PEGASUS

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PEGASUS

The Journal of the Department of Classics and Ancient History in the University of Exeter

Edited by Rowan Fraser

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♣ *SUBMISSIONS FOR FUTURE ISSUES*

Contributions of any sort — articles, reviews, or other items of Classical or Exonian interest — are always welcome. Such pieces should be submitted in an easily decipherable form: paper, disc (MS Word format if possible), electronic (Pegasus@exeter.ac.uk), etc. A complimentary copy of *Pegasus* is sent to all authors of published articles.

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♣ *BACK ISSUES*

Do you need to fill some gaps in your collection? If so, back issues of *Pegasus* may be obtained for £3 each (including UK postage) on application to the Editors. Some issues have to be supplied as a photocopy. [*Special note for J.K. Rowling enthusiasts:* issue 41 (1998) is now out of print, but photocopies can be supplied on request; copies of issue 44 (2001) have nearly run out.]

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

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Unfortunately the Jackson Knight lecture of 2006 was not able to be included. It will be included in Issue 51 (2008).

Acknowledgements

Thanks very much to Kyle Erickson for his work on the design and formatting.

Departmental News

We have now completed the first academic year in our new quarters in the Amory Building as part of the School of Humanities and Social Science (HuSS). Nostalgia for Queen's is revived whenever we have occasion to revisit the old common room there, but the department's professors have been seduced by spacious new offices, and the postgraduate research students have a vastly better deal in the four shared offices that have been allocated for them. We have extremely sympathetic new neighbours in the politics department, and terrific support from the HuSS office staff, also only a step away.

Academically CAH is in very good shape. I write on the day that the 2007 BA cohort graduates: 8 classicists (2 firsts), 30 ancient historians (2 firsts), 15 Classical Studies (5 firsts), 8 Ancient History and Archaeology (2 firsts), 8 History and Ancient History (1 first), 13 Classical Studies and English (2 firsts), 5 Classical Studies and Philosophy (1 first), and a first in Archaeology and Ancient Civilizations. That is 54 single honours and 34 combined honours students, with 16 first class honours between them. There are sixteen students in this year's MA programme, and around 25 postgraduate research students, mostly studying for doctorates. Since this time last year, the following have successfully completed their PhDs:

Emma ASTON: Metamorphosis in Greek Religion
Georgia PETRIDOU: On Divine Epiphanies: Contextualising and Conceptualising Epiphanic Narratives in Greek Literature and Culture
Paul SCADE: Plato and Stoicism: fundamental principles
Phil TILDEN: Religious Intolerance in Fourth-Century Imperial Legislation

Our postgraduates played a lead role in organising the annual HuSS postgraduate conference in May, and several of them presented papers or organised panels. Several events are planned for next year, including a postgraduate-organised conference on the Seleukids and a conference-workshop on ancient Italy.

There have been staff changes during the course of the year. Professor Tim Whitmarsh is leaving to become the E. P. Warren *praelector* at Corpus Christi and a University Fellow in Greek at Oxford University. Dr Martin Dinter is moving to a Lectureship in Latin at King's College, London. Dr Emma Aston, who held a one-year post in 2005-6 in the course of her PhD, has been appointed to a Lectureship in Greek History at Reading University. Dr Paul Scade has also come to the end of a fixed-term appointment. Georgia Petridou has been awarded a post-doctoral research fellowship at the British Institute at Ankara.

Several new appointments have been made for 2007-8. Dr Eleanor Dickey is moving from Columbia University (USA) to become Associate Professor of Classics. Dr Karen Ni-Mheallaigh is joining us from Swansea, as a Lecturer in Classics. Dr Julius Rocca has been appointed to a post in ancient medicine, funded by the Wellcome Trust, initially to carry out a research project on Galen's teleology. This, like Dr Martin Pitts' RCUK fellowship, will in due course evolve into a permanent position in the department. Dr Pier Luigi Tucci (Rome) is taking a temporary position in Classical Archaeology and Material Culture, in place of Professor Barbara Borg who has Leverhulme-funded study leave. At the beginning of the 2007-8 academic year the department will have 17 permanent and 2 fixed-term full-time staff. We look forward with a mixture of expectation and trepidation to how our collective research performance and capacity will be assessed in RAE 2008!

Stephen Mitchell
Head of Department

Recently Completed Theses in the Department

PhD theses 2004-06

Susan Ugurlu: Art and Culture in Phrygian Ankara
Vassilis Vassiliu: The Representation of Women, Warfare and Power in Greek Historiography (4th century to 1st century B.C.)
Eleanor Cowan (Chambers): Contemporary Perspectives of the Res Publica: Augustus to Tiberius
Paul Curtis: A Commentary on Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* with Introduction
Kate Gurney: Divine supervisors: The Deified Virtues in Roman Religious Thought
Arlene Allan: The Lyre, the Whip and the Staff of Gold; Readings in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*
Julie Lewis: Greek Oracles in the 2nd century C.E.
James Richardson: Roman Noble Self-Presentation as an Influence on the Historiographical Tradition of Early Rome
Thomas Thanos: Plato's Sophist: A Study of the Outer Part

2006 MA Theses

Alexander Adams: Re-assessing Roman Sexual Attitudes: Sexual violence and the Comedy of Male 'Rape'
Erin Brassil: A Discussion of the scholarship on the origins of Roman Republican Portraiture
Camilla Chorfi: DeRacinating Drama: Post-Orientalism and the ancient Literatures in Tawfiq al-Hakim's *Al-Malik Ūdīb* and *Izīs*
Louise Dartnell: A discussion of the paintings from the Villa della Farnesina
Jeff Dibelius: Hellenistic Cyprus
Myrilos Dionysios: The Mystic Language of Aeschylus in *Oresteia*
Mark Doidge: The Origins of Etruscan Sport
Kyle Erickson: Power and Cults for Royal Women in the Hellenistic Period
Gemma Farmer: Political Themes in Old Attic Comedy: A Study of Aristophanes, Cratinus and Eupolis
Tim Garland: What was the form and function of the ceremony of *Hypantesis* in the Early Seleukid Empire?
Grainne Grant: Perfumers in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek World
Oliver Harrison: The Reception of Physical Violation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to Lucan's *Bellum Civile*
Hannah Mossman: Narrative and Cultural Memory in Post-Classical Representations of the Black Sea
Theodora Panayi: Drunken Politics. Alexander the Great, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Mark Antony, three figures whose lives were poured with wine
Erin Patrick: In Sickness and in Health: An Examination into the Hippocratic Depiction of Sickness, Disease and Health Maintenance in the Extant Tragedies of Sophocles
Ean Plotkin: The Intellectual Cooperation of Rhetoric and Tragedy in 5th Century Athens
Louise Proudman: The Reception and Alteration of Classical Myth: An Investigation into the aims and uses of classically influenced film and literature, aimed at children 16 and under
Loic Salmon: Cyprus and the Southern Coast of Asia Minor - and particularly Cilicia - during the Hellenistic Period

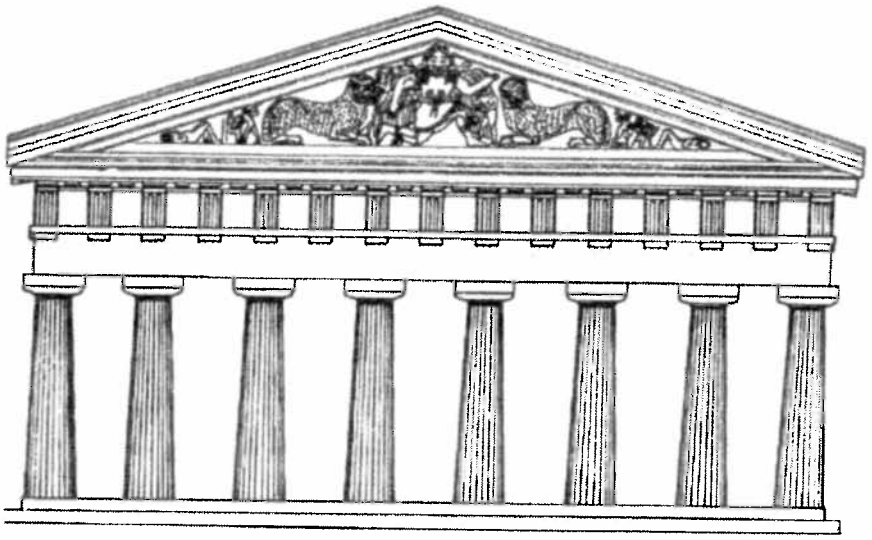
Eleni Tsitsi: Marsyas and Roman Liberty
Kiu Yue: History and Myth in Silius Italicus

2005 MA Theses

Karl Adamson: "Poles Apart?" - Why is it that tragic characters tend to move from wellbeing to calamity and comic characters tend to move from suffering a problem to overcoming it? Are these genres so different?
Anna Blurtsyan: Prohibited Sexual Relations Inside the *Oikos* in Ancient Greek Texts: The Case of Euripides' *Hippolytus*
Pauline Hanesworth: Self and Other in Darius' Necromancy
Sharon Marshall: Christine de Pizan and the Classical Tradition
Rory Parker: Understanding and Challenging the Historicity of Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus
James Petitpierre: The Foundation of Constantinople
Lee Pretlove: The Vibennae in Etrusco-Roman Legend
Terence Reilly: How to Build an Eternal City: Livy's conception of Rome's Origin and his Insight into the Necessary Changes to Solve the Political and Social Turmoil of the Late Republic as seen in the Historian's Depiction of the First Three Kings of Rome
Jodie Underhay: Receptions of Nero: Allegory and the Emperor in Two 17th Century Texts
Georgina Willms: Variations on Ovidian Themes: Ovid, Shakespeare, and the Semantics of Rape
Benjamin Woodcock: Senatorial concepts and Practicalities of Roman Internal Concordia: Ideology, Collapse and Consolidation in the Late Republic

2004 MA Theses

Alexander Ashworth: Pomponius' *Enchiridion*. A Jurist's History of the Roman Constitution
Jonathan Fletcher: Tradition, Imagination and Virtue: Ethiopia and its people in Graeco-Roman Literature and the *Aithiopika*
David Gennoy: Intellectual Thought in Menander
Rachel Hull: Women in the Second Sophistic: Circumscribed Empowerment?
Elizabeth Noble: The Myths of Phaedra and Medea in their Greek and Roman Contexts: some comparative aspects.
Katerina Stergiopoulou: How Tragic is Aristophanes?
Betony Taylor: Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2000): its use of the Ancient Roman Setting to Explore Issues of Spectacle and Mass Audience.
Alicia Rose Vernon: Mapping the Exotic: Travel, Writing and the Construction of the Exotic in the Second Sophistic
Alexandra Williams: The Role of Etruscan Divination in Roman Stories



STAFF RESEARCH NEWS

Barbara Borg is on Leverhulme-funded study leave.

Martin Dinter (M.T.Dinter@exeter.ac.uk)
In the last year I have completed papers on Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and Martial's *Epigrams* and Greek Tragedy for publication. I have been invited to contribute to Brill's *Companion to Lucan*, as well as conference proceedings on 'The Epic Gaze', Lucan (again!) and Horace. I have presented talks at the Classical Associations in Exeter and Southampton and given seminars and conference talks at Trondheim, Rostock and UCL. My monograph on 'Lucan's Epic Body' is currently under consideration by CUP. At the moment I am writing two articles on Roman poetry for the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Ancient World* and preparing a study of sententia in Virgil.

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk)
This year I have completed a book, *The Naturalistic Self in the Second Century AD: Galen and Stoicism*, which I have submitted to Oxford University Press. This book continues my research on ancient concepts of personality and self, but extends this work to a later period and to the interface between medical and philosophical thought. The main themes discussed are the mind-body relationship, the psychology of the emotions, and the interplay between medical and psychological therapy. Also, together with Tim Whitmarsh and John Wilkins, I have been editing the papers of the Galen conference held at Exeter in 2005; we are preparing a volume, *Galen and the World of Knowledge*, for publication.

Elena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk)
As in previous years the Italian peninsula is the core of my research, but is also significantly more than that. Much of my earlier work on the South of Italy has culminated in the book which was published in 2007: *Inside Ancient Lucania: Dialogues in History and Archaeology* (London). The different methods required for studying the history of the peninsula, incorporating textual and material evidence, and various models, has meant drawing on numerous fields. Hence in the wider context I am keen to promote work across disciplines and currently co-direct an Interdisciplinary Research Network on Migrations. This has involved not only English scholars, geographers, politicians and scientists, but also modellers form the MET office. My interests also include the history of Ancient Youth, and ideas of belonging and homeland. These span time and geographic space. As for Italy, myself and Rafael Scopacasa are holding an Oscan

Fringe conference in Exeter in September 2007, and also a book on Ancient Italy, co-edited with Guy Bradley and Corinna Riva should appear in the next year.

Rebecca Langlands is currently on maternity leave.

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk)
At last, my monograph *Panhellenism and the barbarian in archaic and classical Greece* is approaching its final stages, and should be published by the Classical Press of Wales later this year. Meanwhile, I have been launching a project on monarchy, kingship and political theorising. In the first instance, my energies have been poured into an article on monarchy and political theorising in Thucydides, but I have also been working towards an interdisciplinary conference on kingship and monarchy in the ancient Mediterranean (co-organised with Francesca Stavrakopoulou from Theology) which we plan to hold next year.

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk)
This year I have published (ed.) *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Blackwell, 2007); completed *In Search of the Sorcerer's Apprentice: the Traditional Tales of Lucian's Lover of Lies* (Classical Press of Wales, late 2007), and *Perseus* (Routledge, early 2008); and have been working on *Making Magic in the Greek and Roman worlds* (Hambledon-Continuum, early 2008) and *Alexander the Great and the Politics of Sex*. I have been working on a range of articles on themes including magic, Lucian, bastardy and homosexuality.

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk)
After joining the department in October, I finished a couple of articles relating to my old job on the multidisciplinary Leverhulme-funded 'Changing Families, Changing Food' project at the University of Sheffield, one concerned with Christmas eating habits and social class (*Food, Culture and Society*), the other with the globalisation of world oil and fat consumption in the last 50 years (*Journal of World Systems Research*). I've also revisited some of my PhD research on pottery consumption and identity in Roman Britain, in a methodology paper in *Internet Archaeology*, in addition to a paper critiquing the current obsession in Roman archaeology with approaches to identity, forthcoming in *American Journal of Archaeology*. At the moment I'm working on a long article which examines changing patterns of pottery use in Roman Britain in the context of theories of globalisation, a broad theme which will form the focus of a book I am planning to write in the rest of my fellowship. I am also consulting on the English Heritage funded 'Town and country in Roman Essex' project, based at UCL, which aims to integrate a variety of high-quality archaeological assemblage data to explore issues pertaining to Roman urbanism, the economy and identity.

Paul Scade (P.R.Scade@exeter.ac.uk)
I have spent most of this year completing my thesis on 'Plato and the
Stoics: Fundamental Principles'. The thesis attempts to examine the extent of Plato's influence on the Stoa, whilst at the same time using this approach to try to elucidate Stoic thought. My other main interest at the moment is in the thought of the American political philosopher Leo Strauss, especially his rather unusual interpretations of Plato.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk)
I have nearly completed the second year of my three-year Leverhulme Fellowship. My task is to write a book on Aeschylus that combines poetics with history, religion, and society. I have tried not to be distracted from this absurdly ambitious undertaking, but have nevertheless succumbed to invitations to lecture in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Greece, Germany, Poland, and the USA.

Lieve Van Hoof (L.Van-Hoof@exeter.ac.uk)
As this year was my first year with a full teaching load, much time went to preparing courses and marking assignments. In the

meanwhile, I managed to write all but a few chapters of my first book, which is provisionally entitled *The Social Dynamics of Philosophy. Reading Plutarch's 'Popular-Philosophical' Writings*, and which presents a radical re-evaluation of a group of often neglected Plutarchean writings with special attention to the dynamic interaction of philosophy and society. I also started a new research project, which explores the flexible uses to which culture was put by pagan Greek authors in the fourth century A.D., a period of major social, political, and religious changes.

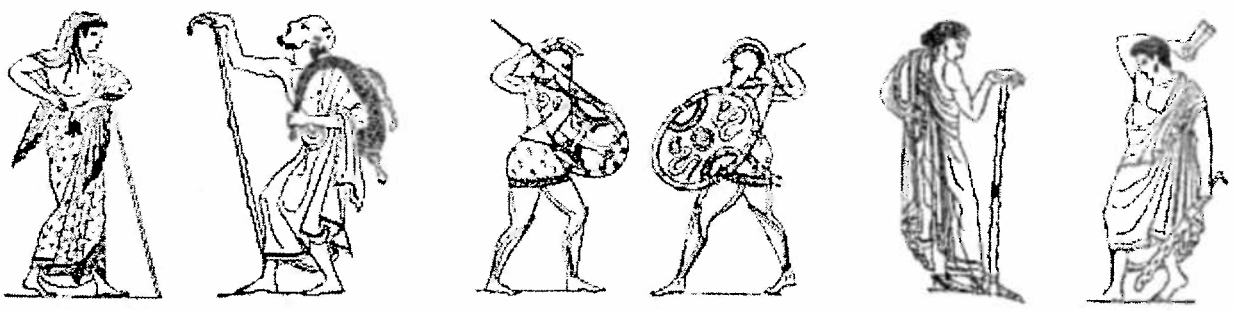
Peter Van Nuffelen
(P.E.R.Van-Nuffelen@exeter.ac.uk)
Most of my time has been spent writing my book (provisionally entitled *Images of Truth. Philosophy, Pagan Monotheism and Religion in the Early Roman Empire*). I have also written and delivered several papers related to it. I am editing two volumes resulting from the pagan monotheism conference (Exeter, July 2006), and a volume on Hellenism (to be published in Leuven, 2008). I continue to work on Late Antiquity, and in particular on Late Antique historiography and "ritual communication". Several papers on these topics are about to be published. The odd one out this year was a paper on Polybius.

Tim Whitmarsh
(T.J.G.Whitmarsh@exeter.ac.uk)
I depart for Oxford in October 2007, but will remain an Honorary University Fellow in the Department. This year I have completed editing *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel* and *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*, both for Cambridge University Press. Other edited work includes books on *Local knowledge and microidentities in the Roman east* and on Galen (with Chris Gill and John Wilkins) - both based on conferences held in Exeter. My own long-gestated book on ancient novels (again published by Cambridge) is nearly finished. My next project will be on interactions between Greek, Roman and near-eastern narrative fiction.

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk)
This year I have been completing an edition of Galen's treatise on nutrition (*de alimentorum facultatibus*) and translating his treatise on Simple Medicines. I have also been involved in projects for the Institut Européen d'Histoire et des Cultures de l'Alimentation which studies the history of food in Europe.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@exeter.ac.uk)
I'm busy trying to organise illustrations for a big book entitled *Unwritten Rome*, to be published by University of Exeter Press next spring, and also working on a shorter book that Oxford U.P. will be publishing some time, called *Remembering the Roman People*.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk)
By Christmas I aim to have completed my book on *Orestes*, by common consent Euripides' worst tragedy (but I will be arguing, predictably, that it is a neglected masterpiece). My interests, though, are moving away from the gloomy world of tragedy, and instead I have been thinking and writing about (among others) Epicharmus, Amphis, Hermippus, Cratinus, and other long-lost comedians.



Postgraduate Research

The department has a very active graduate community, whose areas of research span a broad spectrum of the ancient world.

Georgios Andrikopoulos
(ga211@exeter.ac.uk)
My thesis, entitled "Magic and the Roman Emperors", proposes to examine the ways in which the practice of magic is connected in our sources with certain Roman emperors, from the very start of the Principate to the 3rd century AD. The thesis will deal with matters of the representation and its purpose of emperors as magicians or as employers of magicians in our sources, or as prosecutors of magic and its practitioners, as there will be a separate chapter dealing with magic trials in the presence of an emperor. The matter of legislation against magic under the emperors is also of interest to this thesis and will be examined as well.

Michael Beer (M.Beer@exeter.ac.uk)
I am currently writing up my thesis, which concerns the relationship between dietary restriction and identity in the Graeco-Roman task. This Sisyphean task will hopefully be completed by September. I am also preparing an article on Plutarch's vegetarian essays for a book arising from a conference on vegetarianism and its impact upon theological issues. Beyond the thesis? Who knows? Perhaps I shall turn the thesis into a musical, or a children's pop-up book. I would like to turn my attention to research areas that, through lack of time, I was forced to ignore during my doctoral research. This would include early Christian asceticism. Hopefully, this would not involve the works of Athenaeus or Pliny the Elder, both of whose works I shall, at least temporarily, avoid lest they invoke feelings of depression, rage or abject despair.

Anna Blurtsyan (A.Blurtsyan@exeter.ac.uk)
My research interest at the moment and my thesis title could be defined as *the psychology of incest in Greek and Roman literature*. The key texts I am studying are Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Euripides' *Hippolytus* (surviving and lost versions), Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Seneca's *Oedipus Rex*, *Phaedra* and *Medea*. Through close readings of these texts I shall try to discuss distinctive themes and features in the portrayal of incest; the role of incest (set alongside other presentations of non-standard love or family emotion, such as Medea's) in the evolution of ancient portrayals of psychology; and salient differences (if any) between (these examples of) Greek and Roman poetry or between tragic and narrative poetry (i.e. *Metamorphoses*) regarding the presentation of incest (non-standard passion).

Anna Collar (A.C.F.Collar@exeter.ac.uk)
My working title is 'Networks and religious innovation: understanding the spread of religion in the Roman Empire'. My aim is to discover what the patterns of various cult distributions can tell us about the ways in which religious information was transmitted and accepted in the ancient world. My approach is strongly theoretical, bringing together methods from diverse disciplines - physics, sociology, and archaeology - to build an understanding of religious innovation, and the networks that facilitate diffusion. The religious affiliations that I am investigating span the Roman Empire - the largely military cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, and the interrelated patterns of Jewish communities and the cult of Theos Hypsistos.

Anthony Comfort
(A.Comfort@exeter.ac.uk)
I am researching the frontier between Rome and Persia during the two centuries before the Arab invasions. I am looking for remains of roads and bridges in the late

Roman provinces of Euphratesia, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia and my thesis also discusses the geography, cities, way-stations and fortresses of this, the most eastern, region of the Roman empire.

Cristiana Doni (C.Doni@exeter.ac.uk)
The main purpose of my survey is the research of indigenous onomastic traditions in the Greek inscriptions of Greek and Roman Pisidia. I basically work with inscriptions and, within inscriptions, primarily look for personal names which hide a local origin. It goes without saying that, besides the epigraphical analysis, I also need to consider the context in which this material was produced, namely the historical, political, social, religious and archaeological background of ancient Pisidia. The result of such a study might be the possibility to sketch out a sort of 'social map' of the region, trying to defining the ethnic dynamics which were certainly at stake among the different communities of the area.

Kyle Erickson (ke214@exeter.ac.uk)
My thesis will examine the way in which the Hellenistic kings interacted with religious institutions in an attempt to define and enhance their power and prestige. I will look at the Seleukid dynasty both in its interactions with the religious environment in the territories that it controlled and in its interactions with the various pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and independent cities. I am focussing especially on the treatment and creation of ruler cult, patron deities, and local deities within each empire. Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries will always be treated as falling outside the domain of a dynasty even if the dynasty did at points control the sanctuary. I believe that these Pan-Hellenic cities and sanctuaries provided forums for open competition between the kingdoms.

Rowan Fraser (resf201@exeter.ac.uk)
My research centres on the interactions of male and female characters in ancient Greek tragedy. It involves a detailed examination of scenes that involve a male and a female character on stage at the same time. I am analysing the physical (gesture, contact and behaviour), linguistic (forms of address, types of language) and contextual aspects, with a particular focus on stock scenes.

Cristian Emilian Ghita
(ceg204@exeter.ac.uk)
"Achaemenid and Greco-Macedonian inheritance in the semi-hellenised Kingdoms of Asia Minor" deals with the complicated issue that faced the monarchs of Pontus, Kappadokia and Kommagene - ruling over areas where Iranian cultural influence was still great, in spite of the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander, while at the same time being compelled to legitimise their rule in front of their peers of Greco-Macedonian stock (Seleukids and Pergamenians in particular) or even in front of a Rome which recognised Hellenism as a valid partner, with whom to share ideas, but not other cultures. The analysis is performed at various levels, from the military to the religious.

Grainne Grant (gg217@exeter.ac.uk)
I'm researching the sociocultural roles of perfume in the Greco-Roman World, 400 BC to 200 AD. I'm particularly interested in exploring the use of perfume as a semiotic system, and I'm looking at the manufacture and distribution of perfume and the economics of the perfume trade as well.

Alison Green (A.C.Green@exeter.ac.uk)
I am examining the concept of Necessity in Greek literature prior to 400BCE having examined every mention of Ananke. This encompasses personification of Ananke, cosmological functions, socio-political/cultural protocols and other compulsions associated with the term. Until recently I have been focusing on gathering all the primary sources together and compiling a relational searchable database; now I am completing the section on cosmology, with particular focus on PreSocratics and a little on Orphism.

Pauline Hanesworth
(P.A.Hanesworth@exeter.ac.uk)
My thesis is on the representations of heroic *anodoi* in ancient Greece. That is, the depictions of returns from the underworld by heroes in ancient literature and art and the use of the motif in religion, philosophy and drama. This involves a socio-historical analysis of the implications of a crossing of the boundary between life and death and immortality and mortality for a society that tends to emphasise the intraversability of such boundaries in their conceptions of the condition of man.

Steve Kennedy (sk238@ex.ac.uk)
I am doing a commentary on Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* Book One.

Sharon Marshall (smm212@ex.ac.uk)
Current research on Hélisenne de Crenne (c.1510-1560) largely disregards her translation of *Aeneid* 1-4, published in 1541. Yet as a female-authored French prose translation this text constitutes an important step in the reception of Virgil's work, bringing the poem to a new audience and ultimately changing how it is interpreted. My research provides a close reading of Hélisenne's translation, prefatory material and marginal notes, read in conjunction with the original Latin, asking how she translates and interprets Virgil's *Aeneid* 1-4, what linguistic and stylistic choices she makes and why. In what historical context does she read and how does her translation compare with that of her contemporaries? Who is the implied reader? Is there a female audience for her work?

Hannah Mossman (hvm202@exeter.ac.uk)
My research focuses upon the implications of time and space in Imperial Greek narrative literature. This principally involves looking at the way space is structured and mapped in travel narratives, conventional and otherwise, in the more imaginative texts of the period. These include the works of Lucian, the ancient novelists and Philostratus, also drawing from important paradigms and ideas found in the *Odyssey* and texts of the *Periploi*.

Gillian Ramsey (gr213@exeter.ac.uk)
My thesis topic is "Ruling the Seleucid Empire: the Administration and Officials," that is, the system of administrative organisation which kept the Seleucid empire on its feet and running. I'm now coming to the end of my second year of research and the writing up is taking shape. I'm mainly focusing on the ways that officials communicated with each other and how the resulting documents (now the main body of evidence for the empire's history) record the relationships at work over time through the administrative hierarchy. So I look at a lot of inscriptions, which I highly recommend doing. An upcoming highlight is the conference I am helping organise for July 2008 with Kyle Erickson and Cristian Ghita: "The Sinking of the Anchor: Seleucid Dissolution," on the later Seleucid period.

Denise Reitzenstein
(Denise.Reitzenstein@web.de)
I am a German postgraduate student on exchange from the Department of Ancient History at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich. My research looks at Lycian high priests. In imperial times from Claudius, these office holders were the topmost officials of the Lycian League, the federal representation of Lycia. The steadily increasing amount of sources (predominantly inscriptions) on the Lycian high priests, even when often lacking detail, promise an enlightening insight into the history of the Lycian imperial elite up to their connections with the Roman aristocracy and down to local level. My studies mainly focus on social and prosopographical aspects, but also deal with chronological problems (as the annually changing high priest was the eponymos in the Lycian League) and try to put detail on the job and duty of the high priests.

Rafael Scopacasa (rs236@ex.ac.uk)
I study aspects of social organization and change in communities of central Apennine Italy between the fifth and first centuries BC. My focus is on approaching the archaeological and epigraphic record not as subordinate to ancient literary accounts but as independent historical evidence that can help reconsider consensuses about the ancient inhabitants of the region in question, such as claims about the Samnites as a distinctive ethnic group. I try to argue that these claims are grounded on literary sources; I then attempt to estimate whether the available archaeological evidence (mostly funerary) is enough to support claims about ethnic or state identity. Alongside this I conduct quantitative and statistical analyses with the material, in order to identify patterns (in particular their underrated diversity) and suggest alternative interpretations which take into account factors other than collective identity, e.g. religious or cultic practice, exchange and communications networks etc.

Kiu Yue (kky201@exeter.ac.uk)
I am writing my thesis on the Roman epic poet Silius Italicus (28–102 AD). In particular, I am interested in the themes of paradox, reversal of traditional epic motifs, depictions of violence, as well as the concept of heroism and heroes in his Punica. I am also interested in the other Flavian epicists (Statius and Valerius Flaccus, and possible interactions and thematic links between their works. One major defining characteristic of early imperial epicists seems to be a liking for sensational, graphic violence, which has caused many to criticize them as catering to the poor taste of their readership. I do not think that this criticism is very helpful, and accordingly would like to explore the reasons for the proliferation of such violent language, which could, in addition to shedding light on the interpretation of the epics themselves, help us better understand the culture of imperial Rome as a whole.

A gerund shut out. No place for it in one of my sentences

Social Snobbery.
A gerund 'cuts' a gerundive

WHY DOES HERODOTUS HAVE SO MUCH TO SAY ABOUT SCYTHIANS IN HIS HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN WARS? HOW DO AMAZONS FIT INTO HIS HISTORICAL CONCEPTION?

At the beginning of book one of the *Histories*, Herodotus sets out his aim for his piece of writing: "to prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time, and to preserve the fame of the important and remarkable achievements produced by both Greeks and non-Greeks".[1] He makes it clear that "the hostilities between Greeks and non-Greeks" are of particular importance to the enquiry, and it is of course the story of the Persian Wars that forms the basis of the narrative. It soon becomes clear however that there is more to his enquiry and that to narrate this story is not his sole purpose. Herodotus is keen to put together the whole picture, to explore all angles and details so that the reader can partake in their own investigation and learn from his writings. Book four of the *Histories* provides a unique and important chapter in his overall examination. Through his descriptions of the various peoples of the Black Sea region, including, and with particular reference to, the Scythians, Herodotus explores issues particularly relevant to Athenians of his time, while simultaneously educating them.

Being from Halicarnassus, Herodotus was well equipped to deal with the issue of Greek and non-Greek relations. The city provided a common boundary for both cultures and from early on Herodotus would have been exposed to both. During his lifetime and up to the time of his writing, there had been many changes to the two large empires of the time, the Athenian and the Persian. In about 437BC it seems likely that Pericles led an expedition into the Black Sea, disregarding the Peace of Callias, which had allowed Persian warships into the Pontus and forbidden Athenian warships to go beyond the Blue Rocks. Pericles was taking the first steps toward firmly entrenching the Athenians in the Black Sea region: "he had a decree passed that 600 Athenian volunteers should sail to Sinope and live together with the Sinopians".[2]

By the time that Herodotus is writing then, in c.426BC, the Black Sea region had become part of the Athenian Empire. Herodotus describes the 'Euxine Sea' as being "the most remarkable sea in the world, and is a sight well worth seeing". Pericles had impressed the masses with his demonstration of Athenian naval power[3] and Herodotus contributes to this by embedding a splendid image of this place in the minds of the Athenian citizens. The context of this sentence gives us some insight into the feeling of Athenians with regard to this place at the time: "Darius left Susa and made his way to Chalcedon... He went on board a ship and sailed from there to the Blue Rocks... There he sat on a promontory and looked out over the Euxine Sea".[4] By setting this scene of the Persian leader at the Blue Rocks, Herodotus makes a statement: in reality the scene is now very different, this region now belongs to the Athenians, the Blue Rocks will no longer serve as a boundary for them, and Persian leaders will no longer be present.

Pericles' expedition had forced a heightened awareness of the Black Sea region upon Athenians and this provided the perfect context for Herodotus to write about the people that inhabited it, their culture and their traditions. Herodotus himself had travelled to this region, in particular to Olbia, and so sees himself as the perfect candidate to inform others about it. His real purpose though is to give them a sense of familiarity with these 'barbarians' in order

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[1] Herodotus, *Histories*, Preface. (Herodotus will now be abbreviated to H.).
[2] Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 20.
[3] Braund (2005) 90.
[4] H. 4.85.

to provide them with a better understanding of the world, which of course is his aim in the *Histories* as a whole.

So why focus so closely on the Scythians? As can be seen from the first sentence of book four, the Scythians, like the Greeks, had to resist Persian invasion: "after the capture of Babylon, the next military expedition commanded by Darius in person was against the Scythians".[5] Both the Scythians and the Athenians faced an invasion led by the King of Persia himself.[6] This provides a good starting point for Herodotus' audience to begin to relate in some way to these 'barbarians'. The Persian army is represented as the big enemy and ultimately the big losers throughout Herodotus' narrative; once again Herodotus is reflecting genuine Athenian thought about the Persians at the time. The Scythians with whom the Greeks can find empathy disappear however in chapter two, when we are informed of the brutal Scythian custom of blinding their slaves. As soon as this story is finished though, the Scythians return to behaving in a way perfectly acceptable to the Greeks by asserting themselves over their slaves. From the start of book four a dichotomy is set up of the differences and similarities between the Scythians and the Greeks. This pattern emerges repeatedly, for example in the story of the Scythian king Scyles. Before the violent act of beheading the king, "the Scythians have emerged almost as a civilised and earnest community, concerned with preserving their order and integrity".[7]

Part of the reason Herodotus' portrayal of the Scythians is so interesting is that it is so carefully constructed. The author manages to represent the Scythians and the Athenians, in terms of their society, as the very antithesis of each other. The Scythians are a race with no towns or settlements,[8] they live in wagons, they have "no bought slaves",[9] they drink unmixed wine[10] and their customs are violent and murderous: "there is still open space left within the grave, and in it they bury, after throttling them to death, one of the king's concubines, his wine-server, cook, groom, steward, and messenger".[11] While representing them in this way however, Herodotus also subtly implies that the rights and wrongs of a race's customs are simply down to the perception of the individual. For example, the Scythians disapprove of the Greek cult of Dionysus "on the grounds that it is unreasonable to seek out a god who drives people out of their minds".[12] To the Greeks, Bacchic rites are an important aspect of their religion. Similarly, while the Greeks consider themselves to be 'free men' with people from the Black Sea region working as their slaves, the Scythians view the Ionians as being "the worst and most cowardly free people in the world".[13]

Slavery supplied a significant link between Athens and the Black Sea region and so it is interesting to see Herodotus trying to break down this barrier and portray slaves as significant individuals. In particular he relays stories of people who, having been slaves for the Greeks, were granted their freedom and returned home, detailing their exploits after they escaped Greek control. The story of Salmoxis[14] demonstrates this, as does the story of Rhodopis in

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[5] H. 4.1.
[6] For Xerxes' sack of Athens, see H. 8.52ff.
[7] Munson 121.
[8] See H. 4.46, 4.97.
[9] H. 4.72.
[10] See H. 6.84 for Scythian style of drinking wine.
[11] H. 4.71. Burial custom for a Scythian king.
[12] H. 4.79.
[13] H. 4.142.
[14] H. 4.95.

book two.[15] Herodotus is humanising these people, allowing the Greeks to see them without their 'slave' label.

Herodotus' priority is to make people aware of the differences and similarities between their cultures and others. It is only through a greater understanding of the world as a whole that war and conflict between societies can be avoided: "I am one who has in the past often seen mighty powers brought low by relative weaklings".[16] This quote by Artabanus to Xerxes demonstrates Herodotus' message that it was the "inability to understand or appreciate foreign *nomoi*"[17] that caused the Persians to put themselves at risk and ultimately to be defeated. Although people such as the Scythians, the Massagetae and the Ethiopians, were not as skilled in battle as the Persians, they were able to defeat them by employing their way of life as a weapon: "I have never fled from any man in fear – I never have in the past and that is not what is happening now. What I am doing is not far removed from my usual way of life during peacetime".[18]

Herodotus' presentation of the Scythian nomadic lifestyle is positive in this case and it is clear from his descriptions of the Scythians that he feels their lifestyle is suitable to the conditions in which they live: "now, Scythia is more or less entirely treeless, so they have come up with an unusual method of stewing the meat".[19] As Romm says, "where neither nature nor culture offer an easy living, there human resourcefulness most compellingly reveals itself".[20]

That is not to say that Herodotus' account of the Scythians is without criticism. Most significantly he criticises the mixing of the Scythian culture with Greek culture, as can be seen in the stories of both Anacharsis and Scyles.[21] Scyles seals his own fate by ignoring the omen of a thunderbolt sent by Zeus. Significantly the thunderbolt strikes Scyles' house, which, in terms of décor, was a mixture of Scythian and Greek styles: "surrounded by white stone statues of sphinxes and griffins".[22] The sphinxes and griffins are of an eastern style, but the "white stone" seems to refer to marble-like stone, which of course was a Greek product.

In the story of Anacharsis, he is shot dead for adopting Greek practices and worshipping the Mother of the Gods. Munson comments that "the narrator underlines for his audience the horrible fate of a wise and pious man, caused by the ferocious intransigence of a savage people".[23] The Scythians are described as being "so conservative, then, that this is how they treat people who adopt foreign ways".[24] They are shown to be somewhat intolerant of other cultures, whereas the Greeks seem to be slightly more welcoming of other cultures into theirs: "the Greeks derive the clothing and the aegis of Athena's statue from the clothes worn by Libyan women".[25]

It may however not be the intolerance and savagery of the Scythians that Herodotus is

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[15] H. 2.135.
[16] H. 7.18.
[17] Romm 112.
[18] H. 4.127: Scythian King Idanthyrsus to a rider of Xerxes.
[19] H. 4.61.
[20] Romm 111.
[21] H. 4.76-7 and 4.78-80.
[22] H. 4.79.
[23] Munson 119.
[24] H. 4.80.
[25] H. 4.189.

drawing attention to in these stories, as Munson suggests. It is possible that he is criticising the mixing of cultures as part of his overall attempt to teach us about the dangers of crossing natural boundaries. The Persians for example are ultimately punished for attempting to tie two landmasses together – an unnatural act. The Scythians and the Greeks belong in different parts of the world. Herodotus feels that there is an underlying structure in the way in which the world works and those who do not understand this are in danger of becoming victims of *tisis* or reciprocity. As Braund says: "Those who wage war … make that choice in ignorance of the fact that in doing so they are choosing to attack themselves".[26] Similarly, Scyles chooses to ignore the portent from Zeus and continue with his adoption of foreign ways.

For Scythians to mix with other cultures from their own part of the world however appears to be acceptable. We can look at the case of the Sauromatians, descended from Scythian men and Amazon women, in order to demonstrate this. When the Scythians come together with the Amazons in order to mate and eventually to form a new community, it is presented as a peaceful arrangement, which comes together without any major difficulties. Herodotus appears to find pleasure in these two 'barbarian' cultures integrating, unlike the Scythians and the Greeks.

Herodotus uses the story about the Scythians and the Amazons as a tool in order to again point out the similarities between Greeks and Scythians. The Greek audience is forced to find a reflection of their own society in the Scythian women. Like Greek women, Scythian women are confined to the home, the only difference being that their home is a wagon instead of a house. The Scythian women are said to "stay in their wagons and do women's work"[27] and as Munson rightly points out, we can compare this with Xenophon's account of the Greek household[28]: "it appears plainly, by many natural instances, that the woman was born to look after such things as are to be done within the house".[29] The Scythian decision to mate with the Amazons in order to produce strong children can also be compared with a passage on Greek men from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*: "plainly we look for wives who will produce the best children for us, and marry them to raise a family".[30]

Herodotus' Amazon women act in an entirely different way: "we shoot arrows, wield javelins, ride horses";[31] they are "killers of men".[32] Herodotus depicts them in a way that is in stark contrast to the typical Greek woman. When a Scythian first approaches an Amazon girl, she is said not to have resisted,[33] whereas in many Greek myths the tradition was for a Greek woman to resist and often then be raped. The Amazons are also seen to mate with the Scythians outside whereas, as Tyrrell says, "sexual relations in Greek marriage took place within the house".[34] In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, performed later in 411BC, a scene takes place where Myrrhine, one of the women who has been taking part in Lysistrata's ploy, complains about making love to her husband outside: Cinesias says: "Why not on the ground?" and Myrrhine replies: "By Apollo, cheap little fart though you are, I don't think as

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[26] Braund (1998).
[27] H. 4.114.
[28] Munson 130.
[29] Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 7-10.
[30] Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.2.4-5. With both of these texts we must of course remain aware that Xenophon is writing later than Herodotus and it is therefore not a contemporary view.
[31] H. 4.114.
[32] H. 4.110.
[33] H. 4.113.
[34] Tyrrell 42.

little of you as that".[35] It is clear that this is not deemed a suitable place for intercourse, but the mere suggestion of it compares Myrrhine to an Amazon-like woman, which of course is the type of role the women have been playing throughout – acting as men should and women should not.

In fifth century Athens, the myths surrounding the Amazons mostly conveyed a message of Greek superiority. Herodotus never explicitly states that he feels Greek women to be superior to Amazons, and indeed Greek women are never explicitly mentioned within the story of the Sauromatian ancestors at all. Herodotus can certainly be seen to be making a departure then from the traditional Amazonian figure of Greek myth. In Herodotus' story, the Amazons do not reject marriage as they are often seen to elsewhere. Tyrrell has identified that Euripides' *Hippolytus* of 428BC is concerned with this Amazonian rejection of marriage through the son of Theseus' Amazon wife.[36] Tyrrell also states that "the Athenians thought about the Amazon first as a warrior and then as a woman".[37] In Herodotus' tale we can see a finer balance of the two, as although they act like men in respect of their fighting and taking the dominant role in deciding where to live, they are also depicted as wives and mothers. The Amazon women do not seem to me to be the "high-minded feminists, unwilling to compromise"[38] that Romm has described, but rather a group of formerly wild women who adjust their way of living and whom the Scythians are said to have tamed.[39]

We have already seen how Herodotus uses the story of the Amazons and the Scythians to allow the Greeks to find common ground with the Scythians, but what role are the Amazons playing in Herodotus' historical conception as a whole? Most obviously, where similarities between 'barbarians' and Greeks are displayed in the Scythians, striking differences are shown in the Amazons, the demonstration of the two of course being the subject of Herodotus' exploration.

As Hall points out, in Athens after the Persian Wars, Persian details started to creep into Amazonian mythology and the mythological Amazonomachy starts to be seen as "the mythical prefiguration of the Persian Wars". Persians and Amazons are depicted in a similar fashion in art in terms of "postures, ethos, and details like patterned tights and wicker shields".[40] A *krater* by Euphronios from the end of the sixth century BC depicts Herakles fighting the Amazons. As we can see from the illustration below (figure 1), two of the Amazon warriors (far left and far right) are wearing a striped one-piece costume. If we compare this with an image from an *oinochoe* attributed to the Chicago Painter (figure 2), depicting a Persian (right) in combat with a Greek, we can see that the Amazons are dressed in the same eastern costume as the Persians.

***Figure 1*: Euphronios *krater* depicting Herakles fighting the Amazons, end of the sixth century BC[41]. Museo Civico, Arezzo.**

[35] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 917-18.
[36] Tyrrell 21.
[37] Tyrrell 22.
[38] Romm 171.
[39] H. 4.113.
[40] Hall (1993) 114-5.
[41] Image taken from www.perseus.tufts.edu.

***Figure 2*: *Oinochoe* attributed to the Chicago Painter depicting a Greek and a Persian in combat, c.450BC[42]. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.**

If the Amazons and Persians are becoming intertwined in the Athenian mindset then, may we be able to cast them in the same role in Herodotus? As the Scythians are seen to be representing the Greeks in this story, it is possible that the Scythian taming of the Amazons could be seen to represent the Greek taming of the Persians.

Through his accounts of the Scythians, the Amazons and other cultures, Herodotus endeavours to draw attention to both the similarities and the differences between the Greeks and the people of the Black Sea region. The region was becoming increasingly centre stage for the Athenians and their interest was being significantly heightened not only by the migration of Athenian citizens to the region, but also by its appearance in art and literature. They of course also had these people living among them, in the form of slaves, merchants and also their own Scythian police force.[43] Herodotus was attempting to bring some familiarity to something that had previously seemed so foreign. In also describing the aspects of the foreign cultures that are very different to that of the Greeks, he demonstrates the variety that is present in the world.

By casting other people and cultures in the roles that the Greeks and their enemies had previously played, Herodotus reveals the way in which scenarios in history can repeat themselves. It is only by gaining a greater understanding of the world and all of its various *nomoi* that people can avoid making the same mistakes as their forefathers. In his ethnographical report on the Black Sea region, Herodotus uses the various races, including the Amazons and with particular reference to the Scythians, as a focal point for his investigation. In book four, Herodotus not only explores many issues of cross-cultural relations and so-called 'barbarianism' but he also conveys many of the key themes that he is exploring in his *Histories* as a whole.

Hilary Schan

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Interview with Tim Whitmarsh

What did you want to be when you were a child?

When I was 9 or so I did tell my mother I wanted to teach Latin and Greek. But I soon grew out of that. When I was a teenager, I wanted to be a pop musician. I got as far as recording some music in a studio (I play the guitar, and anything else I can get my hands on). We spoke to a record label from Sheffield, but then I decided to go off and be a classicist. The bass-player also became a classicist! But the singer and the guitarist are still musicking. Mara Carlyle, the singer, has just signed to EMI, and Benet Walsh plays the guitar with the Collectors.

Who is your style icon?

I know this will come as an astonishing revelation, but actually it all comes naturally. I don't really think that hard about clothing and accessorising. I guess if I had the money spare to dress with style, I would build my look around moody 1960s French men like Belmondo, Gainsbourg, and so on.

If you could be in any band, which would it be?

Most of the bands I like I wouldn't like to be in. I love the Only Ones – they reformed recently, and I was in touch with John Perry, the guitarist – but massive substance abuse in the company of old men isn't really my thing. I know that's an odd thing to say, given that I'm moving to Oxford. I like the Fall too, but Mark E Smith is a nightmare. There's a lot of good music around at the moment too. I like Mark Ronson. Amy Winehouse is great. Basically I'm avoiding the question, because I'm too much of a control freak to be in anyone else's band. I was never talented enough to go into music, but if I had done I would ideally have ended up producing rather than playing.

Who is your hero?

In Classics, the golden age for heroes was the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I find Housman a captivating figure – partly because he has such a strong connection with Ludlow, where I am from. But also because I am intrigued by that ability to live two lives at once: the extraordinarily dry academic and the passionate poet / frustrated lover. There are other figures from that time who grab me for the same reason: M.R. James, who channelled all his repression into his psychosymbolic ghost stories, and Samuel Butler, who decided instead to live a little, and thereby essentially invented modernism. I also have a thing about Pier Paolo Pasolini, who was another cultural visionary: a genius Italian poet, novelist and film-maker from the 1960s and 1970s. I've seen his *Medea* over 10 times. I recently saw his last film *Salò*, though – it was banned for years – and I can guarantee that it will turn any stomach. It's in the University Library if you don't believe me, but you probably don't want anyone to catch you watching it.

Which culinary establishment is at risk of going bankrupt after your departure?

I love cooking, but don't have a favourite restaurant. I like Al-Farid (it means 'the special one' – in case you ever wanted to know the Arabic for 'José Mourinho'), but I usually just go for a drink. Spice Magic is amazing for takeouts: I've never eaten better Indian anywhere.

Tell us something we don't know about Tim Whitmarsh.

It looks like four of us from the Council of the Classical Association are going to be on *University Challenge: The Professionals*. We film in December, so I guess it'll be shown in the new year. Look out for it, and be forgiving.

CLASSICS AT EXETER

What were your first impressions of Classics at Exeter?

I'd been at Cambridge for 12 years, and was very used to hypercritical, self-aware theorising. My first impression in Exeter was that I was among people who'd spent their time acquiring huge amounts of knowledge instead. I was bowled over by just how learned people were. That's not just the profs, but at every level I felt surrounded by people who actually knew – really *knew* – what they were talking about. It felt that there were no limits to the breadth of scholarship. It was very liberating. Exeter also felt more intellectually political than Cambridge. People in Cambridge were happy to claim that everything was political, but never wanted to be pinned down on their own convictions. Exeter is full of people who believe that they are not just custodians of a tradition but active participants in it. That's been inspirational.

How has the department changed during your time here?

It's grown massively. I think there were 10 or so academic staff before I arrived; now there are around double that, depending who you count. The postgraduate numbers have grown hugely too. Some of the seminars have been bursting at the seams. There is a real sense of community among postgrads now, especially in certain fields. The downside is that poor Kerensa and Claire haven't had any more direct support, although HuSS has taken some of the work off them. The undergraduates have also changed. In 2001, the average Exeter classicist had BBC at A-level. Now it's AAB. It does make a difference. We always had keen, enquiring and individual students – and always had our share of extremely smart ones too – but the levels of intellectual ambition of some of our current undergrads are frightening. There is a new sense of professionalism about the place too. When I arrived, the ethos was very much that we were all chums who could sort things out over coffee. That's nice in principle, but it does mean that some issues get squashed, and some voices are heard more clearly than others. Not everyone will agree, but in my view the move to HuSS was crucial. From day one I always thought we needed a bigger and better infrastructure, and also that if we were going to merge with other parts of the University we should merge with the most successful parts. Alongside this professionalisation, though, there hasn't been quite the same community feeling since we moved to Amory. I don't really know why. Something to work on I guess.

What is your funniest memory of your 6 years in the department?

One eminent professor of the Department once had to be rescued from Claire's office in the Queen's Building because he didn't realise that you had to turn the door handle as well as the yale lock. I laughed a lot when Claire told me that, but not as much as you'd think: her underlying point was that all academics – and she was certainly including me – were dozy and otherworldly.

Has anyone ever asked for your autograph?

Yes, actually! Only once. A PhD student from Swansea. One of the things I love about the UK system, though, is that in general people don't get placed on pedestals.

What is your proudest academic achievement?

I feel very fortunate to have been allowed to publish books, and I was probably proudest when my first one came out. It still feels weird that people I've never met read my mumblings; and also that

the books will outlive me, if only in remainders bins and dusty libraries. Authors have a curious relationship to their books. Samuel Butler, who I mentioned earlier, once said 'My books are more me than I am'. I think I know what he means. Many more people know the persona generated by the books than the person you might happen to think you are. I was talking to a German PhD student recently, and at one point we were talking about a passage in Persius which may mention the novelist Chariton. I said 'I don't know what I think about that passage'; he replied 'I do!', and proceeded to tell me exactly what I thought of it.

Which piece of secondary literature do you wish you'd written?

My book on the Greek novel! It's been 10 years in gestation, and it's such a mess of different layers of thought. I do want to write something popular next. I'd love to write with the *élan* of Peter Brown, Mary Beard or Jean-Pierre Vernant. I think style does matter.

Have you ever not asked a question after a paper?

Yes of course! But I do feel it's part of my duty to engage with what people have to say, if they've gone to the effort of writing a paper and had the generosity to share it. That's just a personal thing. I know it can seem arrogant to hog the limelight, so I do also try to be concise.

What do you a) want to be and b) think you'll be remembered for?

Have you been approached to write my obituary already? I hope people will be too busy forging ahead to bother thinking about the past. But I suspect I'll be remembered as the bastard who left without clearing the mountain of scrap paper out of Richard Seaford's new office.

What will you miss most?

The people. It's a cliché, but it's true. Fortunately, people can be kept in touch with. I'll miss the climate too! When I first moved to Exeter I was bowled over by the palm trees and fig trees, and paddling in the sea in October.

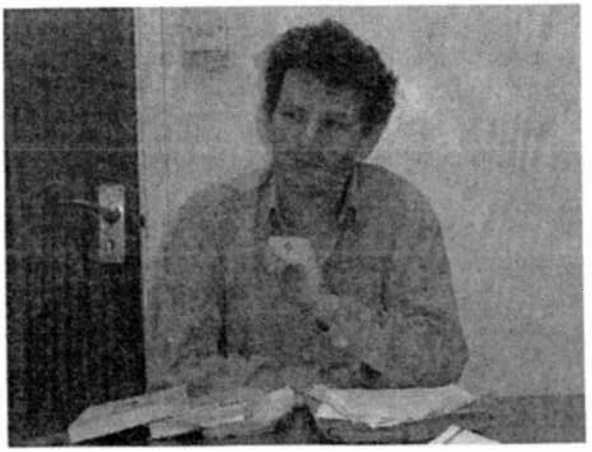
QUICKFIRE

Digestives or Hobnobs?

Digestives, with dolcelatte and red wine.

Seleucids or Antigonids?

Umm. Probably Seleucids, because cultural fusion is my thing. And also because I fear the Seleucid mafia.



Jeans or cords?

Jeans.

Oxford or Cambridge?

Oxford of course. Never look back.

Time or space?

Hannah, learn to switch off!

Amory or Queens?

Amory

Finish this sentence: The Classics department at Exeter .....

Can go as far as it wants to.

by Sharon Marshall and Hannah Mossman

A Plain Woman's (and Man's) Guide to the Works of Frederick William Clayton

Many readers of *Pegasus* will know of Frederick William Clayton, who spent much of his academic life as Professor of Classics at Exeter University from 1948 to 1975, during which period I had the good fortune of being taught by him. Until last year those readers may not have been aware that he had written a novel based on his experiences in Germany before the Second World War which was published in 1942 under the title *The Cloven Pine* and the pseudonym Frank Clare. *Pegasus* 2006 included a long and fascinating article on the significance of this largely forgotten work by Dr. Thorsten Fögen who translated it into German following the author's death in 1999. German readers are fortunate, as the book has long been out of print in English. Perhaps some enterprising publisher will be inspired to produce a new edition.

As Fögen points out, Clayton did not publish any substantial academic work in his lifetime. It is, to say the least, unusual for an academic to publish so little during the whole of his academic career, but there were deeply personal reasons in Clayton's case. Always a sensitive man, his experience of the war triggered psychological distress that would recur throughout his life. Added to this was the pain caused by dismissive responses to his unconventional approach to academic research. Clayton retreated into an obsessive attempt to vindicate his ideas which he hoped to publish as a book. Sadly, this was never completed. After his death I was appointed an honorary fellow in the department with the aim of firstly salvaging anything publishable from the great mass of papers he left to the university, and secondly arranging this material for archiving in the University Library's Special Collection.

To understand Clayton's ideas and the way he worked it is well worth reconsidering something he did publish: a brief monograph based on his Jackson Knight Memorial lecture of 1977 entitled *The Hole in the Wall: a new look at Shakespeare's Latin base for A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Exeter 1979). Shakespeare's Latin sources for this play– especially the Thisbe and Pyramus playlet – had already been explored in a more conventional way; indeed much work has been done before and since on Shakespeare's familiarity with and use of classical authors. Clayton took a new approach, exploring what he referred to as "the curious apparent echoes of quotations, conscious or unconscious, inside a single author or between authors, based on associated ideas or words" in both Latin and English. He speaks of a "creative circle which may be entered at any point. You start, say, with Pyramus and Thisbe, masked maybe, and a man acting Lion. You think of Claudian's Leo, with *tenues rimas*, of Juvenal's masked actor playing a woman and of *tenui rima* there, which takes you back to Ovid's wall. Satire 3 suggests the wall might also be an actor, with bawdy chink." And so he continues, moving at dazzling speed between authors and cultures.

Dazzling is indeed the word for this piece with its breathtaking verbal fireworks and word-play. Professor Peter Wiseman, recalling the original lecture, quotes a member of the audience commenting "That was magic!" and there is indeed something of Prospero's ambiguous magical sleight of hand in the way the author spins tenuous bridges across potential critical black holes. Clayton also insisted that you could not

take the subjective out of criticism: "There is always a personal factor . . . One's intellectual and emotional adventures are relevant." As a result, much of his reading of the Pyramus and Thisbe playlet is pervaded by his own personal experiences – not generally regarded as an acceptable critical approach. It makes, however, for some startling apercus. Neither did he use secondary sources – again partly as a result of his own wartime experiences: "To read poets without notes, because being flown out puts you in a *Desert Island Discs situation*, may also have advantages. . . . without notes one notices."

Though criticised by some as an "insubstantial pageant", the piece has been warmly praised by Professor Patricia Parker who is preparing the third Arden edition of the play. The validity of Clayton's approach has, moreover, been amply demonstrated by the material salvaged from his papers after his death. Adopting the same approach he had prepared a great deal of material on *Love's Labours Lost*, taking as his starting point the play's difficult closing lines which have provoked much scholarly debate over the years: "The words of Mercury are harsh after the voice of Apollo". He saw Mercury in the minor character of Boyet and started to chase ideas and associations. In *The Hole in the Wall* he comments regretfully "I cannot follow all leads here." The trouble was that now he could do exactly that, as the great pile of material he left unpublished on the topic shows; to name but a few, he draws on Isidore, Herodotus, Prudentius, Tertullian, Augustine, Martianus Capella; on through Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower, Rabelais, Harvey, Greene, Florio, Marston, Jonson, Milton, Lord Chesterfield . . .

Following all leads meant that the book became an ever-growing hydra, impossible to finish off, and much of his research remains in the form of near illegible hand-written notes, often on scraps of paper, sometimes just a scribbled name and a few page numbers – it's very frustrating to work with! However, we were able to retrieve enough material – and to reject a huge amount -to provide the basis of an article published in the joint names of Frederick Clayton and his daughter, Margaret Tudeau Clayton (Professor of English Literature at the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland). This appeared in *Shakespeare Survey* 57 (CUP 2004) under the title 'Mercury, Boy yet and the 'Harsh' Words of *Love's Labour's Lost'*. Clayton's investigations led us towards what I would like to think is the final word for now on the "words of Mercury", and I consider Tudeau Clayton's conclusion, setting the disputed lines firmly in their 1598 context "of untimely deaths and unfinished labour", to be truly original and inspired. Highly recommended reading!

Clayton's unpublished papers are now housed in the University Library's Special Collections and have been made available for use by anyone whose research interests might benefit from them. There are ten boxes of folders containing work in all stages of progress from scraps of annotated paper to handwritten notes to typed-up passages. Much relates to the classical sources for Shakespeare's plays, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, obviously, but also *The Winter's Tale* and *As You Like It*. Clayton was also very intrigued by Charles Dickens' use of names in *Dombey and Son*, seeing in them again conscious and unconscious echoes of classical language and literature (for example, he associates Karker, whose savage smile is continually emphasised by Dickens, with the ancient Greek for shark.). There is a good deal of miscellaneous material including lecture notes and a box of personal material. I have drawn up a catalogue which serves as an

introduction to the content and is accessible on the website, and would be very happy to assist anyone in finding their way around! His family would obviously appreciate an acknowledgement in any published work

At his death Clayton also left a completed translation of Terence's *Comedies* which was published in 2006 by Exeter University Press with an introduction by Matthew Leigh and a brief biography of her father by Margaret Tudeau-Clayton. It is that *rara avis* of translations – one which is 'faithful' to the original and yet is completely at ease in English. Clayton took the heroic couplet as his medium, an excellent choice, as it keeps the vital rhythmic swing of the Latin, which is inevitably lost in prose leaving poor old Terence dead in the water – or certainly on the page. Clayton's brilliant verbal skills are given free rein, with puns, outrageous rhymes and jokes scattered liberally around, keeping the reader fascinated and amused. Most startling and thought-provoking of all is Clayton's own 'Epilogue' to the *Mother-in-Law*, that morally ambiguous play with its queasily dismissive attitude to rape ("En route he'd met and assaulted some girl or other"). The 'Epilogue' touches on such attitudes in post-Terentian literature and real life – again drawing on Clayton's own experiences in the War - and ends with a breath-taking final couplet which reminds us forcibly not only of Terence's position in Roman society but of current issues in ours. As Matthew Leigh comments: "In this epilogue Terence is disconcertingly, uncomfortably alive."

The punchy and fast-moving dialogue in this lively translation, combined with the tight focus of the staging and the stock characters, as well as the overall brevity of each play, seem to me to make Clayton's Terence an ideal proposition for modern-dress television drama. (With Tony Robinson playing the cunning slave, naturally.) But rather than read me, why not read Clayton? I will end by whetting your appetite with a couple of extracts from the translation - very difficult to select! Well, everyone has heard of the braggart soldier, so here, from *The Eunuch*, is Thraso's attack on the house of Thais, abetted by his useless rabble of slaves headed by Sanga, and his smarmy stooge, Gnatho.

THRASO What? What?
So gross an insult, great gods, shall I swallow?
I'd sooner die. Follow me, Donax, follow,
Simalio, Syriscus. What we'll do
Is this, chaps – <u>one</u> storm the house.
GNATHO Good show, sir!
THRASO <u>Two</u>,
Secure possession of the girl.
GNATHO Jolly good, sir.
THRASO <u>Three</u>,
Deal severe blow to Thais. So, let's see,
Donax, with crowbar, centre of front rank –
Simalio, Syriscus, left and right flank
Respectively – the rest proceed – but where
Is Sergeant Sanga with his thief-force?
SANGA *Sir!*
THRASO What, coward! You come here with a sponge-stick, do you,
Expecting to fight with <u>that</u>?

SANGA Oh, sir, I knew you
So stout a leader, such brave troops – who'd stop 'em?
There must be blows, blood, wounds. And that's to mop 'em.
THRASO And our remaining forces?
SANGA Remaining? Hell!
There's only Samio, our home-guard, sir.
THRASO Well,
Take up positions. I'm here, in the rear of the van.
Each unit will take orders from me.
GNATHO (aside) Wise man!
With plans so soundly based on self-preservation!
THRASO King Pyrrhus often used this same formation.

Next, from *Phormio*, here is the grumpy old father, Demipho, trying to get some sensible advice from his friends Hegio, Crito and Cratinus. Without success, of course.

DEMIPHO So!
My friends, I think you see how matters lie.
What's to be done? You tell me, Hegio.
HEGIO I!
Well, Demipho, I suggest, if you'll agree,
You – ask Cratinus first.
DEMIPHO *(to Cratinus)* Cratinus?
CRATINUS Me?
DEMIPHO Yes, you!
CRATINUS Well, I advise you to do what's best
In your own interest. And I would suggest
It's right and fair that any act of your son done
While you were absent should be legally undone.
The court'll agree. That's that.
DEMIPHO Now, Hegio.
HEGIO My learned friend spoke forcefully. But, you know,
Two men, two minds. I'm convinced you can't undo
What has been legally done, and even to try to
Would be discreditable.
DEMIPHO Your turn, Crito.
CRITO Well, Demipho, it's a difficult situation,
Which calls, I think, for further deliberation.
HEGIO Well, if there's nothing else that we can do now –
DEMIPHO Thanks. You've done fine. I've got no point of view now.

And finally (I must stop somewhere), that most famous of stock characters, the cunning slave, Davus, from *The Woman from Andros*. I'm not even going to try and explain what's going on . . .

DAVUS Now, Mysis,
Get your whole bag of tricks out. It's a crisis
MYSIS What are you up to?

DAVUS Take this child and set him
Outside our door.
MYSIS What, on the ground?
DAVUS Well, get him
Some greenery from the altar there and strew it
Under him.
MYSIS But why me? Why can't you do it?
DAVUS I want to be able honestly to swear,
If need be, that I never put him there.
MYSIS Well, that's a novel scruple! You should worry
About an oath or two!
DAVUS You'll have to hurry,
I want to explain my plan. Damnation!
MYSIS What?
DAVUS Enter bride's father. Drop first draft of plot!

Enjoy – and then go and buy the book (reviewed below)!

Vicky Stevens

Works referred to or quoted in the text as follows:

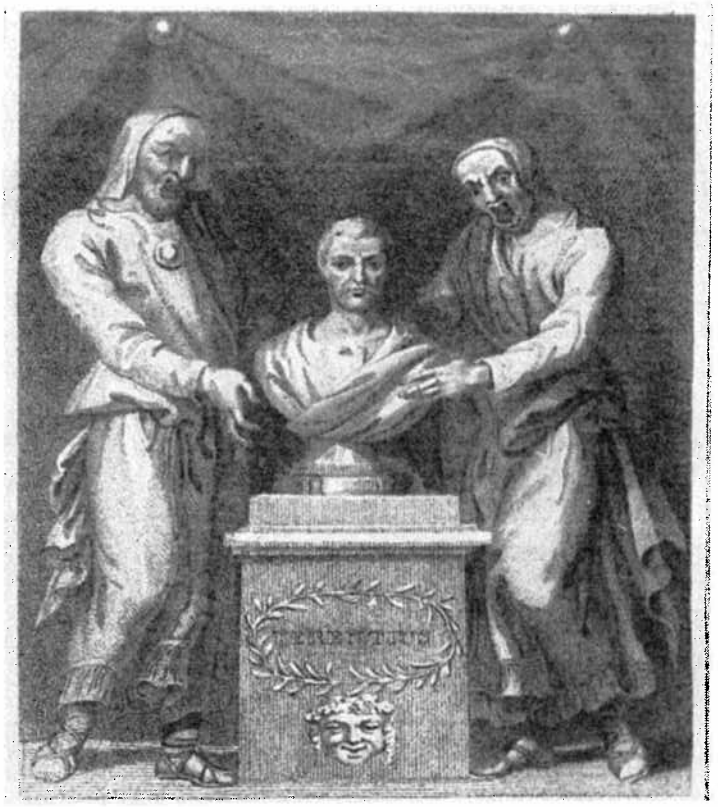
The Cloven Pine by Frank Clare, 1942, translated into German by Thorsten Fogen as 'Zeei Welten. Eine Jugend im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland', bibliothek Rosa Winkel (Hamburg: Mannerschwarm-Skript Verlag, 2003)

F.W. Clayton, 'The Hole in the Wall: a New Look at Shakespeare's Latin Base for *A Midsummer's Night's Dream'*, Exeter 1979 [Available for sale for £5 from Kerensa Pearson, Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Exeter)

L. Crassicius Pansa , 'A Plain Man's Guide to *The Hole in the Wall',* Pegasus 26 (1983)

Frederick W. Clayton and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, 'Mercury, Boy yet and the "harsh words" of *Love's Labour's Lost', Shakespeare Survey* 57 (2004): 209-224

The Comedies of Terence translated by Frederick W Clayton, introduced by Matthew Leigh, Exeter 2006



W. Geoffrey Arnott is Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Leeds. He has published much on ancient comedy, including an edition with commentary on the fragments of Alexis and the Loeb translation of Menander (three volumes).

A Review of Clayton's Terence

Frederick W. Clayton's translation of *The Comedies of Terence*, with an introduction by Matthew Leigh and an appreciation by Margaret Tudeau-Clayton (pp. 290: University of Exeter Press, 2006, hardback £45, ISBN 0 85989 757 5, paperback £12.99 ISBN 0 85989 763 X). Available from the University of Exeter Press, Reed Hall, Streatham Drive, Exeter EX4 4QR; tel. 01392 263 066; e-mail: UEP@exeterpress.co.uk.

Frederick Clayton, Professor of Classics at the University of Exeter from 1948 to 1975, died without apparently having written any major book in his subject area, despite a glittering record as a student at Cambridge and his total fluency in German. After his death in December 1999, however, amongst his papers was found a completed translation of the plays of Terence, and the decision was made to publish it with an introduction by Matthew Leigh and an appreciation of the translator by Margaret Tudeau-Clayton. That decision earns the highest praise. Although a curmudgeonly reviewer would feel it necessary both to acknowledge the presence of relatively minor faults of interpretation, assignment and omission that are inevitable in what was presumably a first and unchecked draft, and then to note that Clayton based his version on outdated texts and editions, nevertheless this translation is still the one that ought to be highly recommended to both students and general readers because

the imaginative flair of its language and versification is in itself a tour de force that makes the six plays of Terence (who was a young and possibly black freed slave from Africa) burst into life and leave an impression of the playwright's genius that most modern prose translations fail to convey. Clayton ignores the variety of Terence's original metres and presents the plays in rhymed couplets with lines of ten or eleven syllables. His imaginative range of expressions, varying from slang to stylistic parody (e.g. 'To tell or not to tell, / That is the question': *Eunuchus* 968; 'He came, he sued, he conquered': *Phormio* 135) and his outrageous polysyllabic rhymes (e.g. 'retinue/cretin, you': *Heauton Timoroumenos* 739-40) happily remind the reader of *W.S.* Gilbert. British universities would do well to introduce this translation for all courses on Roman comedy, especially those for students who find the original Latin beyond them, since this attractively presented book is the only one that stamps on its readers the impression that Terence was a playwright worth studying.

Matthew Leigh provides an excellent introduction that deals not only with Terence's life, career, sources and place in the history of Roman comedy, but also discusses his influence on later writers such as Hrosvitha, Shakespeare and Molière, while Margaret Tudeau-Clayton appends to the translations a full and appreciative account of Clayton's life.

W. Geoffrey Arnott

Limited change of place, unlimited exchange of ideas:
EXETER AND MUNICH – A unique postgraduate experience

by Denise Reitzenstein

The first participant in Exeter

After one year's exchange at the University of Exeter from the *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität* in Munich, I am even more convinced of the significance and the advantage of one year away from my home university than I was before. About six months before I came to Exeter I finished my *Magisterstudium* – equivalent to the English Masters degree – and had then started my research in Ancient History as a *Promotionsstudentin* – the English PhD student. Embedded in academia and with the goal of being accepted there, I no longerfelt like a student, but not yet a lecturer.

As I had never attended an exchange programme as an undergraduate I thought that it was necessary and would be useful to compensate for this missing experience. However, I did not actually regret not having this experience as I had learned from most exchange students that a vast majority had gained a deep insight into the drinking habits at their partner universities. On the other hand, this very social aspect of their exchange had yielded a passable knowledge of the language of the respective host country.

Now at the end of this experience, I have to admit that the one year exchange as a postgraduate has combined both benefits. As I intended, it was possible for me to carry on my research as a PhD student and also to improve my foreign language skills. Though the impact on the professional CV can hardly be ignored, I have mostly benefited – also in regard to my PhD studies – from interesting discussions, a warm and friendly atmosphere in the department and making new acquaintances and good friends. I had my first teaching experience in Exeter and I learnt a lot as a student

on many other occasions. The insight I gained gave me a good idea of what life is like for a student as well as for a lecturer at Exeter.

Monopteros in Munich's Englische Garten

Munich and the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität

Munich, the capital of the state of Bavaria and Germany's third largest city, has a unique combination of tradition and international flair. It is the home town of a number of renowned colleges and universities. In 2006 only three universities from all over Germany were appointed as the first ever made German elite universities – remarkably, two of them are located in Munich. One of these universities is my home university, the *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität.*[44]

The Department of Ancient History at the *Ludwig-Maximilians-University* forms part of the History Department[45] with a very impressive library and is situated within the faculty of history and arts. Within the Department of Ancient History, the two Chairs, together with the active staff, create an atmosphere appropriate for the exchange of ideas and the support of postgraduate studies. An exchange student would work under the leadership of the Chair of Prof. Martin Zimmermann[46], also with the possibility of working as a teaching or research assistant. The area of study at this Chair focuses on diverse fields of classical antiquity and is open to interdisciplinary research. Recent studies have been carried out on the Hellenistic and Imperial era and are linked to the region of Asia Minor. These studies benefit in particular from the location in Munich and the cooperation between the Department of Ancient History and the neighbouring Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy[47]. The Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy, attached to the German Archaeological Institute, additionally provides ideal working conditions. Its significant collection of books and journals attracts attention from both national and international scholars. A number of renowned epigraphists and numismatists form part of the permanent staff of the Commission and are available for and open to discussions about current studies in Ancient History. The second Chair of Ancient History which is led by Prof. Jens-Uwe Krause especially focuses on studies in late Antiquity, social history and history of economics.

Different from the University of Exeter, the Department of Classics is embedded in the faculty of linguistics and literature studies – nevertheless, it warmly welcomes PhD exchange candidates as well.[48] Areas of research include among others: Augustinian poetry, epigrams and fable (Prof. Niklas Holzberg), Greek drama, hellenistic poetry, historiography and Imperial Greek literature (Prof. Martin Hose), ancient drama, mythology, rhetoric and eroticism in Antiquity (Prof. Markus Janka), Greek Philosophy, Homeric epic and papyrology (Prof. Oliver Primavesi) and Imperial Latin literature (Prof. Claudia Wiener). The Department of Classics has an excellent reputation

44 Cf. for further information http://www.en.uni-muenchen.de/index.html.

45 http://www.geschichte.uni-muenchen.de/index_en.shtml.

46 http://www.geschichte.uni-muenchen.de/ag/personen_Zimmermann.shtml

47 http://www.dainst.org/abteilung_271_de .html

48 http://www.klassphil.uni-muenchen.de/

and most recently Prof. Oliver Primavesi won the *Leipniz-Preis 2007* which is the highest award for German scholars. Numerous other members of staff and their outstanding expertise support PhD studies in Classics.

Apart from their Departments, students of Classics and Ancient History find other relevant reference libraries in the Departments of Archaeology, History of Law, Theology and Art History. The main central library of the *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität*[49] and the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*[50] provide access to books rarely found in other libraries. Thus, Munich offers easy and comfortable access to the wide range of material needed for postgraduate studies.

The *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität* also offers numerous language courses for those wishing to learn and improve German. Nevertheless, the most effective way of developing language skills is practice, for which Munich affords a variety of entertainments and diversions. You can always find a partner to chat with in a *Biergarten*; these attract large numbers of people, especially in the summer time and are a typical feature of Munich's city culture. There are also numerous cafés, bars and clubs, cinemas and theatres, the opera house and concert halls as well as museums accommodating outstanding collections. Munich's surrounding areas offer wonderful opportunities for sport activities: spend your free time practising water sports at one of the large lakes, hike in the Alps or go skiing and snowboarding.

The exchange – for postgraduates and staff

In a nutshell: Munich combines the perfect conditions for postgraduate studies and for learning German in an active and entertaining way. This exchange programme for ancient history postgraduate students between Exeter (Prof. Stephen Mitchell) and Munich (Prof. Martin Zimmermann) has now been arranged and is open to all students with a keen interest in undertaking a unique postgraduate experience.

The crucial step when planning an exchange is always obtaining the funding, especially for tuition fees. However, European exchange programmes such as the EU Lifelong Learning Programme (formerly Socrates) and well-known by the Erasmus programme lighten the burden of funding through a reciprocal renounce of tuition fees between the two partner universities.

You are warmly invited to request further details either by emailing me (Denise.Reitzenstein@web.de) or, even better, by getting in touch with Prof. Stephen Mitchell personally. We would be happy to answer any questions, e.g. on the possible length of your stay (either one semester from April to July or October to February or even two semesters from October to July).

Exeter bear in Munich Biergarten

If you are a lecturer at the University of Exeter and are now bitterly regreting that you are not a postgraduate student anymore and cannot partake of this magnificent opportunity, do not despair. The programme also provides for a staff exchange between Exeter and Munich (stays of one week). So, please take the opportunity and experience a different teaching environment for a limited time, but with unlimited benefit.

49 http://www.ub.uni-muenchen.de/
50 http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/

RECOLLECTIONS OF A PAULINE PILGRIM

by Ruth Jones

[Article first printed in The Richmond Parish Paper, November 2005]

"Come Holy Spirit, Come here among us, Fill and renew us, Hear our prayer"

These are the words of the Iona song used as a rallying cry by the 80-strong choir on the BBC's Greek pilgrimage in September. When I heard that I had been chosen, my first reaction was to romp through *Acts* from beginning to end, purely as an adventure story; but nothing could prepare me for the excitement to come as we followed in the steps of St Paul, recording the Radio 4 Daily Services and Sunday Worship for a week at various places associated with him. Unlike Paul, who did not enjoy the luxury of comfortable modern hotels or an air-conditioned coach, we endured only minor hardships along the way, such as delays, inundations, detention and mild sleep deprivation.

Monastery of Barbara Roussanou, Meteora

Our route took us from Kavala (where Paul landed in Europe) to Philippi and Lydia[51] (where he baptised the first European Christian), Thessaloniki, Kalambaka (close to the Meteora monasteries), Delphi, Athens and Corinth. Every day was a mixture of travel, rehearsals, recording to tight schedules and sightseeing tours where time allowed. Our excellent guides were most informative on matters archaeological, historical, religious and cultural, and our time on the road was well spent in talks, practice and listening to recordings. Each morning began with prayers on the coach and most evenings ended with Compline in the hotel, though sometimes this was less peaceful than might be desired.

Much of what we saw post-dated Paul, but on the Egnatian Way at Philippi and the Lechaian Road at Corinth there was a very real sense of treading in his footsteps, and it was not hard to imagine him preaching at Corinth or among the stones of the Agora in Athens. Cenchrea was a particularly poignant spot – a lonely shore from which Paul set sail for Asia Minor. North-eastern Greece seemed surprisingly green for so late in the year and we passed wonderfully varied scenery – spectacular mountains (Olympus and Parnassus), lush woodlands and the vast, fertile Plain of Thessaly with its olive groves and cotton fields, not to mention the amazing Meteora monasteries suspended between heaven and earth on their rocky pinnacles. We marvelled at Delphi where, in the theatre, we treated an unsuspecting audience to a rendering of "*Come Holy Spirit*" and *Psalm 133*, accompanied by birdsong.

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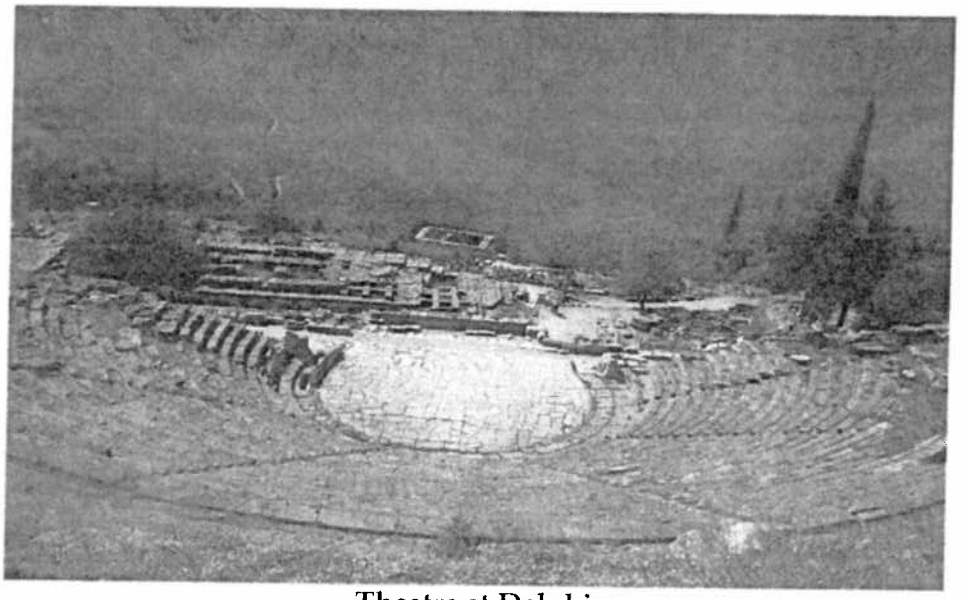
[51] Just outside Philippi. It is named after Lydia, the purveyor of purple cloth (*Acts* 16.14). There was nothing there until recently when a modern baptistry was erected along with an open air chapel and shrine beside the river, to mark the spot where she is believed to have been baptised.



Theatre at Delphi

Many of the churches we sang in were Orthodox and did not permit the use of musical instruments, so there was plenty of scope for *a capella* singing. We recorded two services in the very beautiful modern baptistery at Lydia with its resonant acoustic and shimmering figures of saints in its mosaics and windows. On our second day there we held our own service, surrounded by oleander, willow and poplar, at the open-air chapel beside the rushing river where Lydia was baptised, to renew our baptismal vows (being sprinkled with branches dipped in the stream - slightly comical but very moving nonetheless) and celebrate Eucharist with breakfast rolls and wine glasses, to the accompaniment of "*Shall we gather by the river?*" and "*Spirit of the living God*"

The spiritual high point for me was our day at the Holy Monastery of St John the Forerunner [= the Baptist], high on Mount Kisavos near Larissa, where the nuns rang the bells to greet us, entertained us with their joyful humility and fed us on lovingly prepared home-grown food, as well as giving us an insight into their way of life, not shutting themselves off from the world but waiting for the world to come to them. We sang in a covered area beside the simple village-style church. "*Brother, Sister, let me serve you*" seemed a very fitting tribute to the welcome we received.

It seems remarkable that we had never all met until we arrived in Greece and yet in such a short space of time our able musical director moulded us into a creditable choir in time for the final Sunday service in St Paul's Anglican Church in Athens, which seemed to be a worthy climax to the pilgrimage as we found ourselves live on Radio 4 singing Mendelssohn's great chorus from his oratorio *St Paul, "How lovely are the messengers"* and "*He that shall endure to the end*" (*Elijah*). Once off the air we joined with the local congregation in Communion and mingled with them for coffee afterwards.

For the technically minded, our two Sunday transmissions were via an ISDN line, but all the other recordings were sent by satellite, at least once from the roof of a motorway service station. It was interesting to participate in and observe the recording process, especially the timing adjustments and improvising a sound station in the porch of the church at Corinth.

Not least of my pleasures were the opportunities to kindle new friendships among my travelling companions, to practise my Greek with the locals and to sample their legendary hospitality. I came home feeling I had more of an appreciation of Paul as a man, rather than just someone with a few unfashionable ideas. It was a privilege to take part in this pilgrimage, an exhausting and exhilarating experience, but the Holy

Spirit most surely came among us and touched the heart of each one of us on many occasions.

The Pilgrimage Prayer

"Almighty God, who caused the light of the gospel to shine throughout the world through the preaching of your servant St Paul: grant that we who celebrate his wonderful conversion may follow him in bearing witness to your truth; through Jesus Christ our Lord"

Abroad Thoughts from *Home:*

An insight into the rights and roles of republican provincial governors and their companions through the poems of Catullus

The term 'Roman Empire' is generally associated with the period subsequent to the establishment of the principate, however by the late republic Rome already dominated most of the Mediterranean. Her legions could be found from the shores of the Black Sea to the Atlantic coast, and the gods had foretold that they would not stop there. Yet accompanying this ever-expanding empire was the problem of governing distant provinces, which in turn brought about the predicament of controlling overseas governors. For with no official guidelines, coupled with each province having varying specific needs, the position and expectations of republican governors and their staff were extremely ambiguous. This not only created problems for Rome, but also for modern historians attempting to unravel and understand their roles. For although writers such as Josephus and Tacitus comment at length upon the duties of Roman officials,[52] their conclusions concern issues of the imperial era and therefore must be treated with caution.[53] Yet the complex nature of governing republican provinces might be revealed not only through historians, but also by the flamboyant verses of poets.

The poems of Catullus are generally associated with luridly invective insults or colourfully emotive descriptions of love and desire; consequently they do not appear an obvious source concerning Roman imperialism. Yet woven among the fiction and hyperbole, Catullus offers a unique insight into Roman society. For between 57 and 56BC Catullus was attached to the governor Memmius' entourage in Bithynia, and he not only recounts his own travels and service abroad, but also relates the fortunes of both friends and enemies.[54] The poet's writings and experiences reveal not just the role performed by Roman officials, but also what they personally believed their function to be. This presents a significant comparison to the carefully prepared works of Cicero, who, despite being an invaluable source for understanding Roman provinces during this period, is often controversial and does not perhaps represent society as a whole.[55]

While the executive and judicial power in Rome was allegedly divided between various bodies and offices (consuls, tribunes, senators, equites and assemblies),[56] authority in a province rested solely in the hands of its governor, who held total *imperium*

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[52] Josephus, *The Jewish War*; Tacitus, *Annals; Histories; Agricola.*

[53] After his ascent to power Augustus began a reorganisation of provincial administration, making it problematic in accepting the evidence of later historians. For more information on this see Goodman, *The Roman World 44BC-180AD*, 100-110.

[54] This dating is taken from the convincing argument presented by Lee, which suggests that Memmius was in Rome during 58BC and took up his posting in 57BC. Catullus, *The Complete Poems*, xviii.

[55] Cicero served in 75BC as quaestor in Sicily and proconsul of Cilicia in 51BC. His letters and speeches (in particular *On Consular Provinces, Pro Manilia* and *Pro Flacco*) provide an important insight into the workings of Roman provinces.

[56] Consuls, tribunes, senators, equites and assemblies.

over the territory, people and troops stationed there.[57] Although Catullus' poems reveal nothing concerning the governors' judicial or military role, they do make observations upon financial matters. Republican governors are often pigeonholed as unscrupulous and corrupt. Appian writing two centuries later suggests they accepted the post solely for personal gain[58] and indeed today this notion has transcended even into the children's comic *Asterix*, which amusingly named the governor of Corsica "*Praetor Perfidius*".[59] Yet this stereotyped view possibly comes from a later moralising age[60] or is based upon the writings of the over-scrupulous Cicero who frequently complains of the depravity of men sent to the provinces, and sharply rebukes the conduct of those who fall short of his own moral standing.[61] Official laws concerning the rule of individual provinces did exist in the form of the *Lex Provinciae*, yet Freeman argues that these edicts were not fixed constitutions or blueprints for how a governor should run his territory.[62] Indeed fragments of the *Lex Pompeia* (62-63BC) which survive through Pliny's letters suggest the statutes were concerned mostly with mundane official administration, and from these snippets it seems hard to form any picture of what a Republican governor's duties entailed.[63]

Catullus in poem X, while discussing a funny thing that happened on the way to the forum, relates to his audience his personal experience of the praetor Memmius' governorship of Bithynia. The poet embarrassingly reveals his own failure to have made any money while abroad, which he partly blames on the current condition of Bithynia,[64] yet more explicitly upon Memmius.[65] It has been suggested that Catullus' open accusation of being unable to profit due to his praetor, while seemingly abusive, is actually subtly praising the integrity and honesty of Memmius' governorship. This argument is forwarded by Braund[66] and could

[57] With the rare exception of a 'special command', for example while dealing with the pirates and later Mithridates in 66BC Pompey's authority overruled certain governors.

[58] Appian, *War in Spain*, VIII.80. Although Appian's (95-165AD) accuracy in describing these events could be questioned, his statement suggests an opinion that was held during the time he wrote.

[59] Rene Goscinny, *Asterix in Corsica.*

[60] It is important not to judge Rome by today's morals, which view empires and colonialism negatively.

[61] Cicero, *Pro Manilia*, xxii, 65. "*...the rapacious [officials] are such a large majority. Words cannot express the hatred, gentlemen, in which we are held in countries overseas because of this scandalous, extortionate behaviour of persons we have sent out to govern them*".

[62] P. Freeman, *On the Annexation of Provinces to the Roman Empire*. There were also individual laws introduced in an attempt to regulate governorship, in particular the *Lex Julia de repetundis* (59BC) and a *Lex Pompeia de provinciis* (52BC).

[63] Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, X.80; 112; 114. A *Lex Pompeia* of 63/2BC is particularly important for this study as it was designed for Bithynia, although as stated above (n.3) the status and role of governors did change after the fall of the Republic. The edicts to which Pliny (61-113AD) refers concern age limits for holding office and citizenship.

[64] Although traditionally not seen as a poor province, it is plausible that Bithynia did had economic problems for Mithradates' troops had only been ejected less than ten years before Catullus arrived. For the wealth of Bithynia's natural resources and trade routes see Mitchell, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 244-5.

[65] "*There was nothing there now... why should anyone come back flusher, especially when a shit's your praetor*" (Cat. X. 9-12): "*praesertim*" (especially) singling out Memmius as the main factor.

[66] Braund, *The Politics of Catullus 10*, 51. He points out that others before him such as R. Ellis (*A commentary on Catullus*, 1889) have offered this explanation.

illustrate that it was the governor's duty to control his staff and prevent financial extortion, a notion that would conform to views expressed by Cicero.[67] This idea might also be supported by the comical and self-deprecating nature of poem X, in which Catullus intentionally exposes himself as a vain liar, creating a rather frivolous mood. This possibly suggests that his audience should read light-heartedly the accusations made against Memmius.[68]

I disagree with this appraisal of Catullus' opinion of Memmius' actions in Bithynia, for when accessing his presentation of Memmius as a governor it is important to also take into account poem XXVIII.

"Do your accounts show any profit as mine do costs? In service with my praetor I enter debt as profit. O Memmius you've laid me, good and long - stuff with all that yard of yours".[69]

Here, as in poem X Catullus clearly blames Memmius for his inability to profit while serving abroad. Yet importantly the humorous, self-deprecating context of poem X is not present here, making it hard to argue that Catullus wished to portray the charges against Memmius as a joke. It is my opinion that the accusations against the praetor in both poems should be taken at face value. This argument is reinforced by further examination of poem XXVIII, where Catullus questions his friends Veranius and Fabullus over whether their time serving on the staff of Piso has proved any more profitable than his own foreign service. Catullus is spitefully abusive towards Piso,[70] describing both him and Memmius as pricks,[71] an image which is continued in poem XLVII by his association of Piso with the god Priapus.[72] Catullus' lexical choice in both poems is also significant, for the verb *irrumare* can be found in poem XXVIII and is related to the noun *irrumator* used in poem X.[73] By choosing these words Catullus presents a very vivid image of himself and his friends being metaphorically forced to submit and passively receive their praetors.[74] Indeed this same verb is clearly used as a damning insult in poem XVI and backs up the notion that Catullus' poems present a scathing attack on Memmius and Piso.[75] Therefore despite Catullus making no direct reference to corruption or extortion I find it hard to believe that he is in any way praising their financial actions as governors.

Instead it is possible that the reason behind Catullus focusing no direct attack on Memmius or Piso for making money while abroad, was because governors profiting was an accepted right. Due to the high cost of funding election to political office in Rome, it is highly likely that, as with other governors, Memmius and Piso saw their subsequent tour of duty abroad as an opportunity to recover their campaign costs.[76] That they expected to make money from their province is a view supported by Catullus' admission in poem X that there was "nothing now [in Bithynia] for the praetors themselves", his language suggesting that the praetor (Memmius) expected to have come away with something. Similarly poem XLVII demonstrates the wealth which Piso and his favoured companions

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[67] Praising Pompey due to his integrity and honesty while abroad. Cicero, *Pro Manilia*, xiii.38.
[68] This notion is also supported by Braund, *The Politics of Catullus* 51-4.
[69] Cat. XXVIII. 6-8
[70] "*uappa*" (worthless person) Catullus, XXVIII. 5
[71] "*nam nihilo minore uerpa farti estis*". Catullus, XXVIII. 12-13
[72] Cat. XLVII. 4. Priapus god of fertility was noticed for his enormous penis. Along with myself this comparison has also been noticed by Cairns, *Catullus in and about Bithynia*, pg 181.
[73] Cat. X. 12; XVIII. 10
[74] For further discussion of the social stigma of being passively abused, see Wiseman, *Catullus and his World* 10-14.
[75] This comparison has also been noticed by Cairns, *Catullus in and about Bithynia* 181.
[76] Although not specifically mentioning Memmius or Piso, Richardson points out that many governors used their term abroad to recoup the money spent on elections (*Administration of Empire* 575). This suggests that Cicero's refusal to make money from his posting to Cicilia (Cicero, *Ad Atticus*, V.10) is perhaps an exception to the rule, and importantly it did not immediately follow his election to office.

enjoyed while in their province,[77] and it is crucial to note that Catullus' criticism does not concern the actual extraction of wealth itself, but rather who Piso gave it to. That Catullus is concerned with to whom a province's wealth is distributed is also revealed by his 24 line rant against Mamurra's plundering of lands from the Pontic to Britain.[78] Importantly he does not condemn Mamurra, Caesar or Pompey for obtaining this wealth, but instead complains about its improper distribution, the derogatory language used being noticeably similar to that in poem XLVII.[79] It is my opinion that Catullus does not denounce Memmius and Piso for profiting from their province, but rather for not sharing the wealth; this thereby supporting the notion that governors saw it as part of their role to financially benefit from a tour of duty.[80]

This view might be contradicted by suggesting that Rome's central government took active steps to ensure the protection of provincials and the prevention of extortion, as demonstrated by the establishment of the *quaestio de repetandis* court in 149BC, which was specifically designed to deal with provincial mismanagement. Yet Richardson argues that trials seldom resulted in a conviction[81] and this coupled with the neglect of Cyrene until 74BC brings into question how concerned the Romans really were with regulating their overseas territories.[82] Even the trial of Verres might have come about more because a client of Pompey's was abused, than due to Verres' financial rape of Sicily. This argument is supported by the amount of money demanded from Verres in recompense, which is strikingly low when compared to the amount Cicero asserts he plundered; this therefore suggests that the trial (regardless of Cicero's motives) was not brought about due to the governor's economic misdemeanours.[83] Ultimately a governor's main financial duty was to ensure the continual flow of legal tax revenue out of the province, yet Catullus' poems also show that they saw a *de facto* role and privilege as profitting at the expense of the native population - after all is that not the point of an empire?

Along with the various officials and bureaucrats necessary for administering the province, a governor was escorted by an entourage of companions, known collectively as *cohors amicorum* or *comites*.[84] Catullus' language in poems X and XXVIII suggest that it was in this capacity that he and his friends (Veranius and Fabullus) accompanied Memmius and Piso respectively.[85] This privileged position makes Catullus a valuable reference, for he is able to relate firsthand contemporary experiences of the roles performed by the governor's personal companions.

Richardson maintains that the governor was free to select who would join his staff and therefore unsurprisingly the majority usually comprised his friends or family

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[77] Cat. XLVII. 5-6: "*Do you throw expensive parties all day long*". Although Catullus does not directly mention that this poem refers to Piso and his companions in their province, it is most likely due to Piso neglecting Veranius and Fabullus, which links to poem XXVIII.

[78] Poem XXIX. Mamurra was a lieutenant of both Pompey and Caesar. I accept that Rome's view of extracting money from hostile nations was different to extorting from established provinces, yet this poem still draws a useful comparison. Indeed even the semi-legendary Camillus was allegedly condemned for failure to distribute his plunder correctly (396BC).

[79] "*quid est alid sinistra liberalitas*" Cat. XXIX. 15; "*duae sinistrae Pisonis*". In both cases Catullus refers not to the actual taking of money, but its 'cack-handed' distribution.

[80] Governors had numerous ways in which to make money while abroad, upon which Catullus does not elaborate. See Richardson, *Administration of Empire* 564-98.

[81] Richardson, *Administration of Empire* 577-8. Further due to Cicero being the main surviving source for the period it is possible that we are presented with a disproportionate abundance of evidence suggesting that governors making money from their provinces was wrong.

[82] Cyrene was bequeathed to the Romans in 96BC but was not organised or made a province until 74BC. If Rome was really interested in this, surely she would have done this far sooner.

[83] Cicero suggested Verres owed 40 million sesterces, but only demanded 750,000 denarii, or 3 million sesterces (Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* 106).

[84] His staff consisted of a senatorially-appointed *quaestor,* who dealt mostly with finances; *legati,* of whom many were senators; *apparitores* (*lictors,* magistrates and *scribae*) who performed various administrative tasks. For more information, see Richardson, *Administration of Empire* 580-1.

[85] Catullus describes him and his friends as *cohors and comites* (Cat. X.10, 13; XXVIII.1).

members. These were often young men who sought foreign service with the aim of gaining a patron, winning glory in battle or stepping onto the political ladder.[86] Yet while these were possibly the reasons for many, I do not believe that all who accompanied governors could have entered upon a political or military career, for Catullus' poems reveal no political ambition or desire for war. So while Catullus did form part of Memmius' *cohors*, the position which he occupied and describes is perhaps more diverse and ambiguous than the role traditionally attributed to *comites*.

Today Catullus' fame is due entirely to his poetic talents and therefore it might be suggested that he accompanied Memmius purely in the role of a poet. It is recorded that certain governors did include personal and superfluous members in their retinue, including poets and even *hauspices*.[87] Certainly it seems that Memmius himself moved in poetic circles,[88] and was even perhaps a patron of Lucretius.[89] Yet Catullus' poems make no mention of any favourable exploits undertaken by Memmius, as might be expected if his position in the *cohors* was purely that of a poet.[90] In fact instead of writing epic verses exhorting the heroic deeds of Memmius, Catullus launches malicious verbal assaults on his ex-governor.[91] While this perhaps could be put down to Catullus having fallen out with his praetor during their year abroad, it is important to remembered that when Catullus sailed for Bithynia in 57BC it is likely he was not the famous poet which he later became; indeed Catullus had not even published his first collection when he joined the entourage. Therefore it seems unlikely that Memmius would ask or accept the relatively unknown Catullus into his *cohors* based exclusively upon his currently undistinguished poetic reputation.

In poem X, as previously mentioned, Catullus bitterly complains about not having profited while holding his post in Bithynia.[92] The venom with which he articulates this grievance suggests he saw that part of his position and even entitlement for belonging to a governor's *cohors*, was to financially benefit from the post.[93] Poem XXVIII draws a comparison of his own disappointed expectations with those of Veranius and Fabullus, who served under Piso and had similarly failed to reap any great rewards. By revealing that his friends also expected to have profited from their foreign service, it suggests that the assumed prospect of financial gain for *cohors* was not solely Catullus' view, but might also be applied to other companions, regardless of what province they were in or which governor they served. This notion that staff should profit alongside their governor is supported by the earlier actions of *praetor* Luncus, who with the aid of his entourage stripped the Bithynian royal palaces, allegedly seizing even the furniture.[94] Similarly it is noticeable that Cicero's attack on Verres is not limited to the governor alone but also criticizes the unscrupulous behaviour of his companions.[95]

The belief that *cohors* expected to benefit from their province is further reinforced by the assumed audience of poem X, despite both their silence and anonymity. For significantly Catullus does not feel required to offer his readers an explanation of why he believes that he should have profited merely by serving as a staff member. This suggests that his readers saw it as a common and accepted practice.[96] This assumption is illustrated by Varus and his new 'bit of stuff' taking for granted that Catullus must have acquired some wealth while abroad, regardless of the nature of his praetor or destitution

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[86] Richardson, *Administration of Empire* 581-2. He suggests that individuals (or their family) would petition the governor to allow them to accompany him, as well as for governors to ask individuals.
[87] Braund, *The Politics of Catullus 10* 51-2 discusses the presence of *hauspices* in governors' staffs.
[88] He wrote his own poetry of which only one fragment survives.
[89] Lucretius dedicated *de rerum natura* to Memmius, but it is unclear if they were patron-client.
[90] A coin discovered in Bithynia dated 57BC and inscribed *C. Memmius imperator* suggests that he had some military success for poets to write about if they wished (Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225BC-14AD* 460).
[91] The aforementioned Cat. X and XXVIII
[92] Cat. X. 9-13
[93] I have already discussed what Catullus' poems reveal about the governor's financial role (see above), this is now an analysis concerning the *cohors*, of which Catullus is a member.
[94] The incident is described by Brennan, *Praetorship in the Roman Republic*, Volume II 559.
[95] Cicero, Against Verres, II.3
[96] For Catullus' audience, see Wiseman, *Catullus and His World* 124-9.

of the province.[97] Indeed their refusal to believe that Catullus came away with nothing embarrasses the poet into actually lying about having attained eight local bearers.[98]

The barefaced requisitioning or stealing of a province's treasures and wealth most likely occurred far less in peaceful and established provinces, particularly if the population had been granted the status of *civitates foederate* which offered them greater protection against Roman officials plundering their lands outright.[99] Verres' actions in Sicily demonstrate that this did occasionally continue however regardless of supposed official protection.[100] Yet like the governor himself, *cohors* could also acquire wealth through other methods such as selling patronage and business.[101] Both Wiseman and Cairns advocate that Catullus perhaps accompanied Memmius to Bithynia in order to expand the Catulli family's commercial business interests, possibly in the *garum* trade.[102] Cairns further argues that Catullus' grievance with Memmius is possibly because the governor did not let him pursue these business interests.[103] Indeed it is plausible that the young Catullus could have gained a place in Memmius' staff due to his family being well connected with the Roman aristocracy, as pointed out by Suetonius.[104]

Yet I am unconvinced that Catullus' main reason for joining the staff of Memmius was to push his family's business interests. For the language of poem X expresses disappointment not that he failed to gain any commercial contracts, but instead implies that there was nothing of value now (*nunc*) left in the province for him personally to physically take.[105] Similarly, as previously mentioned, it is my opinion that Catullus links his own expectation of wealth with that of Veranius and Fabullus. Therefore in order to suggest that Catullus was in Bithynia to mainly expand the family business, it might also have to be argued that Veranius and Fabullus were doing the same for their families. Further it must be remembered that there is no direct evidence stating that the Catulli family had any business interests in Bithynia. Although Cairns links the abundant Bithynian production of *garum* to the unearthing of amphorae bearing the name C. Valerius Catullus,[106] this discovery was made on the other side of the Mediterranean in Baetica (Spain). Similarly it is my opinion that Wiseman and Cairns have overstated the importance of Catullus' brother having been present in the East, in proving that Catullus joined the *cohors* of Memmius due to family business.[107] For importantly his brother was buried in the province of 'Asia' not Bithynia, which suggests that the two appointments were perhaps not related.[108] Across the rapidly expanding empire there must have been numerous traders of *garum* and the assertion that the Catulli had commercial interests specifically in Bithynia seems rather tenuous. Therefore despite Catullus clearly expecting to have profited from his service abroad, I am unconvinced that this was to have been through fish sauce, and Catullus' poems do not reveal that the role companions performed was in any way designed to protect or expand personal family business.

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[97] Cat. X.14-16

[98] Whether this story is true or not is unimportant, Catullus' writing or recording of the tale suggests that its content must have been plausible to readers, and in my opinion reflects contemporary views.

[99] For further discussion on the rights and varying status of provincials, see Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero* 182.

[100] For example his plundering of the statue of Hercules from the shrine at Agrigentum (Cicero *Against Verres*, II.4).

[101] Roman and Italian businessmen are a separate topic and should not be confused with members of the governor's entourage. For a further discussion, see Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero* 183-7.

[102] Wiseman, *Roman Political Life* 100-1; Cairns, *Catullus in and about Bithynia* 165-6. *Garum* was a type of popular edible fish sauce.

[103] Cairns, *Catullus in and about Bithynia* 166.

[104] Suetonius, *Life of Julius*, 73 demonstrates that Catullus's father had links to the Julii.

[105] His explicit use of *nunc* implies that he is referring to wishing to have acquired something at that moment, rather than a long term trade agreement (Cat. X.10). This is also supported by the notion that what he claimed to have gained (bearers) is a material and physical item.

[106] Cairns, *Catullus in and about Bithynia* 166.

[107] Wiseman, *Roman Political Life* 100-1; Cairns, *Catullus in and about Bithynia* 166.

[108] Talbert, *Atlas of Classical History* 102 shows that Troad (where Catullus' brother died) is in the province of Asia, not Bithynia (60BC).

Throughout the second and first centuries BC Roman sandals relentlessly marched across the Mediterranean, forcing the eternal city's authority over parts of Spain, Africa, Greece and Asia Minor. Catullus' own lifetime witnessed Pompey annex Syria (67BC), Crassus move against the Parthians (53BC) and Caesar march to the very edge of the known world.[109] Following the defeat of Mithradates and the quelling of the pirate menace by 62BC, Rome's unchallengeable supremacy on land and at sea provided a degree of security that allowed for easier and safer foreign travel.[110] Throughout his poems Catullus displays a clear awareness of the vast extent of this empire,[111] and it is possible that he saw part of his position in Memmius' *cohors* as an opportunity to explore and investigate this fascinating new (and yet old) world.

Contrary to traditional Roman values Catullus seems to have openly embraced foreign culture, for not only did he and his fellow *poetae novi* mimic Alexandrian verse,[112] but the content of several poems narrate foreign myths and depict alien customs.[113] Similarly poems XII and XXV reveal that he actually possessed various novelties originating from distant lands. Indeed the distress described over the theft of some Spanish napkins suggests how dear he held them.[114] Also by naming the origin of these napkins and similarly his Bithynian towels[115] it possibly implies that Catullus deliberately wished his audience to know of his taste for foreign consumer goods. With this notion that Catullus possessed a strong interest in other cultures it is possible to see that he used his appointment to Bithynia in order to travel and explore. The mood and content of poem XLVI reinforces this view, for here Catullus describes with excited optimism the thrilling prospect of travelling around Asia and visiting its "famous cities".[116] His use of the words *volemus* and *laeti* conveys to his audience how impetuous and eager he was to visit these places.[117] I am not suggesting that Catullus accompanied Memmius simply for some form of package holiday or student backpacking trip, yet it is possible that he saw part of his position as an opportunity for a personal adventure that would furnish him with exotic goods and provide entertaining tales to regale his friends with upon return to Italy. This idea is supported by poem IX in which Catullus welcomes the return of Veranius and immediately quizzes him not on political or military affairs, but instead about any noteworthy tales concerning the foreign places and strange tribes he visited.[118] The concept that wealthy republican Romans and Italians did travel for personal pleasure is mentioned by Braund, who argues that as early as 112BC the senator L. Memmius journeys to Arsinoite (Egypt) for the sole purpose of sightseeing.[119] Indeed young Roman orators often travelled to Athens in order to learn rhetoric,[120] and by the imperial age touring parts of the empire was becoming increasingly commonplace.[121]

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[109] In 55BC Caesar first landed in Britain.

[110] Although there were wars in Spain, Gaul and a Parthian invasion (following defeat of Crassus), none appeared to threaten the stability of the empire.

[111] Cat. XI; XXIX

[112] For information on the Neoteric poets, see Nisbet, *Oxford History of the Classical World* 487-94.

[113] Cat. LXIII Cybele; LXIV is filled with allusions to Greek myths; LXVI relates the Egyptian story of Ptolemy III and his queen Berenice.

[114] Cat. XII. 10-15; XXV. 6-9. The poems are possibly not spiteful, but mentioning their theft in two separate poems suggests their importance to the poet.

[115] Cat. XXV. 9.

[116] Cat. XLVI. 6.

[117] Cat. XLVI. 6 *volemus* from *volare* (to fly), which may suggest with effortless haste. Cat. XLVI. 8 *'laeti'* (excited, joyful).

[118] Cat. IX. 6-7

[119] Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King* 79

[120] Although this had the purpose to learn oratory, they also possibly took the opportunity to tour Greece's monuments.

[121] Perottet, *Pagan Holiday: On the trail of Ancient Roman Tourists*. Although the Romans' concept of their empire had changed during the principate it is highly possible that Republican citizens did also travel abroad with the sole purpose of sightseeing.

Catullus' legacy is far more than just a collection of poems, for his work provides an exclusive insight into contemporary opinion concerning Rome's role within her provinces. He does not discuss governmental administration, judicial trials or the views of natives, yet his poems reveal other aspects of provincial rule. They reinforce the notion that Roman governors saw it as an accepted part of their position to profit from their posting, regardless of anti-extortion laws, and provide another perspective to that of Cicero's moralising judgements. Similarly Catullus' disgruntled complaints expose that those who accompanied the governors felt it was part of their role to financially benefit from the experience. The poems go further however, demonstrating that not all young men sought foreign service for the glory of the Rome, or even their own political and military careers. Instead his verses offer tantalising clues towards Catullus acquiring the position in order to travel and explore the mysterious and ancient East. In many ways Catullus reveals the diversity and increases the ambiguity surrounding republican provinces and the role which the people who governed them fulfilled. For in a world without telecommunications or high speed travel Rome's control over its foreign officials was limited, and with few basic guidelines it was the individual who decided his duty.

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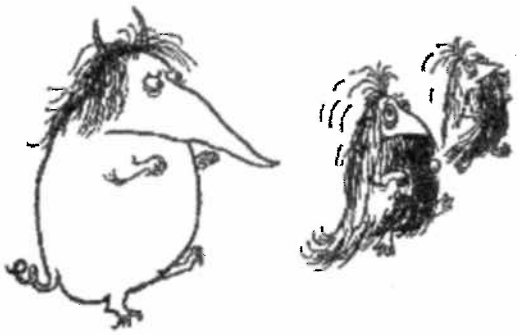
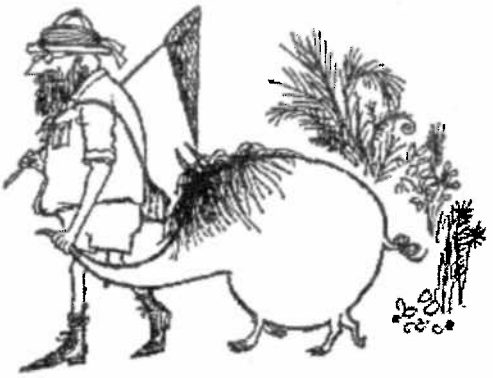


A gerund attacks
some peaceful pronouns



Kennedy discovers the gerund
and leads it back to captivity

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Contributions of any sort — articles, reviews, or other items of Classical or Exonian interest — are always welcome. Such pieces should be submitted in an easily decipherable form: paper, disc (MS Word format if possible), electronic (Pegasus@exeter.ac.uk), etc. A complimentary copy of *Pegasus* is sent to all authors of published articles.

The Exeter University Classics Society

Exeter University Classics Society is a society dedicated to providing a means through which Classics students and anyone interested in Classics can meet up, socialise and participate in events either closely or loosely related to Classics. These vary from the performance of a play, kept as honest as possible to the work of an ancient dramatist, to dressing up in a toga and a wreath! The society is currently thriving with over 120 members, a number which has increased year upon year and the society is going from strength to strength.

The society is built up of members who have a passion for Classics and enjoy socialising with like minded people. Since it is a society run exclusively by members of the student body we recognise that the pressures of student life sometimes need to be relieved and we like to take a slightly tongue-in-cheek look at the ancient world, hopefully making the society and culture even more endearing by replicating some aspects of ancient culture such as our (obviously very civilised) wine tasting event.

We also organise events and trips that individuals may not be able to organise so easily, including trips to Bath, an obvious nearby hub of classical interest. This year we are planning on presenting our own performance of Aristophanes' Clouds, hopefully making the Classics more accessible to those who are interested whilst also catering to all the needs of those more pedantic Classicists!

By far the most exciting event of the year is the Gods and Goddesses ball, a full formal meal and reception held in the stunning setting of Reed Hall. It is held at the end of the second term and we like to hope that the event is one of the most memorable of a Classics student's time at Exeter, and it certainly hasn't disappointed yet.

For further information:
E-mail: **om204@ex.ac.uk**
Website: **www.exeterguild.org/classics**

SELEUKID DISSOLUTION

THE SINKING OF THE ANCHOR

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

JULY 2008

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold
W.B. Yeats

It doesn't matter. He'd made the effort,
fought as much as he could.
And in his bleak disillusion
there's only one thing in which he still takes pride:
that even in failure
he shows the world his same indomitable courage.
The rest: they were dreams and wasted energy.
This Syria -it almost seems it isn't his country-
this Syria is the land of Balas and Herakleides.
Constantinos Cavafis

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The notion of Seleukid dissolution has been understood either as a prolonged decline lasting the entire dynasty or as the result of the cataclysmic defeat at Magnesia.

- Was the Seleukid demise triggered by a defeat – military or moral?
- When does the personal ineptitude of the kings overcome bureaucratic stability?

FENCED IN AND FENCED OUT

The "centre and periphery" debate when applied to the Seleukid empire draws attention to the interchange of internal and external forces between the regions and kingdoms making up and surrounding the empire.

- What was the Seleukid centre? Or was there a Seleukid centre?
- What did Seleukid control mean? How was it tempered by local sensitivities?

DEPENDENCIES AND SENSITIVE AREAS

The history of the later Seleukid Empire is written through the interplay between its constituent regions, former satrapies, allies, vassal states and hostile neighbours.

- What factors determine a given region as dependent upon Seleukid authority or sensitised towards Seleukid politics?
- Why choose submission to or rebellion from the Seleukid king?

OPPONENTS

From its cradle to its grave, the position of the Seleukid Empire put it at odds with other states, from one end of the world to the other.

- Were the Seleukid kings their own worst enemies?
- How desirable was peace with the Seleukids and, if achieved, did it have a lasting effect?

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