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Departmental News

During 2005-6, the Department of Classics and Ancient History, and our sister department of Theology were both absorbed into the larger School of Humanities and Social Science (HuSS). The transition has been relatively painless, Classics and Ancient History has gradually adapted to the procedures of the new school, and the process has culminated in the physical move of academic and support staff from their former offices, spread across five floors of the Queen's Building, to compact but extensive quarters on floors 2 and 3 of the Amory Building. Busts of Hermes and Aphrodite now welcome visitors to classical territory, where all our offices are located. One important gain in space is a set of offices to accommodate the increasing number of postgraduate research students who are regularly involved in teaching at undergraduate level.

The move to the new school has already brought some tangible benefits: increased personal research allowances for staff and postgraduate students, ready assistance from the support staff team of the expanded school, and a clear sense of wider opportunities, for staff and especially for postgraduate students. At the same time we have retained, I think, our own identity and *esprit de corps*. Claire Turner and Kerensa Pearson ensure that our business runs efficiently and humanely, and we are confident that we can transmit some of our virtues to our new colleagues in the wider school.

There have been new additions to the staff this year. Dr Peter van Nuffelen, currently post-doctoral research fellow on the AHRC-funded Pagan Monotheism project, has been appointed proleptically to a lectureship in Roman History, to take effect from September 2007. Dr Lieve van Hoof, who completed her PhD in Leuven in May 2005, takes a two-year lectureship in Classics, covering the remaining period of Richard Seaford's Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship. Dr Martin Pitts, whose PhD was in the archaeology department at the University of York, has succeeded Dr Verity Platt in an RCUK fellowship, which will lead to a permanent position in the department. Our best wishes go to Verity who has crossed the Atlantic to take up a position in the University of Chicago.

Congratulations also to those students who successfully completed their PhDs in 2005 and 2006:

Paul CURTIS, A Commentary on the *Geryoneis* of Stesichorus.
Kate GURNEY, Divine Supervisors: The deified virtues in Roman religious thought.
Eleanor COWAN, Contemporary perspectives of the *Res Publica* Augustus to Tiberius.
Susan UGURLU, Art and Culture in Phrygian Ankara.
Vassilis VASSILIU, The representation of women, warfare and power in Greek historiography from the fourth to the first century BC.

Exeter hosted two major conferences in 2006. In March the postgraduates organised the National Postgraduate Conference in Ancient History (AMPAH); in July Peter van Nuffelen and Stephen Mitchell staged a conference as part of the Pagan Monotheism project.

Stephen Mitchell,
Head of Department.

Staff Research News

Martin Dinter

Martin Dinter teaches Latin at Exeter and works on Roman Epic, Epigram and Drama. He is currently finishing a book on Lucan and writing a series of articles on epitaphic gestures in Latin literature.

Christopher Gill

I have published this year *The Structured Self in Hellenistic and Roman Thought* (Oxford University Press, 2006) and am continuing with my research on medical and philosophical thought in the second century AD, centred on Galen and his response to stoicism.

Elena Isayev

Recently, I have been co-directing the Migrations Network at Exeter. I am also actively engaged in archaeological fieldwork, with excavations in Italy and currently Kazakhstan.

Lynette Mitchell

Lynette Mitchell has recently completed her book on Panhellenism in archaic and classical Greece, which will be published by the Classical Press of Wales in the New Year. As part of this project, she also has an article coming out in the next volume of Greece and Rome on 'Greeks, barbarians and Aeschylus' *Suppliants*', and has submitted an article to *CQ* on Panhellenism in Herodotus. Other recent publications have developed an interest in Greek political theory, and she is currently preparing an article on Thucydides, political theory, and monarchy.

Stephen Mitchell

Two major projects were brought safely to publication in 2005-6. As editor and contributor, in collaboration with Dr Constantine Katsari (now lecturer in Ancient History, University of Leicester), I completed the publication of a conference held in Exeter in 2003: *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor* (Classical Press of Wales 2005). In August 2006 my *History of the Later Roman Empire AD284-641. The Transformation of the Ancient World* appeared in the Blackwell history of the Ancient World series. Field research took me, as usual, to Turkey, where I am working on a corpus of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara. An absolute highlight was to be one of a team of three epigraphers to make the first direct copy, from the stone, of the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, 'the queen of Roman inscriptions', which is carved on the walls of the imperial temple at Ankara.

Peter van Nuffelen

My main research activity at the moment is the pagan monotheism conference. This includes co-organising the conference (17-20 July) and editing the proceedings, and writing my own book, with the provisional title *Images of Truth, Philosophy, Pagan Monotheism, and Religion in the Roman Empire (1-2 century AD)*. Several related articles are also on the way.

I equally continue my interest in Late Antique history and historiography, with several conference papers and articles forthcoming, ranging from panegyric to Procopius. I am also associated with the project *Patristics and Catholic Social Thought* (University of Leuven, Belgium) and the project *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Chronicles* (Copenhagen, Denmark).

Daniel Ogden

I am completing a monograph on Lucian's *Philopseudes*, original home of the Sorcerer's Apprentice story, and I am completing the editing of Blackwell's Companion to Greek Religion (27 chapters by relevant luminaries). I am writing pieces for various destinations on (a) marrying courtesans in the Macedonian court; (b) the sex life of Alexander the Great; (c) the dynastic foundation narratives of the Macedonian and Hellenistic dynasties; and (d) the tyrant Periander.

Paul Scade

My thesis research on the relationship between Plato and Stoicism is drawing to an end. Hopefully the prediction 'It will all be over by Christmas' will come true for once. Parts of the thesis are currently being polished for publication in the Bulletin of the ICS and I hope to extract a number of other articles (or a monograph) from the remainder. For my next project, I am looking at the influential American philosopher Leo Strauss and his very interesting and controversial approach to ancient philosophy.

Richard Seaford

2006 saw the publication of my book *Dionysus* (Routledge: in the series Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World) as well as several papers on Greek tragedy. I have now finished the first year of a three-year Leverhulme Fellowship, attempting to produce a new account of Aeschylus that is historical in a broad sense.

Tim Whitmarsh

Tim Whitmarsh is finishing off some work on Greek prose fiction: he is writing a book called *Reading the Self in the Ancient Greek Novel* and editing *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*. His next plan is to work on fiction as a cultural crossing point between Greece and the East, particularly the Arabic, Hebrew/ Phoenician and Persian traditions.

John Wilkins

I have been continuing work on my edition of Galen's key treatise on nutrition, the oldest witness of which is a palimpsest of 500AD. This technical work has been supplemented with editing the papers of the *Galen in his Intellectual World* conference (held in Exeter 2005) with Chris Gill and Tim Whitmarsh. I have also brought out *Food in the Ancient World* (Blackwell) in January 2006, with introductions by my chef colleague Shaun Hill.

Peter Wiseman

Some of the questions that preoccupy me at the moment are:

(1) Where was the altar of the temple of victory in Rome?
(2) Why does Velleius Paterculus' history of Rome use a dating-era that begins with the apotheosis of Hercules?
(3) What exactly is proud Venus doing in the month of June (Martial 3.68.8), and why isn't it in the Roman calendar?
(4) Why did the Roman people think in AD19 that they were in the 900th year of Rome?
(5) What did Varro mean when he wrote that Rome was founded 'at the balancing point'?

Any suggestions welcome...

Matthew Wright

This year I have published articles on Cratinus, Sophocles, and Euripides. In the ever tinier gaps between bouts of teaching and sleeping I have been thinking about my new book on literary criticism in Greek comedy and reading a large number of dramatic fragments (which take up less time than complete texts).

The Vestal Virgins: an example of a Roman priesthood

Robin Whenary

In this essay, my aim is to study the role of the Vestal Virgins, or Vestals, as I shall refer to them, and then use this to draw some wider conclusions about the concept generally referred to as 'Roman religion'.

To begin with, I shall look at the goddess Vesta, around whom the cult is centred, and her place amongst the gods of ancient Rome, and then I shall move on to try and determine the origins of the Vestal Virgins themselves: how and when they came into being, the form the cult took, the nature of the restrictions imposed upon them, and the privileges involved. I shall look at the exact nature of their role, including both their day-to-day tasks, such as keeping the sacred flame of Vesta alight in her temple, as well as their wider roles in the religious life of Rome, such as their involvement in festivals and their role in advising the senate. Throughout this essay, I shall consider various interpretations, both ancient and modern, of their importance, and in conclusion, I shall look at what could be referred to as 'typical' about the Vestals: what attributes they shared with other priestly figures, and then in what way they were unique, and what all this can tell us about 'Roman religion' generally.

Vesta was seen as the younger sister of the goddesses Juno and Ceres, and Ovid says that 'Vesta equals Earth'[1] and that his readers should 'understand Vesta as nothing but living flame'[2], so she was clearly seen by the Romans as representing a vital element of life contained in the Earth. She was described by Cicero in the first century BC as 'the goddess who presides over our hearths and altars...who is the guardian of our most private lives', to who 'we always make our last prayers and sacrifices'[3], and this, together with her close association with the household gods, 'the Penates', makes her seem very much a domestic goddess, one who was a part of the everyday life of all Roman citizens.

Cicero states that 'the name of Vesta is derived from the Greeks, who call her Hestia', and Ovid refers to her 'Greek name'[4], which suggests that she may have been derived from or based on her Greek counterpart originally-both etymologically and in terms of her representation as the goddess of the private and public hearth.[5] Ovid says that Vesta was a virgin goddess, hence she allowed 'only chaste hands at her rites'[6], but there is some disagreement and uncertainty over the nature of the origins of the public cult.

The Vestals have generally been seen as deriving originally from the household of the ancient kings of Rome, performing publicly the rituals that would have been performed by female members of the king's household. This view, which can be traced back to Mommsen, centres on the idea that, as a college they took after the king's *daughters*-and were 'republican surrogates'[7] for them, or that the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima*-the Chief Virgin-took after the wife of the

[1] Ovid *Fasti* VI.267.
[2] Ovid *Fasti* VI.291-2.
[3] Cicero *On the Nature of the Gods* II.68
[4] Ovid *Fasti* VI.300.
[5] Rose, p. 167.
[6] Ovid *Fasti* VI.290.
[7] Cornell, p.82.

king.[8] It has been questioned on the grounds that it is 'a guess based on a guess'[9] and that the Vestal's unique status does not correspond fully with either that of daughters or mothers,[10] but the idea that the foundation of the cult of the Vestal Virgins in the city of Rome was inspired by the domestic worship of the goddess seems indisputable. Modern theories suggest that the Vestals themselves may have existed in some form before Rome itself, and that they were a part of the earliest Latin communities,[11]but the main ancient account of their foundation as a cult ascribes their 'consecration' in Rome to Numa, supposedly the second king of the city, who is presented by Plutarch as having been responsible for, amongst other things, 'the institution of that order of high priests who are called *Pontifices*',[12] to whom the Vestals belonged.

Plutarch was writing at the end of the first or beginning of the second century AD, but what he wrote was clearly based on common Roman beliefs, as shown by the way Ovid, writing in the first century BC, wrote that 'Rome, they say, had held its fortieth *Parilia*, when the flame's guardian goddess was enshrined. It was the kindly king's work'.[13] It is interesting to note that Plutarch does not use the fact that Vesta was a virgin goddess as the reason Numa made her attendants virgins, as Ovid does[14]-he instead focuses on how Numa may have interpreted 'the nature of fire'-'the perpetual fire entrusted to their charge'[15], which he also consecrated.

It was not lawful for a girl to be chosen as a Vestal who was 'less than six or more than ten',[16] and the original number of four was later increased to six by Servius, according to Plutarch,[17]and remained so throughout the life of the cult. The many restrictions on eligibility enumerated by Aulus Gellius[18] meant that most Vestals were from senatorial families, and in Augustus' time, the lack of candidates led him to lower the social qualifications, so that 'the daughters of freedmen might likewise become priestesses', although apparently few did.[19] The election of a Vestal was infrequent, because of the small size of the priesthood and the long term of service,[20] but when a girl was chosen, she was 'taken' by the *Pontifex Maximus*, passing from the jurisdiction of *patria potestas*, and entering the service of the state.

The Vestals lived in their own house, next to the main public shrine of Vesta. This round building, which was also attributed to Numa, and which Plutarch described as 'the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was kept', [21] was never officially inaugurated, and therefore was not really a proper *templum*.[22] One theory sees it as originally part of one big

[8] Balsdon, p.235.
[9] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.58.
[10] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.52.
[11] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.51. Also O.C.D, p.1591.
[12] Plutarch *Numa* IX.5.
[13] Ovid *Fasti* VI.257-60. The 'kindly king' was Numa.
[14] Ovid *Fasti* VI.289.
[15] Plutarch *Numa* IX.8.
[16] Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* I.12.1.
[17] Plutarch *Numa* IX.8.
[18] *Attic Nights* I.XII.1-9-'neither one nor both of her parents may have been slaves or engaged in mean occupations'.
[19] Cassius Dio LV.22.5, referred to by Balsdon, p.236.
[20] Plutarch *Numa* X.2. In X.1, Plutarch describes how they spent the thirty years: learnt duties for ten, performed them for ten and taught for ten.
[21] *Numa* XI.1.
[22] O.C.D, p.1591. It was more an *aedes*-a house of the deity (appropriate, given the domestic origins); Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.22.

complex, together with the *Regia* and the *domus publica*, which was split up into various cult centres when the monarchy ended,[23] although we shall probably never be certain. Within the building, as well as the fire of Vesta, which was the only representation of the goddess,[24], there were believed to be various objects symbolically important in one way or another.[25] Chief amongst these was believed to be the *Palladium*, an image of Pallas, fabled to have been brought by Aeneas to Italy, and which was 'preserved as a pledge of empire',[26] which, in itself, shows how the role of the Vestals was seen as central to the health and continued dominance of the whole Roman Empire. There was also the *fascinum*-a phallus. It was thought to be symbolic of the continuation of the Roman race, and the fertility aspect may also have been present in the form of bull and ram statues.[27] The household gods themselves were also kept within the building,[28] emphasising the position of the building as effectively the hearth of the Roman state, and the importance placed on these sacred objects inside the building is shown by various stories in the ancient sources about their rescue at great peril.[29]

The Vestals performed 'sacred rites which it is the law for a Vestal priestess to perform on behalf of the Roman people,[30] and the main symbolic task was keeping the undying fire of Vesta in the temple alight,[31] which was seen as ensuring 'the well-being of the city'.[32] Their perceived importance is shown by the way in which they were involved in all major aspects of public life,[33] and they had ceremonial roles at many religious festivals that they attended officially, and at which Vesta was constantly connected to 'the fruits of the earth'.[34] Their storehouse (*penus*) was seen symbolically as the storehouse of the state, and was open to inspection from June 7th to the 14th, when matrons went in barefoot to pray to the goddess.[35] From October 15th, a jar in the *penus* contained the blood from the 'October horse', and on April 14th it acquired the ashes of the calves that were torn by the chief virgin from the corpses of the cows sacrificed at the festival of *Fordicidia*. The ashes and blood were mixed, and poured onto burning straw, over which people jumped at the *Parilia* on April 21st, where the Vestals also used them to ritually purify the shepherd and his sheep.[36] Lastly, between May 7th and 14th, the three seniors collected spelt and made salted cakes (*mola salsa*) for consumption at the *Vestalia* (June 9th), and at the *Lupercalia* (February 15th). This was

[23] Coarelli's theory, described by Cornell, p.240.
[24] Ovid *Fasti* VI.298: 'no image of Vesta or of fire'.
[25] Although it must be made clear that since no men apart from the *Pontifex Maximus* were allowed to enter, none of the ancient writers really *knew*. See Beard (1995), p.174.
[26] Livy V.52.7.
[27] Visible in a relief also showing Augustus and the *Palladium*; Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.190.
[28] Tacitus *Annals*XV.41.
[29] Including Ovid *Fasti* VI.437-6-: 'I'll go where no man may enter...' Also Livy V.40.7-10; a man rescues them at the cost of his own family.
[30] Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* I.2
[31] The description of it as 'a terrifying responsibility' (Balsdon, p.237) underlines how symbolically important it was.
[32] *Description of the Whole World*, in Beard, North, Price vol. II. Hence Ovid's assertion that 'now, under Caesar, you shine brightly, holy flames'; *Fasti* VI.459.
[33] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.52.
[34] Fowler, p.150. He emphasises the close connection of Vesta and her virgins with 'the simple materials and processes of the house and farm'.
[35] Turcan, p.74, referring to Ovid *Fasti* VII.731ff.
[36] Ovid *Fasti* IV.731-4: 'by Vesta's gift ye shall be pure'.

seen as emphasising the 'household nature'[37] of much of their work. In all their public duties, the main idea was that the continued nourishment of the state, of which the sacred flame was the symbol,[38] depended upon the Vestals' diligent performance of their duties.

When a Vestal was ill, she was 'given into the care of some matron', who was given the task of looking after her 'by order of the priests'.[39] Matrons were in charge of the private worshipping of the household gods, and their celebration of the cult of the *Bona Dea* was done 'in the presence of the Vestals',[40] who were there in their official capacity. Part of the ritual involved the sacrifice of a pregnant sow, and, unlike other women, Vestals were not banned from carrying out animal sacrifice, which has been seen as *the* defining aspect of civic religious activity.[41] When Clodius infamously infiltrated the house where it was being celebrated,[42] they subsequently performed certain ceremonies to lessen the injustice committed against 'the city and the gods', and then 'the senate voted to refer the matter back to the Virgins and the *pontifices*',[43] showing that their position as associates[44] of the colleges of pontiffs meant that they also had a role in advising the senate on such religious or ritual matters.[45]

The man under whose control the Vestals operated was the Pontifex *Maximus* (the emperor himself in the imperial period), who was the president of the College of Pontiffs. He also had the task of punishing them for 'minor offences', and his relationship with them may be seen as equivalent to that of father and daughter, or husband and wife.[46] It was another way in which the public cult of Vesta mirrored the domestic one.[47] Augustus, aiming to 'increase the dignity of priestly offices' and their willingness to perform their duties, gave out a large sum of money as an incentive on at least one occasion.[48]

The Vestals also gained new functions in imperial times, which served to further connect them to the political life of the state. Together with the *pontifices*, they had to offer prayers every five years for Caesar's safety,[49] for instance, and under Augustus, they were made responsible for annual sacrifices at the *Ara Pacis*.[50] Thus, the Vestals gained a concern for the emperor and his family,[51] and the closeness between Augustus and Vesta that was emphasised by contemporary writers was mirrored by the way the emperor refused to live in the official residence of the *Pontifex Maximus*. Instead, he made his Palatine house public property and dedicated an image of Vesta and a shrine within it.[52]

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[37] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.151.
[38] Fowler(1933), p.114.
[39] Pliny the Younger *Letters* VII.19, referring to Fannia, a matron looking after a Vestal.
[40] Cicero 19.3.
[41] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.297.
[42] Plutarch *Caesar* 9.3.
[43] Cicero *Letters to Atticus* I.13 in Beard, North, Price, vol. II, p.198.
[44] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.19. They were 'in some sense' associated with the college, even if not members.
[45] They were 'the esteemed instruments of a Senate investigation'. (Sawyer, p.126).
[46] Beard (1995), P.167.
[47] As Bailey (p.28) points out, 'that exactness of parallelism of which the Roman state was so fond'.
[48] Tacitus *Annals*IV.16: 'two million sesterces were allocated to the priestess of Vesta'. Suetonius *Augustus* 31: he was 'particularly generous to the college of the Vestal Virgins'.
[49] Appian *Civil Wars* II.106.
[50] Augustus *Res Gestae* 12. They also sacrificed annually on the day of his return from Syria (11).
[51] They were made responsible for the cult of the deified Livia (Dio LX.5.32); Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.194.
[52] Detailed by Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.189. Ovid *Fasti* III.423-6 : 'Vesta, you must guard his person related to you'. Augustus' mythical forebears were linked to the origin of the cult.

The way that Aulus Gellius talks about the circumstances in which a girl would be exempt from the priesthood shows, in itself, that it was seen as an unnatural way of life, which could be avoided under certain circumstances.[53] Their purity was seen as the guarantee of the good health and salvation of Rome itself,[54] and the importance placed on their virginity is shown by the way in which they were buried alive if they broke their 'vow of chastity'.[55] Vestals were punished when they were seen as having failed to protect the Roman state, as when the war with Veii and various Gallic invasions were effectively blamed on their failure to preserve their ritual purity.[56] The term of service was set at thirty years, and while a Vestal was free to marry 'after laying down her sacred office' if she so wished, very few did so. Plutarch's assertion that they were 'prey to repentance and dejection for the rest of their lives'[57] serves to remind us how unnatural these male-imposed restrictions were. These were balanced by the 'great privileges' bestowed on Vestals, such as the right to make a will during the lifetime of their fathers, and to transact and manage their affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children'.[58] As well as seats at the theatre 'reserved for the Vestal priestesses',[59] they attended dinner parties and took part in liturgical banquets,[60] and the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima* 'enjoyed undisputed power and prestige',[61] as shown by an inscription put up 'in gratitude for the benefits of equestrian rank and a military post' obtained for a man in the 3rd century AD.[62] Their sacred status also ensured the safety of things entrusted to them. Hence, they were given the responsibility of guarding documents important to the state.[63]

The Vestals' ambiguous sexual status in legal terms[64] was a manifestation of their interstitial nature, and can be seen as mainly due to their position of being in charge of a worship central to the whole state.[65] The state and the *Pontifex Maximus* took the place of the *pater familias*. One of the ways the sacred status of the Vestals was maintained through the way they dressed. Their priestly dress was the *stola*, the traditional costume of the Roman matron, and they arranged their hair in the style of a bride's on her marriage day.[66] This further enhanced their 'interstitial' standing.[67]

In their position as priestesses of Vesta, the Vestals could be seen as sharing the basic role of the *flamines*

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[53] Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* I.XII.1-9: 'Exemption from that priesthood is regularly allowed to...'. See also Suetonius *Augustus* 31: some citizens tried to keep their daughters off the list of candidates.

[54] Balsdon, p.238.

[55] Plutarch *Numa* X.4-7.

[56] The war with Veii; Livy II.42.11. For Gauls, see Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.81. 216 BC (Livy XXII.57.1), 113 BC (Plutarch *Roman Questions* 83) and possibly 225 BC (less certain). Gauls were also buried alive.

[57] Plutarch *Numa* X.2

[58] Plutarch *Numa* X.3. Also Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* I.10.

[59] Tacitus *Annals* IV.16. The Augusta was given the right to use their seats.

[60] Shown by the 'Banquet of the Vestals' relief, reproduced by Turcan, p.56, and the example described by Balsdon, p.238.

[61] The words of Balsdon, p.237.

[62] Reproduced by Beard, North, Price; 8.4b(i), vol. II, p.204.

[63] Such as the wills of leading statesmen or emperors. See Balsdon, p.238.

[64] Sawyer, p.70. She interprets it as reflecting 'their mediation between opposites'.

[65] Gardner, p.25. Her argument against Beard (1980) is, apart from this, unconvincing.

[66] Beard (1995), p.167. Also photo of a sculpture from the 2nd century AD (Beard (1990), p.24).

[67] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.52. Interstitial aspects were seen as a sign of holiness.

(likewise employed in the service of one particular deity), and, like the *Flamen Dialis*, the Vestals were exempted from having to take an oath when giving evidence in court.[68] Their person was also sacred.[69] The ability of Vestals to give up their office if they chose to was shared by most priesthoods except the *augurs* and the Arval Brethren, who remained in their offices until death.[70] Aulus Gellius tells us that, like the Vestals, 'the *flamens* of Jupiter also, as well as the *augurs*, were said to be "taken"'.[71] The *Flamenica Dialis* and the *Regina Sacrorum*[72] had certain similarities in that they were also priestesses who had to observe restrictions and formalities in their dress. However, they were there to support their husbands more than in their own right. Only the presence of the *Flamen Dialis* in the city had anything like the same symbolic importance as that of the Vestals, as shown by Livy's account of how Camillus argued against the move to Veii by asking 'shall the Virgins forsake the Vesta, and the Flamen, as he dwells abroad, bring, night after night, such guilt upon himself and the republic?'.[73]

There were many more ways in which the Vestal priestesses were unique, including the fact that they were just that: priest*esses*. They were the only major female priesthood,[74] and were one of the priesthoods for which more criteria had to be met than free-birth, Roman citizenship and the absence of bodily defects. The process of selection was similarly unique, with selection by lot after the initial election of twenty by the *pontifex maximus*, rather than *vice-versa* (as was the case with the *flamines* and *rex*).[75] Most other priesthoods, apart from the *Flamen* Dialis, were easily combined with a political career; such was the closeness of the religious and political life of the state. However, the restrictions placed on the Vestals (one of which was the fact that they had to women), obviously made this impossible. Connected to this is the fact that they were really the only full-time order of cult officials in Graeco-Roman religion.[76] The symbolic importance of their main task and *themselves* making this essential. They were able to do this because they were supported by the state. Even the *pontifices*, whose obligations were much greater than the *lupercii* or the *salii*, were, in comparison, only part-time.[77]

When the Chief Virgin Cornelia was condemned to death by Domitian, the words she was reported to have uttered sum up well how the role of the Vestals was seen: 'How can Caesar think me corrupt when my sacred ministration brought him victory and triumphs?'.[78] They were a clear example of the religious life of the home connecting to the community

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[68] Balsdon, p.238.

[69] As noted by Turcan, p. 56. Their sacredness was manifest in the way criminals on their way to execution were spared if they chanced to meet a Vestal, and how anyone who passed under a Vestal was put to death (Plutarch *Numa* X.3-4).

[70] For *augurs*, see Plutarch *Roman Questions* 99. For the Arval Brethren, see Plutarch *Numa* 10.2 (noted by Beard (1990), p.24).

[71] Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* I.XII.17, in reference to book two of Lucius Sulla's *Autobiography*.

[72] The wives of the *Flamen Dialis* and the *Rex Sacrorum*. According to Balsdon (p.242-3), they were vital to their husbands' exercise of their office.

[73] Livy V.52.7.

[74] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.51: they were clearly set apart.

[75] Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* I, 12, 10-12. Also Livy 27.8.4-10; Beard (1990), p.23.

[76] Sawyer, p.70.

[77] Beard (1990), p.25. The *lupercii* participated in just one annual festival (the *lupercalia*).

[78] The account of Pliny the Younger, quoted by Balsdon, p.241.

at large,[79] and the whole Roman house was seen as being at risk if something went wrong. This was why irregularity involving their rituals was seen as more 'profoundly threatening' than the disruption of any others.[80] Vestal Virgins were women who were deprived of an ordinary life for what was seen as the good of the state. Their repressed female energy,[81] symbolised by the eternal flames, was harnessed and redirected towards the achievement of military and political supremacy.

What I hope has also emerged from this essay is the complete interconnection between religion and other aspects of life in Ancient Rome, and how the Vestals' unique symbolic importance placed them at the centre of not just the religious life, but also the political and military life of the Roman empire.

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[79] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.52.
[80] Beard, North, Price, vol. I, p.53.
[81] Sawyer, p.128. Her 'feminist critique' of how they were 'an example of male-defined idealised womanhood, which disempowers women according to their nature and empowers them according to male social values', seems a very accurate analysis.

Deborah F. Sawyer, *Women in the First Christian Centuries*, London, 1996.

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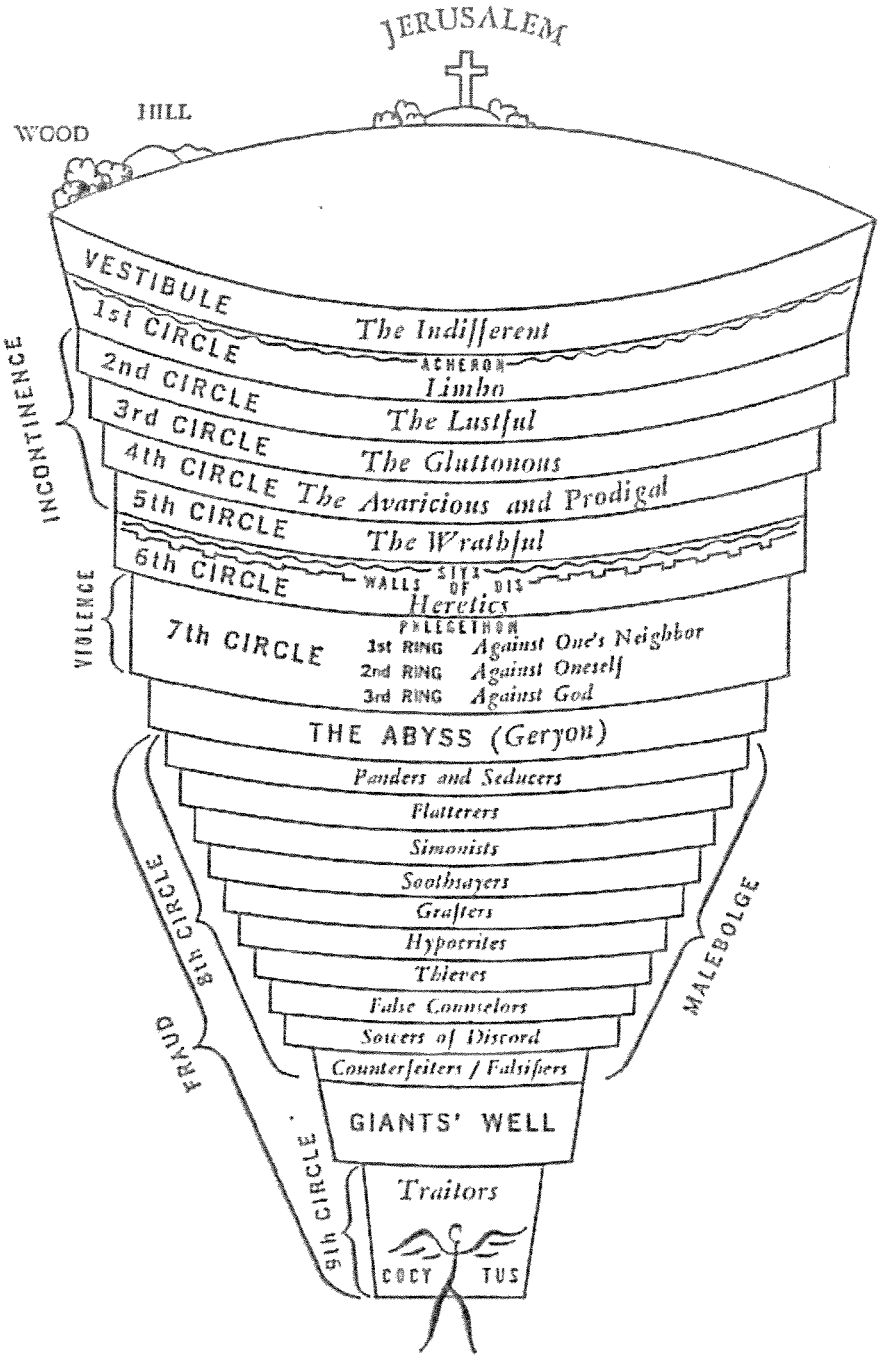
The Temple of Vesta.

Below: the emperor Domitian.
Not a fan of the Vestals, it seems.

I was passed the following by David Harvey. It was signed simply V. It read:

Invitus, o regina, tuo de limine cessi.

What a wag. I'm sure we shall get used to our change of address sooner or later. For those of you who tend to get lost in the labyrinth that is the Amory Building, here is a map (I think we are somewhere between the fourth and fifth circle):



Hell

The SYME PAPERS

DAVID HARVEY

Sir Ronald Syme was the most distinguished Roman historian of his generation. His *Roman Revolution* itself revolutionised our views of Augustus; his *Tacitus* threw light on many imperial themes beyond its title. His style of doing Roman history had an enormous influence on the discipline for more than a generation. He was Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, he received honorary doctorates from 11 countries, a knighthood and the Order of Merit -- why, he even achieved the ultimate accolade of having had an article published in *Pegasus*. The internet also informs me that he was 'arguably one of Taranaki's greatest sons' (who are the others?, one wonders). Between 1984 and 1991 his articles were collected and published in seven volumes of *Roman Papers*. All who are interested in the Roman world will therefore be excited to learn that Faber has now published *The Syme Papers* edited by Benjamin Markovits for a mere £8, with a penny change.

Strangely, this volume, which (one would assume) crowns a life's work, is not in the Sackler Library, nor in the library of the Institute of Classical Studies in London nor even that of the University of North Topsham. I am therefore compelled to take Sydney Smith's advice, and not read it before writing this brief review, on the grounds that 'it prejudices one so'. (The *praenomen* of Sydney Smith prompts surmise about a relationship with Sydney Harbour, not so very far from Taranaki. Yet caution obtrudes.) No doubt it would be safe to echo the reviewer who said of an earlier publication that it is written throughout in Sir Ronald's imitable style. Safe too to complain of the lack of conversations and pictures.

Although I have not read the book, I have read a brief review of it in the *Guardian* (26 March 05), so my ignorance is not as uncorrupted as it should be. The *Guardian's* verdict: 'One can't help but wonder if, at an exhaustive 600 pages, there are rather more Syme Papers than necessary' seems unduly harsh, and is unlikely to commend itself to the inhabitants of either Oxford or Taranaki. The

Guardian also informs me that 'the pugnacious Syme' was born in 1794. That is surprising: I attended Sir Ronald's lectures in the 1950s and he didn't strike me as being as old as that (indeed, he didn't strike me at all -- that's not the way that Roman history was taught at Oxford.) Further, 'he looked set to redefine our understanding of the world ... except the world failed to notice'. Another curious judgment – can the *Guardian* really be trusted any more? Anyone who purchases this volume would perhaps be ill-advised to spend that penny change all at once.

PEGASUS no.41:

A NEW HARRY POTTER STORY

DAVID HARVEY

Back in 1998 (cf. Aristotle *Rhetoric* 2.13, 'the elderly keep on talking about the past') *Pegasus* published a short autobiographical piece by Joanne Rowling called 'What was the Name of that Nymph again?'. As far as I was aware, this was the only work of non-fiction that she had published, and I suggested that this fact should be advertised on the cover, perhaps across a diagonal strip, and that in view of the enormous popularity of the author, we should print say 100 or 200 more copies than usual to bring in some extra cash for the journal. No-one thought that either of these was a good idea.

The next thing I heard was that someone had called in at the departmental office & bought the entire remaining stock, either at £2 a copy or maybe even at a discount. This was not welcome news: someone was clearly going to make a profit, and it would not be *Pegasus*.

Since then I've had the following message from Stuart Fortey:

'On page 134 of the February 2006 issue of Book and Magazine Collector there appears the following item for sale:

<<ROWLING J.K., What Was The Name of That Nymph Again? In Pegasus Journal 1998 (including Res Gestae with J.K. Rowling interest, wraps) F £95.00>>

F, of course, means fine condition. [and I thought it meant flipping heck *vel sim.*]

The person selling it is: G. Hubbert, 11 Queensway, Wellingborough, Northants NN8 3RA. Tel: 01933 625213/225478.'

More recently, my wife was in a local second-hand bookshop (good condition, only one previous owner) and gathered that the owner was the 'someone' who had bought the stock back in 1998. Selling a copy now and then was what enabled him to keep his business going.

If Ms Rowling has no objection, it strikes me as a good idea to publish a slim pamphlet, containing the nymph piece plus Peter's speech proposing her for an honorary degree, and her reply (both published, with squashed-up photos, in Pegasus 44 [2001]). All profits to *Pegasus* this time! It would require a bit of organizing (and it would be necessary to commission an attractive cover); one wonders whether the University Press would be interested in handling publicity and distribution ...

A note from the editor:

Apologies for interrupting your reading of this fine journal. This is a call for articles for the 2007 edition of *Pegasus*. I would be interesting in writings relating to any aspect of classical antiquity. Submissions from undergraduates are particularly welcome (as long as they are not the result of a frenetic bout of copy-and-paste from the internet). Do not be afraid to be provocative or controversial. Imagine running up to an elderly desiccated figure, festooned with cobwebs and made almost entirely of tweed, jabbing him in the arm with an outstretched finger and telling him that, in your view, his twenty-volume commentary on Polybius is undoubtedly the dullest piece of work ever written. Think of an exceptionally rare and exquisitely decorated Athenian black-figure vase, and then imagine taking a claw hammer to it. Experience the *frisson* of delight as you consign those Oxyrhynchus papyri to the shredder. There is a place for sacred cows, and that place is the abattoir.

Was the coming to power of Augustus a Roman revolution?

Caroline Tyler.

By the time of Augustus' death in A.D.14, the political system in Rome had been transformed. The establishment of the Principate from a Republic involved a major shift of power from rule by the elite to the rule of one. The term revolution contains modern connotations that do not relate to the Roman experience. Noel Parker has defined revolution as a 'sudden, profound, deliberately provoked crisis' of power that tends to produce upheaval and change in political and social spheres.[1] To modern revolutions, aspects of this definition are relevant to the events that occurred in the last century BC but definitions can be restrictive and can limit the view the historian takes. The establishment of the Principate does not lend itself well to decisive dates but we may see the beginnings of the transformation from the period of the Gracchi, through Sulla, through to the decisive Civil Wars that led to Augustus being able to assume sole control of the Roman Empire. This period was punctuated by crucial events that were sudden and dramatic. Revolutions often contain similar factors, many of which were prevalent in the Roman experience. The differing ideologies of the *populares* and *optimates* provided the competing ideologies from which revolution was born. The failure of the Senate and elite, to defend the Republic, combined with the rise of individuals and their influence over the army and the people, helped to establish the Principate. Monarchy is a complex phenomenon, in each case unique to the society from which it springs.[2] Augustus was able to manipulate his rise to power and represent it in a way compatible to many Republican traditions, and this was the key to the success of the transformation. The change from Republic to Principate can be seen as revolutionary.

Not only are we faced with the problem of modern terminology we also must contend with the differing nature of our sources. The history of this period was written by the elite, about the elite and for the elite. The biographies of Caesar and Augustus

[1] Parker, N., *Revolution and History* (Oxford, 1999) pp. 4-6

[2] Millar, F., *Rome, the Greek World and the East, Volume 1, The Roman Republic and Augustan Revolution* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) p. 242

carry with them inherent problems. Augustus used the Res Gestae to project a public image different from that which prevailed in his enemies' propaganda.[3] His account of his rise to power is naturally very different to the historians of the senatorial class. The history and writing of history were directly related to the political system of the time. Cassius Dio was writing long after the Principate had been established, but Tacitus felt the loss of senatorial power more keenly, and this is evident in his scathing attacks on the seizure of power from the elite class to which he belonged. Velleius Paterculus' panegyric of Augustus fails to take into account the variety of devices by which Augustus had assumed control.[4] All historians of this period expressed sentiments appropriate to the situation at the time. Even the inscriptions and coins were intended to plant ideas into the minds of those who saw or handled them. The seizure of power by Augustus was controversial, and as a consequence all sources related to this must be handled with caution.

One factor almost universal to modern revolutions is the failure of the old order; in other words the collapse of the old system. Undoubtedly this occurred in Rome as a situation occurred, which allowed the Republic to disintegrate and enabled Augustus and his predecessors to seize power. Although the traditional constitution was malfunctioning, it was allowed to continue. The lack of reform to alleviate a failing Republican system gave power to Augustus. The elite contributed to the establishment of the Principate by alienating the people, the allies and most crucially the soldiery, thus allowing individuals to increase their power.[5] The extension of the empire served to enrich the ruling elite, but brought little to satisfy the common people. The provincials were often oppressed and inadequately protected, which led to their willingness to support change, for example in their willingness to support Caesar in the Civil War. Tacitus remarks 'the new order was popular in the provinces. There, government by the Senate and People was looked upon sceptically as a matter of sparring dignitaries and extortionate officials.'[6] The spiralling competition between

[3] Millar, F., Segal, E., *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) p. 1

[4] Brunt, P.A., *The Fall of the Roman Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) p. 67

[5] Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic* p. 68

[6] Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome* (Penguin, 1996) 1.2

members of the senate, and the resulting Civil Wars, all provided a revolutionary background to the rise of the Principate. The breakdown of the old system is seen as a defining factor in determining whether a revolution occurred.

A revolution usually needs revolutionary leaders. From the dictatorship of Sulla, through to the rivalry between Caesar and Pompey, and Octavian and Mark Antony, the gradual encroachment onto the Senate's power ultimately resulted in the situation Augustus found himself in with the establishment of the Principate. These military leaders struck vital blows at the old order. The dominance of Pompey and Caesar by the 50s and 40s BC made Cicero complain that *res publica* was already lost.[7] Caesar broke with the Senate and constitution in 59 BC He no longer respected the limits set for personal ambition and started the Civil War in 49 BC for the sake of his dignitas, his very personal claim to leadership and authority, which was based on his achievements. After the defeat of Pompey and the Senate, all power was his.[8] In this respect one could say the revolution had already occurred, but his assassination on the Ides of March 44 BC indicated that society was not yet ready for an individual to take sole command and his murder can be seen as an attempt at counter-revolution. Caesar was unable to institute a new legitimate constitution in Rome, yet Augustus managed it. The precedents set by the dynasts helped Augustus, but to succeed in installing a monarchy that was acceptable he had to mask his intentions under the blanket of a Republican sentiment.

Augustus was, therefore, a key factor in the installation of a Roman revolution. He managed to consolidate his powers whilst appearing in the guise of one wishing to restore the Republic. Although done slowly, his gradual encroachment into a sole ruler can still be seen as revolutionary. His aims of monarchy were intentional, the methods he used were innovative, and the result was unprecedented power in the hands of one man. After Caesar's death, whilst still Octavian, he waged a propaganda war against his last remaining opponent Mark Antony, before defeating him in battle at Actium in 31 BC Before this battle in 32 BC 'all Italy' took an oath to

[7] Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic* p. 2

[8] Raaflaub, K.A., Toher, M., *Between Republic and empire Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (London: University of California

support and defend the young Caesar (Octavian) against his enemies. Cleverly he never formally released them from the obligations of this oath and quietly converted this oath of support into the soldiers' oath.[9] A denarius coin from 28 BC pictures the head of Augustus on one side and a crocodile and inscription 'Egypt captured' on the other side.[10] He made people believe that there was no need to defend the Republic against the man who had saved it. The people and the Senate offered Augustus increasingly important roles within the administration.[11] Augustus received powers greater than any man had possessed before. They began with his powers of triumvir along with Antony and Lepidus and gradually increased until he was in effect a monarch. He was awarded *imperium* (the right to command) in January 27 BC for ten years with his nominees governing key provinces. In 19 BC his *imperium* extended to Rome and Italy and included the right to the consul's chair and 12 *fasces*. In 18 BC his *imperium* was renewed for five years and was renewed again in 13 BC He was awarded numerous consulships, 'Augustus undertook his second consulship, and his third after an interval of a year. Having held the next nine in sequence, he declined anymore for as many as 17 years; then demanded a twelfth term, and two years later a thirteenth.'[12] The Senate in 25 BC released Augustus from obeying the laws.[13] He succeeded in reconciling the new reality of monarchy with the old institutions of the Republic. The Republic had no constitution and tradition was always evolving,[14] Augustus could represent his changes as evolution rather than revolution, when in fact a total transformation had taken place. 'The fact that it is in my power to rule over you for life is evident to you all', is attributed to Augustus by Cassius Dio immediately before he appears to give

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Press, 1990) pp. 60-61

[9] Lacey, W.K., *Augustus and the Principate: The Evolution of the System* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1996) p. 4

[10] This shows Augustus slowly consolidating his position by appearing to be the saviour of the Empire. Coin found in: Braund, D., *Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History, 31 B.C. – A.D. 68* (London: Croom Helm, 1985) p. 24

[11] Augustus *The Achievements of the Divine Augustus* (Oxford University Press, 1978) 5

[12] Suetonius *The Twelve Caesars* (Penguin, 1989) Augustus 26

[13] Cassius Dio *The Roman History. The Reign of Augustus* (Penguin, 1987) 53.28 'thereupon the Senate declared him released from all obligation to the laws ....that he should be in practice independent and master of himself and of laws, and hence might do anything that he wished and refrain from anything he did not wish.'

[14] Livy, *The Early History of Rome* (Penguin, 2002) 4.4

power back to the Senate, 'I lay down my office in its entirety and return to you all authority absolutely',[15] which was promptly returned to him. He founded a stable monarchy whilst maintaining vestiges of a Republic

In 23 BC he strengthened his position further. He was awarded the power of the tribune.[16] In 12 BC he was elected *pontifex maximus*. He was accepted as father figure for the whole city-*Pater Patriae*-in 2 BC The support he received from the people legitimised his power. He had recognised the power of the people in the Civil War and he consolidated his support in 23 B.C by achieving tribunician power.[17] He abandoned the nobles' traditional role of self-glorification and replaced it with a theme of tradition, restoration and religious devotion.[18] Augustus had reserved ultimate power for himself by gaining the support of the people and consent of the Senate. He offered peace to the empire and in return was granted monarchy. The role of people in revolutions, even in Rome where their political power was limited, should not be underestimated. Revolutions require two differing ideologies in order to occur. The Senate provided one ideology of the optimates. Individuals, like Julius Caesar and Augustus, together with the people presented the opposing ideology, the populares, which asserted the sovereign right of the people to take decisions in public. The Gracchi set precedents for almost all later popular uprisings. The continuing importance of agrarian problems after the Gracchi and the importance of grain to the urban plebs fuelled popular protest. The plight of the people was taken up by *populares* such as Caesar

[15] Cassius Dio *The Roman History* 53.4
Dio's motives for including this are to highlight the absolute nature of Augustus' power. He says every one of his rival factions has been tried and extinguished, or else persuaded, and includes a veiled threat to the Senate; the loyalty of his army is at a peak, he has money and allies and the people have shown they want him at the head of government. At the end of this speech Dio includes a revealing line. The Senate broke in with shouts pleading for monarchical government until 'finally they compelled him, as it seemed, to accept autocratic powers'. Dio continues that 'so genuine was his desire to lay down absolute power' that he immediately increased the pay of his bodyguard. Dio's scathing comments reflect Augustus clever tactics (53.11). He highlighted his power, and then appeared to give that power up knowing it would legally be reinstated by the Senate. Obviously Augustus does not present it in the same way. Augustus *The Achievements of the Divine Augustus,* 34: 'when I had extinguished the flames of Civil War, after receiving by universal consent the absolute control of affairs, I transferred the Republic from my own control to the will of the Senate and Roman people'.

[16] Suet. *The Twelve Caesars* Augustus 27

[17] See note 11

[18] Augustus *The Achievements of the Divine Augustus,* 20 'I restored the channels of the aqueducts.';'I rebuilt in the city 82 temples of the gods.'

and could prove very influential.[19] Sallust refers to the conflict between the people and the Senate, which eventually resulted in the end of the Republic, spurred on by individuals who desired increased power.[20] Augustus offered better provision for the material welfare of the Roman poor, at least appearing to do something about recurring problems of corn supply, land distribution and debt.[21] The people and the Senate awarded him power, previously unprecedented, to allow him to control politics, laws and religion. By granting him imperium they also allowed him control over the military.

Violence and the role of the army are prevalent issues in many revolutions. Non-violent revolutions are scarce, and the violence which accompanied Augustus' rise to power is another factor which links his emergence as *Princeps* to the term revolution. Pompey, Caesar and Augustus all owed their power to their troops and it was primarily by enriching them, and especially by promises of land, that they secured their allegiance. The most fatal error that the senate made was it's failure to keep the soldiery content, because it was through wars for the empire that the dynasts became rich, and it was through the loyalty of the army that the dynasts seized power. Having a loyal army was perhaps power itself, as Augustus uses the veiled threat of his army's loyalty when persuading the Senate that he has ultimate power.[22] Tacitus says that Augustus 'seduced the army with bonuses'.[23] An indication of the importance of the army can be seen as Augustus handed back public business to the traditional managers he kept for himself the armed forces in his own management.[24] Suetonius also highlights the role the power of the army could play in political decisions.[25] The proscriptions and

[19] For example in the Civil Wars of 49-45 when his enemies tried to crush him by political manoeuvring the towns of Italy showed what they thought of the nobles by joining Caesar virtually without exception . Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate* p. 8

[20] Sallust, *Catiline* (Oxford University Press, 1967) 38.3

[21] Wiseman, T.P., *Classics in Progress. Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 297

[22] Cassius Dio *The Roman History* 53.4, although Augustus' words are written by Dio and so it may be unlikely that he would have presented his power in this way.

[23] Tacitus, *Annals* 1.2

[24] Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate* p. 15

[25] Suet. *The Twelve Caesars* Augustus 26: Augustus/Octavian made himself consul and marched on Rome when he was 19 and sent army messengers ahead to confirm his appointment. When the Senate hesitated a centurion opened his cloak to reveal the hilt of

RES GESTAE XVIII ET ULTIMAE

At the beginning of this year I suffered a slight stroke. As I lay in bed trying to face up to this unwelcome fact, I realised I had been trying to do too many things, and that I should drop some of them. *Res Gestae* (or 'that rubbish that David does' as a former editor described it) was the obvious candidate for the chop. It's time to give it up, especially as it's quite disproportionately time-consuming. Furthermore it's soul-destroying to send out dozens of letters and get replies to so few of them.

I did consider continuing, but on a smaller scale, but it seemed better to make a clean break. This year's supplement is already based on a smaller number: the tail-end of H to KI covers only 100 or so people.

It's possible that there are some loose ends, i.e. that I have failed to transcribe some entries or to have written to everyone on my KI list. If so, it's because my *Res Gestae* papers were imperfectly organized (to put it mildly) at the time of the unwelcome interruption. My apologies. As it is, three entries very nearly got lost between the penultimate version and this printed one.

Format and conventions remain the same as before, but we have specified courses, in abbreviated form. In case anyone imagines that C = Conservative, L = Labour and AHA = Liberal Democrat, these are as follows: Ad = Additional subject; AH = Ancient History, AHA Combined Ancient History and Archaeology, Archly = Archaeology, C = Classics, Eng. = English, Fr. = French, Hist. = History, Genl. = General Honours, Gk = Greek, GRS = Greek and Roman Studies, Hist. = History, L = Latin. Mediaeval Studies has been spelt out in full to avoid confusion with Mediterranean Studies. Greek and Roman Studies has recently turned itself into Classical Civilisation while I wasn't looking; this of course doesn't affect the name of the degree that earlier alumni took.

My thanks to all who have sent me their news, and apologies for having replied to only a few of them. Thanks, too, to our successive Classics secretaries Valerie, Janet, Kerensa and Claire for sending details of new graduates each year, and to Jill Baines & others in the Alumni Office for providing lost addresses in reply to my merciless sequence of e-mails.

* * * * *.

Tracy **HUNT** (GRS 91-94; Winchester) is an editor, we wot not of what

Ron **IMPEY** (occasional lecturer 80s and 00s; Exeter) writes: 'After many years of teaching Classical languages and civilization in various places in London and the SW, I much enjoy my limited association with Exeter University's Classics Dept.'

Shelby **INGRAM** (AH 90-93; near Melbourne) has been living in Australia since 03, and was at the time of writing (Nov. 05)

awaiting a citizenship ceremony. She lives about 30 km. to the west of Melbourne. After completing her degree she spent a year working in a school, then she did a PGCE and taught in schools in Devon and Hertfordshire until she moved to Australia.

She was never going to study again but did some city and guilds certificates in IT. On arriving in Australia she did some volunteer work in a Community Centre, and then began teaching adult literacy and numeracy classes. To teach adults she needed to do a Cert IV in VET (Vocational Education and Training), and since then she has gone on to do a Diploma in VET, and has just completed a Grad Cert in VET. She is now enrolling to do a Masters.

Her children were 3, 4, and 5 when she started her degree. They are now 18, 19 and 20. The eldest is at RMIT doing Business Admin, the 19-year-old is at Melbourne Uni doing an Arts degree, (she did a course on Ancient Greece: Myth, Art and Text, run by Chris Mackie), and the youngest is just attending interviews for Art and design courses.

Lena **ISAYEV** (lecturer 9*- ; Exeter) writes that she is currently swamped, & is afraid that she will have to be out of the current Pegasus news section (the last!) . She adds: 'You may want to add that I have an excavation with Alan Outram, a Zooarchaeologist, and the Karaganda Archaeological Institute in Kazak<h>stan -- a Bronze age settlement.'

Sally **JAINE** (MA in Ancient Drama & Society 93-95; near Totnes) is an Hon. Research Fellow in Classics at the University of Exeter; she is also a publisher's assistant with Prospect Books and a smallholder. She has returned to a project on Greek and Roman New Comedy, first suggested by Matthew Leigh, which has been lying fallow for a while. She is working with John Wilkins, and tells us that she hopes soon to be able to justify the department's continued patience and support.

Celia **JAMES** (*olim* **HALSDORF** *nunc iterum* **JAMES**) C, then research 65-71; Keispelt, Luxembourg; RG 92, 99) describes her occupation as Librarian/ administrative assistant/dogsbody/ the person who can unblock and discipline the photocopier at an international tax and finance company'. She writes: 'Still doing what I was at the last update (and it doesn't get more exciting) at present – five years eleven months to go.... Still living in same house (needs maintenance, I keep trying) with large garden which occupies most of my spare time and no, I WILL NOT go and live in a nice little flat. Elder son Thomas is still studying for a PhD in English and occasionally appears in the

vacation (his fiancée's home is more luxurious). Younger son Leo is married to a Belgian classics graduate and working as a solo horn player with Hamburg Opera. There we have the musical life (Amphion); maybe he can mend the cracks in my house by playing the horn. See NO sign, however, that Thomas is going for the practical life... Have two cats and one new dog - the old one died much lamented last year and have acquired a handsome Alsatian which was being kept shut in a small back yard for most of her time. Guard dog? Not a chance, she welcomes everyone in and is rather timid. Dab hand at catching voles though.'

Anne **JONES** now **SCAHILL** (AHA 82-85; Enfield, Mddx; RG 99) has a small hand-knitting business and a part-time job book-keeping. Since she last wrote, she has finished her law studies (in 02) but unfortunately couldn't get a job. She thoroughly enjoyed her studies but thinks that her age prevented her from getting a place to do her articles and actually qualify. Anyway, after some time feeling that perhaps life was passing her by, she decided to start her own business. She has always enjoyed making things and home-made presents had been well received, so she started 'willow knits', making scarves and shawls (see below; further details at www.willowknits.com). As well as online, she also sells at Farmers' Markets – her husband rather disapproves of her becoming a market trader – he sees it as only one step up from Del Boy and Rodney – but she has assured him that Farmers' Markets are an entirely different thing. She enjoys meeting the people and their comments are always useful, although she does have to restrain her natural sarcasm when people state the obvious. She even enjoys the early mornings.

When she has some leisure she enjoys skiing, walking, cooking and gardening. They have an allotment now, although her husband does most of the hard work (she claims). She finds that it's nice to be outside, and they enjoy the fresh veg. and fruit. There are quite a number of unused allotment plots that harbour various wildlife, including some rather tame foxes— Anne and Gerry can get to about six feet from them.

She has been very happily married for fifteen years now— no children, and now she doesn't expect there will be, although we do have a super cat – Ignatius (named after St Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits) His brother Thomas was unfortunately run over a couple of years ago. [The brother of the cat, not of the saint, we surmise —Ed.]

She would be very pleased to hear from anyone who would like to get in touch with her (anne.scahill@

aol.com). She sends all good wishes to the department.

Welcome to Willow Knits (that's not Anne, surely)

We offer a range of top quality hand knitted scarves, cushions and a beautiful baby shawl. We use natural fibres and traditional patterns in all our products, giving you a garment that is both warm and stylish.

Whether you are looking for a special gift or a treat for yourself we hope you will find it here. As a small family business, we pride ourselves on our high standards of customer service. We give our customers individual attention and our aim is for you to be completely satisfied with us.

Shop with confidence on our site or by mail - whichever way you prefer. We look forward to hearing from you.

Dylan **JONES** (Combined L/French 88-92; Long Ditton, Surrey) is in the middle of his fourth year as deputy Headmaster of King's College Junior School (a large prep school in Wimbledon) having previously been Head of Modern Languages there. He now teaches more Latin, however, than French.

Jonathan **JONES** (C; 72-75) no longer lives at Northampton NN6 8RG; 'wrong address' say the present occupants of the house.

Rebecca **JONES** (GRS 98-02; Wichenford, Worcs.) wrote in mid-Dec. 05 when she had just got back from Afghanistan for her mid-tour break: 'After graduating from Exeter in July 02, I went to the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, and commissioned into the British Army, Adjutant General's Corps a year later. Directly after commissioning I went to serve with the 3rd Battalion The Parachute Regiment in Colchester for two years. I am now a Captain, serving in Afghanistan as Aide de Camp to the Deputy Commanding General and in February I take up a post as an instructor at the Army Training Regiment in Winchester. I recently got engaged to a fellow Officer - Major Matthew Cansdale and we are due to marry in Sept 06.

I still continue to play as much sport as possible; skiing, horse riding and hiking feature highly in my interests and I have played netball at Corps and Army level. I have continued with my hockey as well.'

Ruth **JONES** (C 68-71; Twickenham; RG92) writes 'Four years ago I moved across the river from Richmond to Twickenham to live with my father. I am still working at

Middle Temple but early in 05 I received a mini-promotion to Reader Service Librarian, but still wearing my EU hat. In Sept. 05 I was very privileged to take part in the BBC's Radio 4 pilgrimage to Greece, singing my way from Philippi to Corinth in the steps of St. Paul. It was a breathtaking moment to survey the scene of the battle of Philippi, and along the road from Athens to Corinth I was surprised to realize how big Salamis is. [What puzzles me is how the Persian fleet could distinguish the island from the coast of the mainland. They must surely have had a local informant.—Ed.]

I am still in touch with quite a few friends from my Exeter days, but not many from the Classics Dept. apart from **Lynda GOSS** (see RG 04) and **Jill EZARD** (now Cooke] I would love to hear from **Dorothy TASSELL** and **Roger TURNER** but you may not know their whereabouts [true, alas]. I understand Dr. **GRIFFIN** is now Rector not far from where I work, but so far I have not come across him.'

Katy **JUDD** (C 83-86; SW14; RG 92) is married but still uses her maiden name. She has three children – Tom, Joe and Alys (two more since we last counted) -- and says she's not sure what she actually does these days apart from mountains of laundry and paperwork, and interminable school runs.

Jannine **JUDDERY** now **CROCKER** (German + GRS 80-83) was on the Exeter Archaeological Advisory Committee in 97. She had then nearly finished indexing and editing all the pre-1450 Exeter property deeds, which will appear (we were told; unable to trace it) as vol. I. of *Exeter Historical Documents.*

Lisa **KEEFE**: see Louise **KIFT**'s news.

Bryony **KELLY** (AHA 95-98; Southsea) writes: 'Last time I wrote (when?) I think I was hoping to work towards for a museum studies MA & to build a career in museums. Since then I have moved from the Royal Air Force Museum to being curator at the Royal College of Physicians, and I am now Education Officer for Portsmouth Museums and Records Service. I completed my MA in Museum Studies (distance learning) in 03. I have to pinch myself sometimes, because I do love my job – it is so varied: cataloguing palaeolithic tools that form part of our loans collection, facilitating intergenerational projects between schools and residential homes, and helping to design new technological ways of supporting learning. Of course it pays terribly and there are local government politics to deal with, but I'd wholeheartedly recommend it.'

Louise **KIFT** now WALTON (Hist & AH, then MA in Medit Studs. 98-03; Milford Haven, Pembs.) writes: 'After five wonderful years at Exeter, always with one foot (at least) in Classics and Ancient History, I left in 03 and

moved to London to work as a Catholic parliamentary intern in Westminster. This internship was sponsored by the (Roman) Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, and entailed working with a Christian MP (in my case the Rt. Hon. John Battle, Labour MP for Leeds West) for a year and being introduced to the work of the RC church and its agencies at national and international level, as well as Masters' level study in Theology. During the year I married another student from Exeter, Oliver Walton (History 94-03/4) in the Univ. Chapel and became Louise Walton. We both graduated (me with my MA and he with his PhD) in July 04. When my internship ended I moved to the other side of Parliament Square and since then I have worked in the ecumenical department of the Church of England.

I am still in close contact with various Exeter friends – Lisa **KEEFE** (now Lindsey-Clark) and the other two Mediterranean Studies graduates from my year – Rupert **WEBB** and Anita **St.JOHN GRAY** – both past Classics students. I even get to the occasional Mediterranean Studies conference when I can.'

Mary **KING** now **HAMPSON** (L/Fr 68-71; Newton Abbot; RG 93) reminds me that I was her tutor. 'You had those of us who were doing joint degrees in classics', she writes. 'I remember in my year there was myself (Latin & French), **Ruth HEATON** and <**Hafsa FOONDUN**> (Latin & English) and **Marilyn HOPTON** (Greek & English). From Exeter I went to the Institute of Education at London University where I did a PGCE under the tutorship of John Sharwood Smith. In 72 I returned to Devon and taught Latin and French at Plymstock Comprehensive in Plymouth. Then I moved to Torquay Grammar in 76 and have been there ever since. During my time there I have taught Latin throughout the school plus A level Classical Civilisation. For the last few years I have been the only member of the Classics Department and I have great fears that when I retire, in the not too distant future, the classics might go with me. I am just finishing my last group of GCSE Latin students since I am Head of Sixth Form and a member of the Senior Leadership team and have less and less time for actual teaching. The A level Classical Civilisation is very popular, in fact we have had to turn away students from next year's A level group as there were too many. This is partly because it is also offered to the Boys' Grammar School next door and the demand from there is growing. We are about to appoint a new head, so if he/she is more sympathetic to classics there is scope for it to flourish again!

On a personal level I have been married for almost 34 years and have a daughter, Kate, who is 26. She married last year and is now working as the Met. Office archivist in

Exeter. I am ashamed to say that I have lost contact with most people I knew at Exeter University and would be interested to know what has happened to any of them. I do come to the university fairly frequently, usually with 6th form students on H.E visits.'

We don't usually print addresses, but since Mary says she'd be interested to hear from Exeter contemporaries, here's her e-address:

mchampson@btinternet.com

Sue **KIRBY,** (General L, Eng., Hist. 74-77) is married to Nick Scudamore but still uses her maiden name. She started a new job as Exhibition Manager at Tower Bridge in January 06; her most notable project in 05 was the Caribbean Identities exhibition and DVD, a collaboration with the Horniman Museum in Forest Hill. Her numerous nieces and nephews are all flourishing. In 05 she enjoyed a holiday in the States, and she is lucky enough to holiday in South Devon most years.

Gone away: Henri **JAUME**, Jonathan **JONES**

ΚΟΝΞ ΠΑΞ*

*see R. Parker, Polytheism and Athenian Society (Oxford 2005), 455

Civil Wars reduced much of the opposition to the emergence of a Principate. Millar has argued that the triumviral period was profoundly marked by violence, illegality and arbitrary exercise of power.[26] Violence of the urban plebs had contributed to the rise of Augustus. Conversely after the miseries of the Civil wars and their ensuing violence as the struggle for power was waged Augustus could also offer the 'sweetness of tranquillity', under which people feared less to die by violence.[27] Therefore Augustus had managed to acquire power over politics, law, religion and the military whilst maintaining his position and not arousing the feelings which had led to the murder of his adopted father.

Over a generation the Roman system of government passed from a Republic to the sole rule of one man. This period was dominated by the struggle for power. Power in ancient Rome might be considered different from power today, and it may be argued that once Augustus had defeated Antony after Actium he never relinquished his grip on it, despite pretending otherwise. He kept control of his army and gained the support of the people. This was the key to his power. The powers conferred upon Augustus by the Senate gave his authority the appearance of legality and justification. Although not complying with Marxist definitions of revolution, Augustus achieved a total transformation of the political sphere by exploiting the weakness of the old system, the competing ideologies of the people and the senate, and the precedents left by the likes of Sulla, Pompey and Caesar. At the end of a century of anarchy culminating in twenty years of Civil War and military tyranny, liberty was gone, but only a minority at Rome had ever enjoyed it. The survivors of the old governing class, shattered in spirit, gave up the contest.[28] The Principate of Augustus was the culmination of a violent revolutionary process, lasting many years, that broke the power of the old governing class and yet through the same framework established monarchy.

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his sword and said 'if you do not make him consul, this will.'

[26] Miller *Rome, the Greek World and the East* p. 242

[27] Tacitus *Annals* 1.2; Horace, *Odes* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1998) 3.14.16

[28] Syme, R., *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 1960) p. 2

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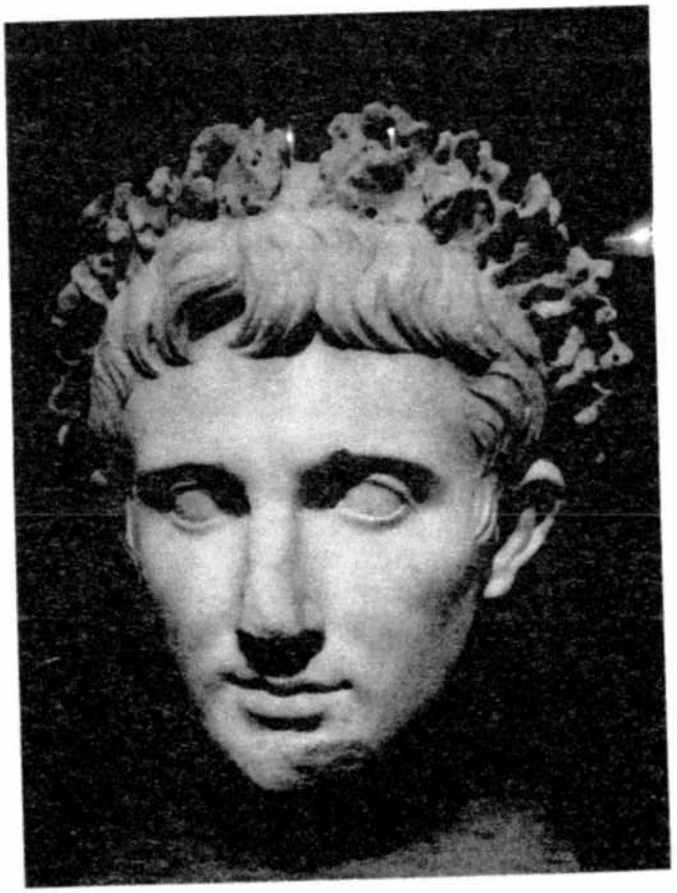
No caps, no football shirts, no hoods..



Is a diadem acceptable?

Thorsten Fögen
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Between Germany and Britain before the Second World War: Frank Clare's Novel "The Cloven Pine" [1]

> "Der sogenannte Totale Staat will den ganzen Menschen. Die Diktatur duldet keine Konkurrenz: weder den Einfluß der Kirche noch den der Familie kann sie gelten lassen. Es darf unter der Diktatur keinen Gott geben neben dem Staat. Der Staat wird zum Gott. Dieser eifersüchtige Gott will vor allem die Jugend. An den Kindern liegt ihm noch mehr als an den Erwachsenen. (...)"
> (Klaus Mann: *A Family against a Dictatorship*, 1937)[2]

Abstract:

The novel *The Cloven Pine*, published in 1942, is an important historical and political document about Germany during the Nazi Era. At the same time it describes the complex friendship between a young British teacher and a German boy, representatives of "two worlds". It was written by a British scholar who based the plot upon his own experiences in the Nazi Germany of the later 1930s. Thematic parallels to other British authors, in particular to Christopher Isherwood, are evident of the novel published in 2003, although a careful reading shows that *The Cloven Pine* is unique in many respects. This article was part of a larger project that centred around a German translation.

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[1] This article is an expanded English version of a guest lecture held at the Universities of Siegen (5 October 2001) and Hamburg (22 January 2003).

[2] Based upon a typescript kept in the "Klaus-Mann-Archiv" which is part of the "Handschriftenabteilung" of the Stadtbibliothek in Munich (dated October 11, 1937 by the author) in: Klaus Mann, *Das Wunder von Madrid. Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1936-1938*. Herausgegeben von Uwe Naumann und Michael Töteberg, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1993, 247.

1. Some remarks on the author

The novel *The Cloven Pine* was published in 1942 by the renowned firm of Secker & Warburg. "Frank Clare" is a pseudonym used by Frederick W. Clayton (1913-1999)[3], a professor of classical philology at the University of Exeter in the Southwest of England from 1948 to 1973. He graduated from King's College Cambridge in 1937 with a master's thesis on aspects of decadence in Roman antiquity[4]. The atmosphere at King's had a formative influence on Clayton: according to some of his personal notes, it was there that he first became acquainted with the world of art, literature and politics[5]. He won several academic prizes for a number of translations from and into the classical languages. His interest in Germany and the German language led him to Vienna in 1935, where he befriended the two sons of a Jewish widow[6]. In 1936 he moved to Dresden, where he worked as a teacher of English at the famous "Kreuzschule". There he came into close contact with the family of one of his pupils, Götz Büttner-Wobst, the son of a lung specialist. It was his experience of Germany and the encounter with the German boy Götz and his slightly older brother Wolf that provided him with the idea for his novel. From 1940 to 1946 Clayton served in the British Army and was stationed in India and Burma from 1942 onwards. After the war, he restarted the correspondence with the Büttner-Wobst family in Dresden and in 1948 finally married Friederike Büttner-Wobst, the sister of Götz, who had died in the war. In the same year he took up a professorship at Exeter after having spent two years at Edinburgh. Apart from a few short articles[7], his inaugural lecture on Stoic philosophy[8] and another lecture on Shakespeare[9] he did not publish any substantial academic work. The fact that British academia in the first half of the twentieth century did not measure one's scholarly quality by the number of monographs and papers published does not

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3 Details on Clayton's life, which cannot be discussed here, are to be found in the *Annual Report of King's College Cambridge* (October 2000), 32-36.

4 The title is *Some Observations on the Problem of "Decadence" in the Ancient World.* This thesis was never published. The typescript of 204 A4 pages – as well as some personal documents such as letters, notes and photographs – can be found in the archives of King's College Cambridge.

5 In a typescript, in which Clayton reflects on his encounters with Edward Morgan Forster in Cambridge, he refers to himself as a "cultural climbing plant (...), neither genuine working-class (...), nor born in King's aesthetic purple. My tastes, particularly in art and music, were hesitant, half-developed – still are. (...) Of course, I'm not a genuine son of the soil, but I played with the village-boys, and the small public library was a mile away, and I never went to a proper concert or opera or art-exhibition till I came to Cambridge (...)"

6 In a handwritten draft of a letter to Christopher Isherwood, to whom he was introduced at King's by Edward Morgan Forster, Clayton speaks of "two very attractive sons". In this letter, which was never sent to Isherwood, Clayton mentions that he went to Vienna in 1935/36 and to Dresden in 1936/37.

7 The following overview of Clayton's articles is complete: A note on the *Acharnians*, in: *Classical Review* 49 (1935), 171f. – Pindar, Nem. IX.32, in: *Classical Review* 50 (1936), 5f. – Tacitus and Nero's persecution of the Christians, in: *Classical Quarterly* 41 (1947), 81-85. – Is Terence readable?, in: *Classical Association Proceedings* 48 (1951), 36f. – Lady Mary and the Greek Anthology, in: *Pegasus* 5 (1966), 32-37. – Four Greek resp. Latin translations of poems of Alexander Pope (*On Mrs Tofts, a Celebrated Opera-Singer*), William Wordsworth (without title), Matthew Arnold (*Requiescat*) and Thomas Hardy (*Triolet. At a Hasty Wedding*), in: *Pegasus* 8 (1966), 9 (1967), and 15 (1973). – Juvenal X 324-9, in: *Pegasus* 21 (1978), 31-33. – Juvenal 10.326-8, in: *Pegasus* 22 (1979), 7.

8 *Some Aspects of Later Stoicism.* Inaugural Lecture delivered on the 19th of November 1948 at University College of the South West of England.

9 *The Hole in the Wall: A New Look at Shakespeare's Latin Base for "A Midsummer Night's Dream"* (Tenth Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, 13 June 1977), Exeter 1979.

sufficiently explain Clayton's reticence. As is shown by Clayton's *Nachlaß*, containing hundreds of almost completely unorganised files with hand- or typewritten notes, he did indeed take a strong interest in the close analysis of ancient as well as modern literary texts. But apart from a few exceptions he never took into account any secondary literature for his own research. Moreover, the great majority of his short essays cannot be praised for their readability, as they lack systematic organisation. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that it was difficult for him to participate in prevailing scholarship.

2. The novel "The Cloven Pine"

Although Clayton never gained a wide reputation for his written academic work, it must be borne in mind that he published his novel before his thirtieth birthday. No less remarkable is the subject matter of this literary work: In the late 1930s, an Englishman – Clayton calls his *alter ego* David Beaton – leaves for Germany after graduating from Cambridge. It is his intention to improve his German and, in an almost journalistic manner, to get a better grasp of the political situation of the time – not without a certain missionary zeal to convince the Germans of the absurdity of Nazi ideology[10]. Like Clayton himself, the protagonist had visited Vienna in order to learn German before moving to Germany[11]. Where exactly the novel takes place is not mentioned[12], nor is the name of the school where Beaton starts to work as an assistant teacher of English. His job enables him to gain insight into the various political positions of his colleagues, who for the most part are devout National Socialists and are committed to teaching their adopted credo to their pupils.

Apart from its political dimensions, one notes the pronounced homoerotic tendency that pervades the entire book[13]. The protagonist Beaton feels strong affection towards the fifteen-year-old Götz, one of his pupils. The two characters get to know more about each other for the first time during a Sunday afternoon walk, initiated by the teacher (p. 23). After some difficulties in sustaining their conversation, they begin to talk about the political situation in Germany. Beaton describes England and Germany as "two worlds"[14], until they finally switch over to German poetry. At the end of their walk, both recite, in the manner of a *furioso* finale, Goethe's *Erlkönig* (ch. 4, p. 28-35). The literal citation of parts of this poem is an explicit reference to the direction in which the relationship between the Englishman and Götz may develop. An older male feels attracted to a younger and is fascinated by

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[10] "When I went to Germany this time, I suppose I regarded myself as a sort of amateur journalist. I was going to find out all about the Third Reich and what people think and say and eat in it. And I was going to convert them, too. And I was going to get a lot of work done – new ideas in Classicism and Romanticism." (Frank Clare, *The Cloven Pine*, London 1942, 92).

[11] "It was ostensibly to learn German for purely academic reasons that he first visited Vienna; he wanted to read certain German works on Romanticism." (p. 27). On Beaton's Austrian accent see p. 22.

[12] Reasons for his silence are mentioned by the author in a typographic note: "I was purposely vague, even though it was war-time, with frontiers closed, about the location, in case the Nazis should possibly get hold of the book and believe some characters were identifiable. I myself had no idea that its being Dresden had added significance." On Dresden before and after the Second World War see in particular Clayton & Russell (1999).

[13] On this aspect, see Elizabeth Bowen in her review of the novel in the *Tatler and Bystander* of 1943: "This is a theme of which English fiction has, on the whole, fought shy. But it is a theme essential to the development of Mr. Clare's story (...)" (Bowen 1943: 182).

[14] "I mean, certain things must strike you." – "Yes. ... In fact, it's so different that one doesn't know where to begin. It's much harder than I had imagined possible. It's like two worlds. Words don't mean the same thing in them." (p. 32).

his appearance ("Mich reizt deine schöne Gestalt"). It must be noted, however, that the sexual element introduced in the poem will find no correspondence in the novel, although it contains a few passages of erotic tension. Also, in contrast to the figure of the Erlkönig, Beaton is not considerably older than the boy.

On the day after the walk, it is Götz in particular who attempts to subdue his fascination for the young teacher. He blames Beaton for his feelings and feels guilty for having revealed too much about himself and his environment. But his choice of words indicates that his behaviour was not just inappropriate familiarity towards the foreigner. The Sunday walk is described in strong sexual terms as an "orgy" and as "prostitution"; the Englishman is said to have seduced him and to have taken possession of his soul (p. 43).

This account of Götz' inner turmoil is followed by a long passage on the role that sexuality plays among his schoolmates. In their eyes, Götz is a little boy who seems to have preserved his innocence so far, but this does not prevent them from making allusions and suggestive jokes. One of his older class-mates called Lange mentions to him various paradigmatic cases of homosexual behaviour: the National Socialist Röhm, dropped by Hitler and murdered in 1934, Catholic priests and the customs of the Greeks (p. 45). The same Lange refers to Beaton as a "One-seven-five". Although Götz does not reply, he has a certain idea of what Lange is talking about and adopts the metaphor of homosexuality as a disease in his personal reflections (p. 46). When he comes home from school, he feels ill and stays at home for a while (p. 50).

After returning to school, he encounters Beaton and engages in a discussion about the relationship between Germany and England (p. 52). A few days later they continue their chat, this time in presence of one of Götz' class-mates. November 1937, the dramatic date of this passage, corresponds to the time of Chamberlain's Appeasement policies. In particular Nazi Germany's expansionism and its justification by the "Raum" ideology are unmasked by Beaton and Götz as propaganda by which the Nazis attempt to exploit the prejudices of the masses. The Englishman finds it completely inconsistent that, on the one hand, the Nazis complain about a lack of space for the Germans and that, on the other, they encourage an increase in German birthrates (p. 53f.). In such debates Götz feels compelled to critically rethink the doctrines of National Socialism. He is torn between what he has been taught at school and his personal doubt about the validity of these doctrines. Nevertheless, he is depicted as someone already influenced to some degree by the systematic Nazi propaganda (see e.g. p. 55).

It is interesting to note that this encounter with Beaton is perceived by Götz as far less disturbing than the first one. He has the impression that he has now revealed less of himself, although he suspects that the reservation and restraint with which their discussion was conducted are unlikely to last (p. 55f.). Even more important is his realization that the Englishman has spoken to him about a substantial topic, and that this has induced him to reflect on and to position himself in relation to his environment – an intellectual challenge that his schoolmates could never provide. This forced act of making up his mind is described by the boy as the loss of virginity and innocence (p. 58). Here, as in other passages, he understands that he is now passing the threshold into adulthood and thus shedding much of the carefree spirit which he has enjoyed thus far (cf. p. 71). He goes so far as to discipline himself (cf. p. 81f.) and to suppress his process of maturation by reading classical authors who are apt to distract him from day-to-day politics (p. 94). The author masterfully succeeds in showing the boy perturbed in various respects: Götz' emotional confusion is

deepened by Beaton's steep challenge to rethink the ideas to which the majority seems to subscribe.

The systematic indoctrination of the German youth during the Nazi era is highlighted in the novel through the portrayal of various teachers who work at Beaton's school. Those teachers who oppose Nazi ideology are in the minority. For example, the headmaster Oehme is ridiculed by most of the pupils because of his softness. In many ways, he represents the opposite of the ideal National Socialist pedagogue who is prepared to take drastic measures to maintain discipline. Still, he does not openly criticize the political situation, but restricts himself to occasional implicit remarks which are meant to draw his pupils' attention to the one-sidedness of the Nazi ideology (p. 56). Amongst the teachers who are devout supporters of Hitler are the two completely different characters Professor Klinge and the young Ludwig Kästner. Klinge, a teacher of English who introduces Beaton as assistant teacher in Götz' class, assigns his pupils books on racial theory and uses every opportunity to imbue them with Nazi doctrines. He is all the more unsympathetic and even detestable, as he is known to have opposed Hitler before he came to power in 1933 (p. 8f.). The young teacher Kästner is depicted as a kind of rival to Beaton, as they both compete to win Götz' favour. The author explicitly refers to Kästner's homosexual inclinations which he is said to share with the Englishman, and which at one point brought him to the brink of suicide (p. 61). Among his pupils Kästner is quite popular; most of them call him by his first name (p. 11f.).

The key episode of the novel, in which Kästner and Beaton are directly contrasted, is placed at the exact centre of the text (chs. 12-15) and is thematically of great importance. Götz' class, accompanied by the two young teachers, go skiing in the mountains. That the group is secluded from the rest of the world and thus placed in a special situation, is emphasized in various ways: the journey by train is described as "moving into another world, an Arctic zone, neither sea nor land", their accommodation in a mountain hut is compared to an imprisonment (p. 95). During their stay in the mountains, Ludwig Kästner repeatedly observes that Götz and the Englishman are comparable in many respects and that they somehow have a certain connection. Although the two rarely come into contact in the hostel, they seem to get closer and closer in Ludwig's eyes (p. 101). What makes it even more difficult for Ludwig is the fact that Beaton and he himself have a number of tense discussions in the presence of their pupils. The orthodox Nazi Kästner criticizes Beaton's liberalist positions as utopian and evasive. From Kästner's point of view, liberalism must necessarily lead to Bolshevism, which in a fatal way puts all men on the same level and allows them to escape from their duties. Standing in sharp contrast to such an individualism is Hitler's superior idea of society and national unity in which the community strives for a more sublime objective, not restricted to the mere satisfaction of material needs. Beaton, however, underlines that he prefers a healthy scepticism and sober reflection to rash actionism. He unmasks the inconsistency of the term "National Socialism" itself when he emphasizes that socialism can only be accomplished on an international level. The Englishman recognizes the theatricality in Ludwig's pompous defence of his credo, but at the same time senses the danger that lies behind his phrases. He perceives the likelihood that the National Socialist dream will end in nightmare (p. 104-116).

Later, Götz interprets the teachers' heated debate as a fight over him, an attempt to draw him onto their side (p. 117f.). The knowledge that both men share a desire for him weighs on his conscience, and he feels compelled to regard Beaton and Kästner as well as himself as morally depraved, although he has so far retained

his physical innocence (p. 119f.). He is repelled by Ludwig's political opinions and thus by Ludwig himself (p. 120; cf. p. 147). The next morning, Götz goes skiing on his own and his slightly too foolhardy descent ends with a concussion (p. 122). When the two teachers learn that the boy is not seriously injured, they begin to talk about him:

> "They smiled, feeling a twofold relief. He was safe – and suddenly one could talk about him. '*Er ist sehr schön*,' said Ludwig simply. – '*Ja. Sehr schön.*' – '*Man muss ihn direkt lieben.*' – '*Ja.*'" (p. 123)

Although their dialogue remains extremely brief, it demonstrates that they agree, if not on the political level, at least in one respect. Thereafter, Beaton appears in Götz' sickroom to say good-bye. Before he returns to England, he seeks some sort of closure, but the boy is evasive (p. 125). The teacher, however, succeeds in imparting his own feelings to Götz, albeit in a slightly cryptic way.

After Beaton's return to England, he and the boy do not lose contact. First they exchange letters, then Götz visits him together with an older schoolmate in England for two months. Before and after this journey most of their letters are centred around political questions like the Nazi invasion of Austria and the apparent problems in the Sudetenland. Given the political circumstances in Germany of the late 1930s, one may ask how realistic it is to let the two protagonists of the novel write letters with such highly explosive contents[15]. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that, by using this narrative technique, the author manages to work in additional references to historical events of this time and thus to connect his literary fiction with the abhorrent reality of the Nazi era.

The dramatic date of Götz' stay in England – first in London, then on the Isle of Man, finally in Liverpool – is 1938. He travels together with Hermann Funk, a character who is conceived as the complete opposite to Götz: he is tactless, dull and always eager to suggest that England is inferior to Germany (p. 171, 184f.). Götz very much dislikes such generalizations, aware as he is of the individuality of each human being, but he senses that one cannot shake off one's national affiliation so easily (p. 172). From the beginning, Hermann's presence is a nuisance to Beaton and Götz (cf. p. 162 and later), but at the same time it affords the reader a greater appreciation of Götz' sensibility. The journey to England has matured his personality and political views, and he develops a genuine sympathy for the Englishman, as Beaton happily notes himself in a letter to a friend – knowing, however, that he will never attain his true desire[16].

After the stay on the Isle of Man, Götz spends a few days at the Beatons' in Liverpool. As the scenery changes, the author signals that the friendship between Beaton and Götz will not transgress its clearly defined boundaries (p. 188). The Englishman knows that the boy has to

[15] Cf. the letters on p. 138-140, 142f., 149f., 161f., 200, 214, 221 and 224f. It must be noted that Clayton was very much aware of the danger of such an exchange of letters, as can be seen from a scene in the novel in which Götz' sister Gisela asks him about the contents of a letter sent by Beaton: "'Is it about politics?' she asked suddenly. 'A bit.' – 'The idiot! He mustn't do it. You must stop him.' – 'Oh, it's all right. What *he* says doesn't matter. It's what *I* say. And I shall be very careful. Trust me.'" (p. 141).

[16] "But, above all, I know now that he likes me, and that certitude is something I've been after so long that it became an end in itself and now satisfies rather than excites. (...) Oh, I won't be a hypocrite (...) The end, the aim, the motive is physical. But do I really delude myself into thinking that that end will be even once attained? Hardly. (...)" (p. 181). Yet it is not the case that Beaton does not try at all to get closer to the boy: "Once or twice he repelled advances of David's that seemed to go too far, but he did so without horror and without disgust; rather with something akin to the guilty pity with which we deny alms and a sort of queer gratitude to David for allowing himself to be repelled so easily." (p. 180).

return to Germany soon, and doubts that his visit to England has made sense at all (p. 191f.). He has the feeling that this will be their last farewell (p. 193). Nevertheless, the author creates the impression that something very important in their relationship has not been resolved. On their last evening together, Beaton plays a recording of Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*, a scene full of striking symbolism:

> "He put on some Mozart first, and then the Unfinished Symphony. 'Yes, that's it!' Götz almost found himself crying after the first bars. He felt that he had never understood music till now. It was not a tune, a lot of notes, a clever pattern. It was David and himself, it was the funeral-triumph march of all desires, a thing whose glory and sadness was that it did not, could not, exist, could not be pushed into being more explicit, into possession and satisfaction, without breaking into pieces. ... Yes. Ludwig Kästner, if he had appreciated irony, might have smiled wryly at this scene. ... 'Well, that's all,' said David, jumping up to take off the needle. 'And it's high time we were going.'" (p. 193f.)

The final six chapters of the novel concentrate on Götz' return to Germany, depicted as a journey back into inescapable reality characterized by its lack of freedom[17]. Back home, the boy reflects on his stay in England, political questions and in particular his relationship to Beaton. He feels once again that he is attracted to his own sex; when he and his schoolmate Lange work together at a farm during the hay harvest, Lange calls him a girl (p. 205) and, as before (p. 197), alludes to the ambiguous character of Götz' friendship with the Englishman (p. 206). One day, guests arrive at the farm, and Götz and Lange have to share the same bed. Götz dreams of having sexual contact with Lange and regrets the lost chance to get closer to Beaton during his stay in England. Although nothing happens during the night, Götz once more defines what he has just lived through as the loss of his innocence:

> "Innocence was dead (...) He had always shrunk from admitting that there was anything about David which even the ill-informed could call 'abnormal' – as he shrank from thinking about the whole thing. But it suddenly struck him now that the world no doubt would call Lange 'normal', and David and Ludwig 'abnormal'. He did not resent this. The idiocy of men seemed nothing to the idiocy of God. He felt foul – yet no fouler than others. He despised himself – yet no more than he despised all life." (p. 208)

Meanwhile, all signals point to Germany's preparations for war. The Munich Agreement (September 29, 1938), signed by Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy, provides Hitler with the power to evacuate the Czech population from the Sudetenland. Everyone in Götz' family suspects that the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia will be next on the agenda, and that recent developments point to war. The novel ends in the darkest possible tones with the suicide of Götz' father, whose deep pessimism had already developed (p. 216, 219, 223) and is summarized in his farewell letter to his son. As he felt extremely powerless to resist a regime like Hitler's, he regarded death to be the only solution – for himself as well as for the family (p. 228f.). Götz burns the letter, leaves home and walks into the forest. He realizes to what extent the Nazi dictatorship has subdued him and his environment, and radically exterminated intellectual independence and self-determination. In the end, the regime itself leads to the failure of true friendship between Götz and Beaton. In such a world, freedom is a mere illusion and men are trapped (p. 230-232) – in the same way that the spirit Ariel from Shakespeare's

[17] Cf. p. 195, taken up and extended on p. 196: "This was reality, the other was a dream. There were two worlds, and one must live on one's own world. Perhaps it would have been wiser – whatever wisdom was worth – to have kept to one's own world, not to have known or dreamt ... Ariel, indeed! Ariel in the cloven pine. *Erlkönig hat mir ein Leids getan.*"

Tempest is trapped in the cloven pine[18]. The tree emerges as a symbol of the imprisonment of the German young people and their nearly insurmountable difficulties to free themselves from a well-established and widely accepted ideology. The author of the novel does not attempt to give any justification for those Germans who sympathized with Nazi doctrines; instead, he seeks to prove that it is almost impossible to preserve a clear mind amidst depraved moral standards, and to resist an overpowering majority. That there may be hope to regain autonomy in thought and action one day is only vaguely hinted at in the final lines of the novel (p. 232).

Clearly, the text is both an important historical document and a touching story of self-discovery. On the other hand, it would be misguided to interpret *The Cloven Pine* as either a historical report or a personal coming-out account. It is beyond doubt that, despite the upsetting political situation in Germany, the protagonist Beaton experiences his stay in the foreign country as a process of inner liberation. He does not succeed in writing reports on German politics and discovering the truth about Germany; he is much more preoccupied with reaching the truth about his relationship with Götz and about himself (p. 92f.). The paradox that one can feel freedom in a country that is anything but the safe-haven of freedom is formulated as follows:

> "(...) his relations with his home environment had something to do with every visit after the first [sc. to Vienna, cf. n. 11]. He was seeking freedom of a sort in freedom's most unlikely habitation. There was no one who knew him watching; in an alien world and an alien tongue he could escape from humour and parody and the phrases in inverted commas. He would find out, perhaps, what he really felt and thought." (p. 27f.)

This passage shows that the Englishman understands his stay abroad as a chance to cut all ties with his society and to redefine his self. That this was a decisive reason for his temporary departure from England is signalled by Beaton during his walk with Götz (p. 34, cf. p. 125). He says that, through abandoning the structures of the mother tongue, one may achieve a new configuration of personal perspective, as if, by learning German, one has to rethink all concepts that are behind the words. Thus it is not surprising that the English text contains a number of German words, which, according to the author, seem to symbolize something specifically German, and often do not have any true English equivalent. This technique may have been inspired by some of Christopher Isherwood's novels about Germany, notably by *Mr Norris Changes Trains* and by *Goodbye to Berlin*, both of which are sprinkled with German words and even longer passages in German.

Beaton fully unveils his true feelings only in his letters to Alan Reade, a British friend from his university days. The character of Reade, who is just introduced as the addressee of Beaton's letters, but never materializes in the text, is likely to have been modelled after Clayton's friend Alan Turing (1912-1954), a famous mathematician who was homosexual and committed suicide at an early age[19]. Reade had told Beaton at Cambridge that he was afraid of his own emotions, and advised him to fall in love (p. 27). This is exactly what happens to Beaton with Götz, and in one letter he explains to Reade that the boy is his first real love (p. 91). He admits that his attempt during his time in Germany to redevelop his former affections for a

[18] Cf. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* vv. 250-293: The witch Sycorax imprisons Ariel in the pine, until Prospero releases the spirit. That the "dozen years" during which Ariel has to stay inside the tree (vv. 277-279) correspond to the duration of the Nazi regime lasting from 1933 to 1945 is a mere coincidence that could not have been anticipated by the author.

[19] For details see the biography by Hodges (1983); less neutral is the work by Turing's mother Sara about her son (Turing 1959).

woman called Renate has failed, as he is completely overwhelmed by his feelings for the boy. In his letter to Reade he points out that, having admitted his emotional state to himself, he has gone through a process of maturation (p. 91f.), despite his state of inner turmoil. He is almost obsessed by the boy and hopes to spend as much time with him as possible (p. 92). As has been demonstrated above, the boy, too, learns a great deal about himself in the course of the novel; the encounter with the older teacher leaves him mentally more mature. The final step towards the full liberation of both characters is prevented by a political situation which does not allow the inhabitants of two separate worlds to find each other.

It is difficult for Clayton's novel to draw a line between mere fiction and passages that come close to, or even are, a documentary report. One may ask whether it is desirable from a scholarly point of view to make such a distinction, as it would in no way diminish the undeniable literary quality of the text. That a comparison of an author's biography and his literary products can shed light upon some intriguing aspects has been shown by the ample scholarly work on the Mann family, in particular on Thomas and Klaus Mann[20]. However, to draw such conclusions is only unobjectionable if a corpus of personal remarks and other illustrative documents has survived. Clayton left indeed a number of notes that are full of private reflections. Unfortunately, only a small minority of these sometimes very personal texts have been accessible. But even the limited information available indicates that Clayton had deep-seated homoerotic inclinations. His own sexuality always preoccupied and perturbed him. But to find a definite answer as to whether his marriage and four children were an escape from himself is beyond the realm of serious scholarship. Finally, one may add that it is not without significance that he chose a pseudonym for his novel[21]. As he himself points out in a typed note, he had his reasons for doing so: he intended to avoid the impression that he was a pronounced Germanophile. In 1942, the date of publication, any sympathy for things German surely irritated most British people, even in cases where it was obvious that one entirely rejected Hitler[22].

3. Clayton's other literary works

Apart from the novel *The Cloven Pine*, Clayton produced some other literary works which have not yet been published. Most of them have been discovered only quite recently. There are the four short stories *Little Man* (typescript of c. 21 A4 pages), *The Course of True Love. An Artificial Romance* (21 pp.), *A Pound of Chocolate* (13 pp.) and *The Return* (5 pp.), the two dramas *The Foolish Virgin* and *Small Mercy or The Sponge: Fantasia on a Theme of Judgement*, and finally a tragedy in two different versions: *Vienna: Tragedy in Three Visits* and *A Visitor in Vienna.* Although the dates of the unpublished works are completely uncertain, it can be argued that they were without exception

[20] Research in this area has been extremely fruitful; see in particular Reich-Ranicki (1987) and Krüll (1991), both with useful secondary literature.

[21] On the use of pseudonyms in homoerotic fiction in general see Popp (1992: 32f. and 279) and Woods (1998: 336-338).

[22] "I had, I admit, hidden behind a pseudonym. I did not want to have to defend myself all over the place against criticism." Clayton remarks that his novel received some negative criticism after publication, blaming him for a lack of patriotism and in one case even of the approval of Hitler. That there were exceptions to this is proved by another passage in a typescript: "In 1942 (...) we were as a nation still sane and civilised and tolerant enough for a young English soldier to write, for an English publisher to produce, for some leading English critics and readers to praise, a book which deliberately offended both patriotic and moral prejudices in order to state that it was possible to love deeply a boy brought up under the Nazi regime (...)".

written after the novel, probably during Clayton's time at Exeter.

Of particular relevance to the novel are the two versions of the Vienna play. Like the majority of Clayton's literary works, the drama also draws on autobiographical elements, and is based upon the author's impressions during his stays in Vienna[23]. The central theme of the play is anti-Semitism, a phenomenon that crops up in the novel only occasionally. The three acts of the drama correspond to the three visits of the young Englishman Macdonald to Vienna in 1931, 1934 and 1936. This technique allows the protagonist to analyse the development of the political and economic situation, and in particular the discrimination against Jewish people, which reached an alarming degree long before the Nazi invasion in 1938. The figure of Macdonald is forced to deal with the political positions of the other characters, ranging from socialists to stern antidemocrats and anti-Semites, and often serves as a kind of corrective. The text is a manifesto against exaggerated patriotism and racial hatred, which are exposed to be the result of a dangerous mixture of stupidity and prejudices. It deserves full analysis elsewhere.

4. References to literary works of other authors

Parallels between Clayton's novel *The Cloven Pine* and other works by British writers are conspicuous, but are also noticeable in the case of authors from the German-speaking countries. Among German-speaking authors, it was, for example, Klaus Mann, Heinrich Mann, Ernst Toller, Ödön von Horváth, Lion Feuchtwanger and Bertolt Brecht who made National Socialism a prominent theme in their works (cf. Müller-Seidel ²1988: 450-453). Although there are no direct hints that Clayton was acquainted with Ödön von Horváth's work, it is particularly illuminating to compare his *Jugend ohne Gott* with the novel (see Fögen 2003: esp. 97f.). The final part of this contribution, however, will deal with the question of Clayton's relationship to British authors. Due to considerations of space, it is not possible to take into account all intertextual facets, and a detailed analysis must be reserved for future research.

Clayton can be grouped together with other British writers who turned their experiences in Germany into literary works. Christopher Isherwood (1906-1986) and Stephen Spender (1909-1995), in part also Wystan Hugh Auden (1907-1974), had a strong interest in the German politics of the late 1920s and the 1930s; the danger of Hitler and his ideology is treated with great lucidity. At the same time their texts have a strongly autobiographical character; homoerotic elements are more or less manifest[24]. But these common traits should not obscure the numerous differences between Clayton and the above-mentioned authors. Isherwood and Spender left Germany before the Nazis came to power in 1933; Clayton did not arrive in Germany until 1936. Therefore, his novel does not document the rise of the new regime and its probable dangers, but shows Hitler at the height of his power, as well as the first

[23] Like Clayton himself, the protagonist of the drama, Macdonald, comes from Liverpool (*Vienna*, typescript p. 14; *A Visitor in Vienna*, typescript p. 14) and went to Cambridge University; in what is thought to be the later version of the play Macdonald even read classics (*Vienna*, typescript p. 61f., 68).

[24] Particularly important are Isherwood's *Mr Norris Changes Trains* (1935), *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939), *Prater Violet* (1945), but also his later works *Down There on a Visit* (1962) and *Christopher and His Kind* (1977), further Spender's *Vienna* (1934), the antifascist verse drama *Trial of a Judge* (1938), *The Temple* (1988) and his *Journals 1939-1983* (published in 1985). The secondary literature dealing with these authors and their circle, including Auden, is extensive; among the more recent studies, see in particular Page (2000) and Leeming (1999), on Isherwood see the useful overview by Popp (1992: 305-319).

signs of his aggressive expansionism and its consequences.

Clayton's *The Cloven Pine* has the virtue of integrating into its narrative a sensitive analysis of the political situation in Germany and Europe. Although literary fiction cannot provide completely neutral and extensive documentation, it can hardly be denied that, despite the novel's multi-faceted approach, Clayton considerably restricts his perspective by setting the great majority of his characters within only one social level, the upper middle class[25]. Most of them have rather similar – disapproving – positions towards Hitler; there are only two politically more radical figures: the teachers Professor Klinge and Ludwig Kästner. Although the characters of the two versions of the Vienna drama are also dominated by members of the upper middle class, the range of political viewpoints is more diverse than in the novel. In contrast, Isherwood's two works *Mr Norris Changes Trains* and *Goodbye to Berlin* cover the full social spectrum, and allow for a depiction of sometimes very different political and social opinions.

Clayton differs from other British writers of his time in another respect, that being the homoerotic element. It is not the affection for working-class boys that compels his *alter ego* David Beaton to move to a big city like Berlin as the embodiment of homosexual excess. The motif of the metropolis as the place of vice and of purchasable homosexual love does not occur in *The Cloven Pine*, but it must be conceded that even Isherwood and Spender restrict this aspect to their more explicit works, *Christopher and His Kind* and *The Temple*. As has been demonstrated above, the sexual element is not completely ignored by Clayton, but it is treated quite delicately and allusively. The best example of this is the scene in which Götz, the Englishman and Hermann are reading a book together during their stay on the Isle of Man: as they are sitting together on a bench, Götz' and Beaton's hands touch each other surreptitiously (p. 177).

It may be of some interest that Clayton met Isherwood on more than one occasion. He must have known some of Isherwood's works, even if indirectly. But whether he intended to associate himself with Isherwood and Spender by writing *The Cloven Pine* is a matter of speculation. It is at least very likely that Isherwood's books on Germany influenced him when he wrote his own novel.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this contribution has been a modest one: to highlight Clayton's novel *The Cloven Pine* by a short interpretive analysis, and to position it within literary history amongst works that are similar in their motifs and themes. It was intended to be a beginning rather than the final word on this fascinating text and its author. That there have not been any scholarly studies of this work has to do with the circumstances of its publication in 1942. Literary texts printed in times of war and crises are rather unlikely to be received by a large readership. As Clayton never published his other literary works, his first product did not have the chance to gain full appreciation at a later stage. It is hoped that this article – and also the German translation of the novel published in 2003[26] – will lead to a rediscovery of this fine piece of art, both in scholarship and in the wider public.

[25] Two exceptions are the farmer, a Nazi enthusiast for whom Götz works for a short time during the hay harvest (p. 202-204), and the drunken painter at the end of chapter 20, who tells teacher Oehme and a few pupils including Götz about his imprisonment in a concentration camp, and who appeals to the teacher to open his pupils' eyes to the violence employed by the Nazis (p. 157-159).

[26] Frank Clare, *Zwei Welten. Eine Jugend im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland.* Übersetzung von Dino Heicker. Hrsg. und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Thorsten Fögen, Hamburg 2003: MSK.

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This article was submitted *sans title*, merely with the terse interrogative of the lecture/examiner, with its plea for exposition about ancient pottery. I tried to come up with a witty or pithy title, but I failed. Hence, it is presented here in its unadulterated form...

PLEASE DISCUSS THE FOLLOWING TWO VASE PAINTINGS:

Hilary Schan.

1) Krater by Euphronios, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10
2) Lekythos by 'Thanatos-Painter', London, British Museum D58

In early antiquity it would seem that representation of myth on vases was a rarity. From what we have left of both the Dark Ages and the Geometric Period we can see that there is a distinct lack of mythological images up until the second half of the eighth century BC. It is not until the seventh century that we begin to see a real development in this area. From this time onwards, myth becomes a more popular subject matter on Greek vases and in this essay I will explore and discuss two vases from different periods which represent the same myth but in different ways. Both vases show the image of Hypnos and Thanatos carrying a body. The first, by Euphronios, identifies the body as the mythological warrior Sarpedon; the second however, attributed to the 'Thanatos –painter', does not identify the body, but some think that it features the same character, or at least that the image is inspired by the story of his death.

When studying the representation of myth, it is important to ascertain what particular aspects of the myth the artist has drawn on and why. As we will see, these images, which recall a scene in the Iliad, are representations of the myth, not illustrations of it and so will differ from the text, as we know it and we need to investigate why. We also need to explore the significance of the myth to the pot it is painted on.

Euphronios' vase is a red figure calyx-krater from the Archaic Period, painted in approximately 510BC. Euphronios' main frieze depicts the two deities Thanatos (Death) and Hypnos (Sleep) as winged, armoured

gods, carrying the dead body of Sarpedon, the leader of the Trojan allies, the Lykians. Sarpedon is naked with blood pouring from his chest, leg and stomach; the two that carry him are both dressed as warriors. Hermes is present in the centre of the picture, hurrying Thanatos and Hypnos along and on either side a soldier flanks the main scene. All characters are identified by their names, written as though coming from their mouths. This krater is vastly decorated with "tendrils and flowers (that) mimic the delights of intoxication"[1]. This krater would have been made for use at drinking parties (symposia) and therefore it is appropriate that this sort of pattern would be used.

The vase by the 'Thanatos-Painter' is different in many respects. This vase is a red-figure, white-ground lekythos from the Classical Period, painted between 450-425BC. In this picture we see the gods Thanatos and Hypnos carrying an unidentified body. Thanatos and Hypnos again have wings but are naked. In the background, we see a stele set on a base with two steps. The stele is decorated by ribbon and a Corinthian helmet seems to be depicted on it. There is limited pattern on the vase with only a geometric style pattern bordering the edges. This was more than likely a funerary lekythos, which would have been a grave offering with oil in it.

As I said earlier, the images on these vases both recall an event in the Iliad, the death of Sarpedon. In book sixteen of the Iliad, Patroklos, disguised as Achilles, kills Sarpedon. Sarpedon has already been recognised in the poem as one of the strongest fighters and he is also only half mortal, his father being Zeus. When Zeus sees that his son is likely to be killed, he considers interfering with fate and saving Sarpedon, until Hera reminds him of the consequences this would have. A fight ensues for Sarpedon's body as his comrades wish to take it for proper burial whilst the enemies wish to strip him of his armour. They achieve this but Zeus, then seeing Sarpedon's body abused, sends Apollo down to rescue Sarpedon:

"Wash the dark suffusion of blood from him then carry him far away and wash him in a running river, anoint him in ambrosia, put ambrosial clothing upon him; then give him into the charge of swift messengers to carry him, of Sleep and Death, who are twin brothers, and these two shall lay him

[1] Schefold (1992) p.249

down presently within the rich countryside of broad Lykia where his brothers and countrymen shall give him due burial with tomb and gravestone"[2].

Apollo obeys his father and we are told that Hypnos and Thanatos do take the body of Sarpedon to Lycia, although we are not given a description of the event itself. We are not given a description of the gods themselves either "that would be left to the vase painters"[3].

It has been said that in Euphronios' design we have a "superb image of the world of Homer"[4]. While it is true that Euphronios paints a fairly accurate portrait of the Homeric version of this story there are some differences too. Hermes, for example, is present here in place of Apollo. Hermes was of course the messenger of Zeus and the escort of the dead and so possibly fits better into this scene than Apollo. Apollo fits well into the context of Book 16 as a whole, as previous to Sarpedon's death he has healed the arm of Sarpedon's fellow Lycian, Glaukos and is now sent to help another warrior on the side of the Trojans. Apollo's role in the rescue of Sarpedon's body is to wash, anoint and dress him, none of which have been done in this picture - inconsistent with Homer's account of the story. In book sixteen, by the time the body has been handed over to Thanatos and Hypnos, Apollo has done all his duties but because Euphronios obviously wanted to portray the horror of battle, he chose to paint Sarpedon naked and bleeding. Euphronios has therefore taken away Apollo's role in this scene and his presence would only be confusing and somewhat meaningless.

By replacing Apollo with Hermes, Euphronios shows that there has been divine interference from Zeus, as he is Zeus' messenger and also represents the theme of death as well, as he is "the conductor of the souls of the dead"[5]. As it is not possible to gauge from a vase the entire context of a story, it is necessary for the painter to provide as much information as possible in his image, replacing the Olympian god of the story helps Euphronios to do this.

I have also thought that there may be a possibility that the Greek artist would not have wanted to include in his portrayal a Trojan-supporting

[2] Iliad (Book 16 L668-675) Lattimore pg. 348
[3] Shapiro (1994) pg. 23
[4] Schefold (1992) pg. 249
[5] Shapiro (1994) pg. 24

god, which Apollo very much is in the Iliad.

There is no god portrayed in the vase by the Thanatos Painter. There is no proof to suggest that the image on this vase is a representation of book sixteen of the Iliad and that the body is Sarpedon. The lack of a god in the scene could be conceived as a reason to believe that this is not the story of Sarpedon's death; on the other hand, the scene does not appear to be part of Homer's story at all, it could be a continuation of this story and the image we see is of the body arriving in Lycia. This is entirely possible as in the background there is the aforementioned stele and as there is reference in the above passage from the Iliad to 'proper burial' with a tomb and gravestone, the picture could be thought of as representing a part of the story that Homer did not tell.

The body being carried in this picture is washed and clothed –, as Sarpedon's body should be, as Zeus requested Apollo do this for him. However, just because the body is clothed it would be very presumptuous to assume that this is in fact Sarpedon.

Euphronios has quite clearly set a busy scene, filling all the available space with characters, words or patterns emulating a battle scene, where of course the Homeric tale takes place. There is a lot of war related imagery – Thanatos and Hypnos are dressed as warriors and armed- a less expected feature: "no doubt an innovation of Euphronios, for Homer's audience surely did not visualise them this way"[6]. Euphronios likely chose to dress them as warriors to highlight the fact that it is a scene of battle; he has also done this by flanking the main scene with two warriors, named as Leodamas and Hippolytus. Schefold points out that Hippolytus is a very Greek name and that Leodamas could be seen to be a Lycian name, however he does not seem to develop this idea and says that the scene is simply "like some kind of vision which they happen to be simultaneously experiencing"[7] but I think the contrasting of the two names is more important. With the soldiers on either side of the scene, Sarpedon's body is between them – in Homer's story, the Lycians and the Greeks are fighting over the body and I think the fact that they flank the scene here could represent this aspect of the story.

The Thanatos Painter's lekythos is quite an isolated scene with little happening around the main

[6] Shapiro (1993) pg. 133

picture. The emphasis is much more on death in this scene as opposed to battle; this is mostly due to the use of the vase itself. This will be discussed later.

If we look again at the representation of Thanatos and Hypnos, on both vases the two deities are winged. Homer did not attribute them with this feature. As I have said before, he gives us no description of them at all. Shapiro comments that wings are a suitable feature for the two: "The wings are never explicitly referred to by Homer, but flow naturally from the gods' swiftness and from the nature of their mission"[8]. A more practical approach could be taken to explaining why they have wings and that is that it solves the issue of how they would get Sarpedon back to Lycia. It also determines the fact that they are immortal creatures.

It is interesting also that Death i.e. Thanatos, is not portrayed on either vase as being at all ghastly. This is true of the description of Death in Homer's passage as well. Both Sleep and Death are referred to as "swift messengers"[9] – hardly a monstrous image.

In Iliad sixteen, Zeus states in his speech that Sleep and Death are twin brothers. In Euphronios' painting this is evident but in the Thanatos Painter's image, the two deities look very different. One is young, with curly hair and the other older looking and bearded with straight, dark hair. This is odd as the gods on this vase are almost certainly Hypnos and Thanatos and the two are recognised as being twins elsewhere in mythology. Again, the picture is not true to Homer's story and this could serve as another argument against this being a representation of the myth of Sarpedon's death.

The use of the jug itself inevitably has an influence on the mood and style of the decoration and what aspects of a story the artist concentrates on. Euphronios' krater would have been used at symposiums, where the poems of Homer would have been sung by bards. It is therefore appropriate that a tale from Homer be the subject matter of this type of pot. The pot by the Thanatos Painter, most likely a grave offering, is bound to concentrate on the theme of death, hence the choice of illustration. Although the body in this image is probably not supposed to be Sarpedon, it is almost certainly alluding to this myth and others like it. It became common for artists to replace

[7] Schefold (1992) pg. 249
[8] Shapiro (1993) pg. 133
[9] Iliad Book 16 L671. Lattimore pg. 348

characters in myths with unidentified figures so that the character could be seen as representative of any contemporary figure. This lekythos could have been an offering to a dead soldier making the depiction of the death of a heroic warrior very appropriate; the dead man on the vase is identified as being a soldier by the presence of the helmet on the stele. He is also being honoured as a hero by receiving proper burial as described in Homer. If this was then an offering to a soldier, he is inevitably compared and paralleled with a hero.

As we have seen, both vases have Homeric connotations, one quite obviously more than the other. I do believe however that there are most certainly Homeric allusions in the Thanatos Painter's was clearly highlighting the horror of battle by representing bodily mutilation, armour, weapons and opposing warriors. He was also showing the excellence of divine intervention by emphasising the "gentleness and care"[10] of the gods in the way that they handle the operation. The Thanatos Painter however was concentrating on the death and burial of a hero and the proper way in which this should be done. Although there is significantly less detail to suggest the inspiration of Homer in this painting than in the Euphronios krater, I think the lekythos although I believe the purpose of these allusions are quite different to that of the Euphronios krater. Euphronios similarity of the picture to the image of Sarpedon's death in Homer, is alone enough.

These vases both show the incredible scope of Homer's poetry, demonstrating how it can help to portray and develop so many different ideas and ideals. We have also seen how representation of myth in different ways can bring out different messages from the original story and that through art we are given an extra tool to help us explore and understand ancient literature.

Krater by Euphronios, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

[10] Shapiro (1994) pg. 24

Lekythos by 'Thanatos –Painter', London, British Museum D58

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