Pegasus

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PEGASUS

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

Editor: Shaun Mudd

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- All correspondence about *Pegasus* should be addressed to:

  Pegasus, Dept. of Classics and Ancient History, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, University of Exeter, Exeter, EX4 4RJ

  E-mail: pegasus@exeter.ac.uk

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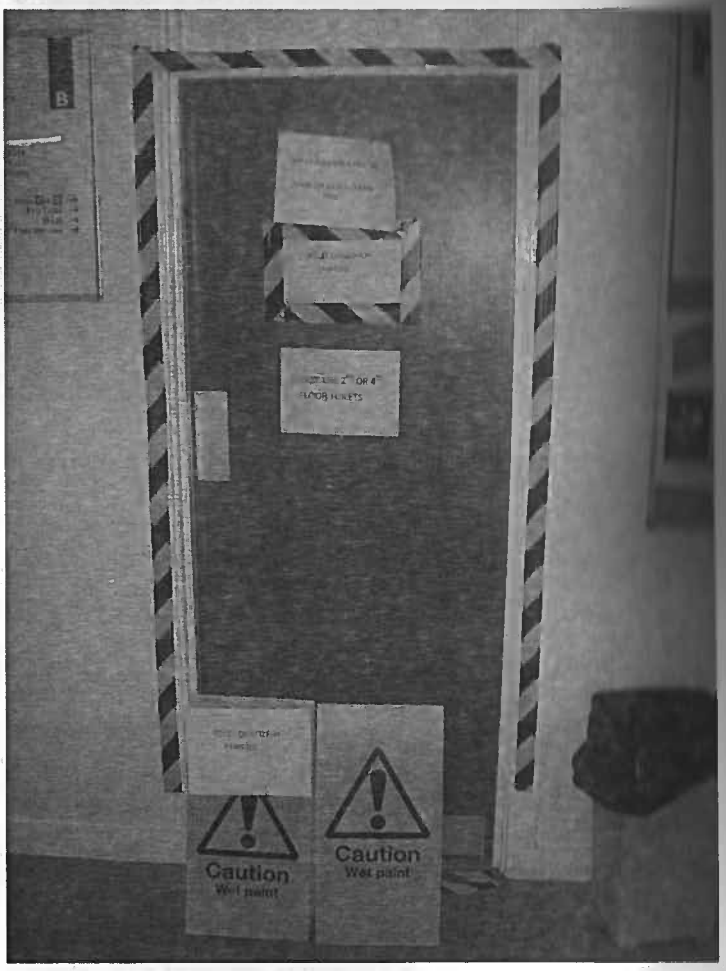
Editorial

I did not expect that in my second month at Exeter I would be tasked with editing the work of an Oscar-winning screenwriter (p. 18). Several months on and things have not yet calmed down. Exeter has recently hosted the Classical Association Conference (p. 12), and Her Majesty the Queen has just opened the (slightly delayed) Forum Project. Whilst I do not have much frame for comparison, it seems that this year has been an extraordinarily eventful one, both for the University and the Department. I hope that some of the 'eventfulness' of this year is reflected in this issue.



Toilet painting in the Amory Building; the University of Exeter doesn't do things by half.

But do not be misled into thinking that the construction work has finally ceased. More than £8 million has just been invested in the Sports Park, meaning that builders will continue to be familiar faces on campus for at least another year. Construction is also encroaching upon the Classics Department. After a vigorous bout of toilet painting (complete with hazard-tape and barriers; pictured), the University is investing over £1 million to create a new study space and Law School in the Amory Building. This will fill the void left by the movement of the Law Library stocks into the Forum Library, and will fill Amory with copious noise until mid September. But it is not all good news. Alongside the opening of the Forum, complete with a miniscule Costa Coffee, Campus Services has unexpectedly announced the closure of Amory's café, along with those in Harrison and Queen's. It is uncertain whether the space, a bastion of departmental social life for those including Classics, will at least continue to serve as Amory's Common Room.

At the very least, I can now retract the advice offered by the editors of Issue 53 (p. 2) to 'find a quiet place, perhaps off campus,' to read the new issue of *Pegasus*, as it seems that the Forum Project has developed a 'Sanctuary' for just this purpose (providing that it is not one of the days when it is functioning as the 'Lower Exam Hall'). Perhaps even the library is once again fit for quiet reading, but it is probably best to avoid Amory for the time being.

I would like to thank last year's editors, Elizabeth Dollins and James Smith, for their continued help and advice; I could always count on their support. My thanks also go to all of this issue's contributors, the entrants to the Food Competition and Dr. Lawrence Shenfield Prize, and the judges of both competitions.

Department News

The Department goes from strength to strength. It is continuing to attract numerous postgraduate and undergraduate students, despite the increase in undergraduate fees to £9,000 from 2012-13. The continuing faith of the University in the Department has been demonstrated by the decision to replace

Stephen Mitchell by a permanent full-time post, as well as by the creation of a new permanent full-time post, mainly for the teaching of the ancient languages. Both posts are from autumn 2012.

Since last year's report, six postgraduates have obtained PhDs:

Andreas Antonopoulos	A Commentary on Sophocles' *Ichneutai* with Introduction
Valeria Cinaglia	Aristotle and Menander on the Ethics of Understanding
Laura Hawtree	Wild Animals in Roman Epic
Kiu Yue	The Treatment of Virtue in Silius Italicus' *Punica*
Sharon Marshall	The *Aeneid* and the Illusory Authoress: Truth, Fiction and Feminism in Hélisenne de Crenne's *Eneydes*
Samantha Masters	The Representation of Emotions on Greek Vases

Since graduating, Andreas Antonopoulos has been teaching in a school in Patras, Valeria Cinaglia has been teaching part-time at King's College London (and looking after her new daughter Clelia), Laura Hawtree has been teaching classics and music in Kelly College, Tavistock, Sharon Marshall has been a fixed-term lecturer in our Department, and Samantha Masters continues to be a lecturer in Classical Studies at the University of Stellenbosch.

Academic staff continue to be recognised for their outstanding research by being awarded research funding. Barbara Borg has been a Senior Onassis Fellow at Waterloo, Ontario. Matthew Wright has been at Vassar College, USA, where he has held the Blegen Research Fellowship. And several staff members have held AHRC research fellowships: Chis Gill for 'Marcus Aurelius, Meditations 1-6: Stoic Therapy and Psychological Health', Elena Isayev for 'The Transformative Nature of Human Mobility: The Italian Case as an Explanatory Model', Rebecca Langlands for 'Exemplary Wisdom of Ancient Rome: *exempla* in Roman ethics', and Karen Ní Mheallaigh for 'The World of the Reader, the World of the Book: Reading Fiction in the Ancient World'.

The Department is also on a shortlist of three for 'Subject with the Best Research Community' (the same award that it won last year) at Exeter Students' Guild's Teaching Awards (see p. 4).

The Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, on Josephus, was delivered by Frederic Raphael. Parts of it were printed in the Times Literary Supplement of 22 December 2011, and the full text is in this issue (p. 18).

Anastasios Leventis, a graduate of our Department, was awarded an Honorary Degree by the University, in recognition of the substantial contribution of the A.G.Leventis Foundation to the Department (and to many others).

We have been sorry to lose Gwen Rumbold, our very capable administrator, to promotion. She has been replaced by Alex Bordoli, who has learnt an increasingly complex series of tasks with remarkable speed.

The end of an era has occurred with Peter Wiseman deciding to give up the part-time teaching that he has been doing for the Department since his retirement. This is too small a space even to indicate his enormous contribution. We are glad that he continues to be a stimulatingly learned participant in the departmental research seminars.

The Department hosted the Annual General Meeting of the Classical Association, with over 400 participants from all over the world (see p. 12). Congratulations to Karen Ní Mheallaigh and Sharon Marshall for doing so much of the organisation. Last year's conference of MA dissertations occurred again this year, and was supplemented by – for the first time – a conference of undergraduate dissertations.

Last but not least, students (and some academic staff members) of the Department staged an excellent production of Euripides' *Bacchae*, with one of the performances at the Classical Association AGM (see p. 44 for review).

Richard Seaford and Barbara Borg, Head of Department

Teaching Awards, 2011

Subject with the Best Research Community

The Department of Classics and Ancient History won 'Subject with the Best Research Community' at the 2011 Teaching Awards, organised by Exeter's Students' Guild. Karen Ní Mheallaigh was also shortlisted for 'Best Overall Lecturer'.

Pegasus was stated as among the reasons behind this decision; it was noted as offering a platform for students to publish their research alongside articles by their lecturers. Other reasons included the recently introduced 'World of Classics' lectures, in which staff present aspects of their current research to primarily undergraduate audiences, and the conference organised for the Department's MA students to present on their dissertation topic. Both of these activities have continued to occur in the 2011-12 academic year.

The Department has been shortlisted again in the same category for the 2012 Teaching Awards. Also deservingly shortlisted is James Smith for 'Best Postgraduate Teacher'. The results will be announced on May 3rd.

Exeter Impact Awards, 2011

Sex and History: Outstanding Social and Cultural Impact

The Classics Department's *Sex and History* project recently won an Award for 'Outstanding Social and Cultural Impact' at the University of Exeter's inaugural Exeter Impact Awards. The project is co-directed by Dr Rebecca Langlands (Classics) and Dr Kate Fisher (History) and has been working for over three years with museums, schools, charities and young people throughout the South West.

Sex and History uses Langlands and Fisher's world-leading research into sexual knowledge and the history of sex to empower people of all ages – and especially young people – to talk more openly about sex and discuss the issues that really matter to them in a supportive but thought-provoking environment. At the heart of the project is a methodology developed by Langlands and Fisher that uses museum objects from past cultures such as ancient Rome or China as a starting point for discussion, debate and creative responses. Such museum collections have proved ideal for stimulating discussion about sex: they showcase global cultural diversity, provide historical distance that makes the discussion more impersonal and less intimidating, and demonstrate that sex has been a concern to people for centuries.

Highlights have included workshops and creative projects in dance, drama, film and art projects in schools and charity groups, a well-received sex education resource for schools, 'Talking Sex', and numerous events and museum exhibitions including a successful exhibition, *Revealing Collections*, at the Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro. In 2013 there will be a major exhibition of erotic objects from the Collection of Sir Henry Wellcome at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter. The project enhances the role of regional museums in the South West in social change and well-being in the wider community, and also makes a lasting contribution to policy on sex and relationship education.

Classics Society News

A group of society members outside of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican, during the Rome trip, April 2012. (Charli Wood, Daryl Hurst, Sophie Jones, Clare Bayliss and Ben Street.)

The University of Exeter's Classics Society has gone from strength to strength in the three years I have been at the University, a trend which I am confident will continue long after I have left. We have a base of active members from throughout Classics and Ancient History which is spread across all year groups.

This year has seen highlights in the social calendar which include The Centurion, The Twelve Labours, Masters and Slaves, and Jason & The Argonauts Social. Our sports teams have been increasingly successful and on a weekly basis we field a football and mixed netball team to play in the Intramural league; they have also joined together to compete in the University's annual Dodgeball Tournament. The Classics Ball has now become a tradition. Attended by undergraduates, postgraduates and lecturers alike, the evening gives the whole department a chance to don its glamour-wear and strengthen the bonds between staff and students – which ultimately is one of the things that makes our Classics Department so special.

We have also re-established the Classics Play as a primarily Classics affair. This year we put on a really successful performance of *The Bacchae*, which saw cameo roles from three of our esteemed lecturers, and we were also invited to perform it once more at the Classical Association Conference which came to Exeter this April (see p. 44 for review). Many of the cast were busy this Easter, juggling this and their studies along with our society trip to Rome: a fantastic opportunity for students to experience the true wonders of the Classical world.

This year, the Classics Society has revived the Student Tutoring Scheme to give our Classicists that little bit of extra help with their languages. Working together with language tutors in the department we have recruited student tutors, who have all been briefed in teaching essentials. The project sees students of a higher level of Latin or Greek partnered up with those at a less advanced stage in a buddy-buddy scheme. This provides a less intimidating environment in which to ask those all-important questions which may have been missed in class. As a Greek student in my first year grappling with the concept of 'aspect', I know from experience the joy of that 'light-bulb' moment when something is explained in a slightly different way, and this is why I feel it is so important to promote this scheme. We have had over a dozen working pairs of students who have benefitted from the experience of their peers. The project also provides wonderful experience for prospective teachers, and advocates the importance of developing good people skills. It promotes mixing between years which creates the atmosphere of a Classics community, and one which I hope will be maintained and enhanced in years to come.

From sport to drama, from studying to socializing, from Exeter to Rome: the Classics Society plays a vital role in student life, and I can't have imagined my time at University without it.

Charli Wood, Secretary of the Classics Society

Staff Research News

Barbara Borg (B.E.Borg@exeter.ac.uk): Over the past year, I have mainly been working on two projects related to my special interest in the third century CE. This is an under-researched period that often falls in between scholarly interests in the 'High Imperial period' and 'Late Antiquity', although it is an exciting period of change and transition worth studying in its own right. With written evidence being rather scarce, art and archaeology are rich resources still waiting to be fully explored. During a six-month Research Fellowship at the Getty Research Center in Los Angeles, I studied changes in the display of art, and argued that the decline in the production of sculpture is not an indication of general decline, but that it is due to changes in tastes and decorum. In addition, I have finished a monograph, which will be published by Oxford University Press under the title: 'Between Crisis and Ambition: Roman Tombs in the Third Century CE'. It collects, for the first time, a range of evidence for burial customs during this period (tomb buildings, inscriptions, wall painting, sarcophagi, etc.), and argues for a re-interpretation of the funerary landscape of the time, including the early parts of the Roman catacombs, as a creative reaction to new needs and opportunities. During a two-month visit as Senior Onassis Fellow at the Waterloo Institute for Hellenistic Studies, Canada, in 2012, I am returning to a previous interest in the relationship between art and text. With Professor Riemer Faber and other Canadian and UK colleagues, we are planning for a long-term cooperation.

David Braund (D.C.Braund@exeter.ac.uk): I have recently completed my book on Scythians in Greek culture. This concerns both the Black Sea region and the Mediterranean world. Herodotus comes under the spotlight, proving to be much more on the ball than scholarship has often suggested. The once-popular notion of Otherness looks rather different in the light of the book. Scythians emerge as a large part of the Greek Self.

Eleanor Dickey (E.Dickey@exeter.ac.uk): I'm still working on the colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana, a set of phrasebooks and easy-reader dialogues for ancient Greeks learning Latin. The first volume of my edition and translation of these texts is now in production with Cambridge University Press and should be out in a few months, and the second volume is coming along nicely. I have also edited several bilingual papyri in collaboration with Rolando Ferri in Pisa; both these projects are loads of fun, in part because they cause me to travel all over looking at manuscripts and papyri. Several articles of mine on how to say 'please' in Latin and the intersection of Ciceronian practice with modern politeness theory are also due to appear this year.

John Dillon (J.N.Dillon@exeter.ac.uk): My first monograph, *The Justice of Constantine*, will be published by the University of Michigan Press later this year. At present I have been juggling the delightful tasks of double-checking references and compiling indices. What will be my second book, this one dedicated to Roman interaction with foreign sanctuaries, is beginning to take shape. I have been wrestling with the Romans' organization of religious space according to pontifical and augural law. It is a difficult subject, to say the least. Meanwhile, I am working up the talk I gave on Verres last year into an article on Cicero's representation of religion in the Verrines. And finally, alongside the Roman Republic, I'm also still researching Late Antiquity: I'll be giving a talk at the meeting of the Late Antiquity Network in Manchester this September on the hot topic of immolation.

Chris Gill (C.J.Gill@exeter.ac.uk): I have been working this year on a book on Marcus Aurelius. This will be a translation, with introduction and philosophical commentary, of Books 1-6 of the *Meditations*, for the Oxford University Press Series, Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers. Questions treated in the book include the nature and limits of Marcus' Stoicism, the significance of the form of the *Meditations*, and how well the work matches Michel Foucault's ideas about the 'care of the self' in the first and second centuries AD. Also, with John Wilkins and others, I have prepared an application for a research project on ancient healthcare and philosophical therapy and their potential implications for modern practice. I have also co-edited a volume of new essays on Plato, focused on the Socrates-Plato question and the interplay between literary and philosophical strands in the dialogues, submitted to Cambridge University Press.

Myrto Hatzimichali (M.Hatzimichali@exeter.ac.uk): In the course of the last academic year I published my first book, *Potamo of Alexandria and the Emergence of Eclecticism in Late Hellenistic Philosophy*, (Cambridge University Press). It examined the significance of eclecticism as philosophical self-definition in the context of cataclysmic changes in the intellectual landscape of the first century BC. I am currently exploring different ways in which Greek intellectual life made an impact on non-Greek cultures in the ancient world. A chapter that investigates the relationship of teaching and patronage between the Greek philosopher Antiochus of Ascalon and the Roman statesman Lucullus recently appeared as 'Antiochus' biography', in *The Philosophy of Antiochus* edited by D. Sedley (Cambridge University Press). I am also very interested in the influence of Greek culture on the Jewish community of Alexandria, so I have been spending a lot of time recently on the *Letter of Aristeas*, a very intriguing document that links the production of

the Septuagint to the foundation of the great library of Alexandria.

Elena Isayev (E.Isayev@exeter.ac.uk): Over the last two years I have focused on completing a monograph entitled: *Pausing Motion: Human Mobility and the Paradox of Place in Ancient Italy,* with support of a Davis Fellowship from Princeton University and the AHRC. In relation to human mobility, along with my colleagues Guido Bonsaver (Oxford) and Guido Tintori (Amsterdam), we are looking at Italy as a migratory crossroad over 2000 years, with other experts on migration, through an AHRC project entitled *Human Mobility and Cultural History: The Italian Case as an Explanatory Model.* I have also had the opportunity to explore mobility and place from a very different perspective by collaborating with the contemporary artist Catrin Webster. We ran the project *Future Memory in Place* that involved some 3000 members of the Swansea community (see p. 11). Through a series of some 100 hands-on workshops we worked with pupils from 9 different schools as well as refugee groups and the over 55 community. These led to the creation of an exhibition, a performance in the centre of the city (a music/film piece, entitled *1000 Blues*, which can be heard/seen as a video on the below website), and the creation of sculpture, *Tessera Hospitalis,* now at the National Waterfront Museum, Swansea. We were only able to do this thanks to the enthusiasm and support of the Music Director Marion Wood and overtone singer Michael Ormiston, the help of numerous volunteers from Swansea, several choirs and the support of the AHRC, University of Exeter, Arts Council Wales, Glynn Vivian Gallery, Swansea Council and the National Waterfront Museum in Swansea. We are currently working with various groups who are keen to apply the approaches we developed; we are also creating education packs and considering ways of running similar projects in other communities. See: <projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/deplacingfuturememory-fo>.

On the home front, our PhD Student now Dr. Scopacasa continued his research on Italy at the British School at Rome and is currently back in Brazil, and my other PhD students are beavering away at their fascinating and very diverse dissertations. Claude Kannanack is about to complete one on the Catalinarian Conspiracy; Anto Montesanti is working on the ancient concept of borders, Charlotte Young on visual literacy in the archaeological photographs of ancient sites, Massimiliano Fusari also on visual literacy and photography but using the Hawza as the case study, and Chris Siwicki on heritage and authenticity in Roman architecture.

Rebecca Langlands (R.Langlands@exeter.ac.uk): I am currently holding a five-month AHRC Research Fellowship which I have been awarded to write a book called *Roman Heroes, Exemplary Wisdom,* a ground-breaking study of the ethical dimension of Roman *exempla*. I have recently completed an article on the problematic sex life of the Roman emperor Augustus, showing how it undermined his own sexual legislation and ideological reforms: 'Exemplary Influences and Augustus' Pernicious Moral Legacy' which will be published in a forthcoming volume on Suetonius. Another article, 'Roman *exempla* and Situation Ethics: Valerius Maximus and Cicero *de Officiis*' was published in the latest *Journal of Roman Studies*. I have also continued to work on the *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual History* project which I co-direct within the Centre for Medical History, in collaboration with Kate Fisher, new postdoctoral fellow Jana Funke and doctoral student Jen Grove. Kate and I have secured a contract from Oxford University Press for our edited volume *Sex, Knowledge and Receptions of the Past*, which will be published in the Classical Presences Series. With Jana Funke I am writing a paper 'Materialistic Spirit and Noble Passion: Sexological Uses of Rome' for the Durham conference 'The Reception of Rome and the Construction of Western Homosexual Identities'. Kate and I are also celebrating the fact that our *Sex and History* project recently won an award for 'Outstanding Social and Cultural Impact' (see p. 4).

Lynette Mitchell (L.G.Mitchell@exeter.ac.uk): The major project for this year is to complete a monograph on the *Heroic Rulers of Archaic and Classical Greece*. When this is completed, I intend to start a project on religion and politics in ancient Greece.

Robin Nadeau (R.Nadeau@exeter.ac.uk): I am currently working on my book on dietetics in the ancient world. In my book, I propose a holistic view to ancient dietetics and food selection in ancient Greece and Rome. In relation with this project, I am preparing papers and book chapters on obesity in ancient Greece. My claim is that obesity must have been a part of reality in ancient Greece, even if it is not common in classical (normative) literature. I am also working on cookery books these days. My claim is that we have a romantic view of ancient gastronomy. These contributions should be made available shortly. John Wilkins and I just organized an international conference on food and cross-cultural transfers in the ancient world. Our claim is that ancient Greek and Roman's cuisines borrowed many ingredients and techniques from foreign cultures. In my paper, I tried to show that the domestic chicken did not come to Greece from Persia, albeit what we usually read in the secondary literature. We will try to publish the results of the conference shortly. Meanwhile, John and I are editing the Wiley-Blackwell's *Companion to Food in the Ancient World*. David Braund, Stephen Mitchell and Paul Scade are amongst the contributors. Hopefully, it will be made available at the end of the year.

Karen Ní Mheallaigh (K.Ni-Mheallaigh@exeter.ac.uk): I was on research leave for the first semester this year, and I have almost finished my book, *The World of the Reader, the World of the Book: Reading Fiction in the Roman Empire*. During this time, I also completed two

articles on ancient pseudo-documentary fictions about Phoenician texts, and I was chief editor for the Classics schools' journal, *Omnibus*. This year, it was full steam ahead for *the* Classics event of the year, CA Conference 2012, which we hosted in Exeter in April 11th-14th. Our stellar departmental team of staff and students (our creative and organisational wizards!) organised this international congress, which attracted over 470 delegates from around the globe (see p. 12).

Daniel Ogden (D.Ogden@exeter.ac.uk): The principal thing to report this year is that some act of God started University of Exeter Press from its ancient torpor. The press rediscovered the typescript for my *Alexander the Great: Myth, Genesis and Sexuality* amongst its detritus, scraped three and a quarter years of dust off it and published it at last (see p. 42 for a review). Otherwise, I have been continuing work on my long-term project, my Big Book of Dragons, and I have also now contracted to do a sourcebook on the same with Oxford University Press USA. This is conceived on the model of my Magic sourcebook.

Martin Pitts (M.E.J.Pitts@exeter.ac.uk): In the last year I have just about finished editing two books, *Globalisation and the Roman World: Perspectives and Opportunities* (with M.J. Versluys, University of Leiden), following a workshop of the same name that ran at the Devon and Exeter Institution in April 2011, and *Alien Cities: Consumption and the Origins of Urbanism in Roman Britain* (with D. Perring, University College London), funded by English Heritage. The results of my project examining health and social inequality in late Romano-British cemeteries (with R. Griffin, University of Liverpool) have finally been published in *American Journal of Archaeology* and *Journal of Anthropological Research*. This project reveals particularly high levels of inequality and poor health in rural as opposed to urban cemeteries, highlighting the stark human cost of Roman imperialism for the majority of the agriculturally-engaged Romano-British populace, and contradicting previously held assumptions on the perceived health benefits of country living. I am continuing to work on a new project exploring the pre-modern mass consumption of ceramics in the Roman period and 17th and 18th centuries.

Richard Seaford (R.A.S.Seaford@exeter.ac.uk): My book on Aeschylus has been published by Cambridge University Press. Entitled *Cosmology and the Polis: The Social Construction of Space and Time in the Tragedies of Aeschylus*, it is the third and final instalment in a trilogy on the transformation of Greek society and thought from the Homeric to the Classical era. I have also written a paper entitled 'The Politics of the Mystic Chorus' for a collection on the *Chorus Ancient and Modern*, and will now turn to a historical comparison of the earliest philosophical thought in Greece and in India, as well as to the usual writing of papers on various themes.

Richard Stoneman (R.Stoneman@exeter.ac.uk): I seem to have spent much of this year reading proofs! My two books for IB Tauris went through press in 2011: *Legends of Alexander the Great* (second edition) is now published, and *The Book of Alexander the Great* (a translation of the Modern Greek *Phyllada)* appears in early 2012. In October/November I spent six weeks reading the proofs of the second volume of my Fondazione Valla edition of the *Alexander Romance* (*Il Romanzo di Alessandro,* a cura di Richard Stoneman e Tristano Gargiulo); the proofs then got lost in the post to Italy and eventually arrived back on my doorstep in January. At the time of writing I am reading the second proofs, and the book is due to appear in late 2012. I have also been involved in editing Ernst Badian's *Collected Papers on Alexander the Great* for Routledge, writing a foreword and proof-reading, especially the Greek. The book of my 2010 conference, *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, is in the last stages of production: I read the proofs of this too but I must admit (a) that Barkhuis did an almost flawless job, and (b) that Kyle Erickson as co-editor took on an enormous amount of the day-to-day work.

In summer 2011, I tracked some of Alexander's footsteps through Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, visiting Alexandria-the-Furthest and following his route in pursuit of Bessus from the Oxus at Termez, up the Sherobod river valley to Shahrisabz (= Nautaca, and also the birthplace of Tamerlane). Unlike the Macedonians, my daughter and I travelled in a Chevrolet on tarmac roads. I would recommend Uzbekistan to anyone.

As far as original work is concerned, I am making progress with my book on Pindar for IB Tauris, and rather less progress with my book on Xerxes for Yale. I gave a CA lecture on 'Alexander the Great in the Age of Shakespeare' in Exeter on March 1st, and am getting interested in Alexander's 'World-seeing Mirror' of Persian tradition.

John Wilkins (J.M.Wilkins@exeter.ac.uk): I have completed my volume, *Galen on Good Health*, on Galen's scheme for preventive medicine. I'm interested in whether Galen has anything valuable to tell us in the twenty first century. To find out, Patrick Ussher, one of my MA students, conducted a trial of the 'Galen Diet', the results of which are published in this issue of *Pegasus*, in an article written along with fellow MA student, Stefanie Metcalf (see p. 31). In a second experiment, Sarah Bird, another graduate of the MA in Food and Culture, is conducting six workshops with me at the Westbank centre in Exminster to share Galen's ideas on nutrition with members of the public. Chris Gill and I now have a blog to share Galen's ideas with the public. See: <blogs.exeter.ac.uk/ancienthealthcare>.

Peter Wiseman (T.P.Wiseman@exeter.ac.uk): Last year was quite busy, with trips to Florida (APA conference, on the oral performance of ancient historiography),

Georgetown (on archaeology and legend on the Palatine), Durham (CA conference, on Cicero and the 'body politic'), Cambridge (on Varro and the foundation legend), Lampeter (on Andreas Alföldi's *Early Rome and the Latins*), Columbia (on the origin of Latin literature 2250 years ago), and Rome (American Academy, on popular memory) – all of which were work-in-progress items of one sort or another. More Roman topography coming up in 2012 (conferences in Columbia and Munich) – and look out for the next issue of the *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, where I'm one half of a debate on whether or not the archaeologists have got Augustus' temple of Apollo facing the wrong way (yes, they have...). But what I'm *really* working on is a book called *The Roman Audience*.

Matthew Wright (M.Wright@exeter.ac.uk): I am spending the academic year 2011-12 in the very delightful setting of Vassar College (NY), where I have taken up a Blegen Research Fellowship. The campus is beautiful, the library resembles a cathedral, the people are friendly, and I am having a wonderful time (though at times I feel as if I inhabit a novel by Mary McCarthy or Donna Tartt, rather than real life). I came out here with the intention of writing a book about Tyche (a subject on which I have been working for more than a decade), but after a lot of agonized thought and a long session with the shredder, Tyche and I have now parted ways. I am now beginning a new book on quotation culture in Antiquity, and feel much happier.

New PhD Students

Jasmine Hunter Evans (jlh233@exeter.ac.uk): My thesis aims to contextualise the reception of the ancient world, and in particular the myth of Rome, in the works of the modernist poet and artist David Jones (1895-1974). In doing so my wider project will take into account the prolific use of the ancient world as a comparison to modernity throughout the inter-war period and up until the end of the Second World War. Within this context I will focus particularly on this comparative method in other modernist texts, historiography, particularly the work of the cyclical historians Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, and in politics, with specific reference to British, Italian and German appropriation of Rome as a symbol of Imperial power. Through this research I aim to reveal the importance of the ancient world within the discourses of this tumultuous period of European history – particularly in the frequent discussions of the rise and fall of empires.

Stephen Jenkin (sfj202@exeter.ac.uk): The rulers of Archaic Greece, variously known as monarchs, tyrants and kings, were, according to later literature, rather colourful characters to say the very least. But, for all their colour their time saw the greatest development and scale in building projects, temples in particular, and the introduction of coinage throughout Greece. How did these rulers use coinage, and was its use connected to temple-building? How did they use religion within their regimes? What were the significance and purpose of the state treasuries at panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia? There will be many questions before we have a better understanding of the interplay between wealth, religion and rule of the archaic rulers.

Shaun Mudd (S.A.Mudd@exeter.ac.uk): My thesis considers the extent to which alcohol consumption in the ancient Greco-Roman society of the Roman Empire, during the first to third centuries AD, can be considered to have been a constructive force, whilst also analysing the views of the ancients themselves. In doing so, it responds to the anthropological concern highlighted by Mary Douglas in her edited volume, *Constructive Drinking*. Douglas states that anthropologists notice a bias in modern Western scholarship, particularly among medics and sociologists, towards focusing upon and emphasising the role of alcohol as a problem in societies. In contrast, anthropologists themselves often challenge the extent of such problems, suggesting that the view represented by the majority of scholarship is misleading, and stems from the biases of modern Western society. Accordingly, my thesis attempts to limit the effect of this bias on Classical scholarship by confronting this issue directly. Such an investigation will thus not only be of major importance to the study of the ancient world (given that wine was central to Greco-Roman life and culture), but also of significance as a case study for anthropologists, sociologists and medics, in their own research on alcohol consumption in societies. Furthermore, my research provides a way to understand the deep historical roots of modern Western society's relationship with, and beliefs about, alcohol, and thus has the potential for modern impact.

Matthew Skuse (ms328@exeter.ac.uk): My research topic, under the supervision of Dr Lynette Mitchell, is the cultural interactions of Greece and Egypt in the archaic and classical periods. In this research I aim to explore the possible consequences of the Greeks' contact with Egypt in detail and with great attention given to both Greek and Egyptian cultures. The research will endeavour to encompass cultural interactions and exchanges, the systems or vehicles facilitating such exchanges, and whatever Greek interpretation of these particular aspects of their relationship with Egypt may exist. Specific areas of Greek culture which I currently envisage being most focal to my research are art and the use of art, beliefs about death, knowledge and wisdom, and cosmology, though this list will almost certainly change

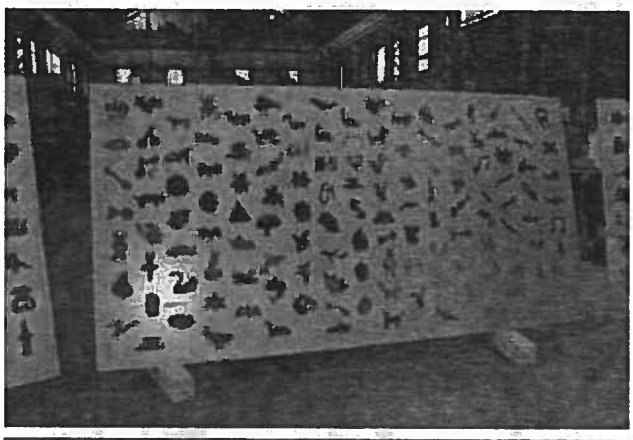
and develop over time. The relationship of the Greeks with Egypt is an interest which I have previously pursued at every opportunity, and while my research project is currently in its infancy, the results thus far have been rewarding. The first major section of this project discusses the role and relationship of the Egyptian and Greek sphinx, and will become the basis of a conference paper for presentation later this year.

Christopher Siwicki (css210@exeter.ac.uk): My research examines the processes and motivations behind the restoration of public architecture in ancient Rome. Using literary and material evidence I am attempting to understand how the Romans conceived of and treated the historic elements of their built environment. The project focuses on developments between the first and fourth centuries AD, with particular reference to the city of Rome.

MA Theses, 2010-11

Desiree Arbo:	Dramatising Nero and the Great Fire of Rome: The Creation of a Legend
Georgina Bartlett:	Augustine and Virgil: The *Aeneid* in the *Confessions*
Brandi Bethke:	*Issa Est*... Understanding the Relationships between Humans and Dogs in the Roman Empire, 1st Century BCE to 4th Century CE
Jinjuta Boonthumjinda:	Vestal Virgins and the Residence of Vestals: Study on Activities and Status of Rome's Priestesses of Vesta from the 3rd Century BC to the 2nd Century AD
Katherine Carroll:	Conquering Time and Distance in the Ancient World: Communication in the Hellenistic Age
Peter Dixon:	The Hymns of Callimachus: Who were they written for?
Henry Heitmann-Gordon:	Legitimation Processes under the Early Antigonids
Ross Hewitt:	An Examination into Medical Approaches in Selected Literature of the Roman Imperial Period: Did a Clear Separation Exist between Secular Treatment and Religious Treatment in Roman Medical Practice?
Nicole Kaiser:	An Exploration of the Conceptual Relationship of Justice between Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*
Joanna Law:	The Enchantress vs. the Hag: An Examination of the Difference between Greek and Latin Witches
Claire Marchetti:	Thresholds to the Story World: The Role of the Paratext and Narrator in Establishing Fiction in the Ideal Greek Romances
Alexander Ratcliffe:	The Significance of Vespasian's Visit to Alexandria within Tacitus' *Historiae*
Christoper Roper:	The Nature of Kingship under Alexander the Great
Matthew Skuse:	Ptolomies I-III – The Creation of a Dynasty: How Were the Three Core Elements of Ptolemaic Dynastic Ideology – The Successor, the Father, & the Sister-Wife – Created, and Why?
Thomas Sowerby:	To What Extent is the Figure of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus Historical? What can the Legend Tell us About Mythic and Republican Rome?
Keith Stewart:	What is the basis for Galen's Biology and Natural Teleology?
Heather Stone:	The Woman, The Monster and The Man: Deciphering the Witch in Greek and Roman Fiction
Llinos Thomas:	From Heracles to Hercules: Going the Distance
Julia Tomas:	The Romano-British *Coloniae* as an *Anamnesis* of Roman Rule in Britain
Eleni Vakouftsi:	The Role of Wealth in Aeschylus' Tragedies

Future Memory in Place



The Tessera Hospitalis *sculpture in production; Cila Primary (Swansea) pupils at a project workshop, making the* 1000 Blues.

This project provided a space to bring together ideas about identity, presence, homeland and mobility which crucially depend on our understanding of the nature and quality of the bond between memory and place. Such concerns were addressed through a collaboration comprising academics, visual artists, architects, musicians and other members of our community.

Building on the dynamism of the initial phase, *De-Placing Future Memory* (which centred on a series of workshops, exhibitions and performance), we felt strongly about engaging a wider sector of the community in developing the ideas further, and taking on the challenge of making these ideas accessible. This was possible through the AHRC's 'Beyond Text' follow-on-funding scheme that initiated *Future Memory in Place*.

Working together with the artist Catrin Webster we conducted a series of intensive workshops throughout the spring and summer that involved some 3000 members of the Swansea community including 2700 pupils from 9 schools (aged 3-16). Our specific aim, using the ancient world as a starting point, was to explore alternative ways of understanding place, not simply as a territory, but as the sum of interactions and imagination. Through art practice, involving landscape paintings and drawings, our hope was to enable the participants to capture our fragmented and multi-sensory experience of place. The result was a programme of activities that culminated in the creation of a number of art works and events.

The first art work was a collaborative sculpture, based on the ancient *Tessera Hospitalis*, a symbol of friendship that lasted over long distances and generations. Hundreds of mobile pieces make up this 1x6 metre steel monument which is now permanently sited at the National Waterfront Museum, Swansea.

The second was inspired by the landscape of Swansea as the children collected different hues of the colour blue that became the focus of a public performance at Castle Gardens in the centre of the city. The *1000 Blues* filmic piece was projected on the BBC screen, and formed the music score that was sung by a number of community choirs, the sounds of a place being as important and evocative as its sights. The sound-art was orchestrated by the music director Marion Wood and the overtone singer Michael Ormiston, specialists at translating the sounds of landscape.

The third element arose from the many connections of the participants with places around the world. These on-going links are the foundation for the 800 Swansea skyline postcards that the children made, and having been sent around the UK, they returned to Swansea for a final exhibition at Oriel Bach gallery.

Currently the methods that have been developed through this project are being integrated into teaching practice in schools and especially into contexts where there are high-risk groups and divided communities. Education 'pack' materials are available on our website below. The underpinning ideas have led to the creation of art works, various publications, new projects, and continuing collaborations.

Elena Isayev *(Project Website: <projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/deplacingfuturememory-fo>)*

Classical Association Conference, 2012

On 11th-14th April the Department was honoured to host this year's Classical Association Annual Conference here in Exeter. The CA Conference regularly attracts academics, teachers, postgraduate scholars and those interested in the culture of ancient Greece and Rome from all over the world. We were particularly delighted this year to welcome a record number of delegates, with over 470 academics from the UK and Ireland, Europe, Asia, North and South America, Africa and Australia. One of the most striking developments of the CA Conference was the animated use of social media for comment throughout the conference and, in particular, an energetic Twitter feed (**#CA2012**), some of which is captured in the following report.

Keen to give our delegates a real taste of the South West and a unique conference to remember, we welcomed them with a cream tea and, in addition to the usual and much-loved Classics bookstalls, a farmers' market selling local food, drink, plants and jewellery. This was also the first year that the Classical Association decided to sell its own branded merchandise at the Conference and so, alongside serious tweets on the content of particular papers and the thought-provoking discussion they engendered, our Twitter feed also quickly filled with photos of Percy, the Classical Association bear, in various guises.

***#CA2012** Gladiator Percy*

The Conference itself was supported by a dedicated team of 21 of our own students from both undergraduate and MA level, who quickly became known as 'the Green People' thanks to their polo-shirts bearing the Isca the Otter logo and who deserve special mention. They were: Zeppy Ainsworth, Katrina Alaimo, Mim Bay, Amy Channing, Olivia De-Beukelaer, Christian Djurslev, Sarah Fairhead, Marcelina Gilka, Sam Hayes, Henry Lee, Chris March, Katy McIntosh, Stefanie Metcalf, Jonny Miller, Monique Padelis, Lizzie Salmon, Stephanie Schnobel, Sara Steel, Charlie Tyjas, Patrick Ussher, and Charli Wood. Our Green People not only ably manned the conference desk, but also directed delegates to their rooms in Mardon and Holland Hall and even greeted them at St David's station. Much of the post-conference feedback from both delegates and the Classical Association has made particular mention of the helpfulness, courtesy and enthusiasm of our students who really did Exeter proud.

Our own Peter Wiseman opened the conference with an engaging and poignant reminiscence of the history of the Department, its trials and successes, including a look back at previous occasions on which Exeter has hosted the Classical Association Conference. Reflecting on the continued growth and strength of the Department and its place within the University – which has itself, of course, seen a dramatic transformation over the last 10 years – Peter reminded us of that apt line from the end of Rosemary Sutcliff's *The Eagle of the Ninth*, 'They are rebuilding Isca Dumnoniorum'.

For our plenary sessions, we were delighted to welcome two world-renowned scholars – Professor Kathleen Coleman, the James Loeb Professor of the Classics at Harvard and Chris Carey, Professor of Greek at University College London – who both gave brilliantly informative and accessible lectures. Speaking on themes which not only complemented one another perfectly, but were also fitting celebrations of this Olympic year, Kathleen Coleman explored the defeat of gladiators in her lecture 'Naming the Beast', while Chris Carey delved into victory in sacred games with 'What Makes a Winner: Imagining and Imaging Athletic Success in Classical Greece'. Our final plenary session on Friday evening was an address from this year's Classical Association President, Sir Peter Stothard, Editor of the *Times Literary Supplement* and author of *On the Spartacus Road*. Sir Peter spoke of his love of Classics, inspired by his grandfather and fuelled by unreturned library books in *The Times* library. He also paid homage to Peter Brown and Mary Beard for furthering his interest in Classics and celebrated the potential of Classics to change even those of us with a passing interest in Classics and to stay with us in whatever we do (**#CA2012** Our President recommends 15mins of Greek or Latin a day!).

The number of papers presented also surpassed previous Classical Association conferences, with over 160 academic presentations across a range of subjects, many of which corresponded to the Department's own research strengths such as Greek history, ancient and modern philosophy (especially ethics), Classical art and archaeology, comparative philology and linguistics, the impact of Greek culture, food and drink in the ancient world, tragedy and comedy, Greek and Roman mythology, religion and magic, and fiction and the ancient novel. Our own department was well-represented with papers by staff and postgraduate students, including Richard Seaford on 'Domestic Violence and the Polis in Aeschylus' Danaid trilogy', Rebecca Langlands on 'Roman Exemplary Wisdom', David Braund on 'The Bosporian Kingdom in Athenian Oratory: Gylon and the Mysterious Affair at Nymphaeum', Daniel Ogden on 'Looking for Lamia', Earl Banner on '*Ainigma* and Tradition: Plotinus' Development of the Esoteric Reading of Philosophy', Hoyoung Yang on 'Cicero's Philosophical Position – What Sort of Sceptic is He?', Chris Siwicki on 'Divine Intervention: The Role of Religion in the Restoration of Rome's Public Monuments', James Smith on 'Death and Memory in Alcman's *Louvre Partheneion*', Beth Hartley on 'Herodotean Presences in Imperial Greek Fiction', Shaun Mudd on 'Alcohol and Environment in Roman Culture', Hale Guney on 'The Self-Sufficiency of Roman Nicomedia: Perspectives in the *longue durée*' and Cara Sheldrake on 'Searching for the Cassiterides'.

There was a strong interdisciplinary focus to many of the panels, with Classical Reception Studies featuring prominently on the programme. The first session on Thursday morning included a panel on 'Classical Reception and Contemporary Women's Writing' in which the four speakers considered the directions that women's works of classical reception have taken through specific case studies and raised thought-provoking questions (Have Classical Reception Studies been ignoring this so far? **#CA2012**). Later in the day, a panel on 'Ancient Greece and Modern Britain' encompassed the importance of Alexander to British thought about imperial rule in Asia; the central place of Greek-inspired conceptions of civilisation among classically trained British intellectuals; the complexities faced by John Stuart Mill in using Athens as an inspiration for his thinking on representative government; and the use of Hercules as a symbol of Trades Union struggle in banners from the 19th century Labour Movement. The cinematic reception of the ancient world was explored in a panel on 'Screening Sex', which traced the development of the depictions of Roman sexual depravity in American epic cinema and television series, asking why images of sexual excess have played such a key role in the creation of Rome in twentieth-century popular culture and how such images have become more palatable (Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones reports that DeMille reckoned he could make a successful movie from any three pages of the Bible – mainly by sexing it up **#CA2012**).

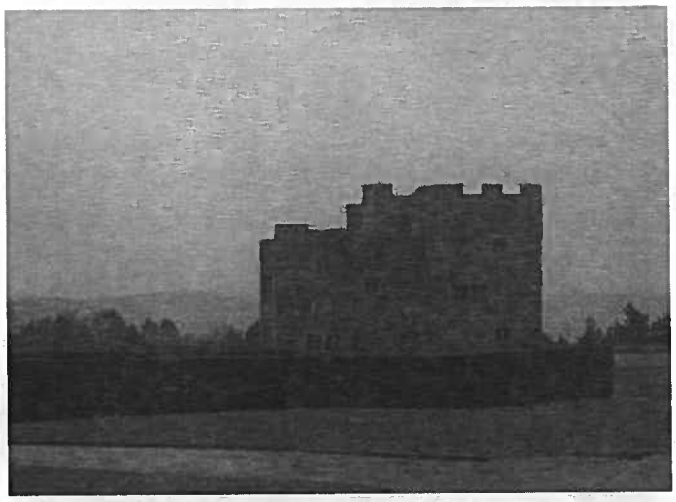
The call for papers for the Conference had warmly encouraged non-research presentations and one of the most well-attended panels at the conference was a panel convened by Tony Keen of the Open University entitled 'Writing the Words: Scholarship and Original Fiction'. In this panel, three people best-known for their scholarship (Juliette Harrisson, Tony Keen, and Ika Willis) read a short piece of classically-related fiction that they had composed, commenting on the pieces and addressing a number of wider questions on the way in which the writing of fiction might relate to one's activities and identity as a scholar. The

panel was also innovative in its use of technology, with Ika Willis presenting her work through a pre-recorded video and answering questions live from Australia via Skype. Further creative avenues of presentation were explored by Cary MacMahon who accompanied her paper, 'Art or Experience? Reconstructing Scythian Archers' Clothing' by a real-life model, dressed in the appropriate garb.

Outside of the academic sessions, our programme showcased our students' talents to the whole world by incorporating on the first night of the conference a performance by the students' Classics Society of Euripides' *Bacchae*, using the translation by our own Richard Seaford. The performance raised over £200 for charity (the Christopher Clarke foundation for cancer research) and was met with great acclaim from a discerning and knowledgeable audience who thoroughly enjoyed the production (**#CA2012** First Bacchae I've seen that makes Pentheus' conversion work).

On the second evening of the conference we were treated to an evening with novelist Lindsey Davis, creator of Roman detective Marcus Didius Falco. Sharing with us some of the secrets of her inspiration, research, and writing, Lindsey was every bit as warm, witty and engaging as her works would suggest and took the time to sign copies of her latest book, *Master and God* (**#CA2012** Stop press! Lindsey Davis will *not* write a novel based in Ancient Greece!). On Friday afternoon delegates were also able to discover a bit more of what our beautiful city and region has to offer with excursions to Exeter Cathedral, the newly renovated Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Knightshayes Court, Killerton House and Castle Drogo. We were particularly grateful to the staff at Knightshayes Court, owned by the National Trust, which is usually closed on Fridays but opened up especially for us. With the exception of a slightly drizzly and grey afternoon for those on the Castle Drogo excursion, even the weather conspired to ensure that our colleagues and friends from across the world saw Devon at its glorious best.

*So far, **#CA2012** has offered soldiers, gladiatorial defeats and a great version of the Bacchae. It's off to a good start!*



***#CA2012** Castle Drogo*

***#CA2012** The most elegant CA dinner ever*

The culmination of the social programme was Friday evening's gala dinner, which began with a champagne reception in the Terrace, kindly sponsored by Cambridge University Press. The musical entertainment at our reception was provided by the supremely talented Exeter University Jazz Orchestra (EUJO). Following the reception, we moved into the Great Hall, which had been transformed into a magnificent English tea-party setting, complete with vintage crockery and bunting, for a fabulous dinner.

*V. pleased to see the **#CA2012** prize go to Will Griffiths of the Cambridge Schools Classics Project. Hugely deserved.*

*Percy has sloped off for a quiet pint. He did an admirable twist and a non-too-shabby jive. He's earned a sit down! **#CA2012***

The dinner included the award of the Classical Association Prize, given annually to those whose work is felt to have raised the profile of Classics in the public eye. This year's worthy recipient of the Prize was Will Griffiths, Director of the University of Cambridge School Classics Project (CSCP), a not-for-profit research and development organisation responsible for the *Cambridge Latin Course* which is followed by over 250,000 students at any one time. Will's twenty years' experience in Classics education spans the school, community and university sectors, including eight years as Head of Department in a non-selective state secondary school and, in 2000, he joined the Cambridge Schools Classics Project. Under Will's direction, CSCP has increased the number of schools offering Latin from 600 to over 1,100, with growth achieved almost exclusively in the non-selective state sector. Accepting the Prize on behalf of the CSCP, Will paid homage to the success of the project, which for the first time in a generation has seen more comprehensive schools in England offer Latin than grammar and independent schools combined, and also reminded us of the role we as institutions have to play in continuing to make our subject accessible (Will Griffiths: we need to have a plan for outreach, especially from university departments. **#CA2012**).

Following the dinner, the University Jazz Orchestra struck up again to kick off the dancing (Is that T.P. and Anne Wiseman doing the twist? Never seen so many people on a dancefloor at the conference! **#CA2012**). As the night wore on, old-school swing gave way to 80s and 90s disco classics, as a DJ took over from EUJO (who were enjoying a well-earned rest) and the dancing continued late into the night.

Early on Saturday morning, somewhat bleary-eyed but undeterred, delegates made their way back to the Peter Chalk Centre for the final two sessions of papers. These included a panel on collaboration between schools and universities, organised by the Joint Association of Classical Teachers and the Council of University Classics Departments, which responded to some of the challenges to our discipline addressed by Will Griffith in his acceptance of the CA Prize, and provided an overview of a number of projects which are tackling issues such as the shortage of teacher training places and debate over the value and role of the Humanities in universities from a variety of perspectives. In many ways, this panel showcases the important opportunity the Classical Association Conference affords to bring together academics, schoolteachers and those with a general interest in Classics.

The Conference has been hailed as a great success by the Classical Association and those who attended. For the Department, it was a wonderful occasion to show off our beautiful campus and the talents of our students, as well as to bring together so many of our colleagues for intellectually stimulating and rewarding exchange. For those who missed it, the Classical Association has archived live tweets from the conference, which you can find online at: <storify.com/Classical_Assoc/ca-conference-exeter-2012>.

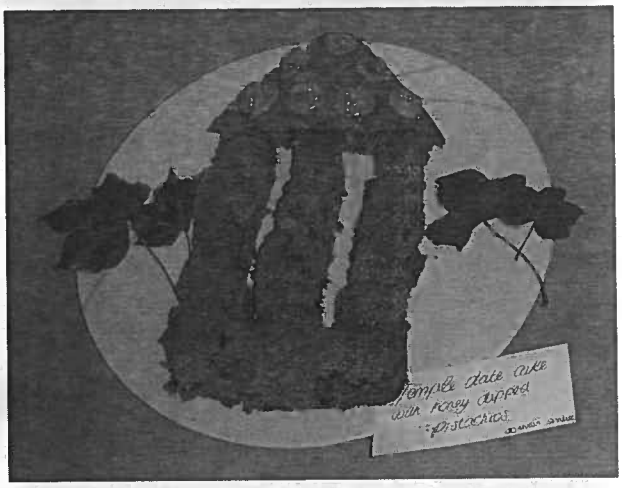
Sharon Marshall

Pegasus Food Competition, 2012

The questions we must ask about food in the ancient world are not necessarily about the main ingredients that we may even find on our own shelves today, but instead are about the way the flavours, tastes and textures were brought together to suit the ancient palate. Students of food in the ancient world are always keen to add a practical element to their studies and *Pegasus*' first Food Competition was an opportunity to experiment with ancient recipes or flavours which was not to be missed!

We could have looked to the recipe collection *Apicius*, or taken inspiration from Classical art or literature. For a helping hand there was always the option of *The Classical Cookbook* by Sally Grainger and Andrew Dalby (London, 1996) or *Roman Cookery* by Mark Grant (London, 1999), where dishes found in a range of ancient literature have been adapted for the modern kitchen. All entries were well presented and alluded to their classical connection in one way or another. Offerings to the competition included some mini pastries which brought together a delightful filling with an interesting sweetness and texture complimented by a crumbly shortcrust pastry on the outside. Also included was a cake arranged in the shape of a temple, made up of pieces of a rich and moist date cake.

Joanna Spindler shares her recipes for the mini-pastries and date cake:

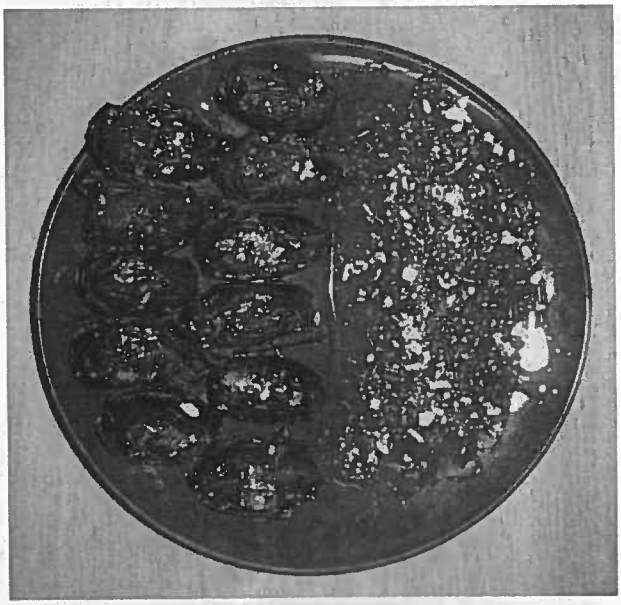


Mini-pastries: 'I didn't really follow a recipe. I simply crushed the pistachios, chopped the dates and stirred them into a saucepan of melted butter and honey. I then spooned the mixture onto pastry circles and baked them in the oven for 10/15 minutes.'

Date cake ingredients: 150g/5oz dates, stones removed, chopped; 250ml/9fl oz hot water; 1 tsp bicarbonate of soda; 60g/2¼oz butter, softened; 60g/2¼oz caster sugar; 2 free-range eggs; 150g/5oz self-raising flour.

Date cake method: Preheat the oven to 180C/Gas 4. Mix the dates, bicarbonate of soda and the water together in a bowl and leave to soak for ten minutes. Cream the butter and sugar then slowly add the eggs. Gradually add the flour, and then add the date mixture. Pour into a 20cm/8in square cake tin. Bake for 35-40 minutes. Drizzle with honey, serve with pistachios.

Another typically Classical combination of flavours was in the form of dates cooked in wine, drizzled with honey and sprinkled with nuts. These melt-in-the-mouth bites had a hidden surprise of pine nuts in the middle and the honey added a sweetness similar to many Middle Eastern or Greek sweets so often covered in syrup.



Natalia describes her recipe for *Dulcia Domestica*:

Method: Pit dates and stuff with pine nuts and honey. Simmer in red wine. Then sprinkle with chopped nuts and honey. Bake in oven. Serve hot or cold.

There were also two entries in the form of drinks. One was a honeyed wine made from the *Conditum Paradoxum* recipe in *The Classical Cookbook* (pp. 101-3). It had a wonderful, deep yellow colour and a pleasant, summery taste. The other was a rather different beverage named *Posca* – we were all warned about its taste. After some sips each we agreed that it was not necessarily as bad as we had been made to believe!

In fact it was quite refreshing; perhaps it would be more appreciated as a salad dressing or vinaigrette, or in a milder form, maybe even a palate cleanser.

Shaun Mudd gives us his recipe for *Posca*:

'No ancient recipes survive, so I came up with one using a bit of guess-work and the recipe given by Cathy K. Kaufman in Cooking in Ancient Civilizations *(Westport [CT], 2006: p. 182).'*

Ingredients: 1½ cups (red wine) vinegar; ½ cup honey; 1 tablespoon coriander; approx. 8 cups of water.

Method: Combine the vinegar, honey, coriander and 4 cups of water in a pan, and boil. Let it cool overnight and then strain through a muslin cloth. Bottle the mixture, adding about 4-or-so more cups of water in order to fill up the rest of a 2 litre bottle. Shake before serving. (Note: I found that it still needed further dilution with water, at a ratio of around 1:1, to make it less harsh and more easily drinkable!)

A regular recipe hunter, I stumbled across an interesting creation from the <guardian.co.uk> by Dan Lepard: a cake made from red wine, figs and honey. I was intrigued by this combination of key ingredients found in the ancient world. Also, cinnamon and cloves are two spices found in ancient recipes and they bring a gentle flavour and aroma which is only appreciated in small amounts by the modern palate: these subtle spices combined with the small amount of sugar and the use of honey allow us to appreciate a taste which is far removed from the cakes we are used to today. The butter in the original recipe was replaced by olive oil since I felt it was more authentic. I chopped the figs into large and small chunks to give a variation of texture – an aspect of ancient food which I find fascinating. Also to keep with the theme I used a modest Sicilain Nero D'Avola.

Here is my version:

Ingredients: 250ml red wine; 200g chopped dried figs; 1 tsp ground cinnamon; ½tsp ground cloves; 4 tablespoons olive oil; 150g honey; 50g dark brown sugar; 1 egg; 200g self-raising flour.

Method: Preheat the oven to 160C. Line an 8in/20cm round cake tin with baking paper. In a pan, heat the chopped figs, red wine and spices until the mixture starts to boil. Take off the heat and stir in the sugar and honey, leaving a little for brushing over the cake later. Beat the egg and oil together, adding to the mixture when it has cooled a little. Finally stir in the flour until the ingredients are just combined, pour into the cake tin and bake for 30-35 minutes or until a knife comes out clean. Some extra honey can be brushed over the cake when it comes out of the oven, adding a little sweetness and a lovely glazed finish. Pegasus himself was piped on with some regular vanilla buttercream icing.

The competition was a fun way to look at how Classical food and recipes can be interpreted today and an interesting insight into the tastes and also textures that might have played a large role in the cuisine of the ancient world. My prize, a voucher for Exeter's Real Food Store, will definitely inspire more foodie thoughts and more adventurous cooking, and that is what the competition was all about!

Stefanie Metcalf

The Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, 2011

On November 2nd, the 2011 Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture was delivered by the distinguished novelist, screenwriter and playwright Frederic Raphael. His film scripts range from Darling *in 1965, for which he won an Oscar, to* Eyes Wide Shut *in 1999. His most widely read novel is* The Glittering Prizes *(1976), which traces the lives of a group of Cambridge University undergraduates in post-war Britain. He has long taken an interest in the Classics, and published a translation of the poems of Catullus with Kenneth McLeish in 1979. His most recent project focuses upon Josephus.*

Squeezing Josephus

Frederic Raphael

At the start of a memorial lecture, it is customary, and proper, to salute the man for whom it is named. In the case of Jackson Knight, it demands no effort. Despite the fact that much of his *Roman Vergil* dates back to as long ago as 1939, it has an abiding freshness. He found space to make play even with his poet's possible nicknames, based on the Latin word *virga,* a reed or twig, but also a magic wand, a usage which may have prompted the poet's later reputation as a prophet and seer. We are reminded that, when it comes to influences, the accidental and the adjacent should not be discounted. Jackson Knight cites Agathon as saying that 'chance is the friend of art'. As *Tyche* or *Fortuna,* it was also the common, and capricious, god most widely worshipped in the Greco-Roman world. Chance alone, it seemed, accounted for the rise and fall of empires and emperors. The ancient Mediterranean was a casino in which great and small were driven to place their bets.

What does this have to do with the subject of Joseph ben Mattathias, otherwise known as Flavius Josephus? The relevance will, I think, emerge, even though no one has ever claimed that his prosaic work deserves the attention enjoyed by writers who belong squarely in the Classical canon. Josephus does not belong squarely anywhere; that is the kind of peg he is, and why he merits what I shall ape the archaeologists in calling 'a squeeze'. For epigraphists, 'squeezing' is the process of revisiting an inscription in order to be sure that every last scratch has been decrypted. Isaac Newton famously said that he had seen further than other people only because he was standing 'on giants' shoulders'. It is also possible sometimes to see a little further than usual by stepping on scholars' toes.

The best remembered judgment passed on Josephus was by the Israeli general and archaeologist Yigael Yadin, who excavated Masada in the 1950s. He was in the process of turning that high-shouldered hilltop fortress into a shrine in honour of its last defenders, who chose to kill themselves, their wives and their children, rather than surrender to the Romans in 73. 'Josephus,' Yadin observed, 'was a great historian and a bad Jew'. As the old examiners used to say, and some still may, 'Discuss!'

According to a *Manifesto for History*, proclaimed by Pierre Nora and others in 2005, 'history is not morality. ... The role of the historian is not to excite or to condemn, he explains. ... The historian does not introduce into the events of the past current sensibilities. ... History has no judicial purpose.' In what language, one wonders, should it then be written? In practice, the most enduring historical narratives are salted with personality. Of all historians, ancient or modern, Flavius Josephus is one whose own shadow falls markedly across his work. Yet if the Jews in Jerusalem had not embarked on the rebellion against Rome which broke out in 66, and ended in cataclysmic defeat seven years later, no librarian would ever have catalogued an author of that name.

Joseph ben Mattathias was the younger of two sons of a substantial landowner. He was away from Jerusalem on a diplomatic mission to Rome during the turbulent months preceding the outbreak of hostilities, but he must have assumed that he would spend most of his life in and around his native Judaea. There is no indication that he was any kind of a writer during the years preceding his return to Jerusalem and his appointment, when thirty years old, as governor-general of Galilee. His life was broken in half by the war of which he supplied the sole extant account.

In order to do so, he had first to make his private peace with the Roman commanders, Vespasian and his son Titus. Towards the end of the war, after almost three years of collaboration, he took ship with them to Rome, never to return to his devastated, at least somewhat depopulated homeland. Having witnessed the Flavians' triumph, he was pensioned and repackaged as the Roman citizen Titus Flavius Josephus. Thereafter he was nothing but a writing man. Like Edward Gibbon, 'scribble, scribble, scribble' was his consuming activity; the past was his present.

His 'damned, thick, square' books (actually manuscript scrolls) were advertisements, and laments, for the Jews and apologies for himself. He remained an unflagging defender of the people amongst whom he would never again find it safe to live. Only nominally a Roman and no longer at one with the Jews (to write a secular history was itself a form of transgression), he was doubly alienated. Recalling the past was a way of keeping himself company: 'I am never less alone,' he wrote, 'than when by myself'.

No losing general in an ancient war had ever before crossed the lines to describe the defeat of his own side. The only near precedent was Polybius, the Arcadian Greek who composed his Roman history in the mid-second century BC. He had been commissioned as a cavalry commander in the Achaean League, but he was never a combatant. After the decisive defeat of Macedon at Pydna in 168BC, Polybius (whose name means 'well-to-do') was among a thousand notables taken as hostages to Italy, where they were held, without charge or trial, for seventeen years. Polybius was lucky enough soon to be befriended by Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, who took him on campaign, as a privileged observer, in the Third Punic War which started in 149BC. Three years later, despite their brave resistance, he saw the Carthaginians slaughtered and their city set on fire and then levelled to the ground.

In now voluntary – and pampered – exile, Polybius chose as his theme the irresistible rise of the Roman Republic. Only by praising his patron, Aemilius Paullus, and his family for their '*abstinentia*', did the Greek historian imply revulsion from the depredations of less fastidious Roman commanders. He seems to have had no qualms about living in the household of a general who had sold a hundred and fifty thousand Greeks into slavery after his victory in the Macedonian War. Slave-labour supplied energy in the ancient world as oil does in the modern.

Child-sacrifice was integral to the worship of Moloch, the 'Baal' of the Old Testament, but neither Polybius nor anyone else ever suggested that the Carthaginians were punished because their barbarities excited divine retribution. As Montesquieu would say, 'the ancients conquered without reason, without utility. They ravaged the earth in order to exercise their virtue (that is, their manliness) and to demonstrate their excellence.' Homer's Achilles had set the style in the race for primacy.

No one has ever called Polybius a 'bad Greek' because he stood for, and exemplified, reconciliation between Rome and Hellas. Although they might be despised, for being too clever by half, Hellenes were the perennial teachers and counsellors of Roman dignitaries. Rome remained in awe of Greek culture, as America used to be of European. Virgil's *Aeneid* attached the Romans to Greek epic myth by depicting them as the descendants and avengers of the defeated Trojans. The Mediterranean world was a Greco-Roman see-saw.

After Judaea was finally reduced, in 73, there was no cultural merger. The Jews had shared their God, Yahweh, with no one; He lacked any Latin equivalent. The Jews sported no comely statues, no emblematic heroes, no versatile or amorous deities and demigods. Their language was an inaccessible, illegible code; their scriptures unamusing and parochial; their diet odd (Caligula could not understand what they had against pork). Judaism had just one crucial, if belated, influence on Roman history: it gave rise to the Christian faith whose advocates and derivatives would become the implacable ideological enemies of the Jews.

Josephus purported to follow Polybius in making his history 'pragmatic'. His avowed emphasis was on *pragmata*: acts, deeds, things. As far as the gods were concerned, Polybius agreed with Agathon: he ascribed Rome's success to *Tyche* (she is mentioned seventy-eight times in *The Jewish War*). *Tyche* brought good luck and bad – in modern Greek slang, *phortouna* can mean a violent storm – but she had no moral agenda for mankind and made no compacts.

Here Josephus differed: for the Jew (and priest) he never ceased to be, Yahweh had decided expectations of His Chosen. The Torah promised that the Holy One played a controlling and judicial part in human affairs. In Jewish eyes, Yahweh was a moral enforcer, not a celestial croupier. It followed that Jerusalem would never have fallen, on any occasion, if He had not had reason to withdraw His favour. The explanation had to be that His 'nation of priests' had sinned. However even-handed Josephus claimed to be, for him there had to be more to human history than Polybius's concatenation of *pragmata*. For the first modern Jewish historian, facts and moral reckonings were inseparable. Yet his situation, when living on pensioned probation in Flavian Rome, required that his personal sentiments be understated, especially when telling the truth. As the founder of the BBC, Lord Reith once said, 'when people feel deeply, impartiality is bias'.

In *The Jewish War*, Josephus resembles his antique model, Thucydides, by figuring in his own history as a less than successful – though more flamboyant – general; and in the third person. Only in his last and briefest extant work, the autobiographical *Vita* – the earliest prose written in the first person to reach posterity – was he provoked into abandoning his dispassionate pose. His Greek revision of the originally Aramaic text of *The Jewish War* has been

intended to set the record straight. Josephus took the opportunity to make it clear that the Jewish rebellion was the result of something like a class war – he uses the Thucydidean term *stasis* – between wise and foolish, good and bad, Jews. The Romans, he implied, were merely God's instruments in punishing His wayward children. Whatever his strictures on the Zealots, however, he never conceded that the Jews lacked courage. They might have turned their backs on Yahweh; Josephus never turned his on them. In his *Jewish Antiquities,* he demystifies, but never debunks, the biblical and subsequent history of the Jews. Advertising their ancient origins, Josephus portrays the Jews as a people who, like the Athenians and the Spartans, had lost a war but whose qualities merited lasting admiration.

In *Against Apion,* he was the first Jewish writer to advertise his people's merits and religion to an alien audience and to retort robustly when they were disparaged.

It is commonly assumed that Josephus's Greek translation of *The Jewish War* dogs his lost Aramaic original. Some scholars suggest that it was composed only with the aid of what scholars like to call a 'Thucydidean hack'. Need that be true? Josephus concedes that his command of spoken *koine* was never fluent (he admits, somewhat boastfully, that he never lost his foreign accent), but writing in a foreign language entailed a certain liberation. To compose in Greek enrolled him, to some degree, in a Gentile logic. Like fancy dress, pastiche dispels inhibitions. Men can both lose and discover themselves by writing in another language: Baruch Spinoza in Latin; Joseph Conrad in English; Samuel Beckett and E.M. Cioran in French. Although a master of English prose, Conrad's accent too marked him as a manifest foreigner.

Josephus was a Jewish exile of a kind which never existed before the sack of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Second Temple. The war which he regarded as a folly ended only after the mass suicide of the zealot garrison of Masada and the eviction of the Judaeans from their social and spiritual capital. Hundreds of thousands died in the war. Joseph ben Mattathias decidedly did not. The adverb is crucial to an understanding of how Joseph ben Mattathias's broke the mould. He was one of the rare figures in Classical Antiquity, perhaps the only one, who made an existential decision to stand, as E.M. Forster said of Constantine Cavafy, 'at a slight angle to the universe'.

Josephus's autobiography depicts him as a scholar, who – like his unmentioned namesake, the son of Jacob – astonished the elders by the precociousness of his textual exegesis (so, of course, did Jesus of Nazareth and Baruch Spinoza). Even the ultra-orthodox quasi-Spartan Essenes made special provision for the fast-track advancement of manifest genius.

Joseph's intelligence and his family's social standing, in the grandest of the twenty-four echelons of the priesthood, qualified him for the diplomatic mission which took him to Rome in 66. The 29-year-old diplomat set sail from Alexandria, probably in a large grain ship, bound for Italy. His brief was to plead for a party of priests who, he claimed, had been falsely accused of sedition by a corrupt Roman placeman called Felix, brother of the late emperor Claudius' powerful freeman, Pallas.

When the overloaded freighter foundered in the Adriatic, he tells us that he and other survivors of the six hundred passengers had to swim all night, before they were picked up by a ship from Cyrene and delivered to the city of Puteoli, just north of Naples. Soon after stepping ashore, Joseph made contact with a Jewish actor whom he calls Aliturus – Mr Salty Cheese – and, through him with Poppaea Sabina, Nero's wife, who is also said, in some sources, to have been 'Jewish'. Since we may be sure that she was not of Jewish birth, the rumour testifies to the interest which some Romans, especially women, took in what, for many of them, was more a form of philosophy than of religious or racial adhesion.

The brevity with which Josephus deals with his youthful Italian expedition illustrates the double-bind in which he was jacketed by the time he came to describe it. No character called Aliturus is mentioned anywhere except in the *Vita.* It sounds like a nickname earned by a capacity for tasty repartee. It could be a pseudonym for Paris, Nero's favourite mime actor until he had him executed, perhaps for no greater crime than threatening to upstage him; then again, for the stage-struck emperor there *was* no greater crime. Domitian was the fan of another actor called Paris (a generic name for pretty fellows, in honour of Helen of Troy's toy-boy). He too was later put to death. Since the *Vita* was written during the reign of the tyrant colloquially known as 'the bald-headed Nero', Joseph may have slapped posthumous camouflage on Nero's darling to avoid seeming to allude to Domitian's homonymous Thespian.

Survival under the empire was a game of lethal hopscotch: there were many lines that it might be fatal to cross. The success of Josephus's diplomacy, and his survival, must have owed something to a quality to which not a single scholar ever alludes, but which was central to his survival in perilous times: his charm. He does say that Poppaea

loaded him with gifts when they parted. Such generosity, Steve Mason promises, was a habit with Imperial persons. All the same, the fact that Josephus mentioned it suggests that he was particularly proud of his reception by the wife of an emperor who had been officially anathematised by the Flavians. There is more, if we squeeze a little harder. No scholar whom I have read attaches any significance to Joseph's exposure to Roman showbiz. Whoever Aliturus was, he may well have given the provincial Judaean a master-class in the versatilities of creative imposture. If so, his pupil – nothing if not eclectic – proved a quick study.

Josephus does not join up the dots in his pre-war career, but securing the release of his friends the priests must have figured impressively on his CV when it came to choosing a governor-general for Galilee. The elders in the Sanhedrin surely believed that his contacts in ruling circles, both in Rome and in Antioch, where Nero's client king, Agrippa II had his court, offered the best chance of averting a war which the Jerusalem equivalent of Cicero's *boni* had small wish to fight, although they could never say so.

After several weeks of hectic and frequently frustrated attempts to weld the Galileans into a common front, Joseph ben Mattathias saw clearly that it would be suicidal to confront Vespasian's recently arrived expeditionary force in open battle. It was neither cowardly nor defeatist to hole up to the small hilltop town of Jotapata (today's Yodefat), about ten miles north of Nazareth. He had already ordered its fortifications to be thickened as part of his hurried plans to baulk the progress of the legions. Did he hope that Vespasian would not pause, on his march to Jerusalem, to crack so small and tough a nut? If so, he was disappointed. The siege lasted some five weeks. As it neared its inevitable end, Joseph proposed to the elders that he slip away and rally a relieving force. His proposal did not receive their endorsement. He had got them into the mess and they were determined that he share in the common fate.

The Jotapatans could expect no mercy from an infuriated enemy. As soon as the weakened defenders had no ammunition left with which to baulk the assault, the legionaries streamed into the town. Many Jotapatans still inside the town killed their families and then themselves rather than be enslaved or crucified. In ancient wars, there were worse fates than a quick death. On Vespasian's instructions, the Romans mounted an urgent search for the Jewish general. As the enemy surged in, Joseph had been able, 'by some divine providence', to jump into a deep pit which communicated with a cave invisible at ground level. Some fifty local notables took refuge in it with him. They remained undetected for two days. Then a woman of their company was captured as she tried to slink away from the town. She revealed the inaccessible cavern where Joseph and the others were hiding.

Still unable to lay hands on him directly, Vespasian sent two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, with a promise of safe conduct to Joseph. His decision not to surrender was seconded by his companions: they promised to kill him if he made a move to get out. The two tribunes went away. Another, called Nicanor, returned to try again. Said to have been 'personally known' to Joseph, and therefore probably a member of King Agrippa's staff, he was authorised to say how much Vespasian admired his opponent's tactics and would like to talk to him. The message was unusually sporting: the Roman general had himself been wounded by an arrow during the assault. Given his routine ruthlessness, Vespasian's insistence is likely to have had a motive more purposeful than chivalry.

Joseph was literally in a hole. The Jotapatans were obdurate that he remain in it with them. The legionaries outside were yelling for the whole gang to be 'roasted out of the cave'. The Roman rank and file had not forgotten, and lacked diplomatic reason to forgive, how – in the heat of the siege – Joseph and his crew had basted their comrades' *testudo* with boiling oil. At this point, Josephus says, he happened to remember some dreams in which 'God had warned him of the calamities coming to the Jews and of the fortunes of the Roman emperors'. Since he was both a priest and the descendant of priests, he could pass as a plausible recipient of divine messages. He now found the nerve to claim that their proper interpretation had only just declared itself to him. With the Jotapatan elite huddled around him, he spelt it out in a loud prayer to Yahweh in a tone of solemnity which, we may guess, no pious Jew would choose to interrupt.

Joseph's pharisaic exegesis was that God was 'visiting his wrath on the Jewish people' and that 'all prosperity' had passed to the Roman camp. Because Yahweh had selected him personally to 'make known the things to come', Joseph's priestly pedigree warranted him to announce that he was bound by a transcendental obligation to deliver himself to the Romans, 'that I may live, though I solemnly declare that I go, not as a traitor, but as the servant of the Lord'.

This reading of his divine duty failed to cow the Jotapatans. He reports that they jostled around him, crying that the laws of their fathers, decreed by God Himself, had endowed their race with contempt for death. 'Are you so in love with life, Joseph, that you can bear to live as a slave? How quickly you've forgotten yourself! How many did you

persuade to lay down their lives for liberty! False, totally false, was the reputation you won for courage and cleverness, if you expect to be let go by those you have hit so hard. Even if their offer is genuine, how can you stoop to accept it? If you have been enchanted by the Roman success, we shall have to be responsible for our people's good name. We'll lend you a sword and a hand to wield it. Die willingly and you die as the commander of the Jews; if not, you die as a traitor.'

The language may be rhetorically enhanced; its fury rings true. It also testifies to Josephus's willingness, as a reporter, to spell out the case against his own conduct. Somehow he contrived to abate the communal anger sufficiently to institute a discussion of whether suicide was incumbent, not only on him, but also on his companions. He contrived, with metropolitan erudition, to pull rank on his provincial audience. 'Why,' he asked, 'are we in such a hurry to commit suicide? Why should we make those best of friends, body and soul, part company? I am told that it is a glorious thing to die in battle. Maybe, when it is decreed by the laws of war and we die at the hands of the victors. If I shrink from Roman swords, I deserve to die; but if they are prepared to spare an enemy, how are we not entitled to spare ourselves? It would be absurd to do to ourselves what we have fought to prevent them doing to us. You say that it is glorious to die for freedom. I agree; when it is on the battlefield and at the hands of those who are trying to take freedom from us. But now they are coming neither to do battle nor to kill us.'

'What fear,' Joseph wanted to know, 'keeps "us" from going up to the Romans? Fear of death? In that case, must Jews, because they fear death at the hands of the enemy, inflict it on themselves? "It is a brave act to kill oneself," another will suggest. No! It's a thoroughly craven act. I consider that a pilot would be an arrant coward if, through fear of bad weather, he did not wait for the storm to break, but scuttled his own ship instead.' After this school-masterly, quasi-Platonic analogy, Joseph resumed the sacerdotal mantle. He reminded his rustic congregation of Yahweh's disapproval of suicide: 'of all living things, there is not one that dies on purpose or by its own act; it is an irresistible natural law that all should wish to live. ... Do you suppose that God is not angry when a man treats His gift with contempt? It is from Him that we have received our existence and it is to Him that we must leave the right to remove it.'

By generalising the question of what 'we' should do, if given a chance to stay alive, he encouraged the Jotapatan notables to speculate on possibilities not available to them: 'If we choose to die, isn't it better that we do so at the hands of our conquerors? I shall not go over to the Romans in order to be a traitor to myself; if I did, I should be even more foolish than those who desert; for such people, desertion means life, but for me it means only death, my own. I pray that the Romans may prove traitors; if after giving me their word, they put me to death, I shall die happy, because I shall find in the broken word of such liars a consolation greater than victory itself.'

No sooner had Joseph switched back from the plural 'we' to his own first personal case than the Jotapatans rushed at him with their swords. 'Coward! Coward!' He retained the mental agility and physical poise to box clever: '... he called one by name, glared like a general at another, shook hands with a third, pleaded with a fourth till he was ashamed, ... turning like an animal at bay to face each assailant in turn. At his last gasp, they still respected their commander; their arms lacked energy, their blades glanced off him and many, while thrusting at him with their swords spontaneously lowered their points.'

If Joseph had obtained another truce, he was never going to be allowed to get away from them on his own. He claimed later that he put his trust in divine protection. He was too modest to mention any element of Odyssean cunning in what he next proposed: 'Staking his life on one last throw', he informed his companions that, since they were resolved on mass suicide, he would share their fate. He asked only that they accept an orderly and decorous procession to death rather involve themselves in scenes of clumsy, uncontrolled carnage. It would be more seemly if they all drew lots and then killed each other in numerical order; the first the second and so on down the line as the callous luck of the draw had determined. 'In this way,' he said, 'no one will have to die by his own hand'. Otherwise, he had the nerve to tell them, it would be unfair, when the rest were dead, if one man were to change his mind and save his life.

To be accepted, as it was, without suspicion, his proposal must have accorded with tradition. Five years later, the defenders of Masada would adopt a similar rota when they killed each other, to the last man, woman and child. Josephus reports that his companions 'swallowed the bait' and allowed him to draw lots with the rest of them. 'Life was sweet, but not so sweet as death,' they told each other; especially when their commander was going to die with them.

Whatever the precise method by which lots were drawn, Joseph – as garrison commander – evidently presided over the procedure. Whether by 'divine providence', as *The Jewish War* tells us, or by dexterous manipulation, he himself just happened to draw a number which would leave him alive with only one other man, after all the rest of the party had honoured the rites of mutual extinction. Joseph ben Mattathias watched as, when their numbers came up, one after another of the pairs of Jotapatan notables, men and women, killed each other. The serial slaughter must have taken some time. The blood and stench and the cries and groans of the dying filled the bunker.

The tight pit filled with corpses until it was the last pair's turn to follow their companions in mutual slaughter. With the Romans clustered above them, Joseph now suggested to the single other survivor that they should spare each other. He remained a captain who saw no virtue in going down with his ship. He also had the pious nerve to claim that he did not wish to 'stain his hand with the blood of a fellow Jew'. Joseph's pious proposal was accepted by his fellow-survivor. A short time later, 'having come safely through two wars – one with the Romans and one with his own people' – he was being escorted through the Roman lines by his friend Nicanor.

We can now see why Yigael Yadin regarded Joseph ben Mattathias as a 'bad Jew'. In his *Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,* Yitzhak Zuckerman wrote, 'the expected struggle had two aspects: first not to hide, not to flee, but to fight. Second not to be taken alive by the Germans.' It is not for me, or for anyone who was not there, to question that resolve, but it is fair to say that Joseph, cornered in Jotapata, was not 'bad' because he chose not to die. The resolve of those in the Warsaw ghetto not to be taken alive was both brave and, if we dare to say so, wise. They had no prospect of survival and were almost certain to be tortured, at length. Yadin wanted *all* Jews to be governed, even retrospectively, by unquestioning solidarity. If his purposes are understandable, they were political, not moral: Judaism has no right, and small claim, so far as I know, to make survival a scandal.

Legionaries hurried to see the barbarian captive. The common soldiers were more than curious: they were hot for revenge. Josephus says that their officers were less vindictive than impressed by the prisoner's bearing; but then they had taken no part in the *testudo*. Was Joseph defiant or was he careful to avoid his enemies' eyes? Like Agag, he had to walk delicately. To seem calm and otherworldly was a vital cosmetic. Exemplary execution was still his likeliest fate, probably by crucifixion. Caligula is unlikely to have been the only Roman emperor to tell the *carnifices* whose profession it was to torture the condemned, 'make him feel he is dying'.

How could Joseph not imagine jeers and cheers as the lead-loaded lash flayed him before the nails were hammered in? The claim that he was doing the Lord's work had been a plausible excuse for his breach of faith with the Jotapatans; with the Romans, it would be a necessity, if only he could work it. Was he a hypocrite? In Greek, *hypocrites* meant 'actor'. In that sense, he had to find the right part to play. How would Aliturus have played the scene? No role suited the venue better than that of the messenger of Yahweh, the singular god of the Jews. Joseph ben Mattathias was born for the part of the robed and bearded priest with a divine annunciation to deliver. Truth and imposture read from the same page.

Vespasian's son, Titus, was a young man in his early twenties, an apprentice in the butchery business. He is reported to have admired Joseph's 'courageous attitude' and to have been filled with sympathy for his 'youth'. The good actor attracts sympathy by inducing others to imagine themselves in his place. Titus's merciful feelings may have had decisive influence on his father; but the original order to take the enemy commander alive has to have been Vespasian's. 'Clemency' had become the characteristic grace of Roman leaders, if a prisoner was significant enough to merit its exercise. Julius Caesar had been the first to vaunt himself on willingness to show mercy to vanquished opponents. He was less quick to advertise that he did so in a civil war which he himself had started. In 46BC, Marcus Porcius Cato, when besieged in the city of Utica, in North Africa, chose to drive his sword into his own belly rather than to accept an offer of mercy from the dictatorial Julius. Although the coinage *'suicida'* is unattested until 1179AD, Romans took a certain comfort in the right to put an end to one's own life in one's own time, *'ut exeamus ex teatro'*, as Cicero put it.

When Nero came to the throne, exactly a century after Cato's suicide, Seneca – first his tutor and now his prime counsellor – presented him with an essay in which *clementia* was recommended as the most desirable form of princely grace. After the cruelties of Gaius Caligula and the caprices of Claudius, there was much to be said (a speciality of Seneca's) for encouraging the new prince not to wallow in blood. During the course of his reign, however, Nero had less and less use for clemency or for Seneca whose moralising had recommended it to him. Nevertheless, mercy remained the emperor's unique prerogative. It is no great stretch to say that when Josephus attributed his own survival to the *clementia* of Titus and Vespasian, he was implying that each of them was – in the words of the sardonic Tacitus – *'capax imperii'*, capable of being an emperor. The ascription of clemency specifically to the young Titus may have been a revisionist grace, inserted when Vespasian's hot-tempered son had succeeded

him in the purple. It was not beyond the mature Josephus's journalistic resource to make tact and irony indistinguishable. In view of young Titus's behaviour during the Judaean campaign, moderation came to him late, if at all.

In the Roman camp, in chains among angry enemies, Joseph's situation had something in common with that of another isolated Jew, almost two millennia later. The French Jewish soldier, Alfred Dreyfus, after he had been falsely accused of treason, was described, by the gloating Roman Catholic writer Maurice Barrès, as 'alone in the universe'. At the moment of his public disgrace, when his sword was broken, his captain's epaulettes ripped off, Dreyfus adopted an air of stoic resignation. In private, he raved and banged his head against his cell wall. Yet he was determined to endure. So was Joseph; but he was no falsely accused scapegoat. If somewhat admired by his enemies, he was sure to be condemned by his friends. He was alone as no Jew had ever been before, not even the shorn and captive Samson, 'eyeless in Gaza, at the mill with slaves'. In Roman custody, committed to unrelieved improvisation, Joseph could not afford to seem either afraid or arrogant. He had to maintain the aura of a sacrosanct prize. His account says nothing about his private feelings. He could scarcely afford them. The odds were still stacked against him.

He was kept in irons, under tight guard. Did some of his jailers hold out their arms and loll their heads in mimic crucifixion? There is no proof that they did; small likelihood that they did not. Not smiling, not wincing, not pleading, not provoking and ignoring provocation, Joseph had to endure. Baiting the Jew general might be one more spectator sport; but the fate of an enemy commander was, in principle and common practice, a matter only for the emperor.

No matter which of his generals had won the victory, by Nero's time only the emperor himself could enjoy a Triumph. The sole national hero in Imperial Rome had to be Caesar himself. Vespasian was too seasoned a campaigner not to be aware that under a jealous autocrat, nothing failed like conspicuous success. In recent years, Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, a veteran of genius, had accumulated more victories than Nero cared to applaud. Corbulo had already faced a similar problem in 47, when the emperor Claudius felt upstaged by his successes in Germany. Even then Corbulo was rumoured to have commented, 'Roman generals were lucky in the old days,' when glory had led to fame and fortune. In October 66, the great general had been summoned to the emperor's presence at Cenchreae, in Greece. He was greeted by Nero as 'benefactor' and 'father'. Soon afterwards, his master invited him to commit suicide. Vespasian's younger son, Domitian, later married Corbulo's daughter.

The author of *The Jewish War* gives the impression that, in the first instance, Joseph ben Mattathias was saved from immediate death so that Vespasian might send him as a present to the emperor. Since the Roman commander had gone out of his way to pluck him alive from the ruins of Jotapata, it seems likely that he had been advised of Joseph's intelligence and of his utility as a go-between. But if Vespasian was keen to meet and talk to him, why was the prisoner kept incommunicado, and in chains, for several days? In any case, calm reserve was Joseph's best line of play. Collaboration would seem more valuable if not promptly volunteered.

Then again, assuming that the general was keen on securing Joseph's cooperation, military or diplomatic, and Joseph slow to offer it, Vespasian may have had it relayed to him that rendition to Nero was imminent. Such a threat would explain Joseph's next reported move: the request for a private word with his principal captor. The way in which it was pitched, and received, hints that Vespasian may have hoped for some kind of confidential disclosure. As soon as Joseph had been escorted into his quarters, the general ordered everyone except his son Titus and two other officers to leave.

Whatever the Romans expected, it cannot have been what their captive now chose to say: 'you imagine that, by capturing me, you have merely secured a prisoner...' If he was as calculating as he needed and knew how to be, Joseph spoke softly; but with unhurried clarity. A quiet voice impels even important listeners to lean forward, attentively.

As he describes the scene, Joseph was bold enough to contradict his conqueror before, it seems, he had spoken a word: 'no,' he said. 'No, I come as a messenger of the greatness that awaits you.' Was he looking directly at Vespasian and Titus or did he stare blankly, a man entranced, with the divine afflatus upon him? Either way, his good news held their attention. He had managed, in a few seconds, to become less a suppliant than a dispenser of supernatural favours. 'Had I not been sent by God Himself,' he told them, 'I should have known the Jewish law and how a general ought to die'.

The implication was that angelic duty alone had forced him to transcend his soldierly obligation. Who in the tent could have guessed how desperately he had argued to the contrary when in that pit in Jotapata? Once out of it,

Joseph ben Mattathias had to become an improvised man: someone who expected to be watched and listened to, by himself not least. From the moment when he crossed the lines, he committed himself to being a *performer*. No longer a Jew among Jews, he was conditioned by his alien audience: it played with him, he played to it. He was, in the literal and the theatrical sense, cast among strangers.

Like Sir Walter Ralegh, after his fall from favour, Joseph was living on his nerves, at daily risk of execution. Ralegh also became a striker of attitudes, playing the madman and the courtier, the advocate and the gambler, as occasion required; and at the last he too became a historian, surveying mankind from a lonely eminence. Closeted with Vespasian, Joseph assumed the lineaments of a sacred herald. As if on the tragic stage, he played a makeshift Tiresias, whose oracular insights the general would be well advised to reserve to himself. It is a squeeze too far to insist that Joseph never believed that the divine grace was on him; as with a method actor, reaching into his own experience to validate his imposture, a tincture of genuine faith would lend conviction to his performance. Romans, however hard-headed, were rarely immune to dread of the supernatural content of dreams. Vespasian is said by Tacitus to have been 'not untouched by superstition'.

The most pressing thing on Joseph ben Mattathias's mind must have been the fear of rendition. He confronted it immediately: 'Do you mean to send me to Nero? What for? How long will Nero and those who succeed him remain on the throne before your turn comes?' Josephus's narrative implies a pause. The reader can imagine a close-up of the bark-faced Vespasian: his portrait bust gives him heavily lidded eyes and a tight mouth. Did he recall the story of how Seneca – when confident of his position – had had the nerve and wit to tell the young Nero that, however many people a prince might kill, there was always one man whom he could never kill: his successor? And did the Jewish prisoner see himself as his mythical namesake, Joseph the son of Jacob, when his interpretation of Pharaoh's dream put him on the way to being the Egyptian ruler's privy counsellor?

Joseph had staked everything on the insolence of his question. In that silent second, during which Vespasian could, and should, have forbidden his prisoner even to suggest the possibility of anyone succeeding Nero, the general became complicit with the Jew's next words: 'You, Vespasian, are Caesar and Emperor, you and your son here. Load me with your heaviest chains and keep me for yourself. You are master not only of me, Caesar, but of land and sea and the whole human race.' We can assume another eloquent silence. Who was looking or not looking at whom?

Joseph's next words had to convey both a captive's deference and the sanctity of a divine herald. 'I ask only to be held in closer confinement if I am taking the name of God in vain.' The corollary was that, if they believed him, and their silence promised that they did, he should be well treated. Whether or not Joseph truly thought that he was divinely inspired, he had bet his life on seeming so. Whatever its source, his prediction was calculated to spring an ambition which Joseph had the intelligence to guess was already nascent in Vespasian's thoughts. Playing the part of the Jewish priest, he was to the victorious proconsul what Macbeth's witches were to the thane of Cawdor.

Yet Jerusalem was not yet taken. Although he had taken a brave part in Claudius's conquest of Britain, Vespasian had no great pedigree or military genius. Joseph's oracular prediction was based on a small victory in a petty province. Its precision about the timing of Vespasian's accession, as the last of the four contenders for Nero's throne, may be the historian's later embellishment, but only its basic plausibility can explain how he came to be recruited to the general's personal circle. Joseph had contrived to become the Flavians' lucky charm.

As soon as his divination was not greeted with outrage, Joseph's all-or-nothing gamble had paid off. He now had something over his conqueror: what Vespasian had not said and not done. Although not a word of this was put on parchment, Joseph now knew that, whatever happened, he was never going to be sent alive to Nero. It was vital to the Flavians' survival that the Judaean priest be given no chance to transmit to Nero his divinely-sourced prediction that Vespasian was destined for the purple. Nothing would be more certain to render it void. The captive Jew had taken his captors captive.

One of Cavafy's poems tells of how, in an invisible procession, 'the god abandoned Antony' at the end of his great love affair with Cleopatra. This myth has an echo in Josephus: he says that, months before the destruction of the Temple, strange voices were heard saying: 'we are departing from here'. Origen is quick to interpret them to be those of the angels who supervised temple worship. He took their departure to be a symptom of Yahweh's abandonment of the Jews. In the dream which Joseph reported to Vespasian, the Holy One announced that He intended to bestow dominion on a Gentile conqueror. As soon as Vespasian accepted Joseph ben Mattathias as an oracular voice, Yahweh was on His way from being the parochial patron of the Jews alone towards His acclamation as the unique, universal deity.

It would take another three hundred years for His omnipotence to be consummated when monotheism and autocracy converged in the Rome of Constantine the Great and his successors. Vespasian might have shrugged if Joseph had threatened him with Yahweh's anger, but the news of divine favour was easy to take. Joseph's version of events was, at a stretch, consistent with his ancestral faith: God favoured Jews when they honoured His Commandments, but chastened them when they sinned, not by failing to recognise Jesus of Nazareth as His son, but by polluting the Temple with blood, most of it that of other Jews.

Perhaps because he wrote a secular account of the war, and in an alien language, Josephus's work is the first to represent Yahweh in world-historical costume, the emperor's emperor. After due adjustment, the cap of a universal and eternal God would fit neatly on the head of the single, august sovereign of the temporal world. The notion of *translatio imperii* – the passage of power by God's will, and hence of the divine right of kings – became an axiom of western thought until, in the Enlightenment, the People's Will displaced that of a personal god or monarch.

Josephus was the first Jew to offer an overview of the world's history and evolution which was not Judaeocentric. In his wake, Yahweh would be deconstructed, through the centuries, by a series of Jewish intellectuals, some religious, many not. A suite of competitive analyses generated schemes of redemption, in this world if not in the next. Visions of universal truth, culminating in Marxism, divinised History itself, which became a godless theodicy in which logic or 'the dialectic' held inexorable, impersonal sway. Dialectical materialism was only one of the ways of depersonalising the God that had failed and finding a governing principle less capricious, and more morally consequential, than *Tyche.* The desire for an overarching logic that applies to everything is often said to be the legacy of Greek 'science'; but the appetite for universal rules, and the belief that they can be divined by human intelligence, is an aspect of the Judaism which Joseph and his epigoni never abandoned. Even Ludwig Wittgenstein, born a Catholic and buried as one, due to the urgent appropriation of his corpse by Elizabeth Anscombe and her friends, conceded – rather late in his life – that his thought was '100% Hebraic'.

If I might be permitted a brief paddle in one of Josephus's lacunae, it would be to approach the figure of Tiberius Julius Alexander, Titus' chief of staff in the last stages of the siege of Jerusalem. Although he sounds like a typical Roman toff, Tiberius Julius was born a Jew, in Alexandria. The nephew of the great Philo, he abandoned Judaism as a young man and, without any sign of *états d'âme,* made a brilliant career in the Roman army and civil service. There is no evidence that his Jewish origins had the smallest adverse effect on his prospects or social standing. Josephus never indicates that he had any personal contact with Tiberius Julius, even though both were in Titus's inner circle. No proper scholar would dare to imagine what one might have said to the other, but it remains tempting to imagine the wholly assimilated, if possibly circumcised, Roman asking Joseph ben Mattathias why – since he was regularly greeted with execration by those inside Jerusalem when he sought to persuade them to come to terms – he did not renounce his doomed faith and become a wholeheartedly romanised citizen. It is a good question. Jews, of all kinds, have put it to themselves and each other for the last two thousand years.

Josephus the man, the exile, the traitor, the witness, the reasonable patriot, the pious Jew melts into and disappears into his textual persona. No one can say when he actually died or by what means. A modern novelist, if commissioned to supply a plausible, or ironic, end to his life might imagine that, like those who survived the concentration camps only to kill themselves many years later, he was borne down by the guilt of merely being alive when so many others were dead. The lure of suicide as a form of decisive autonomy, involving a man's own choice of how and when to end things, haunted Seneca, comforted Cicero and dignified Cato. The many instances in Josephus's books of Jews who preferred death to humiliation crowded his consciousness, if not his conscience. It is more likely that he sentenced himself to life. Alienation became his way of being at home with himself. Writing was the hard labour from which he sought no reprieve.

Josephus's transgression from Jerusalem to Rome would be imitated, *mutatis mutandis*, by any number of Diaspora Jews. Like Benjamin Disraeli, Heinrich Heine converted to Christianity in order to escape from the confinement of his horizon to the ghetto wall. He profited in terms of fame and fortune, but was never at ease with the price he had had to pay. During his last illness, someone asked him how he imagined that God would treat him. '*Il me pardonnera,*' said the dying poet. '*C'est son metier.*' Josephus was not an ironist of the same quality, nor did the unalloyed Yahweh specialise in letting people off. The author of *The Jewish War* more resembled the unredeemed 'hero' of Albert Camus' *Myth of Sisyphus*, which ends with words of cheerful despair: '*Il faut imaginer Sisyphe heureux*'. As he toiled on in support of what kept rolling back on him, are we permitted to imagine that Josephus endured his privileged penance, and his place in his own history, with at least a wry smile?

Table Manners in Greek Literature of the Imperial Era

Robin Nadeau

The way you eat and what you eat are both important identity markers. Eating in respect of some rule is a way to show social status. Very interestingly, table manners are a universal means of communication. Each society has its own ways and its own conception of what should be considered proper or improper, but these rules must be taught and be followed in some way or another. Over the course of this paper, I will discuss ways table manners were transmitted and rules followed in ancient Greece. I will focus on some specific rules addressed in Greek literature of the Imperial Era and mention briefly the question of the 'origins' of table manners in ancient Greece.

The Human Being is a Social Actor

Sharing food creates social ties but can also create conflicts. In society, individual greed and drives are controlled by a system of implicit and explicit rules that are transmitted through culture. Every society has rules that divide individuals into groups and create distinctions between those who follow the same rules and those who do not. But, if table manners discriminate and people must learn them at some point, they are rarely explicitly codified. That said, we must ask ourselves, from the outset, if the concept of 'table manners' can be transposed onto the Greco-Roman era, or if the notion is only applicable to our own conception of food consumption. For us, table manners concern not only the mere gesture and handling of food, but also the kind of discussion acceptable at mealtime, the proper way to greet, pay respect, behave, dress, present and choose the right menu, decorate the table and dining room, and so forth. In other words, the art of entertaining and behaving at mealtime is an essential component of a feast's success, today.

Like so, we can encounter a very similar conception of table manners in Greek literature, as we can see in the second book of *Table-Talk* when Plutarch describes the content of his work in these words:

> Examples of these [topics proper to the business of drinking-parties] were mixed together in my first book. To the first category belongs the conversation on philosophical talk at drinking-parties, that on the subject whether the host himself assigns places or allows the guests to take their own, and such matters; to the second category belongs the conversation on the poetical disposition of lovers and the one concerned with the *phyle* Ainatis. The first group indeed I also call specifically drinking-party topics [*συμποτικά*], but both together generally suitable table-talk [*συμποσιακά*]. (629d, trans. Clement)

Συμποτικά defines a concept that seems to correspond to our notion of 'table manners'.

Tact, diplomacy, courtesy, but also proper invitations, welcoming, assigning the suitable place to the right person, and the art of conversation are perennial concerns for hosts of all time periods, Greek authors of the Imperial era included. For instance for Plutarch, as stated by his character Lamprias (Plutarch's brother), the careful selection of guests is a central condition for the success of a dinner. Indeed, he says that it is a bad idea to invite too many persons at the same evening,[1] not only because one might run short on wine and food, but also because space and reclining places may be lacking. (*Table-Talk*, 678e-f.) Many smaller gatherings are instead suggested. A good host is someone who will carefully choose guests according to the theme of a *soirée*, and then invites only those who are directly concerned. (679a-e.) A smaller group is also a way to make sure that every guest is fully integrated in discussions:

> At my return from Alexandria all my friends by turns treated me, inviting all such too as were any way acquainted, so that our meetings were usually tumultuous and suddenly dissolved; which disorders gave occasion to discourses concerning the inconveniences that attend such crowded *symposia*. But when Onesicrates the physician in his turn invited only the most familiar acquaintance, and men of the most agreeable temper, I thought that what Plato (*Republic*, 423b) says concerning the increase of cities might be applied to *symposia*. For there is a certain number which a *symposium* may receive, and still be a *symposium*; but if it exceeds that, so that by reason of the number there cannot be a mutual conversation amongst all, if they cannot know one another nor partake of the same jollity, it ceaseth to be such. For we

[1] In some city states, the number of guests may be limited by law; there were even supervisors paid by the states who had the function of controlling the number of guests: Athenaeus, 6.245a-c.

> should not need messengers there, as in a camp, or boatswains, as in a galley; but we ourselves should immediately converse with one another. (678c-d, trans. Goodwin modif.)

In another important work on feasting in Greek Imperial literature, this feature is precisely the main attribute of the fellow eaters at Larensis' dinner in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*: all guests were selected for the extent of their knowledge. (1.2b.) Larensis' *symposium* is the archetype of what we mean by it in modern English: a gathering of scholars, but with food and drinks.

Aside from responsibilities regarding the planning of a feast, the elaboration of the menu, the host must never fail to make sure that discussions progress in a way that highlights each diner's reputation and ensures his pleasure and well-being. On this matter, we observe a fascinating parallel between today's etiquette and that of Plutarch's time. For example, nowadays, it is the job of the host to take control of conversation and prevent it from dying out, and to make sure that all the guests are always respected and included in the discussion.[2] Plutarch's conception of dinner conversation is quite the same:

> Of course for a group of men to say nothing at all, while stuffing themselves with food, would be downright swinish – perhaps even impossible. Still, one who permits conversation in a drinking-party, but makes no move to see that the conversation is orderly and profitable, is much more ridiculous than the man who approves of serving wine and dessert at dinner, but pours the wine unmixed and sets on food unseasoned and uncleaned. For no drink or food is so disagreeable or unwholesome, for lack of the right treatment, as is conversation that drifts about randomly and foolishly at a party. (*Table-Talk*, 716e, trans. Minar)

Sometimes, simply being polite is not enough; host and guests must make an effort and apply themselves for the success of the gathering by being sociable and open-minded.[3] In Lucian's *Symposium*, we have a good bad example, since the philosophers-dinners are driven by vanity, which, at the end, causes a huge fight.

Attributing reclining places is another important element of a Greek dinner to which the host is confronted, like modern feast organizers, particularly in official events. A guest may take offense if assigned a couch considered inappropriate for his social status.[4] It is then a delicate task for the host to assign reclined seats to guests according to a subjective evaluation of their social standing. Lucian's satire *The Symposium or the Lapiths*, 8-9, shows how well-educated men, who pretend to be sages, are directly in competition for honours within the Greek city and, therefore, within a *symposium* – not to mention rivalries amongst opposite schools of thought:

> 'By that time we had to take our places, for almost everyone was there. [...] Opposite the women, the first was Eucritus [banker, father of the groom], and then Aristaenetus [host, father of the bride]. Then a question was raised whether Zenothemis the Stoic should have precedence, he being an old man, or Hermon the Epicurean, because he was a priest of the Twin Brethren and a member of the leading family in the city. But Zenothemis solved the problem; "Aristaenetus," said he, "if you put me second to this man here – an Epicurean, to say nothing worse of him – I shall go away and leave you in full possession of your board". With that he called his attendant and made as if to go out. So Hermon said: "take the place of honour, Zenothemis; but you would have done well to yield to me because I am a priest, if for no other reason, however much you despise Epicurus". "You make me laugh," said Zenothemis, "an Epicurean priest!" With these words he took his place, and Hermon next to him, in spite of what had passed; then Cleodemus the Peripatetic; then Ion [Platonician], and below him the bridegroom [Chaireas, Ion's pupil], them myself [Lycinus]; beside me Diphilus [Stoic], and below him his pupil Zeno [son of Aristaenetus]; and then the rhetorician Dionysodorus and the grammarian Histiaenus.' (trans. Harmon)

Plutarch also knows that it can be tricky in his time to attribute the right place to the right person, especially in formal occasions. He mentions the case of a dinner held by his brother Timon where a distinguish guest refused to be a part of the gathering and went back home because he estimated that he was not allotted a place worthy of his social rank (*Table-Talk*, 615c-d). But, for informal meetings, Plutarch's brother suggests that close friends and relatives may take the place they want without any formal rules (616f-617a) and that solely a place of honour should be attributed to the *patriarch*, the host's father or grandfather, his uncle, or the most respected person in the family. (617d-e.) Finally, his brother Lamprias suggests placing guests according to affinities between them:

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[2] Denéchaud (2000) 197. On boring conversations: Athenaeus, 156b; 268d-e; 331c; 381f-382a.
[3] Plutarch, *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, 147e-f; Titus Flavius Clemens, *Paedagogus*, 2.60.1-5.
[4] Plutarch, *Table-Talk*, 617c-e; 615c-d; *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, 148e-149b.

> But I supply what suits him to the man who lacks it and invite him who is eager to learn to sit with a learned man, the gentle with the peevish, the young who like to listen with the old who like to talk, the reticent with the braggart, the calm with the irascible. And if by chance I see a guest who is rich and munificent, I shall rout out from some corner an honest poor man and introduce him, so that an outpouring from a full into an empty goblet may take place. (618d-e, trans. Clement)

The case is made for a more flexible attribution of places according to the context of the meal and to try to create dynamic interactions between guests. In sum, the art of hospitality entails complete devotion to the comfort, welfare and entertainment of each visitor.

Manuals on Table Manners

At social gatherings, all visitors are expected to respect rules and be on their best behaviour. This is the case for any form of social meeting, in every civilization and in all time periods. Table manners are transmitted by different intermediaries throughout one's childhood and life. Handbooks on good manners are one of these means. It seems that handbooks on table manners, well-known since the Renaissance in the Western world and studied by the sociologist Norbert Elias,[5] have a Greek precedent. Indeed, suitable table decorum is an important matter in ancient Greece too. It is possible to retrace the appearance of handbooks discussing table manners to the fourth century BCE, but, long before this date, good and bad behaviours in a dining context were already discussed in and taught through literature and oral education; it appears that authors tried to give advice and guidelines on how to behave at meal in the presence of others well before late Greek authors such as Plutarch, Atheneaus and Clement of Alexandria, or before Benedict of Nursia.

In book 5, 186b, of the *Deipnosophits*, Athenaeus mentions their existence:

> The philosophers also did their best to gather a group of young men and feast them in a prescribed way. Works on the rules for *symposia* [*συμποτικοί νόμοι*] were produced by Xenocrates of the Academy (fr. 50 Isnardi Parente), for example, as well as by Aristotle (fr. 467).[6] (trans. Olson)

This excerpt appears to establish the existence of these kinds of written rules during the fourth century BCE, giving us a *terminus ante quem*.[7] In Atheneaus, we also learn that the courtesan Gnathaena might have compiled a book of rules imitating those of the philosophers:

> Gnathaena was extremely witty and sophisticated in conversation, and composed a set of dinner-regulations [*νόμον συσσιτικὸν συνέγραψεν*], which her lovers were required to follow when they visited her and her daughter, in imitation of the philosophers who put together similar documents. Callimachus (fr. 433 Pfeiffer) catalogued it in the third tablet of his *Laws* and quoted its beginning, which is as follows: 'this set of regulations was drafted to be equitable and to apply to everyone; 323 lines long'.[8] (13.585b, trans. Olson)

Of course, the appearance of these handbooks does not coincide with the 'creation' of good table manners. In Sparta and Crete, a strict code of conduct for the obligatory common meals seems to have been well established and respected without written codifications.[9] Epic and lyric literature, as well as mythology in general, proposed manners to be adopted or rejected long before the publication of treatises on table manners. Some examples in the *Odyssey* are quite revealing, such as Polyphemus who never has been taught the principles of hospitality (that is to say welcoming and offering food to arriving strangers) and who his own guests. Another example comes in the story of the suitors, who deprive their host of his possessions through sumptuous meals without making the proper sacrifices and try to seduce his wife; they were subsequently executed. Odysseus told his adventures to the Phaeacians in return for being welcomed, bathed, rubbed with oil, clothed, fed, given drink, and honoured. These actions were compulsory and they represent the proper behaviour to the auditors of Homer's poetry.

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[5] Elias (2000 [1939]).

[6] See: Diogenes Laertius, 5.26.28.

[7] Well before chapters 31.12-32 and 32.1-13 of the *Book of Sirach*. Therefore, it is not the first handbook ever written on table manners: Schürmann (1994) 20-1.

[8] For a discussion: Nadeau (2010) 123-36.

[9] Athenaeus, 5.185f-186b. Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 10 and 12; Phylarchus, *FGrH* 81 F 44 *ap.* Athenaeus, 4.141f-142a; Antiphanus frag. 46 (K.-A.) *ap.* Athenaeus, 4.143a. For Crete: Plato, *Laws*, 1.625c-e; Dosiadas, *FGrH* 458 F 2 *ap.* Athenaeus, 4.143a-d; Pyrgion, *FGrH*, 319 F 1 *ap.* Athenaeus, 4.143e.

Hospitality is the most important value of the feast throughout the history of ancient Greece. In book 5, Athenaeus offers a comment to his correspondent Timocrates about the importance of taking care of every detail, presented by his character Masurius:

> Since we have completed such a long discussion of *symposia*, Timocrates, in the preceding books, but have omitted their most beneficial aspects, which do not burden the soul but benefit and nourish it like a great feast, and are the elements the divine Homer introduced into his poem, I will now recall what was said about these matters by the excellent Masurius. [...] The king of Lycia teaches us what a *symposium* given for strangers ought to be like by entertaining Bellerophon magnificently (*Iliad* 6.174): 'he entertained him for nine days and sacrificed nine bulls'. Because wine seems to draw people into friendship by warming and relaxing the soul. This is why they did not ask who their guests were immediately, but put this off until later, as if they were honouring the act of hospitality itself rather than particular people on an individual basis. (185a-c, trans. Olson)

The identity of the guests does not matter; the good host is he who respects the ancestral precepts of hospitality, like feeding and giving drink to guests without calculating the cost. The opposite would be rude.[10] Plutarch expressed exactly the same opinion, saying that one's host must take care of food, wine and discussions.[11] From Homer to Athenaeus, hospitality is rule number one. It seems then that never changed in ancient Greece.

Conclusion

Relatively few studies on Greek table manners exist, in contrast to the various studies by anthropologists and historians for other time periods. The state of the historical sources certainly has something to do with this. It is true that our knowledge of the first handbooks of table manners comes only from indirect sources of the Imperial era. It is then impossible to know the exact content of these manuals. Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* and Plutarch's *Table-Talk* are among the few sources that further our understanding of what was considered good and bad behaviour at mealtime from a Greek point of view of the Imperial era, or at least from the standpoint of the authors in question.

Pleasure and morality are not necessarily incompatible. But self-restraint can easily summarize the aim of good table manners. The feast is an important instance of delight in ancient societies, but pleasure can also be rapidly taken over by discomfort and discontent if certain basic rules are not respected. And it is precisely for this reason that rules are mandatory in this type of social gathering – when enjoyment must peacefully coexist with the natural need for food. Otherwise, pleasure is overtaken by chaos, as Lucian shows in his *The Symposium or the Lapiths*. When good manners are replaced by self-indulgence and vanity, the feast quickly degenerates. The individual must forget his own appetites and learn to share and be receptive to others' needs in order to create a pleasurable environment for all. In short, the *symposium* is a microcosm ruled by social conventions and courtesies. Hospitality, sharing, exercising self-control and good judgement, these are amongst universal values that were required throughout the history of the *symposium*.

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[10] Theophrastus, *Characters*, 22.4.
[11] Plutarch, *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, 154c; 158c; *Table-Talk*, 614e. See also: *Book of Sirach*, 31.23-4.

Galenic Times: Analysis and Discussion of a Unique Wellbeing Experiment

Patrick Ussher and Stefanie Metcalf

From the 13th to the 27th of February 2012, a trial run by students from the MA Food & Culture class asked participants to live with Galenic principles, of what we would now term 'preventative medicine', in mind. The suggested approach drew primarily on Galen's *De Sanitate Tuenda* (*On Looking After Health*). The spirit of this approach is best encapsulated in Galen's own words:

> After my 28th year from birth, having persuaded myself that there is a certain art, that of preserving one's health, I followed its precepts for all my subsequent life, so that I was no longer sick with any disease, except an occasional transient fever. And it is possible for anyone to guard his or her own health. (*Hygiene*, 188-189, trans. Green)

This report will first of all discuss the methodology employed and the statistical results of the trial (Section A) and will then explore comments and reflections made by the participants (Section B).

Section A

(1) Participants. Of the 46 who signed up for the trial, 23 returned completed workbooks of which 11 were students (S) and 12 were not students (NS). A 50% return rate for a two-week wellbeing experiment of this kind is more than encouraging, and quite a few of those who did not complete their workbooks followed the regimen for at least one week, before increased external pressures made the regimen difficult to adhere to. All participants were asked to choose a pseudonym and details for confidentially returning the workbooks were supplied. It should be noted that the participants formed part of a relatively biased sample, comprising mainly students, lecturers, and not many from those outside University. There was also a control group of 11 participants (7S, 4NS) who continued their normal lifestyle.

(2) Apparatus and Materials. All participants were supplied electronically with an 11-page *Instruction Booklet* which outlined the suggested framework for the Galenic approach. This focussed mainly on guidelines for the six-factors (food and drink; exercise; sleep; environment; mind; balance) which participants would be asked to follow over the two weeks. All participants were also supplied with a 22-page workbook which included tables for monitoring wellbeing (overall, mental and physical wellbeing; energy-levels) each day as well as space both for planning their regimen for each factor and for reflection on the Galen project as a whole. Participants were also asked to give an approximation for each of the wellbeing categories for the week prior to beginning the trial. A blog (<thegalenproject.wordpress.com>) was created and participants were encouraged to post, using a pseudonym, their reflections on a day-to-day basis. The control group was supplied with a smaller workbook with space only for monitoring wellbeing over two weeks.

(3) Analysis. The statistical results were compiled in a rather old-fashioned manner, without the aid of specialist software. Nevertheless, the calculations were checked and rechecked and indicate, I feel, that certain key conclusions can be drawn. A sample of the results is provided here, including one graph ('Cumulative Overall Wellbeing') for which see Fig. 1 below. In addition, participants, on a scale of 0-10 (where 0 = the most negative score; 10 = the most positive score), gave an average score of 6.95 for their wellbeing improvement; 8.35 for the importance of such a regimen; 8.5 for increased awareness of that which is beneficial/detrimental to wellbeing and 8.08 as an overall score for the Galenic approach. Furthermore, no participant said they would discontinue the programme, with 15 participants saying they would continue with their Galenic regimen and eight that they would continue 'with reservations'. Most said they would recommend the approach to others 'without reservations'. The rest of the quantitative data also suggests that the Galenic approach could offer a viable means for the promotion of wellbeing today, but for improvements that could be made, let us now turn to Section B.

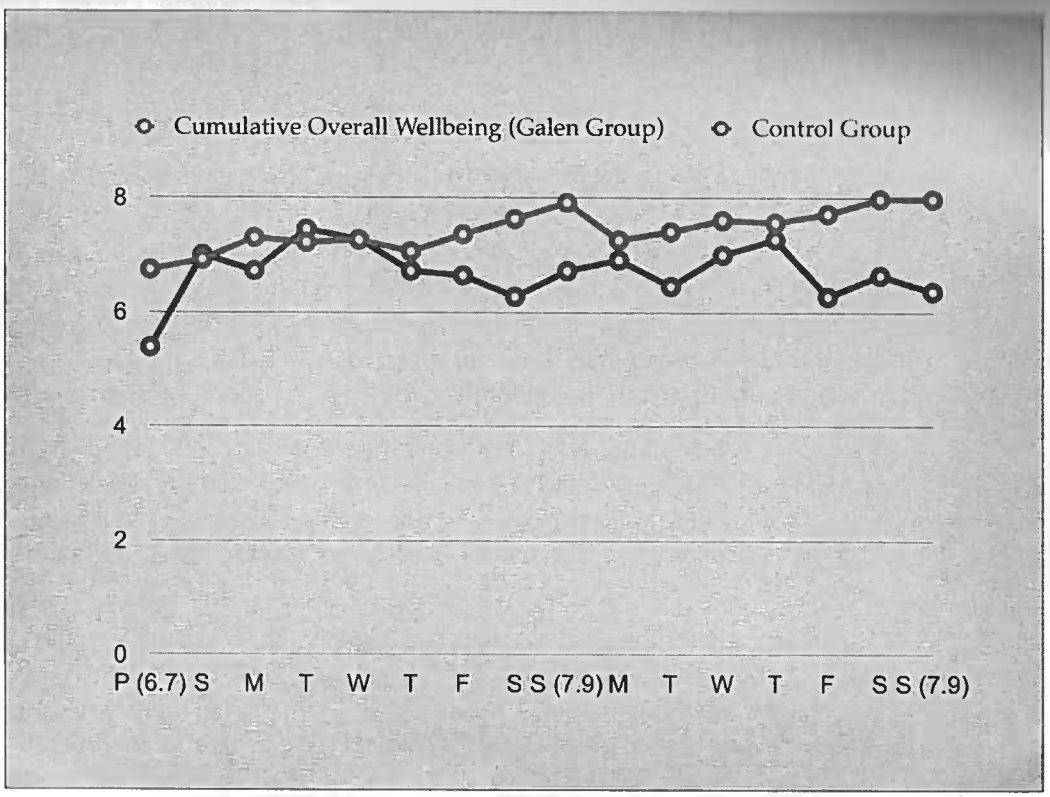

Figure 1[1]

Section B

The programme's holistic nature, 'touching virtually all dimensions of human existence' (Participant No. 19: Male, 29), was consistently regarded as its main strength. For example, Participant 5 (Female, 28) wrote: 'I really think that sometimes "we" in this society rely on one solution to help us, e.g. therapy or exercise. But I think the key is lifestyle. So much of our wellbeing comes from our overall activities.' P11 (F, 23) went further in stressing that the programme encouraged '... self-awareness, self-healing, preventative healing and an emphasis on improving all aspects of the mind, body and spirit – not just losing weight or exercising to promote good health'. Another strength that participants noted was the emphasis on the individual developing his or her *own* approach. P2 (F, 61) wrote '... it is not overly-prescriptive, it respects individual autonomy,' whilst P22 (F, 25) offered an alternative view when she wrote that: 'the strength is that it's personal ... its weakness might also be that it's personal, meaning that people might not set the right targets'. All in all, many participants had strong praise for the programme and did not feel there were significant weaknesses, concluding, for example, that 'everything that is included in these pages is a strength' (P18: F, 26), and that 'there are no real weaknesses in the programme. The weaknesses reside in our western lifestyles of indulgence and craving for pleasure. This makes it especially difficult and yet even more relevant to adhere to such principles and methods' (P1: M, 37). However, it is clear that there are key areas to improve before running such an experiment again.

A central difficulty, raised by participants, was how to adapt Galenic principles to the 21st century work environment. P19 (M, 29) wrote 'I think that our lives are quite different to those of ancient Romans – we have to work, and it is hard to find time to invest in ourselves, unless we are rich or have plenty of free time,' a sentiment echoed by P2 (F, 61) who talked of many professions today where it is '... well nigh impossible to be "less busy" simply because one would like to be'. Likewise P14 (F, 71) felt that the programme's main weakness 'would be to fit into a busy working schedule,' though she noted it would be much easier for the retired. Further perceived weaknesses were a lack of advice on how to approach 'illness, excessive stress or crisis' (P12: F, 57), and a warning against placing Galen on some kind of pedestal (P18: F, 26). On this last point, it will be particularly important to stress that, although the approach is informed by Galen, it is very much in the Galenic 'spirit' rather than to the 'letter'. As P18 wrote: '... we wouldn't want to follow every bit of Galen's advice. Everything ... here is sensible and chimes with modern advice, but we couldn't say the same for every single bit of advice prescribed by Galen.' In line

[1] 'P' = 'previous week' (a single overall score for the whole week before the experiment: Monday 6th – Sunday 12th), the first 'S' = Sunday 12th February (the day before the start of the experiment), the first 'M' = Monday 13th, etc. The number in brackets after 'previous week', Sunday 19th and Sunday 26th is the average wellbeing of the Galen Group at these points.

with this, one participant queried a cornerstone of Galen's science: the claim that living *in accordance with nature* is always akin to living healthily. She (P8: F, 59) observed: 'Nature may well "know best" but it can be pretty drastic and may be used as a common sense, rather than a thought out, response'. On this, we should also note Wilkins: 'Galen's natural system is not ours, and is no longer sustainable. Disease is no longer unnatural, nor does "Nature" do things always for the best. A virus is as "natural" as a human being.'[2] If the Galenic approach is to be translated into modern-mainstream (as opposed to purely 'alternative') healthcare, it will need to transfer the *essence* of what Galen meant by following 'nature'.

The Galenic programme requires most improvement in areas beyond the questions of the individual. Strict adherence to such a regimen might include, first of all, the possibility of becoming a 'party-pooper', which is not desirable. It is, indeed, difficult to follow such a regimen *all* the time. P4 (F, 63) had excellent advice in this regard, which could be stressed in future: 'one point about such a regimen is that although one can't and probably shouldn't keep to it rigidly. By following it most of the time, and not worrying if there are times when it goes off the parameters, the lapses do not upset the deeply engrained balance which has built up.' But perhaps the most significant area for improvement would come from emphasizing the unselfish basis of the Galenic approach. In essence, it is a kind of 'responsible citizenship' where the individual recognizes that his or her wellbeing is beneficial for family, friends and society in general. As one blogger, called John W, noted, the approach is '... for the whole person, body and soul, and to maintain you as a citizen of the world and a part of nature'. However, as this aspect was not clearly stressed in the documentation, the Galenic approach was considered as selfish by a few of the participants. For example, P6 (M, 63) wrote that the programme's '... great weakness is the common weakness of all health improvement programmes, i.e. that it tends to have an individualized, introspective approach, as opposed to an environmental action, collective perspective'; P8 (F, 59) that 'Galen's focus is more or less exclusively with the individual' and P3 (F, 55) that 'I don't like ... the navel-gazing. Even though the "environment" strand is somewhat outward looking, I have problems with the individualised approach. Maybe Galen had a very socially integrated life, and he took this as read, but the approach of the regimen feels like sociability and interaction isn't central to a healthy, balanced life – and I think this is wrong.' All of these criticisms of the programme are very important and valid, and call for the social implications (at both familial and societal levels) of following the programme to be clearly emphasized and further developed. The blog gave interesting perspectives on this, with one blogger (Mensana, February 22nd) posting that, in comparison with the tragic events in Syria, 'a personal health regimen seems self-indulgent in comparison'. To this John W responded: 'we need a balanced political approach to life and the economy just like the Syrians need it. Balance in the body and balance in the city is at the heart of Galen's thinking.' This short exchange highlights the importance of living a healthy life for the benefit of your own society (and as an example to other societies). The stakes are too high for any fears that following such a regimen could be conceived of as *smugly elitist*. We need only consider the government-commissioned *Foresight* report which predicts that over half of UK adults will be obese by 2050, and the report by the *World Health Organization* which predicts that, by 2020, depression will be the second biggest contributor to the 'global burden of disease'.[3] By really stressing the societal, 'responsible citizenship', aspect of the Galenic approach, it would stand out from other wellbeing programmes whose focus is arguably narrower.

In conclusion, Galen might have been long dismissed for quite a few of his medical theories, but he has left behind a very important framework for preventative medicine, the relevance of which today is most pressing. The Galenic programme adds to the debate on health-care ubiquitously, and it is a debate from which no one can be left out. What do you, the reader, think about the Galenic approach? How would you improve it? How would you like to see it (or approaches similar to it) implemented on a larger scale? How could such an approach complement (not threaten) the NHS? How would you convey the idea of *following nature* today? You can find the web link below both for the original programme guidelines and for the full version of this report. An opinion piece by Stefanie Metcalf, a Food & Culture student who also helped in designing the programme, follows. Do get in touch with your own ideas about the Galenic programme and where it could go from here!

*The above section, by **Patrick Ussher**, is an abridged version of the full Galen Report. To read the full report, the original guidelines, and also more on what the University of Exeter is doing on the 'Ancient Healthcare and Modern Wellbeing' theme, see: <blogs.exeter.ac.uk/ancienthealthcare>. Email Patrick (pu203@exeter.ac.uk) with any ideas or suggestions for the Galenic approach.*

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[2] Wilkins, J. (forthcoming) *Galen on Good Health*: p. 143. This chapter, 'Galen and Our World', is currently available at: <blogs.exeter.ac.uk/ancienthealthcare>.

[3] <who.int/mental_health/management/depression/definition/en>.

Response to the Experiment by Stefanie Metcalf

For this project we were asked to think about how we lead our day-to-day lives and consider what we would change during the two weeks. Our workbook highlighted the six factors which promoted well-being: food and drink, exercise, environment, sleep, mental wellbeing and balance. The concept of the project was hard to explain, not only to those who might be interested in participating, but to those who were witnesses to our lifestyle changes. It seemed difficult to comprehend that it was not about following a 'diet' in the modern sense of the word and was not focussed on weight loss, but rather it concentrated on making changes to the way we live our lives.

Nevertheless it did seem the perfect opportunity to take a good look at my diet. The guidelines advised we choose foods on the basis that they were nourishing, healthy, strengthening and promoted longevity only – indeed a difficult task! I decided to experiment with cous cous, pearl barley, chick peas, rice or lentils in the place of carbohydrates which I found heavy, like potato, pasta and bread. In considering meat in my diet I realised I didn't eat it often anyway and did not miss it – this was a food that was probably as 'moderate' as it needed to be. Chocolate and cakes were ruled out, even though many a friend attempted to argue a kind of 'everything in moderation' interpretation. I wanted to see how much I could manage to cut out these kinds of snacks (I avoid the use of the word 'food' here as they are deemed unnecessary according to Galen), especially as I do consume them on a regular basis and sometimes without any thought, perhaps just through habit. In short, I wanted to be harsh on myself and seeing it as a kind of challenge may have made me interpret Galen's advice in a different way to other participants.

I am not a coffee drinker but my regular Yorkshire Tea was replaced by a caffeine free fruit alternative. I was expecting to miss tea but I realised I was not craving the taste, rather I missed the experience of making and drinking tea, often a marker of sitting down to do some reading, or coming home and relaxing. Also it was hard to remember to replace the liquids which I would usually consume by drinking tea so I had to make more of a conscious effort to keep hydrated.

The first few days of the Galen lifestyle I began to feel sleepy just after lunch and I put this down to an absence of my usual post-lunch tea. On these occasions energy levels were only compensated by a good nap during which I slept very deeply and was left feeling refreshed and rested. It did make me think about how much we rely on constant caffeine hits throughout the day and how this plays with our natural energy levels. Our bodies rely on these substances to function but it is clear that without them we can still get through the day.

Being accustomed to eating something sweet after lunch and dinner, cutting this out was tough, but inevitably I did lose some weight because of this. The problem is made worse by the kinds of foods which are made easily available to us. For example, the University campus' shops mostly offer chocolate bars, muffins, sweets or sugary flapjacks. The main campus shop has now opened just opposite from the main Library: the shelves are loaded with chocolate bars, energy drinks and sweets. The suggestion is that the answer to hunger or tiredness is sugar or caffeine and any other alternative is hard to find. This is just one example of our 'quick-fix' lifestyle where a sugar hit will quickly take care of hunger or low energy levels but will not actually nourish us or provide long term benefits – quite the opposite. It became clear that the diet required that we were more *organised* about what we would eat, making us think ahead about where we would be at mealtimes and what kind of food might be on offer. For those who are not used to preparing all their own meals, or have no time, this might have caused some bother. I made sure to carry a handy pack of oatcakes around with me, or an apple.

The exercise aspect to my regime did not change significantly. Living in a small and hilly city, the daily routine already consisted of a 15-20 minute walk up the hill to the University campus and the return journey. I only added an additional walk into town or evening stroll every other day for some extra fresh air and variation – all important factors for mental wellbeing too.

A difficult part of this lifestyle was its application in social situations. Within the two weeks of the project there was Pancake Day and the birthday meal of a friend, both examples where there is a focus on tasty food. Choosing the least indulgent or the moderate option was the best I could do. Also there was the issue of social drinking. Going out with friends to sit and relax in a pub is a mode of social interaction where we will all partake in a common practice of drinking and chatting. Stopping to ask 'do I *need* another glass of wine?' or 'how will this pint of beer benefit my health?' is an interruption to such a social situation and creates a sense of imbalance. Drinking minimally while those around you lean towards excess is a frustrating position. Of course following Galen's advice it was usually during these moments that I realised it was definitely time to go home anyway in order to get the right amount of sleep!

The approach towards taking more care of our mental wellbeing was a welcome one. We were asked to think about what we 'consumed' with our minds, the music we listened to, the videos and films we watched and the books or articles we read. It sounds so obvious but using a computer all day, checking our phones and looking at Facebook even before we have washed our own faces is a hindrance to the natural flow of thoughts and ideas. Most calming was putting my phone on silent and only checking emails and Facebook at certain times of the day. It is interesting how our minds have become accustomed to doing more than one thing at once and receiving multiple types of information at any given time. It was surprising how difficult it was to concentrate solely on one thing; I recognized that my ability to focus is really poor. Also I always put on music while I am in my room: getting ready in the mornings, while I am writing emails or tidying or clearing up. This usually involves switching on my computer so I tried to delay this until after breakfast and allowed some quiet in the mornings. It was a very calming experience starting the day with just my thoughts instead of loud music or news stories; this allowed me to think clearly about what the day would bring, and to get on with my tasks more easily. I also found that bringing more order to my 'environment', that is, by tidying my room for example, it helped me to concentrate better and feel a little calmer.

I looked forward to the meditation and the idea of reflecting upon our day but did not anticipate how difficult this would be either. Again, switching off one's brain and clearing it of unwanted thoughts is immensely difficult and this made me rather frustrated. Attending a meditation session which was linked with the project certainly helped, but just as one fellow participant reminded me – people spend their lives practicing meditation. Again here I was expecting immediate results which we are so used to achieving in the modern world.

It was certainly an advantage that the project was carried out at a time when my work schedule was least busy – I would not have managed as well if there had been deadlines and assessments. I know my own body's reaction to stress tends towards an immediate craving for sugary foods which I was able to avoid without much fuss during those calmer weeks. Also, currently a student, I know that I would have had more difficulty following my regime in the workplace as many participants are shown to have noted in the analysis.

I was very glad to have participated in the project: I think it would be a positive idea to repeat a similar kind of 'lifestyle review' on a yearly basis. The Galen lifestyle might not work in the way so many fad diets do these days because when you break it down it is an obvious way to lead life! Of course we should be getting a moderate amount of sleep, of fresh air, of exercise and of course we should be eating nourishing staples and a small amount of richer meats and desserts. So why don't we? The problem is that this advice will be beneficial on a long-term basis and all aspects of our modern day life concentrate on immediate solutions and results. Some people felt that the regime is very self orientated, which can be considered both positive and negative. In this sense for me the problem was not that I was the only one following my regime, but that others had no concept of how to relate to it. Perhaps people were unsure how to react to the way I was conducting my life for those two weeks because our approach to health, wellbeing and general positive living as an individual and as a society as a whole is so fragmented.

During the project I was reminded that excesses give rise to other excesses in life: working too hard makes us want to spend more money, or go out more, which can cause us to develop irregular patterns of sleeping and eating – it is a vicious circle and Galen naturally advises against excess and imbalance of anything. Could we turn this around and say that bringing balance to one part of our life encourages calm and balance in other aspects of our life? We were asked to address all six factors at the same time, but perhaps there could be an argument that it was too much to deal with all at once, especially if big changes were needed. I believe that it would still be beneficial to begin by applying some moderation and order to one aspect of our life at a time. If we feel more in control of the needs of our own body and our surroundings then we can proceed in a direction which encourages us to bring a balanced approach to all aspects of our lifestyle and wellbeing as a whole.

Most of all, the Galen project encouraged us to slow down, take a step back and look at how we lead our lives, something which we all need to do once in a while.

Dr. Lawrence Shenfield Prize, 2012

Pegasus is extremely grateful to have received a generous bequest from Dr. Lawrence Shenfield, which has been matched by the College of Humanities. To honour Larry's memory, for the fourth year running we are awarding £50 for the best undergraduate submission. After a very difficult decision, the judging panel are pleased to award the fourth annual Dr. Lawrence Shenfield Prize to Marion Osieyo, a final year BA Classical Studies student. Also highly recommended were submissions by Jolyon Drew and Hannah Oldham; these runner-up submissions can be found on our website: <projects.exeter.ac.uk/pegasus>.

Double Jeopardy: Natal-Marital Conflict in Greek Myth and Society

Marion Osieyo

Unlike today's society, ancient Greek society had no 'single well defined legal form' of marriage.[1] The process involved the physical union between male and female and the transferral of the female from one male *kyrios* (father) to another male *kyrios* (husband) for the purpose of producing (male) heirs for the husband. Marriage was also a necessary process in Greek society as a rite of passage for women. The transferral of the woman from her father to her husband symbolised her transformation from a girl to woman via the sexual union between husband and wife. For example, in the myth of Medea, Alcinous states that if Medea is a virgin, she must return back to her father, but if she is not, she must remain with Jason. Therefore it is in the sexual union of the two that, Arete 'quickly married Medea to Jason'.[2]

The transferral of the female from her father to her husband during marriage also meant that her obligations were to be transferred from her natal family to her marital family. The female in marriage was an object to ensure an alliance between two households or a means to produce offspring for the husband's lineage. It is in her lack of choice that Greek society identifies the conflict marriage brings in the involuntary separation of the female from her natal household to her marital household. As a result of this involuntary separation, her obligations still lie with her natal family. In this essay, I argue that the women in the myths discussed preserve a stronger affiliation to their natal households, and this creates conflict between male and female which leads to the potential destruction of the marital household. From this natal-marital conflict we can reach a better understanding of gender conflict in Greek myth and more importantly in Greek society. I focus on the myths of Medea, Hermione, Althaea and Persephone as they enable for a wider discourse on the potential situations that can arise from the natal-marital kin conflict.

In the myth of Medea, she promises to help Jason yoke the bulls of her father Aeetes and attain the Golden Fleece 'both without her father's knowledge, if he could swear to marry her and take her with him on the return voyage to Greece'.[3] This is not typical of a Greek marriage because she constructs the marital contract and so takes the place of her father in the marital process. Later on in their 'marriage' Medea accuses Jason of breaking their oath when he decides to remarry the princess of Corinth, Glauce.

In choosing to remarry, Jason leaves Medea in a difficult situation. In Euripides' version of the myth, Medea enters the stage saying, 'I am alone, I have no city; now my husband insults me. I was taken as plunder from a land at the earth's edge. I have no mother, brother, nor any of my own blood to turn to in this extremity.'[4] Jason defends his decision that he is in fact doing this for the interests of his *oikos*, 'so that we should live well and not be poor'.[5] This is a common feature of all the myths that involve natal-marital conflict. The patriarchal Greek society overlooks the potential danger of gender conflict in a marriage and focus on how marriage benefits male relations in the community. Thus Jason ignores the potential conflict that his marriage to Glauce brings to his marriage with Medea because his new marriage means that he has acquired royal ties and a respectable status in the community. Helene Foley supports this conflict of interests in a marriage between male and female referring to studies that show women 'define themselves ... especially by their positions in a family group; when faced with difficult decisions,

[1] Vernant (1974) 45.
[2] Apollodorus, 1.9.25 (trans. Simpson).
[3] Apollodorus, 1.9.23 (trans. Simpson).
[4] Euripides, *Medea*, 1.254-256 (trans. Vellacott).
[5] Euripides, *Medea*, 1.560-561 (trans. Vellacott).

men by contrast tend to define themselves to a greater degree by bonds outside the family'.[6] The natal-marital conflict then is helpful in revealing differences in marital objectives between the genders.

In some versions of the myth the Corinthians kill Medea's children out of punishment, and in others she kills them herself. Monica Cyrino claims that maternal filicide is a result of different causes which doctors refer to as the '"matrix of depravation": [sexual] abandonment, loss of natal family, jealousy felt as sibling rivalry, and a thwarted protective maternal instinct'.[7] How does one's abandonment by her partner in a marriage lead to her murdering her own children? Cyrino argues that in a need to reconcile herself to her husband, the only avenue she has is through 'shared grief when she murders their children'.[8]

I argue, however, that Medea kills her own children to sever any marital ties she has with her marital household. On several occasions she recalls the sacrifices she made to be with Jason, mainly betraying her natal family and it is this longing for her natal family, and more over her position in a natal family as unmarried daughter, that leads her to destroy the marital household. If her motive was to hurt Jason, it would have been easier to kill Jason directly as opposed to killing the royal family and her two children. Cyrino compares the myth of Medea to a Southwest American folklore character, La Llorona (The Weeping Woman), who rejects her natal (Indian) family to marry a Spanish conquistador, and has two sons with him. She is eventually abandoned by him for a wealthy Spanish woman; out of revenge, La Llorona kills her two sons, and dies of grief.[9] Aside, from the similar sequence of events, both narratives reflect the detachment of the women from their natal families who, when abandoned by their marital spouses, attempt to revert back to their initial social positions as unmarried daughters by killing their children.

Pucci views Medea's murders as 'an act of self-punishment, or as the ritual sacrifice which transforms her from human to divine'.[10] In order to rebut this theory we should consider the dramatic escape of Medea. Medea leaves Corinth in a chariot provided by the sun god Helios, who is also her grandfather. This is a significant fact which helps to support my argument that the tension between a female's natal and marital obligations could potentially destroy her marital household. The fact that Medea's grandfather assists her, despite Medea having killed her brother, emphasises the power of the female's natal bonds in Greek society. This is used to great effect to contrast the destroyed marital bond of Jason and Medea. Thus, Medea's acts of filicide are not an attempt to punish herself but to return back to her natal role. Medea's escape is to Athens where she marries Aegeus.[11] This bears a striking resemblance to the transferral of marriage from father to husband, except this time it is the grandfather, Helios, who transfers Medea to her new marital household.

Similarly, the myth of Hermione is another example where a female's natal affiliations are problematic to her marital household. Andromache is given as a concubine to Achilles' son, Neoptolemus, after the Trojan War. After giving birth to Neoptolemus' son, she and her child are persecuted by Neoptolemus' wife, Hermione, who being childless herself, wants them dead. Hermione is helped by 'her father, Menelaus, and the two together almost succeed in their murderous aims'.[12] The natal affiliation this time is counteracted by Peleus, Neoptolemus' aged grandfather, who arrives in time to prevent the murder of the concubine and the son.

Like Medea, we find a strong connection between the woman and her natal family. Hermione's power in the marital household is threatened by Andromache's fertility. Her objectives are aided by her own father, who is willing to help jeopardise the lineage of Neoptolemus in killing Andromache and her son. Unlike the myth of Medea, the interference of natal affiliations is mediated this time by the Peleus, who as grandfather of Neoptolemus and the great grandfather of Molossus, has a vested interest to protect his heir. Despite the murder and destruction of the household being prevented, the natal-marital conflict in this myth is not solved in any way. There is no mediation or resolution of the natal-marital conflict, but simply a type of equilibrium in which the negative act is a counteracted by an opposing force. The gender conflict created as a result of the female's natal affiliation is still not resolved.

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[6] Foley (1994) 115.
[7] Cyrino (1996) 1-2.
[8] Euripides, *Medea*, 1.1361-1362.
[9] Cyrino (1996) 2.
[10] Cyrino (1996) 3, summarising Pucci (1980) 131-67.
[11] Apollodorus, 1.9.28.
[12] March (1998) 49.

This conflict is explored again in the myth of Althaea, when her son, Meleager, kills his uncles in a quarrel for the skin of a sacred boar belonging to Artemis. In Hyginus' account of the myth, Althaea, 'in her desire to avenge the wrongs done to her brothers, killed her son'.[13] Thus, in the conflict between whether to avenge her brothers' deaths or refrain from revenge and allow her son to live and continue the lineage of her marital household, Althaea chooses the former. Despite the transferral of the female from her father's *kyrios* to her husband's, her obligations still lie with her natal family. This, I argue, is because of the involuntary separation in the transferral of the woman from her father to her husband. As a result, the natal bond creates conflict in the gender relations between the husband and wife because she is still psychologically attached to her natal family, and so places her natal obligations above her marital obligations. In the case of Althaea and Medea, they destroy the lineage of their husbands and effectively their marital households. In contrast to Althaea, Medea uses her natal affiliations so that she is able to purposely evade the repercussions of her crimes. This tells us that the Greeks were aware of the ability of a married woman's natal affiliations to subvert the institutions within their society; not just the marriage institution but, in Medea's case, the institution of justice.

So how did Greek myth and moreover, Greek society, mediate the female's natal-marital conflict that threatened to destroy the marital household and the community? Let us consider the myth of Demeter.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, is 'seized' by Aidoneus to be his bride. Similar to the Greek marriage process, it is Persephone's father, Zeus, who 'gave her' to the groom, but this time the problem lies with the fact it was 'without the consent of Demeter', Persephone's mother.[14] This is a contrast to the representation of the marriage process amongst mortals in Greek myths, in the sense that in mortal marriages the mother hardly features in the transferral of the daughter between one male *kyrios* and another. The conflict is finally resolved when the gods intervene and Persephone returns to Demeter. However, Persephone's consumption of the seed before she leaves her husband's *kyrios* means that she must return to Aidoneus for one third of the year. The natal bond in this hymn is stronger than her marital bond, such that the separation of the woman from her natal household almost threatens to destroy not just one household, like in the other myths, but the entire cosmos through the famine that Demeter causes.[15] Demeter, after discovering that her daughter has disappeared, goes in to mourning. At the house of Metainera, she covers her face with a veil, 'voiceless with grief ... unsmiling, tasting neither food nor drink'.[16] To the female's natal family, marriage is perceived as a death when the daughter is transferred to her husband's *kyrios*. The sexual union solidifying the female's obligation to her husband's *kyrios* is symbolically represented as the honey-sweet pomegranate seed which Aidoneus gives to Persephone. Later on in the narrative, when Persephone retells her ordeal, she emphasizes her reluctance at receiving this seed which represents her marital role, saying, '[he] compelled me against my will and by force to taste it'.[17]

This myth shows a negative reception of the marriage process from the female perspective of mother and daughter. It is the female's lack of choice in the marriage process that instigates the conflict between the natal and marital households. This natal-marital conflict stands in opposition to the marital kinship relations, and results in an abnormal living arrangement within the marriage of Persephone and Aidoneus; the daughter spends more time in her natal household than in her marital household. One could argue that this inversion of the marriage transferral in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* could mean that Greek society believed that a matrilocal living structure was most suitable for marriage. Warner, Lee and Lee argue that a 'patrilocal residence isolates the woman as opposed to matrilineal residence where the woman lives with her kin, and the man also has strong interest to take care of kin who will ensure "progeny of his group"'.[18] Despite not having children with Persephone, Aidoneus illustrates a particular interest in mediating the tension between the marriage and Persephone's natal household. He not only concedes to the living arrangement but verbally emphasises his willingness to reconcile the conflict created from the marriage.[19] He acts like a husband living in a matrilocal social structure whose social harmony with the natal household would be integral to the continuance of his lineage.

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[13] Hyginus, *Stories*, 171 (trans. Trzaskoma, Smith and Brunet).
[14] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1.2-4 (trans. Foley).
[15] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1.310-313.
[16] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1.197-200 (trans. Foley).
[17] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1.413 (trans. Foley).
[18] Warner, Lee, Lee (1986) 123.
[19] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 360-363.

However, the myths of Althaea, Medea and Andromache do not show a reconstruction of society from a patrilocal to a matrilocal system as a solution to the natal-marital conflict. If the return of Persephone to her natal household does not tell us that the Greeks perceived a matrilocal structure to be the solution in alleviating the tension between a female's natal-marital obligations, what does it tell us about how they mediated this conflict? The answer, I believe, can be found in one of the Greek rituals associated with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

Myth and ritual are integrally linked in the sense that they are different expressions of the same ideas, fears and tensions of Greek society. They are both collectively created narratives that serve to highlight and define society's identity through the issues expressed. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* makes an attempt to resolve the natal-marital conflict when Persephone returns to her marital household every year. A similar structure is found in the festival, the Thesmophoria, in which the 'citizen women and their daughters celebrate their relationship with each other and their affinity with the productiveness of nature'.[20] In addition, festivals such as the Thesmophoria were often exclusive to females and, according to Foley, 'they were permitted an exceptional autonomy – to act, speak, and drink in ways not permitted to them in ordinary life'.[21] Thus within their society, the Greeks create a female exclusive space, similar to the matrilocal space in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, in which the tensions and fears of the natal household and the wife towards the husband are collectively expressed and shared within the females in society. Parallel to the annual return of Persephone to her mother, the Thesmophoria and similar festivals would have taken place on an annual basis and, in allowing the female to 'control [these] civic spaces',[22] the patriarchal society attempted to mediate and counterbalance the lack of authority women possessed in the marriage rite and in society. Lin Foxhall agrees, stating that that these festivals and their rituals show that the female's bond to her natal family is not severed after marriage, but like the myth of Demeter, they 'parallel the "real" reunions of mothers and daughters at the women's festivals'.[23] The myths of Althaea, Medea, and Andromache lack this mediation of the tensions for the woman who is forced in to a marital role and is isolated emotionally and psychologically from her natal household. Thus the reconciliation with her natal household can only happen at the expense of her marital household.

From the myths discussed, one can reach several conclusions about Greek society. They tell us that the Greeks were aware of the potential conflict that arose from the female's involuntary separation when she was transferred from her father's household to her husband's. The involuntary separation of the female from her natal family meant that she still had a preoccupation with her natal household and was still psychologically and emotionally attached to her natal household. This conflict, when not mediated, resulted in the potential destruction of the marital household, and would hinder the patriarchal objectives of the marriage institution. This tells us that Greek society perceived the female's natal bond to be a threat to her marital obligation to her husband. The mediation of this conflict was done through myth as well as associated rituals and festivals. Female exclusive civic rites and spaces gave women power to express these tensions, and enabled the patriarchal Greek society to control the expression of these tensions in a closed environment. In conclusion, the myths and related rituals exploring the natal-marital conflict in marriage highlighted the conflict of obligations for the female, and in exploring this, Greek society was able to turn this potentially destructive conflict in to a socially collective experience.

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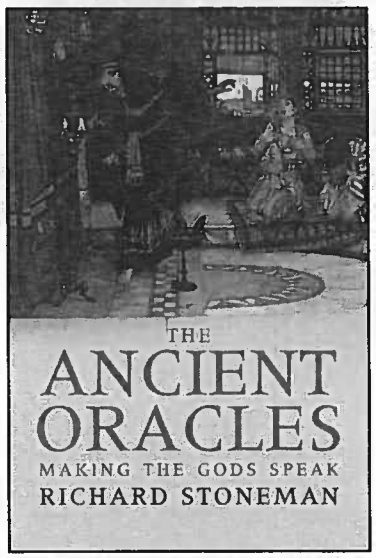
[20] Dowden (1992) 162.
[21] Foley (1994) 74.
[22] Foley (1994) 75.
[23] Foxhall (1995) 107.

Book Reviews

Richard Stoneman, *The Ancient Oracles: Making the Gods Speak*

Yale University Press, 2011. Pp. 288. Hardback, £25.00.
ISBN: 978-0300140422.



Trevor Curnow

The subject of oracles is a fascinating and fertile one. On the one hand there is a wealth of material available, on the other there are such massive gaps in our knowledge that there remains plenty of room for speculation. This book by Richard Stoneman contains plenty of both material and speculation, and anyone interested in oracles is bound to find something of value in it. In terms of material, it is wide-ranging. Although its primary focus is on the ancient Greek world, that is interpreted relatively liberally, and forays outside it also occur. In terms of speculation, that is not lacking either. A question that runs throughout the book is *why* the ancient Greeks consulted oracles, and there are plenty of possible answers to that one, although I am not convinced that introducing evolutionary psychology (pp. 19-20) adds as great deal of value to the debate.

In order to begin the debate, Stoneman needs to address the question of what a Greek oracle is: 'What is distinctive about Greek oracles (and some Babylonian and Egyptian ones) is that the answer to the question is given as words of the god' (p. 15). This is not a good beginning, for a variety of reasons. First, there was not always a question. This was especially the case with some of the healing oracles. Second, not all Greek oracles belonged to gods. Some of the most famous ones belonged to heroes such as Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and there were also oracles of the dead. Third, not all oracles spoke, let alone in hexameter verse. In many cases we simply do not know how an oracle worked, but we also know of cases like the oracle of Demeter at Patrae where the means of communication was visual rather than verbal. All of these facts Stoneman not only knows but actually mentions. It is therefore surprising that he makes such a broad claim that the available evidence so obviously fails to support.

When it comes to what an oracle did, Stoneman suggests (p. 44) that they made 'statements about the future'. But again, the evidence does not stack up. He points out (p. 61) that the oracle of Zeus at Dodona was often asked about things that had been stolen. Such enquiries were about who *had done* something, not about who *would do* something. Their temporal reference is clearly to the past rather than to the future. One of the problems with the evidence from Dodona is that we have many questions but few answers. But many enquirers are clearly looking for nothing more than advice. Should I follow this trade? Should I marry this person? Should I move to that place?

Much play is made of the ambiguity of oracular pronouncements, but this aspect of oracular activity is considerably exaggerated. Many of the enquiries put to Zeus at Dodona invite simple 'yes' or 'no' answers. And if a dissatisfied customer complained that he had been advised to marry a particular woman who turned out to be a bad wife, Zeus could always reply that *not* marrying her would have turned out far worse! The counterfactual conditional is a powerful tool in the armoury of advisors everywhere.

It is easy to be bedazzled by the stories told about Delphi, but its great fame may have made it in many ways the exception rather than the rule, at least as far as Greek oracles were concerned. Its famed ambiguity may have been nothing more enigmatic than an attempt to protect its reputation and hedge its bets. When Croesus was famously told that if he attacked Persia a great empire would fall (p. 41), was the oracle at Delphi doing anything more profound than shrewdly predicting that the outcome of the war was unlikely to be a stalemate?

Although not all oracular pronouncements tempted fate, some clearly did, and the discussion of what ancient philosophy made of this makes for one of the more successful chapters in the book. Stoneman also helpfully explains how the use of oracles changed over time, and especially during Late Antiquity, so that they came to be seen as a source of theological and philosophical revelation. As such they clearly became a target for Christians who had their own, and not very inclusive, views on the subject of revelation.

It has to be said that the scholarship of the book is somewhat uneven, and there are a few surprising gaps. On the one hand, there is an impressively extensive bibliography, but on the other, for example, Stoneman declares himself 'unable to verify' the existence of a number of oracles (p. 232). However, simple internet searches rapidly throw up a number of references that would immediately have pointed him in obvious and fruitful directions.

There is also one inexplicable and horrendous factual howler, to which Stoneman unfortunately draws particular attention (pp. 29-30, 232-233). Unable to find any reference to an oracle at Argos, he does find a reference to one at Larissa, which he then chooses to criticise others for managing to overlook. However, the passage in Pausanias that he cites (2.24.1) is clearly talking about the Larissa that is the hill above Argos, *not* the Thessalian town of Larissa that lies over 200 km away. The hill above Argos is still called Larissa, and there are significant archaeological remains at the site of the ancient oracle. Quite how he manages to make this fundamental mistake is puzzling, given his obvious familiarity with Pausanias.

To return to the question Stoneman poses in his first chapter, 'why did the Greeks consult oracles?', there are many possible answers. At one level, the answer is that the oracles clearly worked. For hundreds of years, in scores of places, thousands of people came away with what they were looking for. In many cases, I suspect little more was sought than reassurance. In other cases, something else was required, such as information, advice, healing or predictions. So did people always get what they wanted? Of course not! Then how did the oracles survive so long if they let people down?

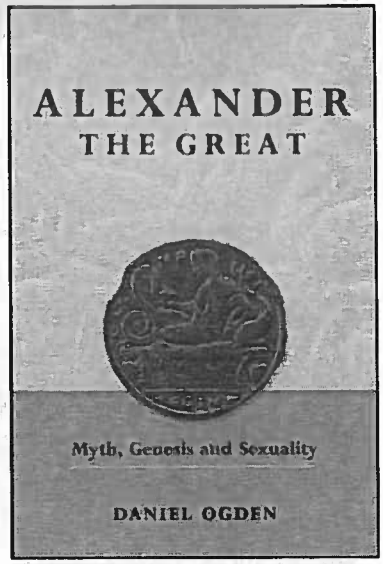
In a fascinating book, *The Fortune Sellers* (New York, 1998), William A. Sherden points out how frequently our contemporary 'oracles', such as weather forecasters, financial advisors and futurologists, amongst others, get things wrong, sometimes spectacularly. We might add to this that most racing tipsters fail to tip winners most of the time, and most astrology columns in most newspapers are a complete waste of space. And by no means all those who go to places like Lourdes come away cured, any more than all who visited the sanctuaries of Asclepius did.

As Stoneman points out, many in antiquity were sceptical about oracles, and there were definitely frauds at work from time to time. However, with a few ups and downs along the way, the institution survived for hundreds of years. Today the failures of forecasting of various kinds has obviously not put all of the failed forecasters out of business. People seem to be reassured by 'expert' advice even when the actual track record of the 'experts' appears distinctly unimpressive. The oracles were just the 'experts' of their time. True, few contemporary 'experts' require the sacrifice of an animal, or drink blood, or lower a mirror into a spring before coming up with a forecast of some kind, but these differences between past and present should not blind us to the similarities. In their own way, the Greek oracles performed an easily recognisable social function and managed to keep their customers happy, or at least happy enough, for an impressively long time.

Trevor Curnow is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Cumbria, and the author of The Oracles of the Ancient World *(Duckworth, 2004; ISBN: 978-0715631942). More recently he has published* Wisdom in the Ancient World *(Duckworth, 2010; ISBN: 978-0715635049).*

Daniel Ogden, *Alexander the Great: Myth, Genesis and Sexuality*

University of Exeter Press, 2011. Pp. 288. Hardback, £60.00;
Paperback, £20.00. ISBN: 978-0859898379; 978-0859898386.



Christian Thrue Djurslev

In the last issue of *Pegasus* (vol. 54, p. 5) Daniel Ogden complained that his 'mythical lost Alexander book' might never appear in press. However, it was finally published in late 2011, so a review is now appropriate.

In this book Ogden investigates three central themes in the literary tradition on Alexander the Great; (i) the genesis of the legends on Alexander's birth and his city foundations, (ii) the sexuality of Alexander and the polygamy which pervaded the Macedonian court and (iii) the combination of the two, namely, the 'mythologisation' of Alexander himself. There is, however, slightly more focus on the genesis than the sexuality, although the introduction indicates otherwise. The principal sources for Ogden's study are the often less acknowledged texts that mention Alexander, e.g. Livy, Lucian and Strabo, and he also examines the later tradition on Alexander as represented in the *Alexander Romance* and the *Liber de Morte*. Ogden is especially interested in how early the myths could have been formed, and he argues convincingly that much of the mythologisation could have taken place immediately after Alexander's death, or perhaps even in Alexander's own lifetime. The three aforementioned themes are carefully chosen from things that Ogden has already explored in great detail, as attested by the fact that his own publications take up one page of his bibliography. This book is, however, a most welcome synthesis of many years of scholarship on three interesting aspects of the great Alexander's life.

In the first chapter, 'Son of the Thunderbolt: Alexander's Birth Myths and their Dates', Ogden takes a closer look at the literary tradition on Alexander's birth as summarised by Plutarch in *Alexander* (2-3). He specifically addresses the three substantial stories: the lion seal story in which Philip II, in a dream, sees himself pressing a seal upon the womb of his wife; the thunderbolt story in which a thunderbolt strikes Olympias' womb, and especially the story about the snake sire with whom Olympias consorted. These three stories form the headlines of the first chapter, and Ogden goes on to examine each in turn. He considers the sources with great precision, providing his own lively translations of the Greek and Latin passages involved, as he does throughout. Moreover, he also takes into account the relevant archaeological and artistic representations of the literary motifs.

In the second chapter, 'The Son of the Serpent: The Original Identity of Alexander's Serpent Sire', Ogden takes the serpent story to the next level. He delves further into the literature on Alexander's affiliation with snakes, *drakontes*, and in particular, the connection the snakes had to Amun. In this chapter Ogden also stresses Alexander's link with the 'Good Demon', to use Ogden's term for the *agathos daimon* (pp. 34-39), although the most striking evidence of the cult of Alexander in Alexandria escapes the author.[1] His treatment of the snake material is, however, the most thorough study of Alexander's association with snakes, and one will not find a better analysis of the material elsewhere.

The third chapter, 'Son of the Ram: Alexander as Heir to the Macedonian Foundation Myths', tries to discern how Alexander's myths merged with his predecessors'. Ogden looks at the foundation myths of the Macedonian kings, Macedon, Caranus, Perdiccas, Midas and Archelaus in turn, and then he turns to Alexander's myths by looking specifically at the *Alexander Romance* and also '– of all things – Middle-Persian royal tradition', the *Ardeshir Romance* (pp. 73-76). He locates many similarities in the material, and especially stories about goats and sheep are prominent, hence the title of the chapter.

[1] Lucian, *Dialogi Mortuorum*, 13.2.6-12. Lucian, in the guise of Diogenes, mocks the notion that Alexander was worshipped as son of a serpent, *θύοντες ὡς δράκοντος υἱῷ*, which suggests at least one snake cult of Alexander.

The fourth chapter, 'Son of the Eagle: The Heirs to Alexander's Birth Myths', examines how Alexander's successors reshaped the material to further their own ends, and also invented their own myths to attach to Alexander's. The image of Alexander in the age of the successors was explored thoroughly by Stewart (1993), but Ogden also approaches the material from another perspective, namely the literary one of birth and city foundation myths instead of the more artistic perspective by Stewart. In this chapter he also forms a synthesis of the topics of the last four chapters: the Macedonian kings constantly had to legitimise their own rule, as there was no line of succession in the ever-changing Macedonian dynasties. Developing birth and foundation myths played a significant part in aspiring to Macedonian hegemony, and even more so after Alexander's death because of the magnitude of the legacy he left behind.

In the fifth chapter, 'Son of the Witch: Traditions of Polygamy in the Macedonian Court', Ogden turns his attention to the topic of sexuality. Evidently much of the material in this chapter comprises topics that he has explored before (Ogden [1999]), but here he renews his arguments on how and why the Macedonian court was polygamous, and also makes numerous additions to the research on Alexander's parents, Philip and Olympias. Furthermore, he examines what problems polygamy brought to the court, for example the 'war' between Olympias and Philinna, and addresses the issue of Philip's and Alexander's ability to produce heirs.

The next three chapters share a very similar pattern as can be deduced from the titles: (vi) 'Alexander's Wives: Fact and Tradition', (vii) 'Alexander's Dalliances: Fact and Tradition' and (viii) 'Alexander's Men: Fact and Tradition'. These three chapters investigate all the relationships that the historical Alexander ever had, and also a good deal of the more fantastical kind attributed to him by the literary tradition, for example his meeting with the Amazon queen, Thalestris, and the Ethiopian queen, Candace (chapter vii). This material resembles a lot of Ogden's earlier work (e.g. Ogden [1999], [2007] and [2009]), but the entries in the present book are substantially longer and more thorough in their analysis of the material.

The last chapter, 'Alexander the *Gynnis*', investigates a curious notion in a single fragment citing Theophrastus that Alexander was a *gynnis*, an effeminate male. Ogden insists that this fragment, despite its alleged earliness, should not be understood as a contemporary view of Alexander, but rather, as a later by-product of the literary tradition in which Alexander was increasingly associated with Dionysus and eunuchs. Furthermore, Alexander's 'Orientalising' also contributed to this effect.

Ogden has written an informative and lucid book about aspects of the literary tradition on Alexander the Great that have not been treated so carefully since Tarn (1948; the sexuality part). Much of the 'genesis' material is, however, uncharted territory, except for minor contributions elsewhere.[2] The general reader interested in literature on Alexander will find this book an exciting and most thought-provoking experience, whilst the student of Alexander will discover a new side of Alexander that is not just 'war and women'. Lastly, even the expert of Alexander historiography and literature must prepare to discover some new aspects of the literature generated in the aftermath of Alexander's conquests and death. The copious contents and energetic narrative make this book well worth reading for anyone interested in the ancient literature on the Macedonian king.

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[2] E.g. Fraser (1972) 2.356-7 n. 164.

Theatre Reviews

Harry Richardson

The Bacchae (Euripides)

The Classics Society, 22-24 March 2012, Devonshire House and Great Hall Piazza (University of Exeter). Directed by Daryl Hurst and Gabby Sloss.

Lured as I was by the promise of seeing my lecturers dancing around wearing face paint, I naturally expected a great deal from *The Bacchae* and was not disappointed. The play itself began with the Maenad chorus (pictured) dancing to a dance track apparently called 'We are Prostitutes', looking remarkably as if they had just downed their umpteenth £1.50 double vodka and energy drink. I must say that at this stage in the performance my eyebrows were raised remarkably high. I was worried. I desperately hoped this wasn't going to be one of those Classical plays that drama students get a hold of and 'modernise'. I had chilling visions of Agave and the Maenads decked out in trackies and Dionysus being hailed as the god of cheap cider from Asda, and the ensuing 'hurhur' laughs of people who genuinely don't know what's going to happen. Now that I've likely alienated a large portion of my readership and put myself across as an arrogant, elitist prat, let me assure you that my fears could not have been more misguided.

After the trippy experience of watching my fellow students, and two of my lecturers, flailing like freshers in the Lemmy, the play stayed rather true to its roots, featuring eerie Bacchic chants, campness and lots of arguing. I have heard that the strange dance-track revel was absent from the Saturday matinee, and I think this must have been a shame! The revel really helped to set things up. It freaked me out, and Maenads should do that, so I am frankly rather glad that I was at Friday's performance.

Costumes were for the most part simple and effective: the Maenads themselves wore face paint and a variety of simple black outfits, their wrists were tied with ribbons which they stared at and played with, eyes wandering and mouths grinning weirdly. The male cast wore shirts and suit trousers for the most part, though Cadmus and Tiresias were done up in corduroy suits, garlands and ribbons in a manner reminiscent of Morris dancers. Still, this did not jar in the slightest and the costumes were not a focus, as indeed they should not have been.

Much was made of the staff cameos which would grace this play; a novel way of building hype, sure, but these cameos were not simply occasional awkward insertions greeted by 'woo's. Sharon Marshall and Karen Ní Mheallaigh worked excellently to ensure that the Maenad chorus was not too uniform. If the chorus had simply been a collection of students it might have run the risk of resulting in the Maenads seeming faceless. Richard Seaford's performance as Tiresias was really something else! Of particular note was his ability to roll his eyeballs into the back of his head and still be able to act. Personally I don't think I could engage in any kind of conversation while trying to focus on rolling my eyes back like that, much less actually remember lines and deliver them.

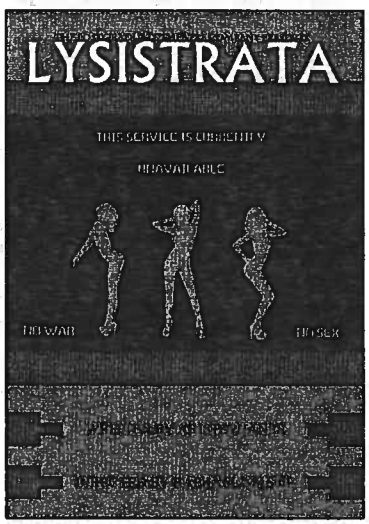
The Maenad chorus lurks around and below the stage for the entirety of the play, and when they enter they do not simply mount the stage, rather they begin chanting, and ease and creep themselves onto the stage with skill and fluidity. By the end of the play several of them, especially Agave, are coated in what was probably the most convincing fake blood I have seen, and this is wiped across faces and stared at with horror.

Special mention should be made of Nicholas Woodbine and his excellent performance as Dionysus. Camp menace pervaded his performance, which was convincingly alien. He held himself with quiet confidence and delivered his lines with conviction.

The Bacchae was a loving and accurate telling of the original, and the cast and crew should be very proud of their efforts.

Lysistrata (Aristophanes)

The Postgraduate Theatre Company, 21-22 January 2012,
Roborough Studios (University of Exeter). Directed by Raphael Massie.



Naturally *Lysistrata* was a PG rated, fun-filled romp for all the family. I jest: this production was marked by its utter and ingenious filth. *Papier-maché phalloi* adorned every male crotch, including the director's; they were used to enormous effect as the play went on and they became more and more central to the plot. The women of the play were appropriately filthy, and there was a huge amount of girl-on-girl innuendo from the very beginning, from lingering pervily on eel-metaphors to simply mounting each other. The innuendo was frankly relentless, and the audience was at no point allowed to forget the sexual overtones of the play. This seems like a strange idea, but at some points it almost felt as if the sex theme was being overplayed. Not really one to take the grandparents to. Still, the result was hilarious.

The play featured a number of musical numbers, which were amusing and well-choreographed. There was a great deal of stamping around and shouting on the part of the male chorus to emphasise their impotent masculinity, and some savage Amazonian spear-shaking and general threatening on the part of the women. Stratyllis, leading the female chorus, was particularly terrifying as she battered and belittled the men of the chorus. Her manner was lithe and intimidating, and I found myself hoping she wasn't going to turn on us in the audience.

Physical comedy was the name of the game in *Lysistrata*; the women used water pistols to drive away the men with torches assaulting the gates of the fortified Acropolis, the male chorus would beat themselves over the head with their own *phalloi* to indicate their frustration, and the play ultimately culminated in everyone pairing up and dry-humping enthusiastically. The cast were incredibly imaginative when it came to physical comedy, and the laughs were as much at their sheer ingenuity as they were at the jokes themselves.

Costumes were strangely mixed: men sported togas while the ladies wore modern dresses. Presumably the decision to place togas on the men came down to the *phalloi*, which would frankly have been rather difficult to poke through trousers' zipper. They were probably longer than my arm. There was one particular costume that deserves particular mention: Reconciliation's outfit was like that of a fetish club dancer. She arrived clad in a black bra, pants with a happy face over the front, and a creepy blank mask.

Above all this production of *Lysistrata* was enormously fun. Perhaps it didn't pay quite as much attention to some of the other elements of Aristophanes' play as it did to the dick jokes and pervy women, but it was fun for having done so. Aristophanes can be incredibly thought-provoking, but here he was more comparable to *Carry On Up the Acropolis*. Further, I should commend the production team for not making even the slightest attempt to squeeze a feminist message out of this play. Perhaps this is a personal gripe, but anachronistic attempts to force such messages onto *Lysistrata* have always ruined the play for me, though I judge by the similar assertions of the people I arrived with that I am not alone in this.

Film Reviews: Roman Britain on Screen

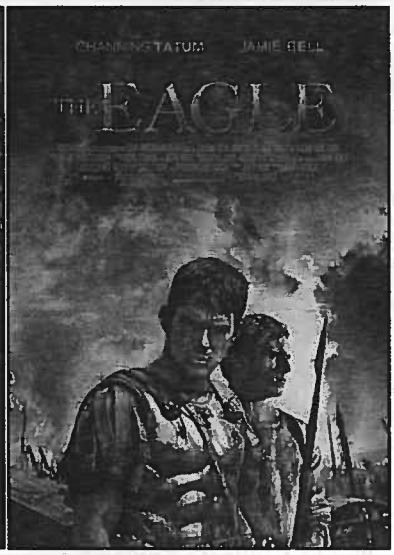
Christopher Siwicki

Centurion

2010. Classification (UK) 15.
Directed by Neil Marshall.

The Eagle

2011. Classification (UK) 12.
Directed by Kevin MacDonald.



It is not unusual for movies set in the Classical world to revisit the same story – Cleopatra has been the subject of numerous film adaptations, while *Gladiator* (2000) owes much of its plot to *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964). It is uncommon however for two movies that deal with the same event to be released within a year of each other. Both *Centurion* (2010) and *The Eagle* (2011) revolve around the story of the Ninth Legion of Rome being wiped-out in Northern Britain in the early second century AD.

While the films are set in a historical context, the events that they depict are fictional and should be accepted as such; it is not the purpose of either movie to present a 'true' account of what actually happened to the Ninth Legion. Similarly this review is not concerned with the more pedantic complaints over historical accuracy; a bust of Hadrian in *I Claudius* does not detract from the excellence of the series, nor does the presence of stirrups in a movie necessarily break the suspension of disbelief. Both films do however go to great length to make sets look accurate and create an atmosphere of genuineness. Although more liberties are taken with the costumes of the native British, there is a gritty realism in the depiction of the legionaries that does not seem to be an unreasonable reflection of life on a harsh frontier of empire.

Centurion focuses on the actual destruction of the Ninth Legion. Setting out with a rather vague order to conquer Northern Britain, the Roman army marches into a trap laid by their treacherous native scout. In a mist-filled and heavily wooded glen the legion is ambushed and annihilated, their ranks having been broken by rolling fireballs (clearly the Pictish army must have watched Kubrick's *Spartacus*). The massacre occurs within the first thirty minutes and the rest of the movie quickly becomes an escape and evade adventure, with a handful of survivors trying to make it home while being hunted by the relentless Picts.

This format is very familiar in 20th century war movies and one character even speaks the anachronistic sounding line 'we are so far behind enemy lines'. To an extent *Centurion* almost seems to go through the motions of what is expected to happen in this type of adventure: the group dynamic inevitably fractures as individuals are picked off one by one; there are several close calls where they are almost – but obviously don't – get caught; and there is even the obligatory 'jump off a cliff' scene that has become a favoured method of escape since Butch and Sundance did it.

The Eagle, based on Rosemary Sutcliff's 1954 novel *The Eagle of the Ninth*, is set 20 years after these events. The movie revolves around the developing relationship between a former Roman centurion and his British slave, and traces their quest into Scotland to discover the truth about the 'lost' legion and to recover its eagle standard. This movie too ends up as an escape and evade chase, with the two heroes being pursued by a Pictish tribe called the 'Seal People', whose haircuts and bare torsos give them the appearance of extras from *Last of the Mohicans*. Indeed the storyline of two travellers stealing into the wild frontier land in order to infiltrate a tribe of 'savages', and then to be saved in the nick of time by the cavalry (or in this case retired legionaries), does have a rather Western genre feel to it.

In a trend going back to the sword and sandal epics of the 1950s and 60s, 'Rome' is perceived as bad. While individual Romans might be depicted as possessing admirable qualities and are cast in the role of hero, the Roman Empire as an entity has been typically associated with uncompromising imperialism. In both of these movies Rome's seemingly insatiable desire for conquest for the sake of it is given as their rather bland motive for being in

Northern Britain; unsurprisingly a refusal to be subjugated by empire is the motivation of the native peoples. In *Centurion* in particular, it seems evident that a wider point is being made, and the audience is invited to draw comparisons to modern conflicts between a superpower attempting to suppress a guerrilla style resistance.

When a historical movie attempts to raises questions over contemporary issues it can sometimes be very pertinent, however it does not really work here. Too little background is given to the Roman presence in Britain, and their motive of conquest is too one dimensional for it to really resonate with the complex situation and reasons that revolve around Western involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq – which is surely what the movie is hinting at.

Instead it perhaps seems a shame that some of the potentially more interesting issues that result from the presence of an occupying force were not explored. Beyond the rather banal romance in *Centurion*, there is little sense of any exchanges or assimilation between the cultures and people. In *The Eagle* there are a few legionaries who have 'gone native', but these are depicted as an oddity, and in both films the Romans and Britons (or Picts) are strictly distinct. The arrogance of the Roman commanders towards anyone 'un-Roman' also reinforces this point; although as with the 1950s biblical epics *Quo Vadis* and *The Robe*, the haughtiness of the central Roman characters diminish as they are redeemed or realise common bonds.

The distinction between Roman civilisation and the barbarian frontier is marked in the films by Hadrian's Wall. For the Romans in *Centurion* and *The Eagle*, the wall serves as a point of departure and a haven of safety. It is depicted as standing isolated in a desolate landscape like a demilitarised zone, and there is no notion of interaction or trade between communities on either side. If its symbolism as a boundary of the 'civilised' world is not obvious enough, then it is helpfully stated that Romans do not go north of the wall (a notion previously highlighted in the 2004 film *King Arthur*).

Belonging to the 'uncivilised' world is ultimately how the native Picts who dwell beyond this border are portrayed. The films emphasise justifiable motives for their hatred and rejection of Rome, but to an extent they are still depicted as stereotypical 'barbarians' – who rather oddly do not wash their woad paint off even when they go to bed. Like the portrayal of so many other aboriginal peoples in movies they are shown as being attuned to nature, particularly in their almost clairvoyant ability to track a quarry from a bent twig in a forest, or a misplaced rock on a mountainside covered in rocks. Despite being depicted with a degree of sympathy, there is little that is expressed about their culture except its savagery and weirdness.

Indeed with regard to both the Picts and Romans the limited exploration and formulaic representation of aspects of their culture is rather disappointing, especially when compared to the interesting 2009 film *Agora*. It is though perhaps unfair to expect too much from what are in essence unapologetic action movies.

In its portrayal of the opposing peoples it seems that the aim of both films was not to make one side the out-and-out goodies and the other obvious baddies. A lack of explicit partisanship is not unwelcome, especially after the rather abysmal portrayal of the Persians in *300* (2007). However this ambiguity is achieved by highlighting that both sides were equally cruel, which makes it difficult for the viewer to sympathise with anyone. It might have worked if the main characters had been more developed and likeable, but personally I found myself not caring who survived (Dominic West as General Virilus was by far the best character in *Centurion*, but was killed less than an hour in).

A night time assault by Picts on a Roman border fort opens both films, and sets the tone that battle and fight sequences will form a major part of the movies. *Centurion* in particular is extremely graphic in its depiction of violence, although the director's previous work with horror movies (*Dog Soldiers*) may explain some of the focus on gore and gruesome decapitations. An emphasis on gratuitously showing the brutality of battles, either through the vivid realism (if it is realistic?) of *Centurion*, or the stylised bloodletting of *300*, seems to have become a staple of films concerned with Classical history. The fight-scenes are impressive and without a doubt well choreographed and executed, but the frequency with which they are relied upon as the climatic moments of films (and not just ones set in the ancient world) is potentially lessening their impact and making them appear repetitive.

The only way to assess the merit of *Centurion* and *The Eagle* is to watch them. There seems to be little in either film that is groundbreaking, as most elements and plot devices have been seen before – albeit perhaps in a different genre. Both are enjoyable as action films, but that is it.

Brian Shefton, 1919-2012

I last saw Brian Shefton four months ago, walking on two sticks but as indomitable as ever at 93, planning the next trip – to Zurich or Istanbul or wherever – in his lifelong pursuit of Greek and Etruscan painted pottery. News of his death reminds me of his Jackson Knight Lecture in 1982. It was on the 'Exeter vase', the fragments of which he had discovered in a cardboard box in the Royal Albert Museum when he was Assistant Lecturer at the then University College of the South-West thirty years earlier. (See: Taplin, O. [2007] *Pots and Plays*. Los Angeles. Pp. 49-51.)

Brian Shefton as Jackson Knight Lecturer, with Peter Wiseman, Professor of Classics (left) and Malcolm Todd, Professor of Archaeology (right), May 1982.

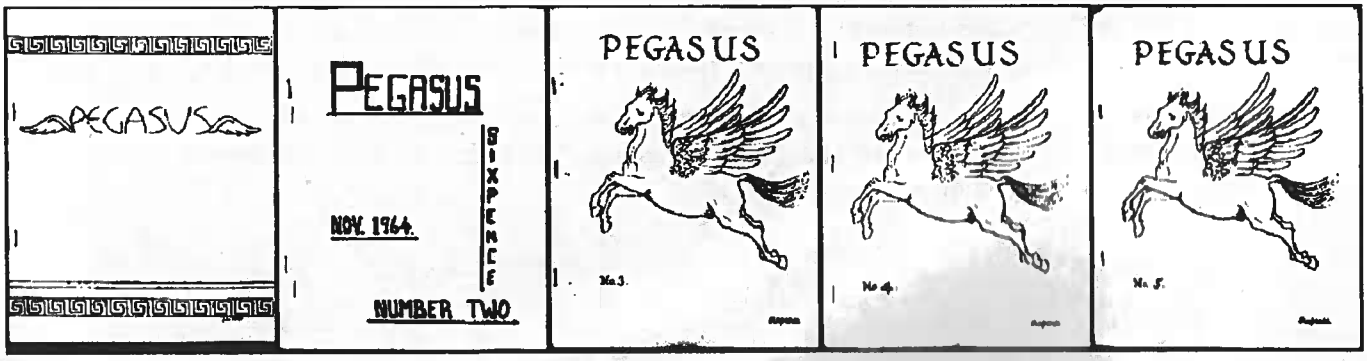
As a lecturer, Brian never felt constrained by the fifty-minute convention; on the contrary, he knew he had important things to say, and the lecture would take as long as it took. On that occasion, with hundreds of slides to show, he was just getting into his stride after about an hour and a half when he suddenly checked himself and peered out into the darkened auditorium of Queen's LT1, where the Vice-Chancellor (those were the days!) was beginning to fidget in the front row. 'Mr Chairman! Professor Wiseman! I have just a couple more points to make; it will take me only a minute or two. Now, should I stop now, or just go on to finish as quickly as possible?' 'Carry on, Brian,' I said, crossing my fingers. 'Thank you, thank you! [a moment's pause] – I would not have taken "no" for an answer!' And he went on for another twenty minutes.

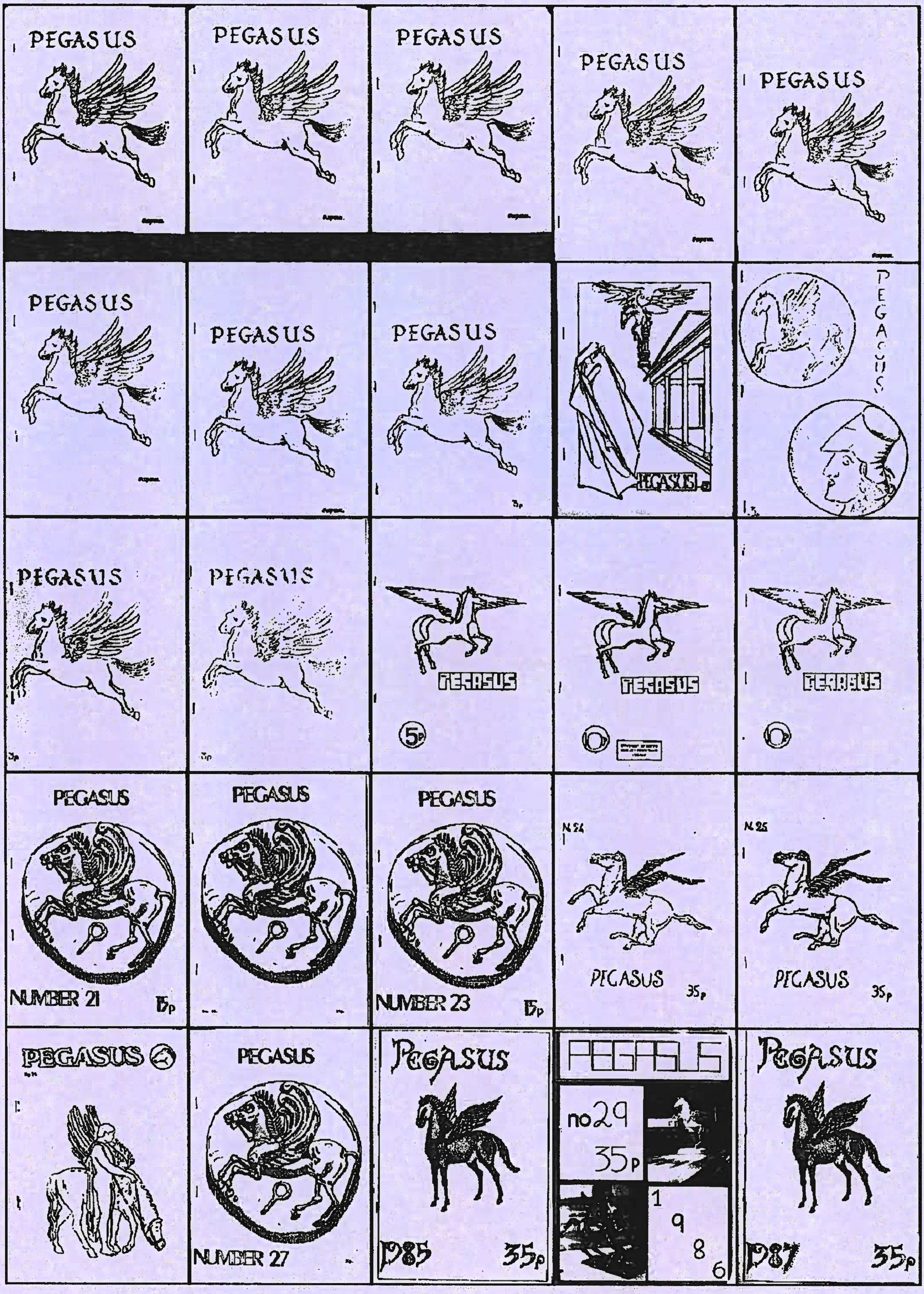
David Harvey and I had foreseen that we'd never get a text from him, so we arranged to have the whole thing taped. Unfortunately, I thought David was collecting the tape and David thought I was. When we eventually got our act together and went to collect it at the audio-visual workshop, the technician told us he'd assumed it wasn't wanted, and had recorded over it. So alas, it was one of the very few Jackson Knight Lectures that was never published. And now it never will be, unless J.K. can twist Brian's arm in Elysium.

The *Guardian* obituarist (22 Feb. 2012) got it right, referring to Brian's 'irrepressible energy and curiosity'. No one who met him ever forgot him.

Peter Wiseman

A History of Covers, 1964-2012

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