PEGASUS

ISSUE 51
2008

PEGASUS

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

Edited by Kyle Erickson, Rowan Fraser and Sharon Marshall

♠ All correspondence about *Pegasus* should be addressed to:
Miss Rowan Fraser, 'Pegasus', Dept. of Classics and Ancient History, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, University of Exeter, EX4 4RJ (e-mail: pegasus@exeter.ac.uk).

♣ 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.

♣ HOW TO SUBSCRIBE

Each issue of *Pegasus* currently costs £3 (including postage within the UK). Many readers prefer to take out a five-year subscription for £15 (thus protecting themselves from any price increases it may be necessary to make in the future). If you would like to subscribe to *Pegasus*, simply send your name, address and requirements to the address given above, enclosing a cheque made out to 'Pegasus' for the appropriate amount. (Current students may buy copies from Room 308H in Amory Building for the bargain price of £2).

♣ 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.
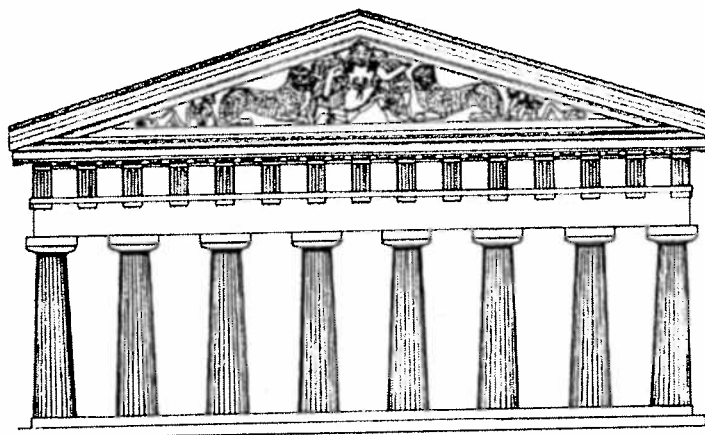
PEGASUS

ISSUE 51 (2008)

Welcome to the 51st issue of *Pegasus*, the journal of the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Exeter. This issue is crammed with news of the Department and its members, reviews of recently published books by staff members, the 2007 Mary White Memorial Lecture given by Peter Wiseman, an update on departmental research on Galen, undergraduate and postgraduate essays and an interview with one of the pillars of our department, Kerensa Pearson. In addition, an index to the first 50 issues of *Pegasus* is included as a supplement.

Our wonderful specially-commissioned cover image of **The Exmoor pony: the original little winged horse** was created by Claire Turner. She is also the artiste behind our Pegasi borders. We hope you enjoy this issue.

Table of Contents

Departmental News

Each year brings its challenges and this year has already brought two large ones. The first has been a review of learning and teaching in the Department, a so-called Periodic Subject Review (PSR). Together with Theology and IAIS, our department was the first part of HuSS to be reviewed under this new scheme, by a team of Exeter academics and administrators together with academic subject-specialists from other UK Universities. This review committee interviewed students at all levels, plus most of the academic staff. A lengthy report resulted. The main message was that the Department and School are doing a very good job, and that students are very happy with their experience of the Department. There was particular praise for the "language ladder", designed to give strong structure to our multi-level language teaching: two other departments have already sought out Matthew Wright for his advice in producing their own version of the ladder.

The PSR outcome was good news. It echoed the outstandingly good result of the National Student Survey, which named Exeter as the Department of Classics and Ancient History with the most satisfied students in the UK. Meanwhile, Exeter as a whole was named University of the Year by the *Times Higher Education Supplement*. Of course league tables and the like are crude devices, but all this positive stuff must mean something good.

The second large challenge is still in progress. Like all departments in all subjects in all UK universities, we are in the middle of the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE 2008). This happens every five years: an assortment of academics considers the research work of the academic staff of each department or subject grouping. The submission was made at the end of 2007 and the outcome should be known just in time for Christmas 2008. We have done very well in previous rounds and are optimistic this time too. It is great to have colleagues who are *all* committed to first-class research, not just because of reviews like this but because that is what they want to do. And they do it very well.

As ever, the department's research continues to burgeon. The research seminar has had a theme this year ("Space in Greek culture", for which a book is planned), while we continue to have papers on all kinds of other topics too. Postgraduate participation has been especially good this year. Meanwhile, Lynette Mitchell has dynamized the Centre for Mediterranean Studies through a series of events and a regular lunchtime seminar in which the Ancient World has had an important place. And the Seleucid mafia has organized an international conference on the dissolution of the Seleucid Empire for this summer, winning AHRC support.

So far this year, two PhDs have been awarded. Rob Bostock wrote his successful dissertation on Homer Odyssey XI, while Mike Beer wrote his on the role of dietary restrictions in the construction of identity. Congratulations to them both!

David Braund
Head of Department

Barbara Borg is currently on Leverhulme-funded research leave.

David Braund (D.C.Braund@exeter.ac.uk)
This year has seen the publication of a collection of papers (including one of mine) called Classical Olbia and the Scythian world (Oxford University Press), which I edited with Sergey Kryzhitskiy from the Kiev Institute of Archaeology – the first, as far as I know, UK-Ukraine joint humanities project of any significance. As I write I am striving to finish a book on Black Sea slave-trading (including Amazons and all kinds of stuff, with lots of Herodotus). By summer I must also finish a project with Georgian colleagues concerning some Roman artefacts recently rediscovered in boxes in the Janashia Museum in Tbilisi. All is now photographed and I am working on the text, with a view to bilingual publication in Georgian and English. My work is mostly rooted in Eastern Europe, which means that I must often travel to Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, Poland and elsewhere. This is no hardship in itself (though the Russian winter does not please me), but it requires a lot of juggling to make sure that everything else - not least teaching - gets done properly.

Eleanor Dickey (E.Dickey@ex.ac.uk)
This year I have been working on two projects: one on how to say "please" in Latin and Greek (and how not to say it), and one an edited volume on colloquial Latin (what it is and how to find it). I've also been giving talks on ancient scholarship following the publication of my book on that topic, and writing short pieces on various aspects of Greek linguistics.

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk)
Last year I finished a book, Naturalistic Psychology in Galen and Stoicism. This is to be published by Oxford University Press, after some revisions that I am making this year. The book is about the interface of philosophical and medical approaches to human psychology in the second century AD, and I have also written some chapters in edited volumes in the same area. I have also published two book-chapters on Marcus Aurelius and my longer-term plans include a book on Marcus and one on Stoic ethics more generally.

Lena Isayev is currently on research leave, working on the project of the migratory paradox.

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@ex.ac.uk)
I have been on maternity leave most of this year, after Constance was born in May 2007. Otherwise, I continue my collaboration with Kate Fisher in the department of History. Together we have written a series of papers and articles examining the way that the erotic wall paintings from Pompeii have been utilised over the past couple of hundred years in a range of debates about sex and humanity.

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@ex.ac.uk)
November saw the publication of my monograph, Panhellenism and the barbarian in archaic and classical Greece, by the Classical Press of Wales (see page 26 for a review). Meanwhile, I have pressed on with other research projects, in particular one on kingship and Greek political theorising. To this end, an article on monarchy in Thucydides will appear this spring in Polis. I have also written a paper on Xenophon's Cyropaedia for the Centre of Leadership Studies Working Papers series, and have just completed a paper on freedom and the rule of law in the fifth century. To finish the year, I am co-organising a conference in Cambridge in September on kingship in the Near East and medieval Europe.

Stephen Mitchell is currently on research leave.

Karen Ni-Mheallaigh (K.Ni-Mheallaigh@ex.ac.uk)
I have devoted most of this year to my book on Lucianic fiction, but I also completed an article about play with origins in Lucian's Verae Historiae. During the summer months, I will be delivering two conference-papers on subjects related to my research on pseudo-documentarism: one on the reception of the ancient Ass-novel in Umberto Eco's The Name of the Rose, and one on the letter as a paratextual device in fiction.

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk)
In the last 12 months three books have appeared: In Search of the Sorcerer's Apprentice (Classical Press of Wales, 2007 – see page 38 for a review); Perseus (Routledge, 2008); and (ed.) A Companion to Greek Religion (Blackwell, 2007). Some shorter pieces have also appeared, including 'Two studies in the reception and representation of Alexander's sexuality' in Heckel, W., Tritle, L., and Wheatley, P., eds. Alexander's empire. Formulation to decay. Regina Press, Claremont, 2007, 75-108 and 'Magic in the Severan period' in Swain, S., Elsner, J., and Harrison, S.J., eds. Severan Culture. CUP, 2007, 454-65. Finishing touches to this material aside, I've also been working on Night's Black Agents (Continuum-Hambledon, publication ca. May 2008) and Alexander the Great: Myth and Sexuality (University of Exeter Press, publication early 2009), and a number of other shorter pieces. I'm still salting away stuff for my never-never project, on dragon myths and snake cults.

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk)
This year my research has focused on using the concept of globalisation as a lens through which to view cultural change in the Roman empire. As part of this project, I am currently examining globalising processes associated with oppida in pre-conquest Britain, in terms of networks of long distance trade (more pots) and the use of brooches in the elaboration of new forms of dress and identity. I am also running an interdisciplinary discussion group within the university on material culture, featuring participants from the departments of English, Geography, Archaeology, and Classics & Ancient History.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk)
I am in the third year of my Leverhulme Fellowship, and continue to write my big book entitled Polis and Cosmos in the Earliest Drama: the Tragedies of Aeschylus, as well as giving several conference papers. I have lectured in Greece, Germany, Poland, Switzerland and the USA.

Pier Luigi Tucci (P.L.Tucci@exeter.ac.uk)
My teaching and research interests cover a wide variety of topics, such as Greek and Roman art and architecture, Roman topography, politics and ideology in the building activity of ancient Rome, Roman building industry and technology, Roman religion, the "conversion" of Roman buildings into churches and basilicas, medieval archaeology in Rome and Italy, the reuse of spolia. During my recent archaeological studies on the Capitoline hill I discovered a wide domus, which seems to be the only aristocratic house still preserved on the summit of the hill. This site will be one of the most important sources of information on Roman architecture and society. I am also working on a book on the architecture of the Templum Pacis and the other Imperial Forum, with a detailed study of the medieval phases of the basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano, consecrated by Pope Felix IV (526-30).

Lieve Van Hoof (L.Van-Hoof@exeter.ac.uk)
Most of my time this year went to my first book, provisionally entitled The Social Dynamics of Philosophy. Reading Plutarch's 'Popular-Philosophical' Writings. In this book, which I hope to finish by the end of the year, I present a radical re-evaluation of a group of often neglected Plutarchean writings with special attention to the dynamic interaction of philosophy and society. In the meantime, several articles on Plutarch and other authors have appeared or are in press. I have also laid the foundations for a new research project, which will examine the role of traditional Greek culture in the Greek literature of the fourth century A.D.

Peter Van Nuffelen (P.E.R.Van-Nuffelen@exeter.ac.uk)
Two areas dominate my research at the moment. Several papers related to the pagan monotheism project are forthcoming, and I am continuing work on a monograph on philosophical views of religion in the early Roman Empire. With Stephen Mitchell I am also editing two volumes resulting from the 2006 Pagan Monotheism conference. The rest of my time is spent on Late Antiquity. I am planning a book on Late Antique Historiography, while at the same time contributing to a project on Episcopal succession in Late Antiquity, run with colleagues from Belgium and Germany. A few papers related to these topics have appeared or are forthcoming.

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk)
In the past year, I have been trying to work more closely with colleagues and postgrads. The Galen seminars that we have been running for four years have now become so popular in the Department that we are going to write a book together to complement the Galen and his Intellectual World volume that has just gone off to the press. I am now working more closely with Mark Jackson, Director of the Centre for Medical History, and he is participating in my conference on Plants and Knowledge in Exeter in May, as is Caroline Petit who was studying Galen's pharmacology here from 2004-7, and Grainne Grant, who is writing a thesis on perfume. I am also trying to set up a Network (funding council speak) to study British food in the context of Empire (Roman and British) and am working closely with Martin Pitts and SOAS (London University) on this series of four conferences that will culminate, we hope, at the British Library. My comic studies continue, and I am off to a comic conference in Cork in July with Matthew Wright and Valeria Cinaglia, who is studying comedy and knowledge in Menander.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@ex.ac.uk) Now that Unwritten Rome is out, I'm trying to get Remembering the Roman People ready for the press. When that's done, it'll be time to finish off the World's Classics translation of Ovid's Fasti (by Anne and Peter Wiseman), for which the publishers have been waiting with commendable patience.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@ex.ac.uk)
I have spent the last few months finishing my book on Orestes (one of Euripides' last and most peculiar tragedies). This will be published by Duckworth in time for Christmas, and will make an excellent present for friends and relatives: reserve your copy now! During 2008-9 I shall be on sabbatical, working on my next book (The Comedian as Critic) and improving my tennis.

Postgraduate News

We welcomed four new PhD students into the department this year, whose research topics are described below. The graduates participate in regular postgraduate research seminars, weekly Greek and Latin reading groups and all other facets of life in the department and school, including the inaugural HuSS football competition.

Shane Brennan (S.G.Brennan@exeter.ac.uk): My research centres on Xenophon's Anabasis, which is the major surviving autobiographical account of a journey by a classical Greek. I am arguing that Xenophon wrote the book as a record of Greek achievement and failure. Currently I am examining the circumstances of the text's production.

Editor's note: Shane is far too modest to mention that not only has he followed the route described by Xenophon on foot through Turkey, and Iraq, but he has also written a highly engaging and personal book about his travels.

Available from Amazon now!
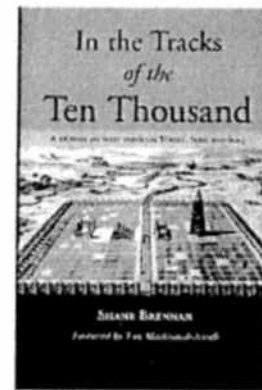
Valeria Cinaglia (Valeria.Cinaglia@exeter.ac.uk): My research topic is in the middle ground between Philosophy and Drama. My argument is that Ancient Philosophy and the New Comedy of Menander deal in different ways with the same issues: i) how we can know the truth and whether knowledge is always possible, ii) how we know ourselves and (iii) how we determine the right way to act. Menander's comedies are built on issues raised by partial knowledge and mistaken assumptions. Why did Menander build these plots? In my opinion the epistemology and the ethics of Plato and Aristotle provide the essential background to these themes. My interests go beyond trying to show direct philosophical influence on Menander, so I will also explore common philosophical ideas and plot structures and not just Menander's allusions to philosophical ideas.

Claude Kananack (chek201@exeter.ac.uk): My thesis will focus on the co-conspirators of the Catiline Conspiracy. The plot to burn Rome and kill its most prominent citizens was led by Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura and his cohorts. It is this conspiracy within Rome and its suppression, rather than the defeat of the conspiracy represented by Catiline and his rag-tag army in Northern Etruria, that leads to Cicero's triumph as consul. Therefore, by examining and presenting the language and evidence regarding the conspiracy from a different focal point, a rethinking of how the Catiline Conspiracy has been presented by Ancient History through the years should emerge.

Cara Sheldrake (ces213@exeter.ac.uk): I am working on a thesis about the use of Classics by writers in Cornwall. The aim is to investigate how local historians and amateurs interpret Classical evidence for their work. Although there is only a tiny amount of material evidence showing contact with the Romans, less showing contact with Greek traders and likewise a small amount written by Classical authors (mainly Greek historians), writers in Cornwall have developed narratives focussed on careful selection

5

and readings that seem 'stretched' to a modern classicist. I hope to show why that period of history is important to these writers and why certain emphases were created and retain their power. I am collating what we know about that era in Cornwall from a different perspective, building up a picture of historiography of Classical Cornwall and illustrating uses and approaches to Classical material. Wish me luck.

Not men, but Giants

[Editor's Note: This report relates to the league match between Classics and the eventual winners of the HuSS football competition, Politics. The Classics Barbarians defeated the Politicians in the league match by the difference of one goal, but were narrowly defeated in the final.]

On the night Fabio Cappello took charge of his first England game at Wembley, up on the Rubbercrumb, Classics took on a much fancied Politics side in the league stage of the HuSS football competition. Victory for the Politicians would effectively see them with one hand on the coveted Charlotte Rushforth trophy, and put the Barbarians out of contention.

Getting into this position had been no small achievement for Classics, who had begun the season with a depleted squad. Whitmarsh had been transferred to Oxford, Ogden had not recovered from a ligament injury suffered playing for Swansea, and Tucci was sidelined because of his boots. Then it emerged right at the start of the season that Kennedy had an aversion to rain, and strong wind, making the mercurial Canadian's availability unpredictable. Fortunately on the night, prayers and libations were answered, and the hard east wind that had been strafing the Rubbercrumb abated. Nobody likes the east wind. Not fish, men or giants.

Beaten by the Arab Institute in their opening game, the Barbarians had bounced back with convincing wins over Sociology, Theology and, in the derby match, a total demolition of History. Politics had dispatched all their opponents, in all cases by several goals, though in fact History's heaviest defeat came against Classics on the Flowerpot fields.

Politics were on the attack straight from the whistle and it took a fingertip save from Kananack to thwart a rasping drive from Khalid Almezaini. Kananack's opposite number in the Politician goal was to prove even more difficult to beat. From the ensuing kickout, Brennan headed down to Erickson whose first time volley from six yards was somehow stopped by the keeper. After these and a flurry of other opening exchanges – most memorably a chip from Yue on the edge of the box that just clipped the upright – the half settled into a tactical affair, with both sides probing but unable to make a decisive break through. But on 22 minutes, Kennedy, menacing down the right wing all evening, dinked passed Mansour, the left back, and delivered an inch perfect cross into the box. Hill met the ball bravely with a diving header but her effort whizzed narrowly over the bar. This signalled a purple patch for the Barbarians. For a full ten minutes balls rained in on the opposition goal. The sustained pressure eventually told with the move of the match. Light, finest of all the Barbarians except Watt, threaded the ball through the middle of the field to Sears who flicked on to Kennedy. His sweeping cross-field ball found Watt in space. Audaciously nutmegging the burly Politics centre back, he sped into the box, rounded the keeper and slotted home. The goal sent the Barbarian crowd into wild celebration. Led by Marshall on the lute, they cavorted and cart-wheeled across the playing field before disappearing into the woods fringing the north end of the Rubbercrumb.

Without the incessant clash of cymbals, the remainder of the game was played out in an eerie quiet. Politics began the second half with steely determination: a series of crunching tackles set the tone for a competitive half hour. However the resolve of the Classicists was equal to their opponents, and they were deserved winners of the contest.

Kananack ('the Cat'), Light, Brennan, Watt (32), Yue, Erickson and Kennedy
Hill and Sears (invisible)

MA Dissertations 2006-07

Ansell, Steven	Dreams in Fifth-Century Athenian Tragedy: Windows onto the Divine 'Beyond'
Bantock, Jessame	The Language of Eros: Sexuality in Female Depiction in the *Agamemnon, Trachiniai* and *Hippolytus*
Belton, Holly	An Examination of Archaeological and Literary Evidence for Domestic Ritual Activities in Roman Italy
Cinaglia, Valeria	Comic Knowing: Limits and States of Knowledge as comic Issues in the Works of Menander
Cramphorn, Shaun	To what degree can we identify regional sub-groups in pre-Philippic Macedonia?
Dimitriou, Despo	Hecuba's representation in Euripides' *Hecuba*
Gilks, Ashley	Emotion and the Sepulchral Scene: An Examination of 2nd and 3rd Century AD Roman Narrative Sarcophagi, their imagery and their meaning
Holmes, Matthew	Roman Heroes and Roman Drama: Brutus to Gracchus
King, Daniel	Soul, Body, and Environment: Hellenism, and the Environment in the Greek literature of the Imperial Period (100-250 AD)
Pearcey, Simon	Myth and Story-Telling in the Accession of Nero
Siwicki, Chris	Men and Monuments: What do the public building projects that were constructed on the initiative of private individuals in Rome, between 202-49 BC reveal about their sponsors' concerns with public promotion?
Smith, Tom	Who's Victory? Celebrating Rome and the Individual: the Function, Nature and Development of Victory Imagery on Roman coins.
Trimm, Rachael	Music and Death in Etruscan Imagery

Texts and History: Reflections on Catullus, Cicero and Ovid

T.P. Wiseman

[The Mary White Memorial Lecture, given at Trinity College, University of Toronto, 6 November 2007. I knew Professor White when I was teaching at the University of Toronto in 1970-71.]

Mary White was a scrupulous historian, always attentive to what the evidence can and cannot tell us, for whom teaching and scholarship formed an indivisible unity. She was, in the best sense, an old-fashioned scholar, and today I should like to offer some old-fashioned scholarship in her honour. So, just for an hour, let's try to think ourselves back into a pre-postmodern era when empirical enquiry was not just one rhetorical strategy out of many, but the only valid form of scholarly argument. I hope it won't be too difficult.

I

When I came to Toronto in 1970, I had just written my first book, a very slim volume – now something of a rarity – called *Catullan Questions*. My title was an allusion to Ludwig Schwabe's *Quaestiones Catullianae* of 1862, which I was concerned to refute.

It was Schwabe who created the story about Catullus that most classicists believed for most of the twentieth century: that 'Lesbia', the woman he loved and hated, was Clodia, wife of Quintus Metellus Celer; that he met her in Verona in 62 BC, when Metellus was proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul; that their adulterous affair continued in Rome, presumably in 61 and 60; that Clodia then threw him over for Marcus Caelius Rufus, whose relationship with her is dealt with so entertainingly in Cicero's *Pro Caelio*. By the time of Caelius' trial in April 56, that relationship was over; Catullus, meanwhile, had been away on Gaius Memmius' staff in Bithynia during 57, and returned to Italy in the spring of 56. According to the Schwabe scenario, Catullus attempted a reconciliation with the now disgraced Clodia, but in vain; she descended into utter promiscuity, and his final message of farewell, poem 11, is securely dated to 55 BC.

It is a seductive story, and what makes it so is the compatibility of the two portraits, that of Lesbia in Catullus' poems and that of Clodia Metelli in Cicero's speech. Surely there couldn't be *two* such women in Rome? Well, of course there could. But we know from Apuleius, who probably had good sources, that Lesbia's real name was Clodia. That would be a knock-down argument, were it not for the fact that Clodia Metelli had two sisters, also with adulterous reputations. It is a reasonable inference that Lesbia was *one* of the three Clodiae, but (*pace* Schwabe) there is no way of telling which one.

My objection to the Schwabe scenario was (and is) that it is inconsistent with what we know about the date of Catullus' poems. There are 116 poems in the collection, 13 of which are internally datable:

4	56 or after	Bithynia	45	55 or after	Syria and Britain
10	56 or after	Bithynia	46	56 or after	Bithynia
11	55 or after	Caesar in Britain	52	55 or after?	Vatinius 'consul'
28	56 or after	Memmius	53	58? 56? 54?	Calvus and Vatinius
29	55 or after	Caesar in Britain			(Gruen 1966)
31	56 or after	Bithynia	55	55 or after	Pompey's portico
35	after 59	Novum Comum	113	55	Pompey *cos. II*

That's a pretty good proportion, 11.2%, and the consistency of the dates is very impressive. The empirical conclusion is inescapable: the poems belong to the middle fifties. Of course it is possible that some of the 103 undated poems are earlier or later, but positive arguments would be needed to establish an earlier or later date. The default position is 56-54 BC, and the onus of proof is on whoever proposes a different date.

Schwabe's scenario dates the love affair with Lesbia to the late sixties. Lesbia's husband is mentioned in two of the poems, and Metellus Celer died in 59. Remarriage was normal in the Roman

aristocracy, but we know from the *Pro Caelio* that his widow Clodia had *not* remarried by April 56. We know nothing about the marital status of the other two sisters in the fifties BC, but the negative evidence we happen to have for Clodia Metelli makes her the *least* likely of the three to be 'Lesbia'.

One new argument I was able to offer in *Catullan Questions* concerned poem 36:

<div style="display:flex">
<div>

Annales Volusi, cacata carta,
uotum soluite pro mea puella.
nam sanctae Veneri Cupidinique
uouit, si sibi restitutus essem
desissemque truces uibrare iambos 5
electissima pessimi poetae
scripta tardipedi deo daturam
infelicibus ustulanda lignis.
et hoc pessima se puella uidit
iocose ac lepide uouere diuis. 10

</div>
<div>

nunc o caeruleo creata ponto,
quae sanctum Idalium Vriosque apertos
quaeque Ancona Cnidumque harundinosam
colis quaeque Amathunta quaeque Golgos
quaeque Durrachium Hadriae tabernam, 15
acceptum face redditumque uotum,
si non illepidum neque inuenustum est.
at uos interea uenite in ignem,
pleni ruris et inficetiarum
annales Volusi, cacata carta. 20

</div>
</div>

Volusius' *Annals*, shat-on pages, discharge a vow on my girl's behalf. For she vowed to holy Venus and to Cupid that if I were restored to her and stopped hurling fierce iambics, she'd give the choicest writings of the worst of poets to the lame-footed god, to be burned on ill-omened wood. Bad girl! She saw herself making this vow to the gods as an elegant joke.

So now, o goddess born from the sky-blue sea, you who dwell in holy Idalium and open Urii and Ancona and reedy Cnidos and Amathus and Golgi and Dyrrachium, tavern of the Adriatic, make it that the vow is paid and received, if it's not lacking in elegance and charm. As for you, meanwhile, into the fire with you, full of clodhopping clumsiness, Volusius' *Annals*, shat-on pages.

The poem presupposes the love affair; we may infer a quarrel from line 4, but there is none of the bitterness and contempt found in the poems attributed to the late stages of the affair. When was it written? I suggested that the odd list of Venus's addresses in lines 12-15 might provide a *terminus post quem*. Idalium, Amathus, Golgi and Cnidos were all known cult centres of Aphrodite; Dyrrachium, Urii and Ancona, on the other hand, were the three necessary ports of call for a ship sailing from Greece to Sirmio, as poems 4 and 31 show Catullus' yacht doing in the spring of 56 BC. I conclude that the poem was written after that date.

One of the supposed arguments in favour of the Schwabe scenario is the fact that two poems are addressed to a Caelius, and another two to a Rufus. But the combination of the two into the Marcus Caelius Rufus of the *Pro Caelio* won't work, because the Rufus poems are hostile and the Caelius poems are friendly. It remains possible that *either* the Rufus of the poems *or* the Caelius of the poems could be Caelius Rufus, but neither of those hypotheses is at all plausible.

'Rufus' is a very common *cognomen*, and the man Catullus addresses by that name could be anyone; even with our limited information, we can immediately point to Caecilius Rufus, Egnatius Rufus, Herennius Rufus, Marcius Rufus, Mescinius Rufus, Messalla Rufus, Minucius Rufus, Numerius Rufus, Paquius Rufus, Pompeius Rufus, Pomponius Rufus, Quinctius Rufus, Sempronius Rufus, Sextilius Rufus, Titius Rufus, Tullius Rufus and Vibullius Rufus – and that's just counting senators.

What about Caelius? Here are the two poems, 58 and 100, in which he features:

<div style="display:flex">
<div>

Caeli, Lesbia nostra, Lesbia illa,
illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam
plus quam se atque suos amauit omnes,
nunc in quadriuiis et angiportis

</div>
<div>

Caelius Aufillenum et Quintius Aufillenam
flos Veronensum depereunt iuuenum.
hic fratrem, ille sororem. hoc est, quod dicitur, illud
fraternum uere dulce sodalicium.

</div>
</div>

cui faueam potius? Caeli, tibi: nam tua nobis
perspecta est †igitur† unica amicitia
cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas.
sis felix, Caeli, sis in amore potens.

Caelius: my Lesbia, yes *Lesbia*, that Lesbia whom alone Catullus loved more than himself and all his kin, now on street-corners and down alleys peels the descendants of great-hearted Remus.

Caelius and Quintius, the flower of Veronese youth, are dying for (respectively) Aufillenus and Aufillena, one for the brother, one for the sister. That really is what they call sweet fraternal comradeship.Whose side should I be on? Yours, Caelius; for your friendship alone was made clear to me when the mad flame was burning my marrow. Be lucky, Caelius, and potent in love.

In poem 58, *Lesbia nostra* in line 1 is often translated '*our* Lesbia', as if it meant 'the woman we have both loved'. I find it deeply implausible that Catullus would have used that tone of fellow-feeling to an ex-rival; but there is no need to rely on subjective impressions. We know from poem 100 that Caelius was Veronese (Caelius Rufus came from Interamnia), and that at the time Catullus was crazy about Lesbia he was a loyal friend. The identification just doesn't work.

These matters have not much concerned Catullan scholars in recent years. Fashions change, and academics nowadays are more excited by the erotics of domination, the language of social performance, or the poetics of Roman manhood (I allude to just three major Catullan monographs of the last few years). But ordinary readers are still interested in real lives, and the translators who make Catullus available to them still have to grapple with these traditional questions. Two really excellent Catullus translations have appeared recently, by David Mulroy in 2002 and by Peter Green in 2005; and so it has come about that my little book of nearly 40 years ago is being argued about all over again.

Now, I grant you that my assessment may not be wholly impartial – but even so, I have regretfully to report that the standards of empirical enquiry are evidently in sharp decline.

David Mulroy begins his argument with a firm statement that "the identification of Lesbia with Clodia Metelli ... is certainly the most likely of possible scenarios" (p.xiii). He then goes on to address the chronology question with the assertion that "Clodia Metelli became a widow in 59 BC and is not known to have remarried" (p.xiv). The relative order of two little words may seem a minor matter, but in fact it is crucial. What he should have said was "...and is known not to have remarried". What the widow Clodia's marital status was at the time to which Catullus' poems are datable is not the open question that he implies.

Dr Mulroy then addresses poem 36. Accepting that the poem must be dated after Catullus' return from Bithynia, he argues as follows (p.xv):

If Lesbia prayed for Catullus' safe return from Bithynia, she must have had a relationship with him before he went to Bithynia. Furthermore, if her prayer was connected with the hope that he would 'stop brandishing fierce iambs', it is obvious that their relationship had run into stormy weather before Catullus set sail.

That is, we assume without argument that line 4 refers to Catullus' return from abroad rather than to making up a quarrel, and that line 5 refers to attacks on Lesbia herself rather than political invectives like the iambic poem 29 (on Caesar and Mamurra), which the reader of the collection has just read. No notice is taken of the overall tone, so different from the bitterness of the late poems. And even if the inference *were* sound, it would take the affair back only to 58 BC, and not to the period when Clodia Metelli was a married woman. However, Dr Mulroy believes that he has done all he needs to. "The identification of Lesbia with Clodia Metelli," he concludes (p.xvi), "thus seems to me to acquire the status of high probability."

As for Peter Green, he assumes from the start that Apuleius' statement that Lesbia's real name was Clodia means that Lesbia was Clodia Metelli. Quoting Kenneth Quinn, he declares that "the Clodia painted by Cicero in his speech in defence of Caelius is Lesbia to the life" (p.5). He knows without

arguing that poem 58 is addressed to Caelius Rufus, and that Catullus "speaks of '*our* Lesbia' (*Lesbia nostra*), the woman who by then had been the lover of both, abandoning one only to be herself discarded by the other" (p.5). He explicitly endorses the whole Schwabe scenario (p.22), right down to the meeting in Verona in 62 BC (p.6), and he adds an absurdity, borrowed from Mulroy, which goes beyond even Schwabe's inventions: he announces, without evidence, that Caelius Rufus suffered from gout, and can therefore be identified as the gouty Rufus of the poems (pp.5, 255f).

In a 41-page introduction, Peter Green allows himself one sentence on the datable poems, and sweeps away, with a casual reference to Mulroy on poem 36, any idea that they count against his identification of Lesbia (p.6). He makes a novel contribution to the complex debate about the dates of Catullus' birth and death, citing Cornelius Nepos' *Life of Atticus* as proof that the poet was dead by the age of 32 (p.2). What the Nepos passage actually shows is that he was dead by 32 BC – not quite the same thing.

However, Green's translation is brilliant, and the University of California Press have done it justice, producing a beautiful book that will surely *be* Catullus for at least a generation of English-speaking readers. And riding on its success will go the unlikely figure of Ludwig Schwabe, a ghost from the age of the kings of Prussia, his fallacies still flourishing after nearly a century and a half.

It would be unmanly to despair. But I do wonder what Mary White, who gave such careful attention to questions of chronology, would have made of it all. Gentle and conciliatory though she was, she might have found it just a little shocking.

II

My purpose in rehashing all this is not just to defend my own point of view (though that of course comes into it), but to show by example the extraordinary power of preconception in overcoming rational argument. David Mulroy and Peter Green are determined to believe that Lesbia was the Clodia of the *Pro Caelio*, just as Plutarch was determined to believe that king Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras, despite his own empirical knowledge that the second king of Rome must have lived two centuries before the sage of Croton. "It's difficult," he said (*Life of Numa* 1.4), "to be precise about chronology." Yes, it is, but that doesn't justify ignoring the evidence.

Let me offer you a different instance of the same phenomenon. The great majority of modern Roman historians take it as axiomatic that the republic was always, and necessarily, an oligarchy. Of course they are aware that only the Roman People in its formal assembly could pass laws or elect men to executive office; but that seems to make no difference. Under the guidance of the great twentieth-century masters – Matthias Gelzer, Friedrich Münzer, Ronald Syme – historians have concentrated on the *nobilitas*, the office-holding aristocracy, as if its rivalries and alliances were all Roman history could ever consist of. It is Syme who offers the most elegantly quotable formulations (*The Roman Revolution* pp.7, 152):

> In all ages, whatever the form and name of government, be it monarchy, republic, or democracy, an oligarchy lurks behind the façade; and Roman history, Republican or Imperial, is the history of the governing class.

> The realities of Roman politics were overlaid with a double coating of deceit, democratic and aristocratic. In theory, the People was ultimately sovran, but the spirit of the constitution was held to be aristocratic. In fact, oligarchy ruled through consent and prescription.

Of course fashions change in this field too – but the quasi-sociological idiom of 'upwardly mobile elites' favoured by more recent authors is no less in thrall to the traditional preconception. What happens below the 'elite' is out of sight and out of mind.

This new style seems to me to be a fine example of the universal opposition between 'lumpers' and 'splitters' – categories first used to describe methods of biological taxonomy, but easily applicable to other types of intellectual enquiry as well. Lumpers like to group disparate phenomena together according to the characteristics they are perceived to have in common; splitters like to insist on the

differences that make particular phenomena what they are. To put it very crudely, sociology is a lumping discipline, working with conceptual models abstracted from the data of particular societies; History, on the other hand, should in my view be a splitting discipline, seeking out the particular conditions and events that make each society unique.

Historians are essential to sociology, in providing the empirical data from which abstractions can be made, but while sociology may be heuristically useful to historians, in suggesting categories of questions that might usefully be asked of the evidence, its idioms have to be used with care. In particular, I don't think reference to the Roman 'ruling elite' is very helpful to the historian. How would one say it in Latin? *nobiles? principes ciuitatis? ordo senatorius? optimus quisque? pauci potentes?* Each of those phrases, as used in a particular text, has its own nuance, and it is only by taking account of such nuances, in the light of what we can infer from the other particular texts we happen to have, that we may hope to understand how the Roman republic worked. But in any case (to get back to my main subject), whether we call them the elite or the *nobilitas*, it is widely agreed that they were the only people who mattered.

This preconception has been forcefully challenged by Ronald Syme's successor-but-one in the Camden Chair of Ancient History at Oxford, Fergus Millar. In his Jerome Lectures on *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, published in 1998, Millar drew particular attention to the evidence of Cicero, as an eye-witness and participant in the realities of Roman politics, and he stressed the importance of the *contio*, or speech to the People, as a vital part of the political process. His arguments seem to me entirely compelling, but they have met with very firm resistance. Henrik Mouritsen, in his influential monograph on *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic* (2001), insists that the common people of Rome took no significant part in the political process, and even more recently the *Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic* (2004) assures us that "the leading men of the most prominent political families, the nobility of office (*nobilitas*), dominated political life from their seats in the Senate" (p.89).

But what about those *contiones*, those turbulent public meetings in the Roman Forum? Mouritsen, to his credit, tackles the question head on (pp.40-1), referring to three Ciceronian passages that seem to prove Millar's point. The first is from a letter of 61 BC, filling Atticus in on all the latest political news (*Ad Atticum* 1.16.11):

> *Accedit illud, quod illa contionalis hirudo aerari, misera ac ieiuna plebecula, me ab hoc Magno unice diligi putat.*

> There is a further point: this wretched starveling rabble that comes to meetings and sucks the treasury dry imagines that I have no rival in the good graces of our Great One.

According to Mouritsen, "The tone of the letter is generally exaggerated..., far too rhetorical to be of much use in determining who attended *contiones*."

The second passage is from a similar letter to Quintus Cicero in 56 BC, again about Pompey (*Ad Q. fratrem* 2.3.4):

> *Vehementer esse prouidendum ne opprimatur, contionario illo populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuuentute improba.*

> He says he must take very good care not to be caught napping, with the meeting-going public pretty well alienated, the nobility hostile, the Senate ill-disposed, and the younger generation ill-conditioned.

According to Mouritsen, the *contionarius populus* Cicero refers to "may not represent a 'politicised' section of the *plebs*, but rather those citizens, often of higher social standing, who regularly frequented the Forum and could be relied on to turn up for a *contio* in support of the senate".

The third passage is from the dialogue *De oratore* (1.118), where Lucius Crassus is insisting that they shouldn't be put off discussing the ideal orator just because in real life there are so many bad ones:

Neque enim, si multitudo litium, si uarietas causarum, si haec turba et barbaria forensis dat locum uel uitiosissimis oratoribus, idcirco nos hoc quod quaerimus omittamus.

Granted that the great number of lawsuits, the variety of cases and this barbarous mob in the Forum allow in even incompetent orators, we needn't for that reason lose sight of what we're after.

According to Mouritsen, "Cicero is … not referring to a permanent 'barbaric' crowd occupying the Forum; the remark was directly linked to his dismissal of 'bad' speakers and has no wider application outside this specific context." I don't think it would be unfair to describe his treatment of all three passages as special pleading aimed at arguing the evidence *away*.

The point I want to make is almost embarrassingly elementary. Respect contemporary evidence. Take seriously what it implies. If what it implies is inconsistent with something you've always believed, ask yourself why you've always believed it.

For Rome in the late republic we have more and better contemporary evidence than for any other place or time in the ancient world. That's because of the survival of so much of Cicero's correspondence and so many of his forensic and political speeches and philosophical dialogues. For political history, of course, that is an ambiguous advantage, for we are inevitably over-influenced by Cicero's own partisan viewpoint, and get no useful insight into that of his opponents. But there's more to life than politics, and the most valuable of all Cicero's evidence is the information he doesn't know he's giving, the casual comments that allow us to infer what he and his readers took for granted, and never needed to spell out, about the cultural world in which they lived.

Classicists necessarily work with texts, the written word as published in books and journals. That predisposes us to privilege the written over the spoken word, and to project our prejudice back into the very world we study. Of course we know, with one part of our minds, that every text produced in the ancient world was written by hand, and that books, whether in scroll or codex form, were expensive to buy and often difficult to find. But we rarely let that knowledge influence our preconception that ancient literary culture consisted of the reading of books. After all, how else could the authors we study have communicated what they wrote? And those classicists who do remember the expense of producing books in the ancient world frequently draw the wrong conclusion from it: literature must have been the preserve of the elite (that word again), and the very creation of a Latin literature must have been part of the elite's strategy for differentiating itself from the masses. It's a paradoxical idea, since Naevius and Ennius were dramatists as well as epic poets, and Ennius was confident that his epic would resound *latos per populos* (*Annales* 12 Sk), which doesn't sound like a man writing for a privileged minority. But preconception can always overcome evidence.

What I want to do now is draw your attention to a few of those casual Ciceronian references I mentioned, to see what they imply about the cultural conditions of his time.

Here, for instance, is a comment in *De officiis* (1.147), where Cicero lectures his son on taking advice about moral decisions:

Vt enim pictores et ii qui signa fabricantur et uero etiam poetae suum quisque opus a uulgo considerari uult, ut si quid reprehensum sit a pluribus id corrigatur, iique et secum et ex aliis quid in eo peccatum sit exquirunt, sic aliorum iudicio permulta nobis et facienda et non facienda et mutanda et corrigenda sunt.

For just as painters, sculptors, and indeed poets too, all want their work to be assessed by the public, to enable anything criticised by the majority to be put right, and they ask themselves and others where the fault lies, so it is frequently by the judgement of others that we should act, refrain from acting, and change or correct what we do.

To be effective, the comparison must have been a familiar one; everyone knew that poets needed the reaction of the *uulgus*. How did they get it? The answer must be by public readings to large audiences. Whether that implies performance at the 'stage games' (*ludi scaenici*) or one-off private-enterprise occasions, we don't know. To return to Catullus for a moment: in poem 95 he sneers at the *populus* for

13

liking long and turgid poems, but it is easy to imagine how well his own short epic could be performed in a public recitation. Ariadne's lament and the song of the Fates were surely written to be heard in performance, not just read on papyrus.

Next, a passage from *De finibus* (5.52), where Marcus Piso, speaking for the Academic school, argues that intellectual curiosity and the love of knowledge are innate in human nature:

> *Quid quod homines infima fortuna, nulla spe rerum gerendarum, opifices denique delectantur historia? maximeque eos uidere possumus res gestas audire et legere uelle qui a spe gerendi absunt confecti senectute.*

> What of the fact that people of humble station, with no expectation of a public career, and even artisans, take pleasure in history? We can see that the people most eager to hear and read about historical events are those whose age deprives them of the opportunity to take part in them.

Reading about *res gestae* is part of what he has in mind, but listening comes first, and was surely the more normal medium for 'humble people and artisans'. Thucydides referred to *logographoi* performing in public (1.21.1, τῇ ἀκροάσει), and we know that Hellenistic historians performed in theatres; what Cicero says here implies that much the same was true in Rome. Although it can only be a guess, I wonder if Cicero also had in mind the crowds that must have listened to the annual reports of the People's commander in Gaul from 57 to 51 BC.

So far, we have evidence for poetry and history performed in public. The same was certainly true of philosophy; not only the Epicureans whose popularity Cicero complains about in *De finibus* and the *Tusculan Disputations*, but perhaps even the sort of thing he wrote himself. There is a revealing phrase in a letter to Atticus of July 44 (*Ad Atticum* 16.2.6):

> *De gloria misi tibi. custodies igitur, ut soles, sed notentur eclogae duae quas Saluius bonos auditores nactus in conuiuio dumtaxat legat.*

> I am sending you *De Gloria*, so you will keep it safe as usual. But make a note of the two excerpts for Salvius to read to a suitable audience at dinner – nothing more.

The word that matters is *dumtaxat* – 'nothing more', implying that normally Atticus would have organised a bigger audience outside. How big, and where, we have no idea.

My next Ciceronian example comes from *De legibus* (1.47), where the point at issue is the superiority of sense-perception over mere opinion:

> *Nam sensus nostros non parens, non nutrix, non magister, non poeta, non scaena deprauat, non multitudinis consensus abducit; at uero animis omnes tenduntur insidiae, uel ab iis quos modo enumeraui, qui teneros et rudes cum acceperunt inficiunt et flectunt ut uolunt, uel ab ea quae penitus in omni sensu inplicata insidet, imitatrix boni, uoluptas, malorum autem mater omnium.*

> In the case of our senses no parent or nurse or teacher or poet or stage-show distorts them, nor does popular opinion lead them astray. For our minds, however, all kinds of traps are laid, either by the people just mentioned, who on receiving young untrained minds stain them and twist them as they please, or else by that power which lurks within, entwined with every one of our senses, namely pleasure, which masquerades as goodness but is in fact the mother of all ills.

Unreliable opinions may have come from one's parents, one's nurse or one's teachers – but also from poets, or from the stage (*scaena*). True, the poets might be in books, but the stage was out in the open for everyone. In the late republic about 50 days of every year were devoted to stage performances at the regular *ludi*, quite apart from one-off occasions like triumphs, funerals or the dedication of temples. What actually happened on those stages throughout all those days is like a black hole in our knowledge of that otherwise well-attested period. As classicists, we naturally think of texts – the comedies of Plautus and Terence, the tragedies of Pacuvius and Accius – but while such classic pieces were no doubt often

revived, the normal programme must surely have been much more varied. From a slightly later period, a poem of Phaedrus (5.5) refers to a very popular performer whose speciality – farmyard imitations – must represent the other end of the cultural spectrum.

What matters about the Cicero passage is the casual assumption that whatever else was on the programme, the audience was going to be informed as well as entertained. That fits in with a passing comment in Ovid (*Fasti* 4.326) that the story of the arrival of the Magna Mater in 204 BC was 'attested by the stage', and with the way Livy, Dionysius and Plutarch sometimes remark that stories from early Rome are more appropriate to the stage than to the written narratives of history or biography. Despite the lack of direct evidence, I suspect that what most Roman citizens knew about the history of their city was largely what they had seen performed at the *ludi scaenici*.

My last passage from Cicero also concerns the public games, but in a different way. We naturally think of the games as spectacle – not just stage performances, but also animal hunts and chariot racing in the Circus Maximus – and we therefore analyse their significance in a social and political mode. Frank Bernstein's chapter on the games in the new Blackwell *Companion to Roman Religion* (2007) assumes throughout that they were primarily aristocratic self-advertisement: "the nobility developed the public games into a universal instrument of their internal and external policy' (p.232); "this ruling elite made the games into a comprehensive means of political influence, because they were at the same time intended to help the community to become aware of itself, and to accentuate and sustain its identity" (p.233). Even as he rightly identifies the purpose of the games as manifesting the Roman citizen body's idea of itself, the modern historian must still insist that it's really all to do with the elite.

Now, each of the various annual *ludi* were put on in honour of a particular god – Magna Mater, Ceres, Flora, Apollo, Victoria, Jupiter. What was their religious significance? Our preconception is to say "practically none". This makes it very easy to ignore a brief sentence in a letter from Cicero to Atticus in July 45 BC (*Ad Atticum* 13.44.2), referring to Atticus' six-year-old daughter, who had been unwell:

De Attica probo. est quiddam etiam animum leuari cum spectatione tum etiam religionis opinione et fama.

I think you were right about Attica. Even the mental lift to be gained not only from the spectacle but from the popular notion of its religious quality is not to be despised.

Atticus had taken her to the games, and the date makes it certain that they were the *ludi Apollinares*. The shows were put on in the Circus Flaminius – which was a piazza, not a race track – in front of the old temple of Apollo Medicus (Livy 40.51.6). Twenty years later the temple was rebuilt as a gleaming marble showpiece of Augustan Rome, but when Atticus and his little girl were there it was still the venerable building that had been vowed to the god when plague struck Rome nearly four centuries before (Livy 4.25.3). He was Apollo the Healer, and though Cicero himself took little account of the gods, even he could see that the *religionis opinio et fama* would do her good.

Thousands of Roman citizens came to watch the games; did they think of them as in honour of Apollo, or in honour of the Roman aristocracy? We cannot *know* the answer to that question, but I think we will make a better guess if we pay attention not to our preconceptions, but to the details of what the texts imply.

III

The third author I want to discuss was a brilliant and hugely successful celebrity poet, who, as one of his

contemporaries put it, "has filled this whole age with erotic instruction and erotic epigrams" (Seneca *Controuersiae* 3.7). The fact that it was the Augustan age made him a problem for the *princeps*.

No doubt for that reason, in his forties he turned from the art of love to the art of history. The title phrase of his new poem, *tempora cum causis*, 'times and reasons', is practically a definition of historiography, and with deliberate emphasis he twice describes its subject matter as "dug out of the ancient annals", *annalibus eruta priscis* (*Fasti* 1.7, 4.11). Of course Ovid's *Fasti* is not much like history in our sense, and the "times" he refers to are the dates of the festivals of the Roman year; but even so, the stories he tells to account for them cover the whole range of Roman history and prehistory, from the arrival of Evander to the triumph of Germanicus.

After long neglect, scholarship is at last taking the *Fasti* seriously, and there have been several excellent monographs on it in recent years. But, by the same token, it has also attracted the attention of scholars whose methods of argument seem to me to be empirically unreliable. To illustrate the point, let's look at one of Ovid's major set-pieces, his account of the Lupercalia on 15 February.

"The third dawn after the Ides looks upon the naked Luperci, and the rites of two-horned Faunus are under way." So Ovid introduces this extraordinary ritual (*Fasti* 2.267-8), identifying Faunus as Pan, whose cult was brought from Arcadia by Evander. The "naked Luperci" were responsible for the festival, under the guidance of the Flamen Dialis. They are described as *sacerdotes*, but the usual translation of that word as 'priests' would give much too solemn an impression. They were young men of good family, organised in a *sodalitas* (Cicero *Pro Caelio* 26), a 'company' or 'brotherhood' divided into two groups named after the patrican Fabii and Quinctii, and their nakedness was essential to the ritual. It can't have been too comfortable at dawn in the middle of February.

The Luperci had, quite literally, to make an exhibition of themselves, *spectaculo sui* (Valerius Maximus 2.2.9), and Varro (in Tertullian *De spectaculis* 5.3) actually describes them as *ludii*, performers. It can hardly be an accident that the site chosen for the first permanent theatre in Rome – though the project was later cancelled – was precisely on the Palatine slope overlooking the Lupercal (Velleius Paterculus 1.15.3). Whatever the archaic origin of the ritual, in historical times it was, among other things, a sexy show.

The victims at the dawn sacrifice were goats, which were then skinned, and the hides cut up to provide the Luperci with minimal loincloths and with strips of goatskin to use as whips. Later in the day, after the ritual meal and a good deal to drink, the two teams would run about the city lashing everyone in their way, especially women, before eventually ending up before a big crowd at the Comitium in the Forum, the scene of the naked Mark Antony's famous offer of a crown to Caesar at the Lupercalia of 44 BC.

So here was a challenge for the aetiological poet-historian: *why* did the Luperci have to be naked? Ovid offers two different explanatory stories, one from the time of gods and one from the time of men. The first one starts like this (*Fasti* 2.303-12):

> Sed cur praecipue fugiat uelamina Faunus
>   traditur antiqui fabula plena ioci.
> forte comes dominae iuuenis Tirynthius ibat;
>   uidit ab excelso Faunus utrumque iugo.
> uidit et incaluit, 'montana'que 'numina' dixit
>   nil mihi uobiscum est: hic meus ardor erit.'
> ibat odoratis humeros perfusa capillis
>   Maeonis aurato conspicienda sinu;
> aurea pellebant tepidos umbracula soles,
>   quae tamen Herculeae sustinuere manus.

As for why Faunus has a particular aversion to clothes, a story is handed down full of old-fashioned fun. It happened that the young man from Tiryns was accompanying his lady; Faunus saw the two of them from a lofty ridge, saw them and got hot. 'Mountain deities,' he said, 'you've got nothing for me. Here is where my flame will be.' On went the Maeonian girl, her perfumed

hair streaming over her shoulders, a sight to behold with her gilded bosom. A golden parasol was keeping off the warm sun; Hercules' hands, no less, held it up.

The story, which I'm sure Ovid's readers knew from the stage, was of Hercules serving his time as slave to Omphale, the queen of Lydia (or Maeonia, as Ovid has it here). Faunus usually chases nymphs, the 'mountain deities' of line 307, but it's goodbye to all that once he sees Omphale. He follows the royal procession at a distance and, when they halt for the night at a grotto in the grove of Bacchus, he waits for his chance. But what Faunus doesn't know is that Hercules' duties involve cross-dressing with the queen. So, as he creeps about feeling his way in the pitch darkness, he touches the shaggy lion-skin and recoils, not realising how close he is to where he wants to be. Then he touches soft silk, and gropes for the hem to ease it up. He makes contact with a hairy leg, and Hercules kicks him off the bed (*Fasti* 2.351-8):

> fit sonus, inclamat comites et lumina poscit
>   Maeonis; inlatis ignibus acta patent.
> ille gemit lecto grauiter deiectus ab alto,
>   membraque de dura uix sua tollit humo.
> ridet et Alcides et qui uidere iacentem,
>   ridet amatorem Lyda puella suum.
> ueste deus lusus fallentes lumina uestes
>   non amat et nudos ad sua sacra uocat.

There's a crash. The Maeonian girl shouts for her attendants and asks for lights. When torches are brought in it's clear what's happened. Faunus groans, thrown heavily down off the high bed, and can hardly pick himself up from the hard ground. Alcides laughs, and so do those who've seen him lying there; the Lydian girl laughs at her lover. Fooled by clothing, the god doesn't like clothes that cheat the eyes, and summons them naked to his rites.

A simple story, but a good one of its kind. The most recent interpretation of it that I've seen is in the final chapter of Richard J. King's book *Desiring Rome* (2006). Readers who have got that far will be familiar with Dr King's theoretical position, which he has borrowed from Eve Sedgwick's *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985). As he puts it in his introduction (p.9):

> The primary homosocial relation of interest is that between Ovid as author and a critical male readership, negotiated through the token – the screen – of the broken text. This book posits the *Fasti* as screening relations between the male author and his male readership much as 'woman' is trafficked between men in literature and culture generally.[...] Ovid's *Fasti* can be read as an ironic elaboration of this field of male homosocial, civic desire in elegiac couplets.

I confess I'm not quite sure what that means, nor does Dr King explain why he believes Ovid's male readers are the only ones who matter. But I'm not concerned with his general position, just with his reading of the Faunus story.

"Interpreters typically assume," he writes (p.201), "that Faunus desires Omphale; but Hercules is as much Faunus' desired object as she is." That's because Faunus sees the two of them (*utrumque* in line 306), and then says *"hic meus ardor erit"*, on which King comments: "The expression is ambiguous, but it can mean 'he is my passion' as well as 'this is my passion'." Yes it *can* (if we correct the tense), but why *should* it? King goes on:

in its primeval form was a tale of ill omen, the reason for a fratricide at the very foundation of Rome. Since Ovid says precisely the opposite, that the story was remembered because it turned out well, I think we are entitled to ask how Ovid could have got it so wrong, and what possible reason there could be for us to believe a modern hypothesis based on his text that is wholly inconsistent with what he says. Remus the sacrilegious outcast belongs in the same category as Faunus the lover of Hercules.

The point I have to make is a very simple one. Scholarship is a creative art. It takes imagination to form hypotheses about the past, and in that creative process particular theoretical strategies can be very helpful. Ideas don't grow on trees; they have to come from somewhere, and if insights from sociology, anthropology, cultural studies or anywhere else can help to generate them, that's all to the good.

But forming the hypotheses is only half the job. If they are going to be of any value they have to be tested, and for that there is no escape from the empirical demand for evidence and logical inference. The intellectual bad habit that I have been referring to as 'preconception' is really a reluctance to submit one's own hypotheses to the necessary test – as if one were to say, "Well, that's how I think it was, and it's good enough for me." It shouldn't be good enough for the rest of us.

The reason I called this lecture 'Texts and History' is that our understanding of the history depends entirely on our interpretation of the texts. It *matters* to get it as right as we can. If Mary White were with us here today, she might be surprised to hear me make that methodological point. For her, and for her generation, it went without saying. For us, and for ours, I think it needs spelling out.

Bibliography
Frank Bernstein, 'Complex Rituals: Games and Processions in Republican Rome', in Jörg Rüpke (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Malden, Mass. 2007), 222-34.
Andrea Carandini, *Remo e Romolo*. Turin 2006.
Peter Green, *The Poems of Catullus: A Bilingual Edition*. Berkeley 2005.
Erich S. Gruen, 'Cicero and Licinius Calvus', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71 (1966), 215-33.
Richard J. King, *Desiring Rome: Male Subjectivity and Reading Ovid's* Fasti. Columbus, Ohio 2006.
Henrik Mouritsen, *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic*. Cambridge 2001.
David Mulroy, *The Complete Poetry of Catullus*. Madison, Wisconsin 2002.
Robert Schilling, 'Romulus l'élu et Rémus le reprouvé', *Revue des études latines* 38 (1960), 182-99.
Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg, 'The Crisis of the Republic', in Harriet I. Flower (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic* (Cambridge 2004), 89-109.

Intrusive Ideologies? Modern Politics and the History of Roman Dacia

Felix Paulinski

In the study of History, the detachment of one's own cultural values can be hard to achieve. In most examples of historical writing – including the ancient sources[1] – the claim of impartiality is a recurring feature of the text. But, with *most* examples of historical writing, the execution of full impartiality is rare because cultural bias is ingrained at a subliminal level.[2] The mindset of the historian always resonates throughout his prose. Take, for example, the following quotations:

"[Rome is called] the nurse and parent of all other lands, elected by the gods' will in order to make heaven itself brighter, to bring scattered peoples into unity, to make manners gentle, to draw together

---

[1] For example, Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.1; Livy, 1.1.1.
[2] Mattingly, 1997: 14.

by community of language the jarring and uncouth tongues of nearly countless nations, to give civilisation to humankind [...]"[3]

"Our civilisation seems firmly set in many lands; our task is rather to spread it further and develop its good qualities than to defend its life. If war destroys it in one continent, it has other homes. But the Roman Empire was the civilised world; the safety of Rome was the safety of all civilisation."[4]

It is evident that both authors are products of an imperial mentality – the former a product of the Roman Empire and the latter a product of the curiously similar British Empire. Both have a sense of manifest destiny and both support the notion that not all races have equal scope to contribute to wider 'civilisation'.[5] In reference to the passage by Pliny, one can infer that superiority, in every sense, was ingrained within the psyche of the Roman elite, giving rise to both xenophobia and a sense of jingoism.[6] This subsequently distorts modern perceptions of Rome.

Like many other historians of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Haverfield is very much of the opinion that the European imperialism of his time was the heir of the Classical imperialism of Pliny's.[7] Haverfield's fully-fledged endorsement of the Roman Empire stems from the notion that it was a model on which the British Empire could be based. In his book, *The Romanization of Britain*, Haverfield draws parallels between the "rule of civilised white men over the uncivilised Africans" and the 'civilising' nature of the Romans.[8] Since a positive assessment of Rome would, in the eyes of Haverfield's contemporaries, ultimately shine positive light on European imperialism, many ancient sources advocating the civilising nature of Rome are taken at face value.[9] This over-dependence on the ancient sources, as we shall see in the assessment of Roman Dacia (roughly modern-day Romania), will affect other forms of politically-influenced History.

The influence of contemporary events on the writing of History, exemplified in Haverfield, did not just occur in isolation: Rome has always been used as a springboard for wider ideologies. Even the academically renowned work of the 19th-century historian Theodor Mommsen tells us just as much about the ideologies of his time as it does about Rome. One could even go as far as to say that his most famous work, the *Geschichte*, written in the wake of the revolution of 1848, was in fact a political pamphlet.[10] In many ways, Mommsen viewed Italy's unification during the Early Republic as a model of a unified Germany.

With the two above examples in mind, it is evident that the study of Roman antiquity – alongside almost every other period of the past – deals not only with pursuing the past, but also with fulfilling one's own political agenda.[11] For the study of History can reinforce both a national and political identity and, in the context of studying Roman Dacia, both of these concepts have coloured the subject. Whether we are looking at 18th-century histories of the province or near-contemporary ones, nationalism and political ideologies – even when at a subliminal level – dominate the pages of Dacian history.[12] Before we proceed, however, it is first necessary to discuss the main Romanian schools of thought that highlight the interplay between the study of the past and national and political identity.

On a basic level, there are three main schools of thought on early Romanian history. There are the so-called 'Latinists', who view Rome as a uniting force and modern-day Romanians as having an ethnic connection to Romans.[13] The Romanian language does, after all, derive from Latin.[14] Then there are the 'Dacianists', who held the opinion that, although much of the native population of Dacia embraced the Latin language, they also protected the cultural autonomy from external powers such as Rome.[15] Finally,

---

[3] Pliny the Elder, NH, 3.39 in Champion, 2004: 260.
[4] Haverfield, 1915: 11.
[5] Woolf, 1998: 5.
[6] Rich, 1995: 39.
[7] Woolf, 1998: 6.
[8] Haverfield, 1915: 13.
[9] Haverfield, 1915: 12.
[10] Freeman, 1997: 30.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] Haynes and Hanson, 2004: 27.
[13] *ibid.*
[14] Vékony, 2000: 218.
[15] Haynes & Hanson, 2004: 28.

there is the more pragmatic and more widely accepted school of thinking, the 'Daco-Romans' – which is more devoid of political ideologies than the previous two,[16] and will therefore play less of a part in this discussion – who believe that intermingling between the Romans and native Dacians took place. What the first two viewpoints share is the assumption that the Romanian nation – be it in the form of Dacia or a Roman province – is not a recent concept.

Both Dacianist and Latinist alike have used the study of the past as a springboard for nationalist fervour. The Latinist school of thought can trace its origins to the formation period of the late 19th Century, when lobbyers for the unification of Romania's principalities confidently asserted that Romanians of their time were the direct descendents of the Roman colonists planted in the area directly after the conquest.[17] This belief is rooted in the heightened national consciousness circulating the Romanian principalities at that time. To these nationalists, Roman Dacia was an advert of what could be achieved if these "pure-blooded heirs of Trajan" were to unite once more.[18]

This school of thought also upholds the notion that the indigenous population of Dacia was exterminated. Like Haverfield, the Latinist standpoint is supported by ancient texts taken at face value. With regard to the apparent total extermination of the native Dacians by Roman settlers, we have in our possession three sources: Eutropius' *Breviary*, 8.6.2; Julian's *Caesares*, 28; and Lucan's *Scholia*, 24.16. Without sufficient scrutiny, these sources could be regarded as an accurate account of the 'ethnic cleansing' suffered at the hands of Rome. If, however, they are put into context – which early Latinists appear to have neglected – several problems arise in the Latinist perspective. Lucan and Eutropius, for example, do in fact state that Dacians were killed *en masse*, but only in the context of a military conquest.[19] The writings of Julian, on the other hand, were used for the purpose of a political pamphlet and are thus arguably less credible than the former two.[20] Furthermore, archaeology has provided evidence to suggest that, although various socio-political strata of Dacian society were indeed eradicated, the indigenous population persisted alongside Roman settlers – a fact that forms the basis of Daco-Roman perspective.[21] Thus, from the Latinists, we see another example of historical manipulation for the purpose of political gain.

However, the Dacianists also employed the past as a platform for the assertion of national identity. Rejecting the Latinist claim that the Romans supplanted the native Dacians, they were of the opinion that the Romanians could trace their origins back to the Dacians of the time of King Burebista (c88-44 BCE).[22] This, as we will see, is sometimes seen as the ace up the sleeve of Romania when debating the issue of Romanian sovereignty.[23] This view not only implies that the Romanians of today had more ancient origins than the Latinists claim, but would therefore also entitle the Romanians to a greater amount of territory, since the Dacian kingdom of Burebista was almost twice as large as the Roman province.[24]

The Dacianist perspective of the past came to fruition largely during the Communist era of Romanian history, particularly under the rule of Nicolae Ceausescu in the 1970s and '80s.[25] During his rule of Romania, Ceausescu pursued a remarkably deviant foreign policy for an Eastern-bloc state – deviant in the sense that, unlike his predecessor Gheorgiu-Dej, Ceausescu took steps to swerve away from Soviet influence.[26] Thus, the study of the independent Dacia of old was inextricably linked to the concept of a centralised independent Romanian state.[27] During this period, it was common for scholars to stress the positive elements of pre-Roman Dacia: the opinion expressed by Condurachi and Daicoviciu, to use one of many examples, was that "Dacian culture was […] developing along similar lines [to Classical culture]".[28] This implies that obvious parallels can be drawn between the civilisation of Dacia of old and the Ancient World, which subsequently depicts Ceausescu's Romania in a positive light.

---

[16] Haynes & Hanson, 2004: 29.
[17] Seton-Watson, 1934: 98.
[18] Haynes and Hanson, 2004: 28.
[19] Ruscu, 2004: 76-77.
[20] Ruscu, 2004: 76.
[21] Ruscu, 2004: 82.
[22] Haynes and Hanson, 2004: 28.
[23] Oltean, 2007: 6.
[24] Oltean, 2007: 47.
[25] Oltean, 2007: 6.
[26] Sweeney, 1991: 78-9.
[27] Haynes and Hanson, 2004: 28.
[28] Condurachi and Daicoviciu, 1971: 110.

Archaeology was another field to suffer from Ceausescu's political stage-management, as the main academic focus was on pre-Roman and post-Roman sites. Even excavations at notable sites such as the Roman colony of Dacia Sarmizegetusa were neglected for 25 years.[29] The chronic lack of cooperation between Dacian and Romanist archaeologists also impeded the study of interaction between the Dacians and their occupiers.[30]

Using the study of the history of Dacia as a platform for nationalism has not always been to Romania's benefit. There are cases of Dacian history being carefully manipulated to give it a more Hungarian-oriented gloss, particularly when issues of sovereignty are on the agenda. The sovereignty of the Romanian-ruled district of Transylvania, in particular, has long been the focus of intense political debate. For years the area has been contested by both Hungary and Romania and, evidently, this political wrangling has surfaced in the historical and archaeological record.[31] This trend has persisted even in recent historiography. For example, Vékony (2000) presented an archaeological study immersed in the pro-Hungarian belief that, contrary to the Latinist and Dacianist viewpoint, Transylvania was almost devoid of its Daco-Roman population before the Hungarian tribes settled the area.

The study of Roman Dacia (as well as Rome as a whole) is not just confined to issues of nationalism; it has also been used as a springboard for wider ideologies. During the communist rule of Gheorghiu-Dej of the 1950s and '60s, the study of Romanian antiquity was, through the medium of historical analogy, just as much about feeding Marxist theory as it was about the assertion of autonomy.[32] Most historical study during this period related to issues of social class. Though largely implicit, Romanian historical scholarship of this nature seems to parallel Roman Imperialism with the so-called 'western imperialism' that Marxism resists.[33] Imperial Rome was, after all, the epitome of everything detested by Marx.[34] The historical and archaeological record of Roman Dacia was, therefore, at this time, completely saturated with the issue of the oppression of the native Dacians. Condurachi and Daicoviciu, (1971, 125), for example, describe the Roman occupiers of Dacia as being only "concerned to extract its immense human and natural resources", with the natives "exposed to ruthless exploitation".[35]

The main problem with the above is not so much that modern politics have manipulated history, which is somewhat inevitable, but more that modern ideologies such as communism have been taken out of their modern context and inappropriately applied to the ancient world. This kind of scholarship gives us more insight into the concerns of the context in which they were produced than it does the Ancient World, since the theories probably would have borne little or no relevance to the peoples of antiquity. And these modern political thoughts do not just echo through the works of Romanian scholars. Despite the fact that the Romans had a limited knowledge of how 'the economy' was an integral organ of 'the state',[36] the Roman statesman Crassus has often been described as a 'capitalist'. Similarly, although Woolf (1998, 27-28) questions the use of the term 'globalisation' in relation to the Romanisation of Gaul, the fact that he uses modern analogies to deduce the Gallic experience of Roman imperialism highlights the fact that issues regarding modern globalisation were never far from his mind.[37] I am sure that the opinions expressed in this paper will themselves possess pockets of cultural bias. The fact that I described the hypothetical historian of the first paragraph as a 'he' could be interpreted as a result of the patriarchal nature of our society. Likewise, perhaps my own disdain of the British Empire is the result of modern, postcolonial attitudes to imperialism. As already stated, the mindset of the historian *always* resonates throughout his prose.

Bibliography

Champion, C. B. (eds.) 2004 *Roman Imperialism Readings and Source*. Blackwell Publishing.

---

[29] Haynes and Hanson, 2004: 29.
[30] *ibid.*
[31] Oltean, 2007: 6.
[32] Oltean, 2007: 5.
[33] *ibid.*
[34] Marx, 2000: 77.
[35] Condurachi and Daicoviciu, 1971: 125.
[36] Matyszak, 2003: 176.
[37] Woolf 1998: 27-28.

Freeman, P. W. M. 1995 'Mommsen through to Haverfield: the origins of Romanization studies in late 19th-c. Britain' in Mattingly, D.J. 1997 (eds.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*. JRA Supplementary Series. 27-51.

Haynes, I.P. and Hanson, W.S. 2004 'An Introduction to Roman Dacia' in Hason, W.S. and Haynes, I.P. 2004 (eds.) *Roman Dacia: the making of a provincial society*. JRA Supplementary Series 56. 11-31.

Marx, K.2000 *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, eds. McLellan, D. Oxford University Press.

Mattingly, D. J. 1997 'Introduction' in Mattingly, D.J. 1997 (eds.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*. JRA Supplementary Series 23. 7-26.

Matyszak, P. 2003 *Chronicles of the Roman Republic*. Thames and Hudson.

Oltean, I. A. 2007 *Dacia: Landscape, Colonisation, Romanisation*. Routledge.

Rich, J. 1995 'Fear, Greed and Glory: The Causes of Roman War Making in the Middle Republic' in Rich, J. and Shipley, G. 1995 (eds.) *War and Society in the Roman World*. Routledge. 38-68.

Ruscu, D. 2004 'The supposed extermination of the Dacians: in literary tradition' in Hason, W.S. and Haynes, I.P. 2004 (eds.) *Roman Dacia: the making of a provincial society*. JRA Supplementary Series 56. 75-85.

Seton-Watson, R.W. 1934 *A History of the Roumanians: from Roman times to completion of unity*. Cambridge University Press.

Sweeney, J. 1991 *The Life and Evil Times of Nicolae Ceausescu*. Hutchinson.

Vékony, G. 2000 *Dacians-Romans-Romanians*. Toronto (http://www.hungarian-history.hu/lib/chk/index.htm).

Woolf, G. 1998 *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge.

Individual ancient sources
Livy, *The Early History of Rome*. trans. Sélincourt, A. 1960. New York: Penguin.
Tacitus, *Annals*. trans. Grant, M. 1996. New York: Penguin.

Interview with Kerensa Pearson

You have been with the department since 1991. What were your first impressions when you arrived?
We were over in Queen's, spread about over the building; I was working down in Theology and had to go all the way across the building to see the other secretary in the Department. It probably took me quite a long time to get to know who was in the Department even, except for Chris Gill who I did a lot of typing for and Richard Seaford who was in the same corridor as me.

How has the Department changed over the years?
It has grown considerably, because people have joined it from elsewhere. There was a certain rationalisation right before I came when people came to the Department from around the country. Growth has been the main change, but also the flavour of the department changes with the people who are there. Although the members have changed, the dynamic has remained the same; the same ethos is still discernable. There has always been an emphasis on language teaching and trying to keep things rigorous. There have always been research seminars. There is a big change in the feel of the Department when people are on study leave, sometimes for up to three years, and it can feel quite draughty when they are gone. It is like the colours are always the same but the shape changes.

What are your views on (a) the Department becoming part of HuSS and (b) the move to Amory?
I was very worried about it, initially, because the role of Department Secretary has changed. There is

more support, so there are people who do parts of the job I used to do, like the AHRC application forms and annual postgraduate monitoring, which are now handled by the Graduate School. It was quite difficult because it looked like there were going to be lots of new responsibilities. Forty per cent of Claire's time is now meant to be spent handling undergraduate admissions for the school, but actually this can take considerably more time, which means that I have had to take on more of the tasks for which Claire was responsible. One of the nice things about being in Amory is that we are all in the same area and not dotted around the building, and there is comforting support in terms of the resources of the school, whereas before it felt a bit more like we were out on a limb.

If you could work for any other department (if any) which would it be?
It never occurred to me, actually. No I don't think there is another one I would particularly want to work for. From the interest point of view, it might be French, because I did French as part of my secretarial training.

Is there any other job you would like to do?
No. I did train as a word processing teacher, but the students I taught were youth trainees and treated their day at the college as their day off and would go off shoe-shopping or to the hairdressers and then wonder why they did poorly in their exams.

How are we likely to find you relaxing when you're not running around after us?
Probably walking in East Devon. There is a very good booklet put out by the Otter Valley Association and if I got more time I would probably do more of their walks on Woodbury Common or up the cliffs.

If you could invite five guests – past or present – to a dinner party, who would they be?
- Paul McCartney, which I suppose dates me.
- Giles Fraser, the author of *Christianity with Attitude,* because I agree with an awful lot of what he says.
- Katy Fforde, another writer whose works I enjoy.
- My Grandmother. I've been reading her letters recently to her sister. She was lady-in-waiting to Queen Mary but the sort of lady who could get along with everybody. She did lots of charity work in the East End of London and traveled widely to India etc, so I think she would be very interesting to talk to.
- My husband, obviously.

What's your favourite place in the world?
In all the world, that's a bit wide. Any place gets a bit dull after a while, doesn't it? One of my favourite places is part of a walk, so isn't so much a place but a view - a view from the cliffs by the East Devon golf course looking down on Budleigh Salterton and the mouth of the River Otter.

What do you enjoy most about being in the Department?
Well, I think it is the people and the variety. The academic year means that a clerical or administrative job which might get samey, changes throughout the year. I enjoy the people, even though I might not

be very good at remembering names. I like seeing the students and seeing their highs and lows and I like being able to help people.

And finally... if there was one thing that we could do as staff and/or students to make your life easier, what would it be?
All sorts of little things that niggle at times, but there is not one big thing. It's not that you're all perfect, but I just can't think! I think everyone has their own idiosyncrasies. Sometimes you might wish people would ask you things by email rather than along the corridor, or that someone would do what you ask them to, or that they would consult before they do things, but then at least they get on and do things. Everyone has their faults, but their faults have their upsides.


Mitchell, Lynette. *Panhellenism and the Barbarian in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007. Pp. xxvi + 262, ills. ISBN: 978-1-905125-14-2.

Reviewed by Gillian Ramsey

Students of Greek history soon discover that the discipline's title is simply the smooth surface over agitated and often murky waters, whether they are coming to grips with the transitions between historical periods, the multiplicity of political histories, the different literary dialects or local distinctions in material culture. What Lynette Mitchell (henceforth M.) has done in *Panhellenism and the Barbarian in Archaic and Classical Greece* is to plumb the rich and teeming depths of evidence for the ancient Greek world and present a study of the one thing that makes it possible to think of 'Greek history' as a single entity: Panhellenism. She identifies Panhellenism as a "phenomenon", specifically the phenomenon of the Greeks "imagining themselves as a community united by cult and kinship", language and the values of "freedom, law and justice" (xv). This definition serves as a touchstone for her and others' hypotheses presented in the book, as she tests all these ideas against a Panhellenic dynamic that is "in constant flux" (xx) and continually interacting, "at war" (16) or in "dialogue with the anti-Greek" (25). Such an understanding accurately encapsulates the difficulty with Panhellenism, because definitions of it as an aim striven toward, the antithesis of barbarism, political or cultural unity and tool for imperialism (xvi ff) soon become inadequate when faced with the shifting and complicated behaviours of the Greeks themselves.

The main result of this Panhellenic phenomenon was the continual negotiation of the boundaries where the drive for creating or maintaining Panhellenism ran out or, more often, ran up against an obstacle of the other, the non-Greek or the anti-Greek. M. identifies three concepts most connected to boundary making, saying that "unity, barbarism and war seem to sprawl across Hellenic consciousness, history and culture" (xviii), and the second of these was the key "edge" against which Panhellenism formed. Greek unity was the nominal aim of Panhellenism and warfare the context for its formation, but the barbarian was the lynchpin for Panhellenism, and without its presence and threat the whole phenomenon would have ground to a halt. M. presents a barbarian constructed entirely in the Hellenic mind. Regardless of the historic cultures of the Persians, Phoenicians, Anatolians, Egyptians and
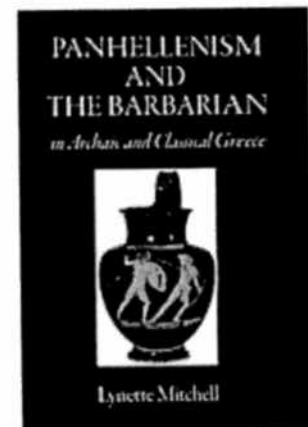
others, the barbarians who mattered to Hellenes were the ones in their imaginations. Real-life contacts, often vitally important to Greek political and economic survival, were just part of the greater identity that Hellenes created for barbarians. The presence of the barbarian was not just out on the fringes of the Greek world with all the other marvels of fabulous geography (178ff), but in its midst and an accustomed part of visual, literary and material culture (118ff, 136). Here the barbarian provoked a deep anxiety and conflict within Hellenicity over its origins, history, prosperity and morals. Certainly the Greek idioms of "fear, sacrifice and freedom" that the Hellenes used for inter-state competition and self-promotion (xviii) were products of the Panhellenic phenomenon of constant war within and among Hellenic communities and outwardly against the rest of the world. Marking the barbarian as a constant concern, challenge or threat to identity gave the Greeks something solid with which to promote Panhellenic aims, even as it succeeded in stymieing them (cf. 16, 22-3, 90).

M. begins the main part of her study with a discussion of the formation of Hellenic identity, wherein Panhellenism is viewed as a phenomenon in the Greek imagination. M. concentrates here and throughout the book on 'reading' the Hellenes' own description of themselves through the evidence of their visual arts, political and rhetorical arts, mythography, historiography, tragedy and cultic traditions (3ff). She points out a few "unifiers" that the Hellenes felt bound themselves together as a community and so formed a basis for Panhellenic activity: cult, kingship, common action and shared culture. For cult M. points to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as an explicit charting of Apollo's cult history across Hellenic geography and definition of spatial and cultural boundary and belonging (6). One major issue with Greek kinship was the distinction between Ionian and Dorian groups, a particular problem for the historians as it served to unify only certain parts of the world, but socially the institutions of *philia* and *eunoia* between groups and political regimes was more effective (9). M. depicts "common action" as specifically within the ongoing "war against the barbarian", always retributive (citing the wife-snatching of Herodotos Book 1) and therefore just. This unifier was the most criticised and prone to failure, since unlike the others it had an actual aim – victory in Panhellenic unity and barbarian defeat – which was never achieved (16, 19). The fourth unifier, culture, consisted of quantifiable ties, such as language and education, and the more nebulous qualities like values (20) and morality (27).

The historic foundations for these four perceived unifiers are discussed in chapter two, from the end of the Mycenaean period to the beginning of the archaic age. In the small and poor but nucleated communities that developed (40), real Panhellenic growth emerged in "regional patterns" of language, "artistic *koin•*" of material culture, appropriation of the oral Homeric epic as a mythographical 'unifier', colonisation ventures and Olympic participation as forms of community-building (42-3). While a good start, M. makes the point that by the sixth century these growths and aggregations of Hellenic identity had not produced a Panhellenic community sufficient to sympathise with the plight of Asian Greeks under Lydian and then Persian rule (64). She identifies a few "moments" of Panhellenism: the creation of the Hellenion at Naucratis, the Corinthians establishing the Isthmian Games and the early Panathenaea (65). Overall, however, the Panhellenism of that early period flitted elusively between the "superficial" boundaries of language difference (55), the politicisation of identities among cultic and community groups (56, 57ff), and the pushing back of physical and symbolic boundaries through seafaring and exploration (48ff).

Paradoxically, the "dream" of a real Panhellenic 'utopia' promised by the activities of the archaic period grew more remote as the awareness of its potential grew and the reality of a Panhellenic 'dystopia' set in with the advent of the Persian wars in the fifth century. The "utopian dream" did not so much fail as remove to the realm of the "symbolic community" and was more obviously an imagined Hellenic unity criticised for its impossibility (78). In chapter three, M. analyses how the fractiousness of the Hellenes amid the worries and challenges of their struggle with the Persians reflected the negotiation of a symbolic

Hellenicity and the search after Greek unity and victory. The constant war of the Greeks over "border disputes", sanctuaries and ambition for regional pre-eminence (80ff) coalesced into an argument over who was to lead the Panhellenes against the Persians. The "parochialism" (88) and rhetoric of *philotimia* (82ff) that undermined unity are best seen in Athenocentrism and the 'right to lead', with its arguments for autochthony and Hellenic origins (85ff). Internecine war and *stasis* were recognised as both uniquely Panhellenic (92ff) and dystopically the biggest hindrance to the greater unity that could drive out the barbarians (94-5, 99ff).

M. takes this second aspect of the Panhellenic phenomenon – the internal crisis of identity and purpose – and connects it to the 'orientalising' habit in Greek material and literary culture. In chapter four she looks at how producing a Greek 'idiom' was dependent on the presence of and engagement with Asian motifs, particularly by identifying and avoiding barbarian "luxury loving" (128), slavishness (130-1) and enslavement to tyranny in order to succeed at freedom and democracy and enforce the rule of law (141ff). The implications of this dependence for the Hellenes were the marking out of their own slavishness to tyranny, seen in suspicions towards Athenian and Spartan leadership (143, 145), which only undermined their imagined moral high ground of freedom and democracy. But, despite recognition of the positives of Persian royal justice (150, 152ff), the Hellenes were determined to enthrone the *demos* (152ff, 157) and maintain resistance to the threat of tyrannical overthrow as their defining Panhellenic quality (151).

The war against tyranny inside the Greek mind projected outwards onto the historical and physical worlds, and in chapter five M. examines how the Greeks' conception of a "war against the barbarian" through time gave them a "deep history", a "shared history" and a shared geography of conflicts (169). Contrary to the Hesiodic view of time, the anti-barbarian "deep history" promised a more glorious, Panhellenic future (170). Experiences of exploration at "the edges" in the archaic age (178) translated into geographical and genealogical determinism for barbarian identity (180-2, 188-9). M. argues that the Panhellenic treatment of the whole world as context for Hellenic superiority and identity-making on solely Hellenic terms (186ff) "empowered" the later efforts of Alexander the Great by giving him a complete object of conquest and making it "a conceivable space" (194). The ultimate irony of Panhellenism was that its highpoint, Alexander's victory over Persia, was the achievement of one from the "fringes" of Hellenic identity (204).

M. sums up her thesis by stating that Panhellenism was a phenomenon characterised by "vitality", being continually "worked to regenerate the Hellenic community" (208). What she in fact has shown is that this regeneration came about because of constant conflict, not just with the barbarian, but also inside the Hellenic community. In our own times we assume that war is an aberration or a hindrance to democracy, when in fact, as shown by M.'s description of the Greek mind in its identity-making, internal conflict was the key part of being Hellene, as much as being democratic necessitated a fear of and hostility towards the barbarian. M.'s book deftly and quietly devastates the urge to simplify as a means for understanding the past (or indeed, the present). For in it she presents a thorough discussion of the nitty-gritty of the Archaic and Classical Panhellenes, with their complexities, successes and failures, and shows that we, as historians, and as the Greeks did before us, must take all of what we are given and make something of it. Conflict in our own minds and among ourselves is inevitable because what we have does not fit neatly together, and there is a constant 'other' out on the 'edges' of our world, both outside it and part of it. But, though difficult to deal with, this is ultimately a creative thing. The importance of M.'s own work is mirrored in her final description of Panhellenism: "It was a vibrant, flexible and coherent collection of themes and representations that brought the Hellenic community to life, allowed it to know and express what it was, and to become something new and contemporary." (211)

GALEN

Work on Galen continues in the Department and in September Dr Julius Rocca took up a post in ancient medicine, funded by the Wellcome Trust, initially to carry out a research project on Galen's teleology. Prof John Wilkins is completing his translation of Galen's *On Simple Medicines* with Alain Touwaide of the Smithsonian Museum and in May is hosting a conference on *Plants and Knowledge* that aims to explore the dissemination of knowledge about plants of the Mediterranean outside the strict academic boundaries of Botany. There have been a number of departmental research seminars on aspects of Galenic research by John Wilkins, Siam Bhayro (Theology) and Pier Luigi Tucci.

Galen on Nutrition and Pharmacology: What do *We* Need to Know?[38]

John Wilkins

Ancient medicine faced many challenges, not least of which was its inability to treat serious conditions such as plague. It is clear from Thucydides' description of the plague of Athens in 429 BC and Galen's comments on plague in Italy in the 160s AD that the doctor's powers to intervene were severely limited.[39] One problem that modern observers might identify is that doctors in the Hippocratic and other ancient traditions were using misguided scientific models, such as the Hippocratic system based on the humours of the body. It is no surprise to us that many of the cases recorded in the superb *Epidemics* of the Hippocratic corpus end in the death of the patient. Indeed, David Wootton has written recently of the harm that doctors did in the Western tradition from the time of Hippocrates right up to the 1860s, when, with the development of the microscope, doctors were at last able to see the micro-organisms that were the cause of many illnesses, as opposed to the humoral imbalances previously diagnosed.[40]

It is therefore not difficult to see that the medical system we now enjoy is more effective and, when combined with Victorian sewerage and water systems in towns, is able to deliver an average life expectancy of about 80 years (depending on gender), compared with 22 to 30 years in antiquity. Progress indeed, particularly in key areas of peri-natal mortality (mothers and babies no longer head the mortality tables in rich countries, though they do in poor) and microbiological disease. There remain major challenges, however, in certain conditions, such as AIDS and the Ebola virus, and in rich countries in nutrition and pharmacology. In Britain, much of the population, particularly the poor, has a bad diet; gerontology has too few resources; and mental health is a poor relation. The *Guardian* reported in March that 40 million prescriptions of Prozac worldwide were this year found by researchers in Hull to be ineffective, with only a few exceptions. This is a massive failure in a population with a 20% expectation of mental illness in a lifetime and, except for an unfortunate minority, a 100% expectation of growing old.

Many who do not find the medicine they need in the NHS turn to 'alternative' medicine, which is often philosophically based on principles elaborated in Indian and Chinese medicine. This is a curious state of affairs. Such healing is thought to come from the Orient, rather than from the Western medical tradition.[41] Why? Because Galen and Hippocrates were 'proved' to be 'wrong' in a series of experiments from Vesalius (16th century) and Harvey (17th century) onwards. Consequently, Hippocratic and Galenic

---

[38] This is a version of a paper given to the seminar of the Centre for Mediterranean Studies in February 2008.
[39] Thucydides 2.47-55, Galen, *On My Own Books* 15 and 18.
[40] Wootton 2006.
[41] For similarities in the two traditions see for example the Exeter thesis of Vicki Pitman, now published as Pitman 2006.

texts were less needed in the twentieth century than in the nineteenth, when the standard editions of Hippocrates by Littré and Galen by Kühn were produced. Ancient medicine became a very specialised area and modern editions of Galen are published only very rarely, in Berlin over the last 100 years and in Paris for the last 15. The Hippocratic texts have been translated into English, but much of Galen has not been translated into any modern language. He has, in many cases, to be read in Greek, Latin, Arabic and occasionally Syriac or Hebrew. Thus, in addition to being scientifically 'discredited', Galen is to a large extent also inaccessible to all but a Classical and Arabic readership, and a very small section even of that minority. This was true of his treatise on nutrition until 2000. It is still true of his pharmacological treatises, which run into thousands of pages in the standard nineteenth century edition of Kühn with its vulgate Greek text and Latin translation. This matters in two respects. First, it is not possible for a Greekless or Latinless reader to discover which parts of a mediaeval or Renaissance herbal, such as Gerard, belong to a coherent medical system, that of Galen, and which belong to modifications and accretions that draw on various systems of thought covering a period of some 1700 years. Secondly, a person, whether doctor or patient, is not able to do what Galen did, that is review previous science over a matter of centuries and come to the best conclusion (s)he could in the light of that study and his/her own empirical research. It is now possible to read Galen's treatise on nutrition in English, thanks to Grant 2000 and Powell 2003, and it will soon be possible to do the same with Galen's pharmacology, at least as far as concerns the basic treatise, *On Simple Medicines*. I am currently translating *On Simple Medicines* into English with Alain Touwaide of the Smithsonian Institution. This is part of ambitious plans to make all of Galen accessible to the modern world in the new scientific lingua franca, English.

In *On Simple Medicines*, Galen sets out in eleven books his theoretical model in the first five, and then lists in the last six books the drugs derived from plants (the majority), animals and minerals. The following treatises consider compound drugs according to kind and compound drugs according to the place affected. *On Simple Medicines* claims to offer nothing 'new', in the respect that the theoretical modelling is based on what Galen said about the 'elements' (earth, air, fire and water) in *On the Elements according to Hippocrates* and the 'powers' or 'faculties' or 'properties' (*dynameis*) of foods and drugs in *On Natural Faculties*. While the theory is not new to Galen, it is to pharmacology, and in his review of previous research Galen makes clear that earlier writers in this field of medicine lacked system and empirical proof, and a logical method capable of distinguishing critical from trivial effects. Hippocratic treatises on drugs as such do not survive, but Galen is our best source on Hellenistic pharmacology, such as the influential Heraclides of Tarentum; and he relies heavily on Dioscorides, who according to Nutton and Scarborough was a better botanist than Galen.[42]

Galen's research and long perspective are however very valuable, even if we set aside the scientific modelling and empirical findings. What happened to Galen's treatise after his death? The picture is mixed, as for the transmission of many classical texts. In general, through the mediaeval manuscript tradition, the medical botany of Dioscorides seems to be more important than Galen's treatises. Galen, however, also makes a very impressive show. He appears early in the third century AD, possibly before his death, as one of the semi-fictional 'Deipnosophists' in Athenaeus' treatise of that name. He is introduced as (1.1 e) "Galen of Pergamum, who had published more medical and philosophical treatises than all his predecessors and was not inferior to any of the ancient doctors in his diagnoses" (trans. Olson). In the fourth century AD, Galen plays a major role in the compilations of earlier medical work made by Oribasius for the court of the emperor Julian. These are texts that are quoted extremely accurately, as I have checked in the nutritional treatise especially. In the sixth century, Aetius of Amida, based in Alexandria, used and quoted Galen's pharmacology and nutrition extensively, as did Paul of Aegina in Alexandria in the seventh century AD.

Back in the sixth century, meanwhile, both *On the Powers of Foods* and *On Simple Medicines* were translated into Syriac, along with a number of other philosophical and scientific texts in Greek. Siam Bhayro tells me (by personal communication) that the Syriac scholar Sergius was at pains to get readers to take note of the first five theoretical books of *Simples*, as well as the six books of lists that were much more in demand. People wanted the practical judgements more than the theory. These Syriac translations were

---

[42] Nutton & Scarborough 1982.

later used for the valuable Arabic translations in the eighth century AD, which enabled Avicenna and other Arabic doctors to build on Galen's work.[43]

In the West, the oldest Greek manuscript of Galen is the Wolfenbüttel palimpsest of *On the Powers of Foods*, which dates to about 500 AD, a little earlier than Sergius' translation of the treatise into Syriac. By the eighth century AD, such a Greek treatise was no longer in demand in its home in northern Italy, so the manuscript was reused for a text of the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. In the thirteenth century, conversely, Galen was in demand, and in 1277 a Latin translation of *On the Powers of Foods* by William of Moerbeke in the Low Countries was commissioned by a doctor Rosello of Arezzo. Similarly, a Latin translation of *On Simple Medicines* was done in southern Italy by the prolific Nicholas of Rheggio in the fourteenth century, though this may not have contained those first five books recommended by Sergius. By the fifteenth century, Renaissance scholars in Italy had access to the latest Greek manuscripts after the fall of Constantinople, and a ferment of activity ensued in the editing of the nutritional and pharmacological treatises. The first printed edition of Galen's Greek text, the Aldine, appeared in Venice in 1525. British scholars were involved.

Manuscript history is not to everybody's taste, but Galen's case is special. His medical system underwrote most medical practice for the elite in the period we have been reviewing. The elite may not be everything, but they are the group who receive the latest medical treatment in most societies, and in Britain too until 1945. Galen's medical system had been diversified into 'Galenism' through the period under review, but, as we have seen, from time to time certain authorities thought they should check what Galen himself had said. If a text was not available in their own language, then they could commission a translation. And thanks to the independent Arabic and Greek tradition, translations could be checked one against the other if needed. In the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, Italy was the centre for such translations, thanks to its ready contacts with the Byzantine court and the Arabic world in the earlier period, and later to the Renaissance. By which time, Andreas Vesalius could check his anatomical findings against a good text of Galen, as could William Harvey in seventeenth century England.

What has all this to do with us? Do we *need* any of this knowledge? I think we need to know at least three aspects of the medical history discussed here. First, that there is an alternative to Prozac and the NHS, and it is based on Greek thought as well as on Indian and Chinese philosophy. It is something to be considered, even if we choose the Prozac in the end. Secondly, was Galen's medicine necessarily ineffective, as David Wootton would have us believe? If we set aside the medical properties of plants (a big concession), what of the placebo effect? As Claire Turner pointed out to me in the Departmental office in early April, what is wrong with activating the body's immune system? Thirdly, if we ignore medical history, we put ourselves in danger of believing that our own thought is 'right' and 'true'. In two recent programmes on nutrition on BBC Radio Four, Ben Goldacre, the *Guardian*'s scourge of bad science, claimed that there was no science behind nineteenth century nutrition, only commercial pressures from quacks. If he had remembered Galen, and Galen's method, he might have checked and tested his predecessors before dismissing them without a mention.

Bibliography

Mark Grant, *Galen on Food and Diet* (London 2000)
Vivian Nutton and John Scarborough, 'The Preface of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*: Introduction, Translation and Commentary' in *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* (5th series) 4 (1982) 187-227
Vicki Pitman, *The Nature of the Whole: Holism in Ancient Greek and Indian Medicine* (Delhi 2006)
Peter Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Mediaeval Islamic Medicine* (Edinburgh 2007)
Owen Powell, *Galen: On the Properties of Foodstuffs* (Cambridge 2003)
David Wootton, *Bad Medicine: Doctors Doing Harm since Hippocrates* (Oxford 2006)

---

[43] Pormann and Savage-Smith 2007.

The Sixth Man: The extraordinary life of Paddy Costello by James McNeish
Auckland: Random House New Zealand, 2007. ISBN: 978 1 86941 891 5
London: Quartet Books, 2008. ISBN: 978 0 7043 7127 9

Reviewed by Matthew Smith

The *Sixth Man* by James McNeish is actually two books in one. First, it is a biography of Paddy Costello (1912-1964), a globe-trotting linguist and diplomat who, among other things, was fluent in nine languages, helped to found the New Zealand Legation in Moscow after World War II and was possibly the first Allied diplomat to witness and understand the horrors of Auschwitz in early 1945. Second, and more importantly to McNeish, it is an attempt to repair the reputation of Costello who he believes has been accused unfairly of being an addendum to the Cambridge Five, the infamous spy network who fed information to the Soviets from the Second World War until the early 1950s. According to Cambridge historian Professor Christopher Andrew, Costello was among the Kremlin's top agents and aided spies Lona and Morris Cohen in their bid to provide the Soviet Union with American atomic secrets by providing them with false passports. In order to refute the claims of Andrew and others, McNeish, himself a Kiwi, has delved into Costello's letters and journals, the correspondences of Costello's associates and relatives and various government documents, and has also interviewed Costello's children and friends.

McNeish's goal of providing a biography of Costello, and in so doing clear his name, seems like a sensible project at first glance. But, unfortunately, the two goals work against each other throughout most of the book. This is chiefly because, in large part, the question of whether or not Costello spied for the Soviets pales in comparison to other aspects of Costello's short, but richly active, life. Costello was born in modest surroundings to an Irish family in Auckland, New Zealand. He was extremely precocious as a child and seemed to be drawn instinctively to exploring language, venturing down to the docks at a young age to hear the stevedores sing and chat in Gaelic. Costello then went on to Cambridge and, upon graduation, landed a job as a lecturer in Exeter with the Classics department at the then University College of the South West of England. He would proceed to serve as an intelligence officer for the New Zealand Armed Forces, as a diplomat in Moscow and Paris and, finally, as the chair of Russian at the University of Manchester.

The *Sixth Man* is most interesting when McLeish uses Costello as a foil to explore many of the tumultuous events of the mid-twentieth century. We see, for example, how Costello's family responsibilities prevent him from following his instincts to fight fascists in Spain in 1936, leaving him to mourn in 'pretty' Exeter the death of many of his Cambridge friends. We also witness how Costello was sandwiched between the forces of McCarthyism, on the one side, and Stalinism, on the other, as a diplomatic officer in Moscow following World War II. But despite McNeish's access to Costello's papers, our portrait of the man is sketched in pencil, rather than painted in oil. We learn of his binge drinking, his beautiful tenor voice, his devotion to his five children and his uncanny linguistic talents, but we never understand what made him tick and how he interpreted the turbulent events to which he was both party and witness. We know Costello had been a member of the British Communist Party during the late 1930s, and was admittedly 'a bit left wing' when he took up his post in

Moscow after the War, but a clear sense of how such events affected Costello's politics is not provided.

Indeed, whenever McNeish gets into a nice biographical groove, he lurches off track to submit evidence for the defence in the case against Costello. So, how convincing is his argument? Was Costello scholar, soldier, diplomat, father, reckless imbiber *and* spy? Interestingly (and answering why this review is in *Pegasus*), much of the case against Costello revolves around Exeter and Costello's experience. Costello had a promising start at Exeter in 1936, impressing his colleagues with his writing, linguistic aptitude and teaching ability. This all changed in 1940, however, when Costello provided some advice to young Exeter student Hubert Fyrth, who had been charged with passing information contrary to the Official Secrets Act. Although it is not clear what advice Costello provided, he was nonetheless fired from his post at Exeter, by then principal John Murray, when news of his activities came out. This episode, combined with Costello's activities with the Communist Party while in Exeter, would be used eventually to sabotage Costello's promising career in the New Zealand diplomatic service and his reputation decades after his death.

McNeish stresses that, while Costello's involvement in the British Communist Party was fairly intense during the years of the Spanish Civil War (including fundraising for the Republican cause and an assignment to Bombay to assist the Indian Communist Party), his distinguished service as an intelligence officer during World War II and as a diplomat reveal little hint of overt communist sympathy. Although his Communist past would be cited when he was dismissed as a diplomatic officer in Paris in 1953, McNeish argues that Costello was instead a victim of McCarthyist hysteria and an unfortunate and embarrassing arrest due to public intoxication back home in New Zealand.

It is a shame that McNeish failed to delve more into Costello's Exeter years living on Longbrook Terrace, but since these were the years during which Costello's communist sympathies were most evident (contributing no doubt to his dismissal from the University College in 1940), it is possible that they would not have helped his case much. Regardless, the direct evidence McNeish uses to vouch for Costello's innocence, for example using recently released documents to prove that Costello had not been responsible for issuing the Cohens' passports, seem less relevant than the, albeit somewhat incoherent, portrait of Paddy Costello provided in *The Sixth Man*. Costello, unlike his unflinchingly communist wife, simply does not seem the type to have risked his career, his honour and his family to help a totalitarian state whose warts were all too apparent to him as a connected, Russian-speaking and battle-hardened diplomat. This is not a point that McNeish makes overtly, nor even facilitates, in his exposition of Costello's personality, but leaks nevertheless through the distractions of courtroom rhetoric to make his case for him. *The Sixth Man* might add a new dimension to debates about who spied for whom during the Cold War, but for historians interested in the more nuanced aspects of the period, and asking what motivated the period's actors, it falls tantalisingly short of the mark.

The importance of art in Virgil's *Aeneid*

Clare Coombe

The *Aeneid* presents plastic art in various forms, but primarily through four significant *ecphrases*: the Temple of Juno at Carthage,[1] the Temple of Apollo at Cumae,[2] the shield of Aeneas[3] and the baldric

---

1 Virgil *Aeneid 1*.446-493.

of Pallas.[4] Within these, however, further important works of art are represented – Pasiphaë's cow, the labyrinth, and the Trojan horse – none of which can be separated from the figure of their creator, Daedalus. These works of art depicted by Virgil provide a digression from the forward flow of the narrative, but this is not to assume that they are therefore isolated in some way from the work as a whole. On the contrary, I would argue that art provides a means of unifying the work through the questions it raises regarding interpretation and the interpretor, whether it be creator, viewer or – importantly in terms of the *Aeneid* itself as a work of art – reader. The idea of art raises ideological queries about forced interpretation, which have important contextual relevance when compared to the ideological and propagandistic nature of much Augustan plastic art. It also raises considerations, if not answers, about Virgil's intentions regarding the *Aeneid* and, significantly, how he intended it to be read. The mere fact that the works of art, and often their creators, have a place in the text that initially seems irrelevant to the central narrative thread, suggests that there is, in fact, a separate purpose to them which, upon examination, fits in with interpretations of the text as a whole.

Possibly the most important means of understanding the role of art in the *Aeneid* is to consider the idea of the interpreter. In the same way that the murals in the Temple of Juno are seen through the biased interpretation of Aeneas, so the *Aeneid* is subject to the bias and personal interpretations of the reader. Likewise, the depiction of the shield of Aeneas by Virgil differs from that of the shield of Achilles by Homer in tense – Homer uses the perfect to describe Hephaistus' work, whereas Virgil uses the pluperfect. This is because Virgil is not dealing with the shield as Vulcan made it, but rather as it is received by Aeneas.[5] However, this is not to say that the reader is expected to adhere to the interpretation supplied by Aeneas in the text, but rather – sometimes assisted by an interpretation provided by the omniscient narrative voice – to supply another interpretation that will in turn affect the understanding of the text as a whole.

The first of the two above examples, the murals in the Temple of Juno, is particularly interesting. Not only are the works of art quite literally seen through Aeneas' eyes, laid out for the reader as they are on the temple walls by Virgil's choice of words – "videt...ex ordine"[6] – but they are also explicitly understood in the text through Trojan eyes: "Solve metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem."[7] Aeneas interprets them as evidence of the celebrity and worth of the incidents and people involved, but more importantly sees them as evidence for Dido's compassion, from which he discerns that the Trojans have reached a situation of safety.[8] Clearly this is at odds with the reader's instinctive understanding of the text; Virgil has already built up an association between Juno and danger, and these pictures appear in a temple of Juno in a city that was introduced at 1.14 as sacred to her. The interpretation of the goddess that the poem advocates at the start of book one, however, is one of hostility:

> "...multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
> vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram."[9]

Aeneas' interpretation anticipates an end to suffering, and it is with this in mind that he meets Dido, unaware – as always – of the forthcoming tragedy. With concerns over a negative future in mind, the reader is able, if not liable, to interpret the symbols in the text in a way that Aeneas cannot, connected as they are with later scenes in the book. Although the murals have plastic qualities,[10] they are even more important for the characters and ideas that they represent. Virgil's

---

2 *Ibid.* 6.14-36.
3 *Ibid.* 8.617-731.
4 *Ibid.* 10.495-500.
5 Homer *Iliad* 18.478-608
6 Virgil *Aeneid* 1.456
7 *Ibid.* 1.463.
8 Putnam (1998) 244.
9 *Ibid.* 1.3-4
10 For example: the procession of women to Athene recalls the use of lines and processions in Augustan art; the use of visual description and colour for the characters: 'Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma' (*Aeneid* 1.489). See further Williams (1960) 149.

choices of image are not based on an idea of a particular work of art or made just for their pictorial qualities, but rather serve as premonitions that the reader – but not Aeneas – can appreciate. Achilles features heavily in the few scenes that catch Aeneas' eye, and in these he embodies the motif of Greek cruelty. To some extent this transfers to the figure of Turnus in the second half of the epic, especially when the unusual and un-Homeric episode of the death of the boy Troilus is compared with the killing of Pallas. However, it bears more relationship to the Aeneas of the latter part of the poem and especially its end. The scenes are shown to illustrate Achilles' lack of compassion – since Troilus is not even armed[11] – and violence – through the reminder of how Hector was treated – both of which foretell Aeneas' killing of the supplicant Turnus. Attention has also often been drawn to the final figure of Penthesilea, a scene that seems, along with that of Memnon, to provide an anticlimax to the *ecphrasis*, but one that provides the ideal conjunction with the entry of Dido. The reader follows Aeneas' eye from one queen to the next, as he is unable to appreciate either the fate that befell the first, who was killed by Achilles as he fell in love with her, or that much the same fate will befall Dido.

Aeneas understands the murals as one who is a part of the history they depict, even recognising himself within them, much as the Roman reader may be seen as a part of the history they read in the *Aeneid*.[12] The reader views the pictures with the benefit of Aeneas' hindsight, as much involved in his reactions as the images themselves. In the same way, unlike the ignorant hero, he has the advantage of being able to understand the *Aeneid* with an awareness of the content and consequences of the events depicted. Bartsch argues that the introduction of Aeneas' optimistic understanding of the pictures begs an optimistic interpretation of the text as a whole by the reader.[13] On the contrary, the contrast between the pessimistic interpretation suggested by the reader's instinct – as influenced by Virgil so far in the poem – and Aeneas' misunderstanding, leads the reader to question the supplied interpretations, particularly of artworks, and to read deeper into the underlying message that they supply to one examining the text as a unified entity.

The pictures in the Temple of Juno are described by Virgil as *pictura inani*, a pointer to support the reader's instinct that Aeneas has in fact been deceived.[14] This is an explicit prompt to consider the deceptiveness of art – a theme that is central to its representation in the *Aeneid*. Although it has been argued that there is little connection between Daedalus, the creator of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae, and the rest of the *Aeneid*,[15] deception and correct interpretation are essential to the success of many of his works that appear in the *Aeneid*. This is exemplified in books one to four by the Trojan horse, which is repeated on the temple doors along with Pasiphaë's cow and the Labyrinth. The purpose of each of these is to deceive, in every case fulfilled by the breaching of their containing boundaries with violent results. The deception of the wings of Icarus – the pretence of making a bird from a man to formulate an escape – fails, in some ways as a result of the misinterpretation of the limitations of the artwork by Icarus. As such the artist fails, represented in the *Aeneid* as a double failure, since he is also unable to represent his son's death in the temple images.[16] Just as Aeneas was deceived by the murals at Carthage, so he is by those at Cumae, failing to interpret them as the reader can with a fuller picture both of his past and his future. Virgil's choice of pictures provides several forecasts for Aeneas, which the reader, but not the hero, are invited to understand.

In reading the images on the Temple of Apollo, one figure can be particularly associated with Aeneas – though it is not an explicit association, nor one which he perceives – and that is Theseus.[17] Although the associations between the deserted women Ariadne and Dido provide a fairly obvious parallel,[18] as does the descent to the Underworld, the connotations of such a parallel are sufficiently negative to explain why the understanding of the relationship is left up to the reader. In the first case, Aeneas might at least argue that his divine mission provides sufficient excuse for his desertion of Ariadne,

---

11 Troilus is only mentioned at *Iliad* 24.257 as the dead son of Priam but the scholiast to this line makes reference to Sophocles' *Troilus* in which he says Achilles ambushed Troilus while he was exercising his horses. He cannot yet have been 20 as the prophecy goes that had he lived until then Troy would not have fallen. Williams (1960) 146-49.
12 Bartsch (1988) 337.
13 *Ibid.* 338.
14 Virgil *Aeneid* 1.464.
15 Zarker (1967) 221.
16 Virgil *Aeneid* 6.32-3.
17 Casali (1995) 1-9.
18 Cf. Catullus 64.

whereas the second – Theseus' unordained trip to the Underworld on a wicked mission, specifically recalled in book 6[19] – brings questions of Aeneas' legitimacy, particularly with regard to the hesitation of the Golden Bough, to the fore.

The most obvious parallel in understanding the Cumae images, however, is between Aeneas and Daedalus, each of whom fits the role of creator figure.[20] Although Aeneas takes on an artistic role of bard at the court of Dido when he tells the story of Troy, picking up where the temple sculptures left off, his primary creative role is as a founder. Where Daedalus' creations are his artworks, Aeneas' will be a country and a people. For Virgil, the divine man was not only the *vir pius* but also the creative man, such as the benevolent ruler of *Eclogue* 1;[21] the wonder-worker Daphnis of *Eclogue* 5, who after apotheosis dominates nature also;[22] or figures within the *Georgics*, which as a whole praise creative man in his capacity as farmer.[23]

Book 6 introduces Daedalus in the same role, inseparable from the artwork he has created, just as the farmer is from his farm in the *Georgics*, a concept made more apparent by the artist's inclusion as a character in the story on his temple doors. In this way, he will be mirrored by Aeneas in his descent to the Underworld, where the subsequent story of his creation will be laid out before him in the Parade of Heroes. Importantly, the figure embodied by Daedalus and Aeneas is in turn mirrored by Augustus, at the centre of the Parade of Heroes, who is himself a Virgilian divine man, creator of a city and as such inseparable from his creation. This is not the only way in which Aeneas and Daedalus, and in turn Augustus, are paralleled. Icarus is omitted from the display of images, his grieving and almost certainly guilt-ridden father unable to supply his story. But his story is supplied by Virgil's authorial voice in apostrophe to him, in a subjective interpretation of what is or might be missing, rather than through the eyes of a viewer of the images that are present:

"[...] tu quoque magnam
partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes."[24]

The emphasis on the missing boy raises questions regarding the father-son relationship. Rather than recalling Ascanius and his relationship with his father, the reader is more likely to think of Aeneas' guardian-ward relationship with Pallas, a charge which he, like Daedalus, fails to fulfil and which leads to Pallas' untimely death. This can, in turn, be related to Augustus' loss of his adopted son and heir, Marcellus, movingly and aptly described by Anchises later in book 6.[25] Putnam also makes the interesting and important connection between Daedalus' father-son relationship and the relationship between Aeneas and his father.[26] Significantly, Aeneas loses his father during their escape from hostile Troy and before they can find the new land of Italy. However, it is in the Underworld episode, when they are again able to meet, that Putnam draws attention to Anchises' summary of the ethical artistry imposed upon Roman might:[27] "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."[28] This is far from Aeneas' actions in book 12: just as Icarus forgets his father's advice, so does Aeneas. This leaves the reader in a quandary of interpretation: either the hero is, as instinct might suggest, flawed, and thus the Roman line must be descended from one who does not adhere to the crucial ethics of the Roman warrior, or Anchises' advice is in fact as deceptive as Daedalus' artworks, and is an ideal which cannot in fact be realized. As Putnam therefore concludes of the work as a whole:

"Aeneas cannot fulfil his father's idealizing, and therefore deceptive, vision of Rome, and Virgil, the artisan of his tale, cannot show him as so doing."[29]

19 Virgil *Aeneid* 6.392-97.
20 Rutledge (1971-2) 111-2.
21 Virgil *Eclogues* 1.42-5.
22 *Ibid.* 5.29-34; 57-64.
23 See further Rutledge (1967) 309-11.
24 Virgil *Aeneid* 6.30-1.
25 Virgil *Aeneid* 6.868-86. Cf. Rutledge (1971-2) 113.
26 Putnam (1998) 91.
27 *Ibid.*
28 Virgil *Aeneid* 6.853.
29 Putnam (1998) 95.

The implication is therefore that, in the *Aeneid*, Virgil is in fact rejecting the creation of a deceptive artwork and deliberately creating one that is open to interpretation, rather than inflicting a specific interpretation to deceive his readers – as Daedalus' cow, Labyrinth and horse were intended to do. The purpose of the art in the *Aeneid* is therefore not to deceive the reader into an interpretation, but to expose the dangers of deception in art and to open up deliberate possibilities for subjective reading, according to how the reader views each work as it is mentioned in narrative or, particularly, in ecphrasis. He is, in fact, providing the thread within the labyrinth.

Although the Shield of Aeneas is written so that it is viewed through the eyes of *ignarus* Aeneas,[30] it raises more questions about the interpretation of art than perhaps any other ecphrasis in the poem. Unlike the Shield of Achilles upon which it is based, supplied because Achilles had lost his armour when Patroclus was killed fighting in it, there is no narrative purpose to the Shield of Aeneas. Presumably, he already had a perfectly good shield, which had served him both in Troy and during his wanderings. Instead the shield is of service to the reader, as it provides a series of questions relevant to the overall interpretation of the work.[31] Just as Aeneas was unfamiliar with the future of Rome as it was depicted in the Underworld, so he cannot understand the images of the future with which he is presented; they can only be understood by the gods and, unlike the figure of Anchises in book 6, he is not this time provided with an internal interpreter. The reader, on the other hand, is provided with an authorial voice aware not only of the content of the pictures, but who also sets the events, to some extent, within a historical context. This is by no means, however, to argue that Virgil is failing to present the images as plastic images on a physical shield, although he is not describing a real, existing shield but an imaginary one which could only have been created by Vulcan.[32] It even recalls the attempts at ideological plastic artworks during the Augustan era, and as such warns against attempts to deceive, or the risk of being deceived into misinterpretation within these works.[33] For Virgil, the restraining power of art is doomed to failure or violent outcome; not even the *vates* can maintain civilizing power and even Orpheus looks back.[34]

Although it might appear that the central image on the shield – presenting its twisted and pro-Augustan propagandistic version of Actium as a war against the East rather than a civil war – raises the most questions for the contemporary reader. It is the internal setting of the shield that provides the biggest issue for the interpreting reader: to forge the shield is clearly to forge the chronicle of Rome, yet Venus has not only to seduce Vulcan into making it but, to the same extent, to seduce Aeneas into taking it, using language reminiscent of one lover seducing another.[35] Why, the reader asks, should she have to undertake such measures if there is in fact nothing wrong with the shield?

The works of art in the *Aeneid* are crucial, therefore, not to the narrative but to the reader's interpretation of the narrative and of Virgil's purpose in writing. Each ecphrasis, in particular, serves as a synecdoche to the whole. Although the symbolism and thematic clues inherent in the ecphrases provide suggestions for understanding the work as a whole, they raise just as many questions, opposing the reader's instinct – often influenced by earlier messages in the poem – with the interpretations suggested by Aeneas, other characters or the omniscient authorial voice. Above all, these clues connect the themes of the poem as a whole, providing a unity, but a unity whose interpretation is even then subjective. The theme of deception is recurrent, particularly as a feature of the nature of art, and this in turn raises questions about the dangers of art's influence, especially when applied as a critique to the *Aeneid* as an

---

30 Virgil *Aeneid* 8.730.
31 West (1975-6 repr. 1990) 295.
32 West convincingly confirms this: *Ibid.* 295-304.
33 For further interpretation of Virgil's comment on the inherent dangers in ideological Augustan artworks, see Bartsch's excellent 1988 article on control in Virgilian art, especially 331-3.
34 Virgil *Georgics* 4.492-3.
35 Putnam (1998) 7.

artwork. Whereas all the artworks are deliberately viewed through the eyes of Aeneas, attention is drawn as much to his reaction as to the details of the images themselves. Moreover, they are all viewed in relation to an appreciation of either a knowledge of the myths or the work in its entirety. Thus the details that pass Aeneas by, or of which he cannot help but be *ignarus*, provide the reader with a whole new way of considering the text, and particularly the hero's final, apparently flawed, action. Virgil's propagandist history of Rome's foundation does far more than provide a history or a piece of Augustan propaganda. Instead it provides both the reader or the one viewing an artwork – and the man who would try to force an interpretation upon them – with a warning and a rejection of deceptive art. Virgil has explicitly opened the door to his readers to interpret his poem in whatever way they desire.

Works cited

Catullus *64*. http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/catullus.shtml#64.

Homer *Iliad* translated Lattimore (1951) Chicago.

Virgil *Aeneid.* http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html.

    – *Eclogues.* http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html.

    – *Georgics.* http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html.

Bartsch S (1988) '*Ars* and the man: the politics of art in Virgil's *Aeneid*'. *Classical Philology 93.* 322-42.

Casali S (1995) 'Aeneas and the doors of the temple of Apollo' *Classical Journal 91.* 1-9.

Putnam M (1998) *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the* Aeneid. Yale.

Rutledge (1969) 'Virgil's Daedalus' *Classical Journal 62* no. 7. 309-11.

    – (1971-2) 'The Opening of *Aeneid* 6'. *Classical Journal 67.* 100-15.

West (1975-6) '*Cernere erat:* the shield of Aeneas'. *Proceedings of the Virgil Society 15* 1-7 reprinted S J Harrison, ed. (1990) *Oxford Readings in Virgil's* Aeneid. Oxford. 295-304.

Williams R (Nov. 1960) 'The Pictures on Dido's Temple (*Aeneid* 1.450-93)'. *Classical Quarterly* New Series Volume 10 no.2. 145-51.

Zarker J (Feb. 1967) 'Aeneas and Theseus in *Aeneid* 6'. Classical Journal 62 no. 5. 220-6.

****

Ogden, Daniel. *In Search of the Sorcerer's Apprentice: The traditional tales of Lucian's* **Lover of Lies. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007. Pp ix + 310. ISBN 978-1-905125-16-6**

Reviewed by Hannah Mossman

What first greets the interested student of Lucian is choice. There are eight volumes in the Loeb Classical Library brimming with texts attributed to Lucian (although admittedly the eighth is made up of texts attributed to authors other than Lucian), but a lack of extended secondary works devoted to a single text. Lucian's *True Histories* appears to have been the dominant text in recent times, appealing in its subject matter of an extraordinary journey and the truth-value the narrator places on the narrative when he claims he is only telling the truth in saying that he is lying. Ogden (henceforth O.) shows the value in granting other texts in the corpus such focused attention. The *Lover of Lies*, or *Philopseudes*, is a fascinating and complicated text. It seeks to answer the question of why men gain such pleasure through lying when there is no advantage to be gained through tales of the extraordinary and supernatural. It is these tales that O. centres his study around.

The focus O. adopts is based upon acknowledging and appreciating the story-types of the tales presented in the text and the ways in which Lucian's tales engage with them. The purpose of the study is thus to consider two complementary questions: "What does an understanding of the traditional form (or forms) of the tales with which Lucian works tell us

of his art and the strategies with which he has manipulated the material? And what does an understanding of Lucian's art, the stock-in-trade of recurring themes and the portfolio of agendas on display in his wider oeuvre, allow us to know (by a sort of subtraction) of the traditional form or forms of the tales with which he works?" (1-2). It is an ambitious aim, and before O. begins at Chapter One proper, he provides useful information to act as a foundation in the Introduction. One striking thing about these initial pages is that they provide valuable introductory information not only for the approach O. uses, but for the text in more general terms. As O. notes, there is no satisfactory extended study of the *Philopseudes* in existence (1) and, for a student coming to the text for the first time (or indeed second, third or fourth time), the Introduction succeeds in identifying the key elements, such as its relationship to other texts in the Lucianic corpus (6-7), the undeniable philosophical aspect (7-12 and 18-31), and, importantly, a clear and succinct presentation of scholarship on the structuring of the tales (16-18).

O. divides his study into ten chapters, one for each of the tales. This addresses a potential problem for a reader of the *Philopseudes*: the stories contain so much information and come so fast, sometimes seeming to run into each other, that it is easy to lose sight of where one is within the text. The structure O. uses is therefore appropriate, and is aided by the inclusion of a translation of the text (45-63), which has ten subtitles corresponding to the ten chapters.

In terms of content, O.'s comprehensiveness is remarkable. To use Chapter One (the longest chapter alongside Chapter Ten), 'The Chaldaean snake-blaster', as an example of the way O. treats a tale, we are told that it is "interesting not least for reproducing a story-type that was subsequently to become prominent amongst the earliest hagiographical accounts of dragon fights of the sort that subsequently became familiar in connection with St. George" (65). A short synopsis of the tale itself is followed by translated passages of sources treating the theme and Lucian's crafting of it. So, in this instance, O. shows how elements of the story-type were present in pagan culture a century before Lucian wrote his texts (66) and how Lucian may be manipulating Christian imagery (67). O. goes on to note analogues in the following centuries (68-70), breaking down elements of the tale and analysing them further in this way. A concluding section 'Tradition and innovation in Lucian's tale' (86-7) brings together the other sources and Lucian's treatment of the tale. Each section has a similar concluding section, and this is essential: there is no lengthy conclusion at the end of the book, simply because the range of material and story-types presented in the chapters is so varied that it warrants regular synthesis. Each chapter is treated in a similar way, leading up to the final tale 'The sorcerer's apprentice', which we are told from the very beginning 'conveys the flavour of the ten' (1).

One element concluded in the final section of the book is the presence of Cynic imagery identifiable in the majority of tales. Cynic considerations are a linking thread from the discussion of the identity of Pellichus in the third tale onwards (139-42), and O. offers thoughts on the person behind the Cynic voice in the Conclusion. He questions whether it belongs to a character within the narrative, or Lucian, the author in overall charge of the narrative, ending with the claim that "it is easiest, perhaps, to understand the material as origination with the disembodied author, working, as it were, in partial alliance with [the character] Tychiades" (273).

The approach O. uses, then, is not just to concentrate on the 'Lucianic' aspects of the tales, the satire, the cultural influence on Lucian's writing, and so on. Instead, it delves into a world of other texts, including pagan, Christian and the rest of Lucian's corpus when relevant. O. shows that there is a different way of approaching Lucian and appreciating his craft, demonstrating that the types of stories told are just as important as the way they are told.

The reconstruction of the haunted house story in antiquity

Rebecca Long

In attempting to reconstruct any traditional ghost stories from antiquity, we must look for a recurring theme, and perhaps the strongest candidate is the haunted house story, involving the restless dead. This essay examines five such stories found in Pliny, *Letters* 7.27; Lucian, *Philopseudes* 30-1; Plautus, *Mostellaria* 446-531; Constantius of Lyon, *Life of St Germanus* 2.10; and Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 3.4.1-3. To begin with, we shall compare Pliny and Lucian's accounts of haunted houses and consider to what extent the latter may be viewed as a parody of the former. From this we shall attempt to reconstruct the traditional elements of the haunted house story before comparing these with the two later stories of Constantius of Lyon (480 AD) and Gregory the Great (6th century AD). Finally we shall compare these four accounts to our earliest source, *Mostellaria* (ca.200BC) by the comic poet Plautus. Throughout these comparisons we shall explore two important questions: firstly, are these stories thematically similar enough to consider them of a specific type? Secondly, do these stories borrow from one another chronologically or was another source their inspiration?

Let us consider first what is meant by the term 'restless dead', an important theme in four of our five sources. Collison-Morley defined them as follows: "The dead not yet at rest were divided into three classes – those who had died before their time [...] those who met with violent deaths [...] and the unburied."[1] For the purposes of this essay we are most concerned with the third class. Collison-Morley says of the unburied that their spirits "were usually held to be bound, more or less, to the spot where their bodies lay [...] belonging neither to this world nor to the next, restless and malignant [...]"[2] The reason for this was that "they had not yet been admitted to the world below, and were forced to wander".[3] There are many examples of ghosts of the unburied seeking their proper rites in classical literature, but perhaps the most famous come from Homer. In the *Odyssey*, Elpenor dies when he falls from the roof of Circe's house, but when Odysseus ventures into the underworld, he is confronted by Elpenor's ghost:

> "But first there came the soul of my companion, Elpenor,
> for he had not yet been buried under the earth of the wide ways,
> since we had left his body behind in Circe's palace,
> unburied and unwept [...]"   (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.51-4)

Elpenor's only concern is that Odysseus should bury his corpse and makes a poignant plea to that effect:

> "[...] do not go and leave me behind unwept, unburied,
> when you leave, for fear I might become the gods' curse upon you;
> but burn me there with all my armour that belongs to me,
> and heap up a grave mound [...]"   (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.72-5)

In the *Iliad*, the ghost of Patroklos visits Akhilleus requesting burial:

> "The ghost stood over his head and spoke to him: 'You are asleep, and you have forgotten me, Achilleus [...] Bury me as quickly as can be, so I can pass through the gates of Hades. The ghosts, phantoms of the dead, are keeping me away, they will not let me cross the river to join their number, but I am left wandering in vain along the broad-gated house of Hades [...] I shall never again return from Hades, once you have given me my due rite of burning.'" (Homer, *Iliad* 23.68-75)

In this last passage, the suffering of the individual left unburied is explicitly expressed. Patroklos is doomed to wander restlessly and remain upon the boundary between life and death until he is buried – this is clearly expressed by the disclosure that he will never return again from Hades once he has received

---

[1] Collison-Morley 1919, 11.
[2] Collison-Morley 1919, 6-7.
[3] Collison-Morley 1919, 6.

proper burial. Elpenor does not refer to his own fate so explicitly, but hints that failure to bury his body may have a detrimental effect upon the living.

In both Pliny and Lucian the ghosts that haunt the houses are also of the unburied dead.[4] In Pliny, the ghost beckons to Athenodorus and disappears over the spot where he is buried, which the philosopher then marks with leaves. In Lucian, Arignotus has a more violent confrontation, which culminates in his forcing the ghost into a corner and laying it with a charm. While Pliny's ghost may desire help and Lucian's violently opposes Arignotus' presence, both the consequences of the ghosts' activities and the method of their removal are very similar. Both houses have been abandoned; all who have tried to enter them have been scared away or literally frightened to death. In Pliny we are told that:

> "As a result [of the ghost's activities] the inhabitants were kept awake through dismal, terrible nights, because of their fear. Sickness and death ensued from their sleep deprivation as their trepidation increased." (Pliny, *Letters* 7.27.5-11)

Similarly in Lucian, "By morning all were in despair and thinking that they would find me a dead man, like the others" (Lucian, *Philo.* 30-1). Both ghosts are also laid to rest by the discovery of their bodies (buried somewhere in the house), which the philosophers find by observing the spectres, marking the spot where they disappear into the earth, digging up the bones and giving them proper burial.

There are other strong similarities between the two accounts. The main character in both stories is a philosopher (Arignotus is specifically identified as a Pythagorean) and determined to face the ghost alone, taking nothing with them but writing or reading material and a lamp. Felton identifies the importance of the lamp in these stories, "The lamp is ostensibly present because the philosophers needed light in order to work; but the detail also suggests that in haunted-house stories from antiquity, a lighted lamp needed to be present for a ghost to appear."[5] What seems at first to be an innocuous detail may be an important theme in the haunted house tradition.

So far we have looked at the similarities between these two stories, but it is important to consider the differences as well. Firstly, the authors are writing in very different genres and with different aims. Lucian's *Philopseudes* is a satirical attack upon superstitious belief. He writes in the first-person which helps to characterise his philosopher Arignotus as particularly pompous and boastful: "[The ghost] thought he was up against an average fellow and expected me to flee in terror like the others" (Lucian, *Philo.* 30-1). Such presentation of Arignotus' character by Lucian helps to establish that the story he is telling is not true.

Pliny, by contrast, writes in the third person and is recounting a story he has heard that is supposed to be genuine. This however, does not necessarily imply that Pliny himself thought the tale to be true. While Lucian's *Philopseudes* is concerned with ridiculing the supernatural, Pliny's *Letters* are only occasionally concerned with this subject, but they seem to display a level of scepticism, as when he says Athenodorus engaged in writing so that his "unoccupied mind would not invent imagined noises and empty terrors for itself" (Pliny, *Letters* 7.27.5-11). While ostensibly this implies that Athenodorus was actively attempting to evade imaginary terrors, it unavoidably implies the possibility of such stimulus.

Russell believes that Lucian's tale was intended "no doubt as a parody"[6] of Pliny's story, but Felton, while acknowledging that this is the consensus view,[7] is less convinced, suggesting that outside of this tale Lucian shows no sign of familiarity with Pliny. Felton states that the fact "that Pliny brings up the subject implies that stories such as these were circulating regularly in society".[8] If that is the case, then it seems just as likely that Lucian was borrowing from this oral tradition directly and not through Pliny. There are several other substantial differences between the two tales that suggest Lucian's story is not merely a parody of Pliny. Pliny's story is not greatly concerned with providing a physical description of the ghost, the description itself being only two lines in length:

---

[4] While it seems likely that both of these individuals also suffered violent deaths, their primary reason in haunting the houses is that they have not received proper burial.
[5] Felton 1999, 55.
[6] Russell 1981, 210.
[7] Felton 1999, 81.
[8] Felton 1999, 62.

"Then a ghost would appear, an old man, emaciated and filthy, his beard long and his hair unkempt. He wore fetters on his feet and chains on his wrists and shook them."
(Pliny, *Letters* 7.27.5-11)

By contrast, he mentions the sound of the ghost's chains eight times in the story and it is this, not the physical description, which is used to build suspense. Lucian however does not mention chains at all and relies on physical description rather than sound to create tension. This leads us to the second substantial difference between the two stories, that Lucian's ghost is a shape-shifter:

"He attacked me on all sides, in case he could beat me on one, and transformed himself now into a dog, now into a bull, now into a lion."   (Lucian, *Philo.* 30-1)

It seems unlikely that if Lucian had intended his story as a mere parody of Pliny that he would have made two such substantial deviations from the original story. A third difference is that, while Athenodorus takes writing equipment into the house to occupy his mind, the books that Arignotus takes with him are of a magical nature and aid him in controlling the ghost.

If Lucian's story is not a direct parody of Pliny, and Pliny's tale of the haunted house in itself is a record of stories being circulated in society more generally, then it seems likely that there was an existing oral tradition of such tales. As we have seen, however, there are substantial differences between the two. So, to what extent can we reconstruct traditional elements that appear in both? Firstly, both stories take place in large deserted houses, which are uninhabitable and have a reputation in the local community as being haunted by a dangerous ghost; in both instances people died when attempting to spend time on the premises. In both tales a lone philosopher enters the house, is confronted by the ghost, discovers the location of the body by watching where the ghost disappears, then marks it. The following day the body is dug up and given proper burial, which allows the ghost to rest and ends the haunting. The most important elements seem to be the personality of the main character, the cause of the haunting and the method of its alleviation.

To discover whether this reconstruction adequately describes haunted house stories from antiquity, it is necessary to examine other stories of a similar nature. Haunted house stories by Gregory the Great and Constantius of Lyon come from a much later period (sixth and fifth centuries AD respectively), but will help us to assess whether such stories are borrowing from a common source (perhaps oral tradition) or if there is an element of chronological copying. It is also possible that, if these later survivals are drawing upon a common source, they may preserve something of it that earlier surviving sources did not.

There are strong differences between these stories and the earlier tales, in particular the presence of a strong Christian theme. While previously the characters who entered the haunted houses were philosophers, now they are bishops. Accordingly, their motivation for entering the houses is different, with an emphasis placed upon their concern for the welfare of the local people and in the *Life of St Germanus* for the ghost itself. We are told that the bishop "*took pity*" on the ghost and that he made a prayer of intercession so that "*rest was secured for the dead, and peace for the living.*" (CoL, *StGer.* 2.10) Germanus does not enter the house alone and it is not a ghost Datius faces, but a devil. In both instances the bishops invoke the power of their god to command the ghost: "He at once invoked the name of Christ and commanded the ghost to confess who it was and what it was doing there. Straightaway it laid aside its terrifying appearance and spoke with humble voice [...]" (CoL, *StGer.* 2.10) Similarly in the *Dialogues*: "But see how, through your arrogance, you wanted to imitate God, see you are imitating animals, just as you do in fact deserve.'" (GtG, *Dia.* 3.4.1-3) Perhaps most significantly, in *Dialogues* there are no restless dead or bodies buried on the premises; instead the demon is cast out of the house through humiliation.

When considering that as much as 400 years separate Pliny and Lucian from Constantius of Lyon and Gregory the Great, the similarities between their stories seem particularly striking. While bishops have replaced philosophers, there are strong similarities between their characters as learned men who are confident in their own abilities to withstand the ghosts where other men have failed. The story involves them staying in the house overnight and confronting the ghost (or demon) responsible for the haunting. In *Life of St Germanus* we are presented with another representation of the restless dead, specifically the unburied: "They now lay unburied, and this was the reason that they disturbed people, because they themselves could not be at rest." (CoL, *StGer.* 2.10) As with the earlier pagan versions the bodies have to

be found and "a grave dug in accordance with the due rites of burial" (CoL, *StGer.* 2.10) before they can find peace.[9]

Dialogues deals with a demon rather than a ghost, but there is a strong similarity between its presentation and that of the ghost in Lucian. The demon "with loud voice and great shouting began to imitate the roars of lions, the bleating of sheep, the braying of asses, the hissing of snakes, the squealing of pigs and shrew mice" (GtG, *Dia.* 3.4.1-3). Both stories are similar to the myth of Proteus. The emphasis placed upon the sounds of the demon instead of its physical appearance is reminiscent of Pliny's handling of his haunted house story.

Having considered four of the later sources and examined the similarities and differences between them, we shall now turn to our earliest source, Plautus' *Mostellaria* from ca. 200 BC. It was itself "an adaptation of an earlier play entitled *Phasma*, probably by Philenon"[10] from the fourth or third century BC. This source is problematic as it is a comedy in which the audience knows the ghost story is a fabrication by one of the characters. The premise is that a slave, Tranio, is trying to keep his master Theopropides away from the house. Tranio wants to prevent Theopropides from discovering his son "carousing in the house with courtesans"[11] and so invents the ghost story. Russell describes Tranio as "resourceful […] one of the finest specimens in the great comic tradition of clever servants".[12] Felton disagrees, pointing out that it is Tranio's inability to construct a convincing story quickly that creates much of the comic tension: "Unfortunately for Tranio, his hastily improvised story contains many inconsistencies, and his ability to cover for them in the face of Theopropides' continuous scepticism provides much comic tension."[13]

Tranio uses the inconsistencies within his own story to confuse Theopropides. For example,

"It is surprising that he didn't speak to him while he was awake […] since he had been killed sixty years ago! Sometimes you can be really stupid, Theopropides!" (Plautus, *Mos.* 446-531)

We have seen from the later stories that ghosts were generally believed to be capable of speaking to the living and in most haunted house stories the ghost *is* a physical apparition, not a vision in a dream. This confusion seems to be a deliberate ploy on Tranio's part, not just to confuse his master but to prevent his deception from being discovered. If Tranio suggests the haunting is being caused by a corpse on the premises, then all that Theopropides need do is uncover the body and give it a proper burial. As no body exists however, Tranio must provide another explanation. This leads to the later odd assertion that although the ghost *was* murdered on the premises, he continues to haunt the house because "this house has been allocated to me to live in. For Orcus refused to admit me to Acheron, because I died before my time." (Plautus, *Mos.* 446-531) Tranio is suggesting that the house is haunted by a ghost of the restless dead, but one from a different category, one who has died before his time.

The story is particularly important. As a deliberate comic invention, we can assume that such stories were familiar to the audience. Further, by looking closely at the text we may be able to discern some other traditional elements of the haunted house story, especially through comparison with the later sources. Although Tranio's deliberate muddling of traditional elements complicates matters, it seems clear that the tale he invents is, essentially, very similar to those told by Pliny and Lucian – the house is haunted by the restless dead and dangerous to the living. This causes it to be uninhabitable.

Let us look now at some traditional elements within the story that are comparable with those found in the later sources. One such consistent element is the door, around which most of the action in this scene is set. Ghosts are liminal creatures, existing between states of living and death and as such, thresholds (especially doors) become particularly symbolic. Pliny, for example, writes that the sound of the ghost "grew louder, drew nearer, and now it sounded as if it was at the threshold […]" (Pliny, *Letters* 7.27.5-11). Tranio is also careful to mention the lamp, strongly suggesting that this was a traditional element of the ghost story, "We fell sound asleep. By chance, I had forgotten to put the light out" (Plautus, *Mos.* 446-531). It seems that a ghost was unable to appear without such light and Tranio feels the

---

[9] This seems unusual in the Christian tradition, where survival of the soul is promoted above concerns of the body; perhaps a pagan element of the story has unwittingly been transmitted into this Christian retelling of the tale?
[10] Ogden, 2002, 154.
[11] Ogden, 2002, 157.
[12] Russell, 1981, 212.
[13] Felton, 1999, 55.

need to add an explanation for its presence, perhaps to add credibility to his tale. While originally Tranio had claimed that the ghost appeared only in dreams, when knocking occurs from within the house he is forced to suggest that this is the ghost's doing, implying that it also has a physical form that would be more in keeping with the other ghost stories. Finally, the ghost is clearly categorised as a member of the restless dead, and while Tranio has the ghost insist that his presence is due to untimely death, it is clear that he is also a victim of improper burial. As Tranio says of the murderer, "He took his guest's gold and stuck his body in the ground, right here inside the house [...]" (Plautus, *Mos.* 446-531).

In conclusion, we have seen that it is possible to reconstruct the major elements of haunted house stories by identifying those themes that appear frequently in the sources. These themes, however, do not necessarily appear in chronological order throughout the sources. For example, Pliny and Constantius make explicit mention of chains and Lucian and Gregory the Great describe shape shifting, while the other sources do not. This strongly suggests that the sources do not borrow from one another chronologically, but take inspiration from an existing source, perhaps an oral tradition. The existence of such an oral tradition is suggested within the stories themselves, since in Pliny, Lucian, Gregory the Great and Constantius of Lyon the locals all tell tales of the haunted house within their community

.

Bibliography
Constantius of Lyon, *Life of St Germanus* 2.10, trans. D. Ogden, in *Extra Sources for Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts*, (Oxford, 2002)
Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 3.4.1-3, trans. D. Ogden, in *Extra Sources for Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts*, (Oxford, 2002)
Homer, *Iliad*, trans. M. Hammond, (London, 1987)
- *Odyssey*, trans. R. Lattimore, (New York, 1965)
Lucian, *Philopseudes* 30-1, trans. D. Ogden, in *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, (Oxford, 2002)
Plautus, *Mostellaria* 446-531, trans. D. Ogden, in *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, (Oxford, 2002)
Pliny, *Letters* 7.27.5-11, trans. D. Ogden, in *Extra Sources for Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts*, (Oxford, 2002)

Collison-Morley, L., *Greek and Roman Ghost Stories*, (Oxford, 1919)
Felton, D., *Haunted Greece and Rome: Ghost Stories from Classical Antiquity*, (Texas, 1999)
Ogden, D., *Magic, Witchcraft and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, (Oxford, 2002)
Russell, W.M.S., 'Greek and Roman Ghosts', in *The Folklore of Ghosts*, eds., H.R.E. Davidson and W.M.S. Russell, (Cambridge, 1981)