourable retirement as a member of the audience (*mê lêrein alla theasthai* / "be a spectator instead of talking rubbish!", 536).

A possible new addition to the list of comic rivals is discussed but finally dismissed by Douglas Olson in ch. 5, 'We didn't know whether to laugh or cry.' Karkinos, mentioned with contempt as father and employer of dancers at *Peace* 782-95, is usually seen as a tragedian (totally lost), as the scholia on the passage say, but in 1994 K.S. Rothwell argued that he was a comic poet. Rothwell noted that in the same scholia on Peace 795 we are told that the Karkinos play "throttled by a weasel [*galê*, the Greek equivalent of a household cat] last night" had the (surely comic) title *Mice*, and that the polemical context suggests that Aristophanes saw Karkinos as a rival comedian. Olson rightly retorts that the alleged title *Mice* looks like a typical scholiastic invention — it's mice that weasels kill — overlooking the incompatibility with the earlier description of Karkinos as a tragic poet; also that composing tragedies or comedies, but never both, was clearly traditional in certain Athenian families: e.g. Aeschylus' two sons and nephew, Sophocles' son and grandson were all tragedians, Aristophanes' three sons all comic poets. Since Karkinos' son Xenokles is known as a tragedian and perhaps his grandson as well, almost certainly Karkinos was a tragedian too — but still a rival of Aristophanes for audience favour, along with the other tragic poets, including Sophocles, receiving hostile mention in *Peace*.

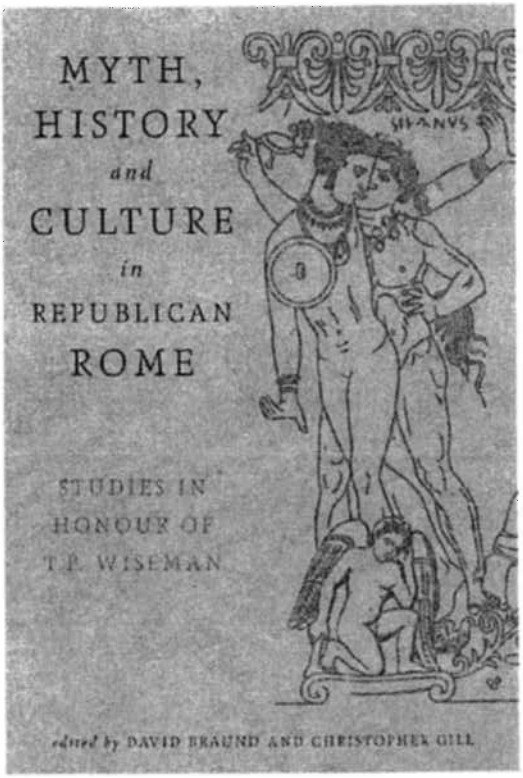
An impressively wide range of aspects is covered. Specifically literary investigation is found in e.g. Michael Silk's study (ch. 19) of what can be said on the relation of Aristophanes' comic poetry to (what remains of) his rivals, concluding that no rival shows Aristophanes' creative occupation with tragedy. Social themes are expertly handled by e.g. Nick Fisher on symposiasts, fish-eaters and flatterers (ch. 22), and Christopher Carey on Old Comedy and the Sophists (ch. 25), also Ian Ruffell on utopias (see above). The bibliographical material that ends the book, including Ian Storey's

characteristically thorough alphabetical lists of discussions published since 1970 and (hurrah!) Tom Holt's Eupolis 'autobiography', will be invaluable for further work in the field.

Altogether we have a book rich in content, handsomely presented and generously illustrated — the admirable line-drawings of terracotta comic actors by Myfawny Tristram deserve a special mention. The proof-readers have done a splendid job, with virtually no misprints.

Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honour of T.P.Wiseman, edited by David Braund and Christopher Gill, pp.366, University of Exeter Press, 2003.

Reviewed by Sander M. Goldberg, University of California, Los Angeles.
(Reprinted with the kind permission of the author and the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*)



"Even after Augustus left the city of Rome clad in marble, a stray dog could still find a severed hand in one of its streets."
That gem of a detail, though tucked discreetly into a footnote (p. 4 n. 8, citing Suet. Vesp. 5.4), seems to stick with almost every reader of *Catullus and his World*. And rightly so: it is a particularly graphic example of Peter Wiseman's special gift for seeing Rome as a real place and bringing it to life for his readers, too. He has been doing this since the 1960s by calmly and productively ignoring the traditional barriers between historical and literary studies, and as our discipline now increasingly strives to do the same, his work seems fresher and more challenging with every passing year.

Some acknowledgement of that phenomenon was certainly in order, and in March 2000 the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter took the occasion of his sixtieth birthday to organize a conference, "Myth, History and Performance: A Celebration of the Work of T. P. Wiseman." The present volume captures the good-natured immediacy of that occasion in an Introduction (David Braund and Christopher Gill), an Appreciation (Elaine Fantham), and an Autobiographical Note by T.P.W. (who also supplied a bibliography of his work

to 2002), but the thirteen essays at its core make a serious claim to lasting attention. These are:

1. Nicholas Purcell, "Becoming Historical: The Roman Case" (12-40).

This provocative and perceptive inquiry into the nature of historical consciousness moves from general observations about the nature of Greek *historikê* to the development of a specifically Roman historical sense, which Purcell traces back as early as the fifth century. It was, he suggests, not a primarily literary development, nor was the Roman historiographic tradition simply a gift of Greece.

2. Filippo Coarelli, "Remoria" (41-55).

In *Remus* (114-17), Wiseman identified the Remoria with the Sacred Mount. Coarelli suggests instead the so-called Colle di Piche ("Magpie Hill"), south of the city near the fifth milestone on the via Campana, and argues that location on the boundary of the archaic ager Romanus leads to a series of identifications of Remus with the Roman countryside and Romulus with its urban core.

3. Michael Crawford, "Land and People in Republican Italy" (56-72).

Crawford argues from the location of certain rural sanctuaries and hill-forts and the evidence of sixth-century weight-standards that archaic settlements in Appennine Italy centered not on river basins but on summer pastures in the high mountains, a pattern both pre-Roman and un-Greek.

4. Tim Cornell, "Coriolanus: Myth, History and Performance" (73-97).

This article identifies the main elements of the Coriolanus legend and argues for their compatibility with what we know from other sources about aristocratic society in central Italy around 500 B.C. Cornell traces the development and survival of such a story to the kind of pre-literary activity — ballad, epic, or play — to which Peter Wiseman has recently been calling attention.

5. Elaine Fantham, "Pacuvius: Melodrama, Reversals and Recognitions" (98-118).

Concentrating on plays with significant recognitions (Atalanta, Medus, Iliona, Chryses) enables Fantham to identify some significant traits of stage action and style in Pacuvian tragedy. She then uses these 'sound-bites' to make more general suggestions about the Roman taste in tragedy and the genre's place in the *ludi scaenici*.

6. James Zetzel, "Plato with Pillows: Cicero on the Uses of Greek Culture" (119-38).

Zetzel's sensitivity to the nuances of Cicero's frame in *De Oratore* leads him to reconsider the nature and degree of Cicero's acceptance of Greek culture. Further evidence drawn from the *Pro Archia* and *Fourth Verrine* supports the idea that Cicero was rather more guarded and utilitarian in his use of Greek learning than is often thought: "Cicero's pillows cushion Rome from the naked irrelevance of Greek theorists" (135).

(Incidentally, the fact of Crassus' benches is at least as revealing a detail as his cushions. It is extremely difficult, as I can report from personal experience, to sit on the ground when wearing a toga and virtually impossible to get up again

without grievous loss of dignity. A Roman would probably have taken his toga off before making the attempt, clearly an ideological impossibility for the discussants of *De Oratore*.)

7. Susan Treggiari, "Ancestral Virtues and Vices: Cicero on Nature, Nurture and Presentation" (139-64).

Virtue had a pedigree at Rome. The specific virtues (or lack of them) in individuals were thought to be traceable to the moral characteristics of their families. Treggiari collects a wide array of material from Cicero's writings that bear on this ancient version of the nature vs. nurture debate, which Cicero and his contemporaries exploited for political as well as social advantage.

8. Francis Cairns, "Catullus in and about Bithynia: Poems 68, 10, 28 and 47" (165-90).

Cairns weaves a complex web of literary, archaeological, and historical arguments to make a series of points about poems reflecting Catullus' personal interests in Bithynia. He posits the exploitation of Protesilaus' tomb at Troy as the link among the seemingly disparate themes of poem 68 and argues that Catullus is genuinely hostile to Memmius in 10 (with 28 and 47), and that Plotius Tucca is the "Porcius" of 47.

9. A. J. Woodman, "Poems to Historians: Catullus 1 and Horace *Odes* 2.1"(191-216).

Woodman's close reading of the two poems of his title treats them as responses to the work of the historians addressed, Cornelius Nepos and Asinius Pollio. He examines with appropriate brevity the "Callimachean" qualities of Nepos' history and then more fully the echoes of Pollio's themes in Horace's poem. This leads to observations about Pollio's history of the Civil War and, through appreciation of Horace's deliberate distancing of poetry from history, to a broader consideration of generic distinctions in the later first century.

10. Mario Torelli, "The Frescoes of the Great Hall of the Villa at Boscoreale: Iconography and Politics" (217-56).

Torelli offers not simply a masterful analysis of these famous frescoes in all their complexity — his refusal to privilege one or another allegorical reading is itself significant — but makes an important statement about the interpretative process itself by making the layout of the building, the perspective of the viewer, the changing significance of the subjects in Hellenistic and Roman contexts, and the taste and social status of the villa's owner integral parts of the argument. Modest but well chosen black-and-white photographs and drawings make this necessarily complex argument a pleasure to follow.

11. Erich Gruen, "Cleopatra in Rome: Facts and Fantasies" (257-74).

Gruen is hardly the first to challenge the historicity of Elizabeth Taylor's Cleopatra, but he makes important new suggestions about her ancient prototype. Business brought Cleopatra to Rome in 46, and she left in timely fashion. It was a second visit, again essentially diplomatic in nature, that was ended so hurriedly by Caesar's death. The facts, at least when read Gruen's way, become even more remarkable than the familiar fantasies.

12. Karl Galinsky, "Greek and Roman Drama and the *Aeneid*" (275-94).

The dramatic focus here is on fifth-century Athens. Galinsky examines the epic's tragic sense as a response to Homer that was shaped by the experience of Athenian tragedy. He illustrates the point through discussion of *Aeneid* 9 (Nisus and Euryalus) and 12 (the death of Turnus). The influence of Roman drama on Vergil's sense of tragedy is much more briefly treated.

13. Edward Champlin, "Agamemnon at Rome: Roman Dynasts and Greek Heroes" (295-319).

Why Pompey would risk identifying himself with Agamemnon or Octavian (or Nero) with Orestes raises interesting questions about the shaping of Roman public images and the Romans' ability to compartmentalize their readings of the legendary past. The problem has not received all the attention it deserves, and Champlin takes an important step in advancing what may well become a rich line of inquiry.

Each of these essays is self-contained, with its own footnotes and bibliography. (Composite indices of topics and ancient passages cited appear at the back.) Some individual essays complement each other particularly well. Cornell, for example, provides a case study of the process outlined more abstractly by Purcell. Roman elements missing from Galinsky can be inferred from Fantham. Topographical evidence figures prominently, and yet differently, in the arguments of Coarelli and Crawford, and there is more than coincidence to the fact that Zetzel ends and Treggiari begins with the invocation of Edmund Burke. Other connections can and will be made, as readers identify their own favorites and make their own associations. My little glosses above, as readers will soon discover, hardly do justice to the rich content of this book.

A different kind of complementary process also deserves mention. Special effort was made to relate these pieces to Peter Wiseman's particular interests and insights, and the recurring references to Roman topography, social history, historiography, and performance practice mark the editors' success in that regard. Another less obvious connection is also significant. What makes Peter Wiseman such a striking figure in Roman studies is his extraordinarily felicitous combination of empiricism and imagination, which he invariably presents in clear, vigorous prose that never risks being misunderstood. Precisely because the Romans' world was not ours, its reconstruction demands firm foundations in the evidence and frank acknowledgment of its limitations. The essays here work on similar principles. They are solidly, sometimes even aggressively empirical, evidence-driven rather than theory-driven. Their presentation is unabashedly straightforward. This is not the kind of scholarship that recuperates or inscribes, embeds or elides, problematizes, occludes, or interrogates. Some of these essays are nevertheless quite radical in their implications. Many are provocative. All are valuable. It is good to be reminded that so many different roads can lead us back to the Romans ... a fact that Peter Wiseman of course knows as well as anyone.

A Knight to Remember

In lieu of the Jackson Knight Lecture itself of 2004, delivered by Mary Beard, which will appear in the next issue of Pegasus, a former student kindly fills us in on some of the details of the history behind the lectures.

I met JK in 1964 during my first year at the university, having been emboldened to write to him because my Classics Master (are you reading this, Keith?) was a mutual friend. I received a delightful postcard (which I still have!) from Caroline House inviting me round on the next Monday evening. I remember following the pungent smell of his herbal tobacco as we walked round the house and garden. I remember being shown a room the whole floor of which was covered in correspondence neatly laid out in some carefully organised order. Although I cannot recall the details of our conversation, there must have been a good deal of laughter because he told me I laughed just like Prince Charles (or was it Philip?!). I left feeling astonished at how this internationally renowned scholar had given up his time for a humble first year student.

By the time two years had elapsed JK had passed away and I was President of the Classical (sic) Society. A decision was made to set up the Memorial Lectures and Fred Clayton called me in to discuss a letter which would be sent out over my name requesting donations to finance such lectures. It was felt that an appeal from a member of the student body might be — well, more appealing.

The next step of course was to compile a list of names and addresses of people to whom this letter could be sent. Part of this process involved my spending a fascinating evening with Wilson Knight going through his brother's address book which was a reflection of that carpet of correspondence I had seen at first hand: friends and acquaintances – including the great and the good in the world of scholarship – spread over several continents. Wilson Knight proved to be as kindly and generous as his brother and as I eventually stepped out of the front door into the darkness, he looked up at the stars and pronounced, "I am certain that my brother is looking down on your good work and thanking you." I politely agreed that I was sure he was.

One small irony followed later from the decision to send out the appeal over the name of someone from the student body. Replies and donations were naturally sent to me and a good many of the contributors, assuming that a President of the Classical Society must be someone of considerable importance and distinction (as indeed he/she is), played safe by addressing their replies to Prof. R. Lett. Seldom can an undergrad's ego have been more delightfully massaged than mine was by my involvement in this project.

Seriously though, folks, it is something which I feel proud to have been associated with and am delighted that the lectures are still going strong after all these years. I am sure that JK continues to look down on you all with a profound sense of gratitude and that his memory is being kept alive in this way for succeeding generations of Classics students. Best wishes to you all, and good luck with the Classics Society.

From Roy A.Lett, M.A.
President of the Classical Society 1966-67
President of Mardon Hall 1965-66

Readers of the previous issue of *Pegasus* (inside back cover) may be glad to hear that after a temporary hiatus in activity, the Classics Society is up and running at full swing. Numerous events have been held throughout the course of the academic year, including film nights, dinners and drinks at various locations in town and on campus, providing pleasant and informal occasions for Classics and Ancient History students to get together.