

NOVA

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS OF ANTIQUITY



VENUS DE MILO : CONTESTED BEAUTY?

Louvre Museum. Photograph by Michael Espinola Jr. (WikiCommons)

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EDITORIAL

Ann Scott

The Annual General Meeting of the Friends of Antiquity was held on Saturday 21 May. The President's Annual Report and Dr Tom Stevenson's Discipline Report for the year are included in this *Nova*. In addition, the program for the rest of the year is now fixed, so please remember to consult the back of this *Nova* to confirm the dates, locations, speakers and topics.

There are encouraging developments to report about readvertising the Chair, a topic discussed at some length at the AGM. The FoA Executive invited the acting Executive Dean of Arts, Professor Fred D'Agostino, to our June meeting. We had a most fruitful discussion and have since heard from Professor D'Agostino that a Level E professorship will be advertised as soon as the necessary procedures and approvals can be completed. Members will share our gratitude to Professor D'Agostino for his role in taking forward the Executive's arguments for readvertising the Chair despite the disappointment of it not being filled through the initial advertisement.

News on *Nova* is that the FoA Executive Committee has decided that from the 2011 issues onward, each year's four issues of *Nova* will be made available online through the Friends of Antiquity website, 'uploading' them at the end of each year. This will allow us to get *Nova* to you in the normal way, but also allow for a rather more polished version to become available online in due course. The rush to get into print in order to forewarn members of coming events lends itself to the occasional error, like the mysterious and inexplicable disappearance of images or text which happened in the April issue. We hope that making *Nova* available in this way will provide a useful additional resource for teachers and school students when the history syllabus for the new National Curriculum is implemented.

The Venus de Milo is featured on the front cover of this *Nova* in response to the entertaining and provocative comments made by Dr Alastair Blanshard in his Sunday Series lecture 'Greece through the eyes of its travellers' (reproduced in this *Nova*). I sensed I was not the only woman in the audience who would not mind having curves like hers (though might draw the line at being armless). My thanks, as always, to our contributors, my co-editor John Ratcliffe, and the army of proof-readers and 'stuffers' who help ensure that *Nova* reaches you in time and intact.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Margaret Mapp

Our members are in for an interesting time. The theme of Ancient History Day on Saturday 25 August (see flier) is 'Crime and Punishment in the Ancient World'. Our guest speaker at the public lecture on the Friday evening (24th) will be Dr Susanne Binder from Macquarie University who will speak about 'Tomb robberies in late Ramesside Thebes: What was going on?'. Dr Binder and the other Ancient History Day lecturers are all well known in the field of classics and ancient history. There will be two other visiting speakers: Dr Boyo Ockinga from Maquarie University, who will talk about 'Crime and punishment in the workmen's village of Deir el Medina'; and Dr Alastair Blanshard, from the University of Sydney, who will give a lecture on 'Athens' Most Wanted: crime in the ancient city'. Dr Dorothy Watts will chair the event, and also give a talk about Roman army discipline; Emeritus Professor Trevor Bryce will speak about 'Crime and punishment in the Hittite world'; Emeritus Professor Bob Milns will look at a famous trial in Greece that took place in 330 BC involving Demosthenes and Aeschines; Dr. Tom Stevenson will examine the crime of parricide in ancient Rome; and Dr. Amelia Brown will talk on 'Bread, wine and crucifixion: Diocletian's edict on maximum prices and Christian persecution'.

Ancient History Day will have much to offer teachers who, with the introduction of new history curriculum must prepare to teach about the ancient world. Ancient History teachers should find the day provides particularly valuable information for the theme 'Everyday life in the ancient world'. The October issue of *Nova* will carry extended abstracts of all the lectures.

Five days after Ancient History Day the R D Milns Lecturer for 2012, Professor Judith Barringer will be also giving a public lecture.

Details of all these events are on the back of *Nova*, as well as the date of the FoA Christmas Party.

Congratulations to Tim Hamlyn, winner of the 2012 Betty Fletcher Travelling Scholarship. Tim will spend the Cambridge Michaelmas term working with Professor Mary Beard. He will also visit Rome and other sites in Italy before going on to Turkey as part of his research into Roman religion during the early empire. It is satisfying to know that the Friends of Antiquity can provide such opportunities to students.

PRESIDENT'S AGM REPORT

Margaret Mapp

The 2011/12 financial year was busy and successful. In addition to excellent local lecturers, we were fortunate to have two distinguished visiting lecturers speak at our Sunday Series lectures: Professor Kanawati from Sydney and Emeritus Professor Erich Gruen from California. In June, the Literary Lunch on 'Satire' was presented by Emeritus Professor Bob Milns and Mr Don Barrett to an appreciative audience. Both Ancient History Day 2011 and the public lecture were well attended, especially by secondary teachers.

Dr Dorothy Watts organised a second successful R D Milns Classics and Ancient History Perpetual Endowment Fund dinner at the Greek Club in September 2011. It is this fund which enabled the Friends to invite Professor Gruen to visit the University of Queensland and we are most grateful to Dr Watts for the hard work she has put in to building up this fund, which has continued to grow. Other events included our Christmas lunch in November and yet again we must thank Women's College for the delicious food and service they always provide.

Congratulations and thanks to Mrs Lyn Milns who was presented with an honorary life membership of the Alumni Friends of the University of Queensland for her tireless dedication to the Friends of Antiquity from its inception in 1988. The 2011 Betty Fletcher Travelling Scholarship was awarded to Susan Edmondson. The Committee has increased the award by \$500, raising its value to \$5,500, to take account of rising prices. Adam English was the first recipient of the Adrian Heyworth-Smith Prize. Adam also received an Australian Post Graduate Scholarship which has enabled him to continue his studies at the University of Queensland.

Thanks to the accounting detective work of Juliet O'Brien the Elsie Harwood bequest of \$4,000 was unearthed. This enabled the Friends of Antiquity to purchase an ancient Egyptian sandstone from the Amarna period inscribed with the cartouche of Nefertiti at a cost of \$6488. This item is now on display in the R.D. Milns Antiquities Museum.

In the last year the Friends of Antiquity has moved into the 21st century with our own website thanks to the work of Dr John Ratcliffe and Adam English.

The FoA has for some time been urging the University to appoint a Professor of Classics. There was a strong field when the chair was advertised in 2011 but UQ was outbid by their home universities in the case of each of the

shortlisted applicants, so the position is to be readvertised.

Sadly we lost three long-serving members of the FoA during the year: Dr Cameron Battersby who was formerly on our Executive Committee, died suddenly in September. Betty Crouchley and Brian Brandenburg also died during the year. We miss them all.

I would like to thank all members of the Executive Committee for their conscientious work which has made this such a successful year. The success of the FoA functions is the result of the hard work put in by our Program and Social committee members without which they would not take place.

I would also like to say a special thank you to our members who are retiring from the Executive: Dr Lillian Cameron, Mrs Llynneth Crawford, Miss June Nichols and Mr Bill Nichols. We appreciate the significant contributions you have made over your term in office.

R D MILNS CLASSICS AND ANCIENT HISTORY PERPETUAL ENDOWMENT FUND

Dorothy Watts

I am pleased to report that the R D Milns Classics and Ancient History Perpetual Endowment Fund has reached a total of \$250,000, with a generous donation of \$5,200 from the Friends of Antiquity to bring it up to this milestone. As always the fund-raising committee is most grateful to the Friends for their continued support of the Fund, especially in these days when the School is endeavouring to fill the position of Professor of Classics and Ancient History. A healthy Fund will be a resource which should help to attract high-class applicants.

The three aims of the Fund are: to provide for a Visiting Scholar at least every two years; to support the R D Milns Antiquities Museum; and to help to fund an academic position in Classics and Ancient History. The fifth Milns Visiting Scholar, Professor Judith Barringer will be with us in September, and no doubt her visit will be as successful as those of the previous Milns Scholars. To celebrate the move of the Museum into its new and permanent home in the Michie Building, the Executive Dean and Head of School have approved the transfer of \$5,000 to the Museum. FoA is donating a matching \$5,000.

The former Executive Dean of Arts, Professor Nancy Wright, was most supportive of the Milns Fund, and it is anticipated that her successor,

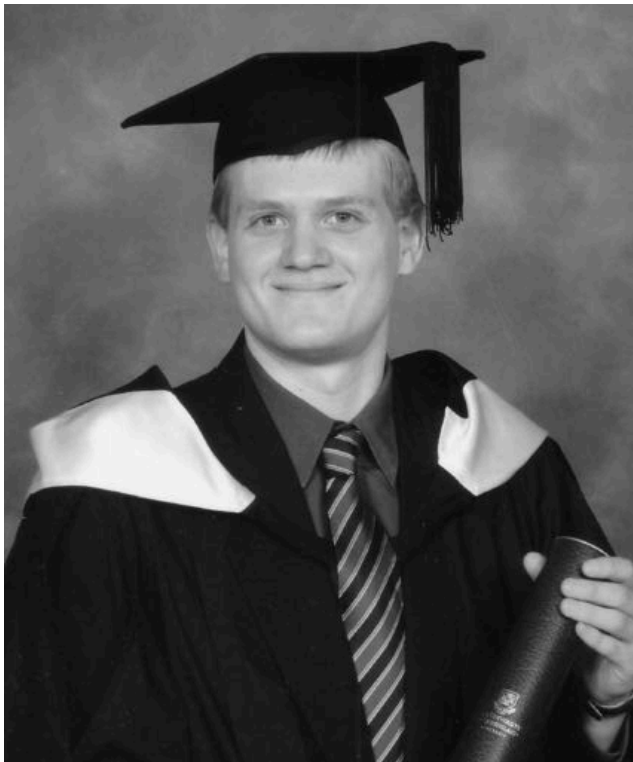
Professor Fred D'Agostino, will be also. Control of the Fund is in the hands of the Faculty and the School. The guidelines for expenditure from the corpus or the income of the Fund were set down by the University Senate. Because the intended appointment of a new Professor of Classics and Ancient History next year will be funded by the University, the Dean will have some flexibility in dipping into the fund, and the appointment of a lower-level lecturer is a possibility. However, while we can put our suggestions forward, the final decision is not for the Fund Committee to make. In the meantime, keep those (tax deductible) donations coming in. A named Lecturer (or even Professor - The Joe Bloggs Professor of Classics and Ancient History) would add great prestige to the Discipline! (d.watts@uq.edu.au)

spend two months at the University of Cambridge later this year, where I shall continue my doctoral study under the renowned scholar Professor Mary Beard. I shall also spend time visiting key archaeological sites and museums in Europe to further my knowledge of the surviving ruins and antiquities related to my research.

Without the crucial assistance of the Betty Fletcher Scholarship, I simply would not have been able to undertake this travel and experience its enormous academic and personal benefits.

The subject of Tim's doctoral thesis is the relationship between religion and the imperial position from Augustus to Gaius Caligula. He hopes to demonstrate the great importance particular cults and myths had for the emperor's power, and that genuine sentiment and belief was apparent in many people across the different strata of Roman society.

**2012 BETTY FLETCHER SCHOLAR:
TIMOTHY HAMLYN**



Yet again, we have an excellent Betty Fletcher Scholar for 2012-13. Tim Hamlyn comes from Toowoomba and did his undergraduate study at UQ, doing a dual degree in Mathematics and Ancient History and History, followed by Honours and an MPhil degree. The major focus of his research was the divine honours given to Julius Caesar in his lifetime. Tim writes:

With the crucial assistance given to me by the Betty Fletcher Memorial Travelling Scholarship, it has become possible for me to

**2012 R D MILNS VISITING LECTURER
PROFESSOR JUDITH BARRINGER**

The 2012 R D Milns visiting lecturer will be Judith Barringer, Professor of Greek Art and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. The visiting lectureship is funded out of the R D Milns Perpetual Endowment Fund. Professor Barringer will be giving the R D Milns Lecture on Thursday 30 August at 7.30pm in the Abel Smith Lecture Theatre. She will also be giving seminars in the Classics Department.

Her scholarly work centres on the archaeology, art, and culture of Greece, particularly the intersection between art, myth, and religion, from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods. Her publications have concentrated on vase painting iconology, myth and religion, social history, and contextual readings of sculpture in both public sanctuaries and private contexts.

R D MILNS ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM

James Donaldson

Currently on display in the Antiquities Museum is a lovely kylix (drinking cup) base, featuring an ancient Greek long jumper, a particularly relevant subject given the current lead up to the 2012 London Olympics.

The piece is small, but almost intact, completed in the red-figure style, dating to after the 5th century BC. The detail shows a well-muscled youth, beardless but crowned by a simple white headband, in the action of jumping. He holds a pair of halteres - weights used in ancient long jump events to provide additional momentum to the athlete. There is some controversy over what form this event actually took. Perhaps it was similar to today's long jump, utilising a short run up. Alternatively, the event could have been more akin to the triple jump, using the weights cumulatively to travel a long distance. Either explanation would seem to fit the athlete's motions depicted in the Antiquities Museum piece.

As always, our athlete is naked, with the skilful use of slip to pick out details of his stomach, legs and arms. His focused gaze is fixed at his destination as he steps forward, throwing his weight behind in the process. The other lovely feature of this piece is the faintly scratched outline just visible on the thigh and shins of the back leg, demonstrating the technique used originally by the potter to draft the scene.

While this piece is one of the smallest in the collection, it contains a wealth of information and interest to researchers and visitors. It will remain on display over the coming months alongside another long-jumper, this time assisted by a trainer, depicted on a large vase.

For further information contact the Antiquities Museum - P 07 3365 3010 W www.uq.edu.au/antiquities E antiquitiesmuseum@uq.edu.au

DISCIPLINE REPORT FOR 2011-12

Tom Stevenson

Appointments

Dr Caillan Davenport was appointed to the staff late last year, filling the position vacated by Dr Sonia Puttock in 2011. Caillan has an MPhil from UQ and a DPhil from Oxford (Brasenose College). His interests tend to lie in Roman imperial history of the third century AD and beyond, and he has significant expertise in the use of coins and inscriptions as evidence.

Student numbers

Undergraduate numbers are very healthy at the moment. There are around 760 students in the courses taught in first semester, with around 80 in first-year Latin and 35 in first-year Greek. The

honours class has eight students, and there are approximately 24 research higher degree students (a mixture of MPhil and PhD students).

Notable student achievements

Among many notable achievements, three of our research higher degree students gained entry to Oxbridge colleges: Tim Hamlyn, Chris Mallan, and Steven Cosnett. Tim has been unable to take up his offer, having just missed out on a scholarship.¹ Chris and Steven will soon be leaving for the UK.

New courses

A new course, 'Writing Ancient History', has been developed. In addition, a new course, 'Ancient History and Modern Cinema', will run for the first time in second semester 2012. The second of Amelia Brown's Study Tour course to Greece took place in February and was by all accounts a brilliant success. Amelia has become a Faculty – and indeed university – leader in providing this type of course.

Awards

Janette McWilliam won a Faculty award for outstanding teaching for her Latin Project (which was supported by money donated by the FoA). Amelia Brown received an award for outstanding research at the early career researcher level. Classics as a whole is well regarded as a unit that teaches well, both for using new technologies and for receiving excellent student evaluations.

Research

David Pritchard and Tom Stevenson have books in press at the moment, on *Democratic Athens* and *Julius Caesar* respectively. In 2011 our edited book on *The Statue of Zeus at Olympia* was published. This was the outcome of our 2008 Conference which was supported by the FoA, to whom we remain most grateful. The editors of the book were Janette McWilliam, Sonia Puttock, Tom Stevenson, and Rashna Taraporewalla.

Publications by honorary staff

In addition, along with a swag of articles and lesser publications, special mention should be made of the books published by Prof. Trevor Bryce and Dr. Sandra Christou. These and other such publications by our honoraries and students are counted to the credit of the School and do wonders for the research profile of Classics at the University of Queensland

Conferences

Amelia Brown convened the AEMA (Australasian Early Medieval Association) Conference at UQ in April. The event was a huge success. Amelia was

¹ It is good news that Tim is now able to spend time in Cambridge, thanks to his Betty Fletcher Scholarship.

helped by a team of volunteers, including Caillan Davenport, Chris Mallan, Julian Barr, and several other Classics RHD students.

SUNDAY SERIES LECTURES

THE INVENTION OF GREECE: EARLY TRAVELLERS AND THEIR EXPERIENCES

Alastair Blanshard

It is easy to forget that it is only comparatively recently that Europeans travelled to Greece in substantial numbers. Travel to Italy and Rome had been a staple ever since antiquity. However, in the wake of the Ottoman conquests, travel to Greece dried up. There were still intrepid travellers from the West who ventured out to mainland Greece, but they tended to be a rare breed. Most travellers, if they were heading east, tended to make Constantinople their destination, with any extra sightseeing largely limited to the coast of Asia Minor. For centuries, mainland Greece was neglected. While Western Europe enjoyed works of Greek philosophy, mathematics, and drama, the land that gave birth to these works rarely featured in traveller's plans.

The situation gradually changed from the mid-eighteenth century. Greece began to open up to European visitors. A number of factors accelerated the process. For example, at the end of the 18th century, the Napoleonic invasion of Italy meant that a number of British travellers who might normally have taken a 'grand tour' to Italy found themselves deprived of their standard destination. Travel to Italy for them meant facing the possibility of conflict or arrest and so they began to venture to more exotic and safer places. So, for example, during this period instead of the standard itinerary of France and then Italy, British travellers might visit the Scandinavian countries followed by St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and then either the Holy Land and Egypt or cut across to Greece.

Admittedly, a number of the first generation of travellers to Greece did wonder whether the effort had been worthwhile. It is rare to find a universally positive account of the trip. Travellers routinely compared modern Greece unfavourably to its classical counterpart. The people were smaller, meaner, and less attractive than other Europeans imagined their classical forbears, and the same even went for their livestock. 'One could scarcely credit that the scrawny beasts which bore us were the offspring of the mares of Diomedes,' complains one writer disappointed about the disjunction between reality and the world of mythic imagination. Travellers found the accommodation

rudimentary, the food indigestible, and the wine undrinkable. Compared to Rome, Athens seemed like a hovel. 'We are told that modern Athens has undergone great improvements during the last twelve months. What it must have been before, I can form no conception,' remarks one visitor. Another writes that 'Athens must have had in the earliest days streets comparatively spacious, since Homer bestows on it the epithet wide-streeted Athens; but it has now no claim to that distinction.'

Not only was travel in Greece hard, it was also frightening. Travellers' accounts are replete with anxious comments about the fear of attack from wolves and bandits. In fact, the fear seems to have been entirely disproportionate to the actual rate of attack. Attacks from both were comparatively rare. Yet, this didn't stop travellers from taking the most extreme measures to preserve their safety. One popular prophylactic against wolf attack was dousing oneself in wolf urine. How the urine was collected remains a mystery, but this custom was one imported by the travellers themselves into Greece. It horrified the locals and we have a number of accounts from travellers who indignantly complain about the ingratitude of their Greek guides who refuse this 'scientific advance' and won't allow themselves to be anointed with the urine.

It was as a reaction to this environment of confusion, fear, and disappointment, that the modern study of classical Greece was born. To counter-act these feelings Philhellenes were forced to adopt tactics and rhetoric that were unnecessary for devotees of Italy and Rome. Sometimes, their work strayed into the unethical. For example, the Abbé Fourmont refused to allow his trip to Greece in the 1730s to be a disappointment and so forged hundreds of inscriptions to please his backers. Amongst his fraudulent finds, Fourmont claimed to have 'discovered' a treaty between Sparta and Jerusalem, a complete list of Spartan kings and priestesses, as well as evidence of human sacrifice.

While Greece could bring out the worst in scholarship, it could also inspire the best. Indeed, the challenge of explaining Greece led to a revolution in architecture and the decorative arts. In 1762, James ('Athenian') Stuart and Nicholas Revett published *Antiquities of Athens*, a work which caused a revolution in contemporary fashion, heralding a revival in neoclassical taste. Following its publication, we see 'Athenian-style' buildings popping up throughout the British Isles from Bristol to Edinburgh. This book, sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti, revealed to its audience the previously hidden joys of Athenian architecture. *Antiquities of Athens* is a work of spectacular overcompensation.

So keen were Stuart and Revett to promote the buildings of Athens that they measured and drew every detail. No ancient city ever received such a treatment. Even the buildings of Rome, while much better known, had never been examined so carefully or minutely.

The so-called 'barbarity' of Greece also prompted a revolution in collecting. Increasingly, a number of travellers came to see their taking of antiquities not as an exercise in acquisition, but as an act of preservation. It is striking, for example, how early we find sentiments that recast Elgin's acquisitions of his marbles as benign acts of preservation with the concomitant wish that it is only a matter of time before they will be returned to their rightful home. For example, Edward Giffard, less than twenty years after Elgin's marbles arrived in the British museum, writes that the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike 'ought to be restored' and that while Lord Elgin's intentions 'were no doubt praiseworthy, and it must be presumed that he only removed what he thought was threatened with early annihilation by the barbarity of the Turks ... it is to be regretted that he should have moved the Caryatid; for this beautiful porch was previously (as I understand) intact, and one hopes that it will not be too long before the missing Caryatid is able to rejoin her sisters.'

Ultimately, of course, what made Greece the great nineteenth-century and early twentieth century destination for travellers was Romanticism and the Picturesque. These two related artistic movements that swept England and Europe saw beauty in the ruined and the natural. For these movements, Greece with all its wildness and imperfections was the ideal spot. Literally and metaphorically Arcadia beckoned.

There is no better pin-up girl for this new attitude than the Venus de Milo. Discovered on the island of Melos in 1820, her arrival in Paris a year later coincided with the rise of Romanticism in France. Poets lined up to swoon at her beauty. For a city envious of the Elgin marbles in London and still smarting over the forced repatriation of the celebrated Medici Venus that Napoleon had stolen from Italy, the Venus de Milo was the masterpiece that Paris needed.

It is those famous missing limbs that make the Venus de Milo so emblematic of the turn to Romanticism. From the moment she was discovered there was almost no attempt to restore her arms. The few people who did make this suggestion were almost universally derided. This makes the Venus practically unique amongst major pieces of antique sculpture. Prior to the Venus de Milo, the trend had been for as complete

restoration as possible. New heads, arms, and legs were routinely carved. So much so, that often the antique work drowned in a sea of new workmanship.

It is the ability to take delight in the scars left by time and to see beauty in the damaged and the flawed that epitomizes the Romantic sensibility towards antiquity. This was an attitude that privileged the old over the new, the rough over the polished, the wild over the civilized, the authentic over the mannered, the rustic over the urban, and ultimately, Greece over Rome.

EDITOR'S POSTSCRIPT

Dr Alastair Blanshard provoked his Sunday Series audience by suggesting the Venus de Milo (see cover) was a somewhat uninteresting matronly figure and might be an overrated work of art, only made famous because of an aggressive public relations exercise by the French. The fact that I had recently attended a lecture on Victorian art critic John Ruskin made me think again about the influence of 'art experts' and fashion. Not all artists judged the Venus de Milo as such a great work of art. Pierre-Auguste Renoir went so far as describing her as a 'big gendarme'.

What about that other Venus, the 'Medici Venus', a Hellenistic life-size sculpture depicting Aphrodite which was a high point of the Grand Tour. The statue is believed to be a 1st century BC copy of an original bronze made in Greece, but its exact origins are unknown. It had been kept in the Uffizi since 1667, after being moved there from Rome, where the pope at the time believed it encouraged lewd behaviour. The erotic nature of the work – depicting Venus trying to cover her breasts and pubic area with her hands – is said to have made it immensely popular.

Would we have liked these white-as-white treasures in their original colour? We all know that ancient Greek buildings and statuary were colourful. Eighteenth century British and French art aficionados returned home from their Grand Tours with ecstatic reports of the Medici Venus's colourful facial features and golden locks. Recent tests (reported in March 2012) have confirmed that their observations were not 'the result of a collective hallucination'. A chemical analysis of the 2,000-year-old statue, which is displayed in Florence's Uffizi Galleries, has revealed miniscule traces of paint and gold leaf, showing that her lips would have been painted a rich red, her sculpted hair would have shone with gold leaf and earrings would have hung from holes in her earlobes.



RENAISSANCE DIALOGUES WITH THE CLASSICAL PAST: FROM BOTTICELLI TO SHAKESPEARE

Victoria Bladen

The past is always present. In any era, the past is part of the material, intellectual and cultural fabric of the present. Whilst this is true of every era, this was particularly true of the early modern period. The writers, artists, philosophers and political leaders of the Renaissance were arguably the first Friends of Antiquity, your predecessors! They had a deep interest in, and need to engage with, the cultural forms, artworks, literature, philosophy and ideas of the classical past. The extent of this engagement is so vast that the subject is, of course, beyond any one paper, but what this paper attempts to do is to map a few pathways through the topic, exploring the different ways in which the Renaissance entered into dialogues with antiquity. If we were to try and structure this vast subject, that structure could look something like the following list of different categories of practices and modes of expression in response to the classical past:

Recovery, translation and dissemination of classical texts: In Italy, during the 14th century, with the growth and prosperity of towns such as Florence, there was the emergence of a new approach to education. The changed syllabus gave particular emphasis to five academic subjects: grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy. The teachers took their inspiration from the Roman orator and politician Marcus Tullius Cicero and based their syllabus on his description of the course of studies most appropriate for the education of a free-born Roman male citizen. By the mid 14th century, the *studia humanitatis* –an education in persuasiveness which focused on Latin authors as models of rhetoric and sound argument – was infused with a strain of idealism. Petrarch (b.1304 in Arezzo, d. 1384) saw in the authors of ancient Rome powerful moral examples. Petrarch was particularly influential in changing attitudes to the classical past; his followers became interested in ancient poets, orators and historians not only as examples of style but as figures worthy of study and devotion in their own right. Shakespeare, born in 1564, received a grammar education grounded in the idea of the *studia humanitatis*. He would have encountered various classical authors including: Virgil, Ovid, Terence, Aesop, Horace, Plutarch, and Cicero. Arguably the most important of these for his plays and poetry was Ovid.

Imitation in literature of classical models and genres: Significant genres included: the pastoral genre (drawn on by Christopher Marlowe,

Nineteenth century museum patrons, however, liked the scrubbed look. The Medici Venus was enthusiastically scrubbed 'clean' after her return to Italy in 1815. Over a century later Lord Duveen, who funded the gallery at the British Museum in which the Elgin Marbles are currently displayed, demanded the Museum staff scrub off residual traces of paint, declaring that he liked his marbles 'white' (Museum staff missed some sections of black paint at the back of the east pediment, however).



1772 oil painting by Zoffany, 'The Tribuna of the Uffizi', (courtesy WikiCommons) shows British art connoisseurs clustered around the statue, gazing rapturously at the Medici Venus

Shakespeare and John Milton, imitating the Idylls of Theocritus and Virgil's Eclogues), epic (Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* are indebted to the epics of Homer and Virgil); and Greek tragedy and comedy, significant precedents for Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedy and comedy. As well as the genres of literature and drama, the classical study of rhetoric and oratory was central to the early modern English curriculum, reflected in different ways in Shakespeare's work. (For example, you'll recall how in *Julius Caesar* Brutus and Mark Antony speak to the crowd after the death of Caesar in a scene that shows Shakespeare's awareness of how powerful rhetoric could be).

Language: emphasis given to Latin as the language of scholarship, government and the church: Shakespeare's education at grammar school involved an intensive education in Latin. Likewise knowledge of ancient Greek was a benchmark of scholarship; Ben Jonson criticised Shakespeare for his lack of knowledge in Greek saying that Shakespeare had 'no Greek and small Latin'. In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Casca, in reporting that Cicero spoke Greek, and responding to Cassius' question 'To what effect', replies 'but for mine own part it was Greek to me' (1.2.273), a comic reference meaning that he couldn't understand it!

Appropriation and retelling of classical stories: historical and legendary: Shakespeare was constantly inspired by the stories of the classical past. For example, in the long poem *The Rape of Lucrece*, he imagines the events (originally related by Livy) which marked the end of a series of kings and the beginning of the Roman republic.

Construction of ideas of Rome, Greece and Egypt: Ideas about Rome, Greece and Egypt form a significant part of Renaissance culture. Rome as a city, an empire, a model of different forms of government, an entity governed by a series of prominent leaders and an ideal loomed large in the psyche of the Renaissance. In Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* ideas of what is 'Roman' are contrasted with ideas about Egypt, and each place is embodied to some extent in the central characters. Mark Antony embodies ideas about Rome – his military prowess, strength, leadership abilities, and his (previous) ability to focus on work, to put duty first. This, of course, is compromised by his love for Cleopatra, who embodies ideas about Egypt – its mysterious, alluring and dangerous quality, its seductive identification with pleasure. She is 'chaos' to Antony's 'order', abundance and extravagance to his rationality. In contrasting the two figures, Shakespeare also

draws from the traditional binary between Mars and Venus, war and love.

Illustration of and inspiration from the classical myths of Greece and Rome: There was a deep interest in the tales of passion, lust, anger, violence and change, most commonly mediated through Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (c. 2-8 CE) and texts such as Boccaccio's (1313-1375) *Genealogy of the gods* (1360). Venus, the goddess of love, was a highly popular subject for artists and writers. Botticelli's late-15th c *Primavera* is a striking example from the Italian Renaissance of the evocation of classical gods interpreted in a new context. There is uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the painting. It is most likely a blending of classical sources and contemporary 15th century sources. Venus the goddess of love, at the centre of the garden, presides over a space that expresses metamorphosis and renewal. Cupid aims his arrow at the Three Graces. There is a clear movement from the right to the left of the painting with a downward movement of Zephyr, god of the winds, whose pursuit and rape of the nymph Chloris engenders her metamorphosis (signified by the flowers emerging from her mouth) into Flora, the goddess of flowers and spring, who scatters flowers. It has been suggested that the figure of Flora was inspired in part by a classical statue which depicted a figure of autumn, which was in a private Roman collection when Botticelli was in Rome

Imitation of classical architecture in Renaissance architecture; also the depiction of classical architecture in Renaissance painting, particularly with the development and use of perspective and empirical methods of depicting convincing pictorial space.

Imitation of classical sculpture in Renaissance sculpture and painting (e.g. Michelangelo; Botticelli): Well-known classical statues (often Roman copies of Greek originals) are used as models for figures in painting and sculpture; also sarcophagi are sources/models.

Interest in Greek philosophy: The Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle had enormous influence on the Renaissance. The works of both were studied and translated. Neoplatonic thought inspired the Florentine Neoplatonists, who affected the intellectual content of Florentine art in the fifteenth century. Neoplatonism was also perceived as a source of potential syncretism between pagan and Christian modes of thought (hence the interest in the figure of Hermes Trismegistus, who you will see depicted on the Siena Cathedral pavement).

The depiction of 'lost works': (e.g. Zeus of Olympia by Phidias; Botticelli's Calumny of Apelles); 'ekphrasis' or written descriptions of visual works.

Archeology and antiquarianism

The Renaissance as a mode of thought and period construction. Using the past to self-consciously construct the Renaissance as a period of rebirth, revival, and recovery; construction of the middle ages as a period of stagnation in terms of cultural innovation and standards.

Then, overlaying these various practices, is a complex interaction of attitudes, values and emotions towards the classical past. These could be listed as:

Reverence: There is a great weight placed on classical precedents, and prominent writers and philosophers from antiquity.

Desire to emulate: Arising from the attitude of reverence, that the achievements of the past were accorded, was the consequent desire to emulate. For artists and writers the past was a benchmark for them to seek to imitate and even surpass. There was the sense of a shared standard that they were engaging with.

Desire to reinterpret and reframe according to the needs of the present: Mythological or political ideas might be appropriated for contemporary purposes. The past was an active force and presence, invoked in myths of national identity, monarchy and personal spiritual destiny; Desire to reconcile: the pagan past with Christian ideology, which governed the present. Fear and anxiety are mixed in with admiration for a supposedly heathen culture, according to some views.

Mediation of the present through the past: Political criticism and erotic impulses could be filtered through the appropriation of classical models. Indirect articulation of ideas could be facilitated through classical subjects or modes that were, for whatever reasons, problematic to be dealt with directly.

Antiquity was materially and intellectually embedded in Renaissance culture across a range of literary, dramatic, artistic and architectural media. What is apparent from a brief mapping of the diverse pathways that this subject can take, is how vital it is for the disciplines of all periods to continue dialogues with antiquity. The Friends of Antiquity and the scholars in classics are not only significant for your own reading, thinking and

research, but of central significance to scholars in early modernity and undoubtedly all periods.

CAMILLUS: LIVY'S IDEAL ROMAN

Stephanie Golding

My paper is partly based upon my honours thesis in which I discussed the life and career of Marcus Furius Camillus, as Livy portrayed him in Books Five and Six in the *ab urbe condita*, 'from the foundation of the city'. I aimed to demonstrate that Livy characterized Camillus as an exemplum, an example of *virtus* and *religio* that was the means for concord and consensus. In the Preface to his history, Livy lays out his intention to instruct his Roman readers, 'of the kinds of lives men lived, what their moral principals were, both at home and in the field'. When Livy looked back into Rome's history, his concern was about the repetition of those events caused by men's greed which tore at the city's foundations. For Rome to survive, he desired that readers embrace the object lessons of history

Titus Livius, or Livy as he is best known, was a Roman citizen, born around 59BC and died 17AD. He was from Patavium, a city renowned at the time for its moral conservatism. We know Patavium as the modern city of Padua. Very little is known of Livy's life and there is no evidence that he held political office. We know that he was a contemporary of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, though no evidence exists that he had any association or connection with these literary figures. However, Asinius Pollio, who enjoyed a friendship with both Virgil and Horace, did make a derogatory reference in his own history about Livy's provincial origins, so it is likely that Livy was known of by these men. Later literary figures, such as Martial and Suetonius, remarked on Livy in their work, and Pliny the Younger, while living in Naples, distracted himself from the eruption going on at Mt Vesuvius by writing down excerpts from Livy's history. It can be concluded from these references to Livy that he was a writer of note and that his work was held in high regard. There has been much discussion around Livy's association with Augustus and the imperial family. He was supposed to have encouraged Augustus' nephew, the later Emperor Claudius, in his writing of history. How close this association was has been the subject of much debate.

The *ab urbe condita* covers Roman history from the origins of Rome to Livy's own time, of 9BC, in 142 books of which just 35 have survived. The first five books of Livy's history were published sometime between 27 to 25BC around six years

after Octavian defeated Antony at Actium and two years after Octavian received the title of Augustus. Books One to Five, the first pentad, covers the period from the start Rome's foundation to the sack of the city by the Gauls in 390BC. Books Six to Ten, the second pentad, covers Rome's conquest of central Italy, 390 to 292BC.

My paper is about Book Five. Central to the events in this book, which covers 403 to 390BC is the character of Marcus Furius Camillus (he also remains a significant figure in the events in Book Six that covers 389 to 367BC). Camillus is an historical figure. We know he was born of the consular Furi family. According to the *Fasti Capitolini*, the record of magistrates, he was elected a military tribune with consular power six times, appointed dictator five times and celebrated four triumphs. His cognomen, Camillus, is a bit unusual and perhaps derives from *camillus*, a young boy who acted as an attendant at religious ceremonies. The earliest time that his presence is recorded is by Plutarch in a battle against the Aequians and Volscians, where he was badly wounded in the thigh by a spear, but continued to fight on. Plutarch writes that his act of courage resulted in him being honoured with the appointment of censor in 403BC, but Livy incorrectly states that he was elected military tribune at this time. We do not know when Camillus was born or when he died, however, according to Livy he was 'ripe in years' when he died from a pestilence. Camillus is the only republican hero about whom Livy wrote an obituary, which he recorded in Book Seven.

Modern scholarship on this period of Livy's Roman history has focused mainly on the historical problems of the events in which Camillus is supposed to have taken part. Livy's portrayal of Camillus has been labeled as the 'most artificially contrived of all Rome's heroes'. Camillus himself has been labeled as fictitious; that his role in the events of the period was over-played; and that he is a composite figure whose cognomen was grafted onto another figure already present in Roman history, a Lucius Furius Medullinus, who is thought to have been his brother. However, more recent scholarship has begun to reinterpret Camillus' character and role in Livy's narrative. Discussion has centered round Camillus being modeled by Livy on late republican period personalities, particularly Augustus. The suggestion put forward is that the image of Camillus may have been refashioned so as to legitimize and possibly influence the self-representation not only that of Augustus, but also Cicero, Pompey and Caesar. While the tradition of Camillus is evidently fictitious, comparisons to him and his achievements were assumed in later times by powerful individuals, as

can be seen in an image in a sixteenth century fresco located in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. Camillus' example was of great propagandistic value for the Medici. Cosimo de Medici's return to Florence from exile in 1434 is compared to Camillus' return from exile to lead the expulsion of the Gauls from Rome. Another example is an image of Camillus, with Romulus hovering above, in an eighteenth century ceiling fresco in the entrance hall of the Villa Borghese in Rome. The content of this work and the moral message within it is strongly linked to eminent members of the Borghese family, namely Camillo Borghese, also known as Pope Paul the fifth. Whoever Camillus was, the tradition of his life and deeds remained an example for later generations to exploit.

Reading Livy's history against a backdrop of crisis and turmoil where the ancient republican institutions were breaking down and being reformed into the principate and their very Roman identity at peril, through Camillus, Livy presented his readers with a heroic symbol, and a image of an ideal Roman. Livy opens Book Five on an epic note that begins the story of the fall of Veii, an Etruscan city fifteen kilometers north of Rome and with whom it shared a border on the bank of the river Tiber. Having supposedly laid siege to Veii for ten years, Rome had become desperate to resolve the war once and for all. An edict to have year-round campaigning exacerbated the discord between the plebeians and the senators. After continuous wars, the people feared that Rome would be depleted still further of able-bodied men who were needed at home to tend their farms and look after their families.

Livy prepares his readers for Camillus' rendezvous with destiny. With Camillus' appointment to the dictatorship in 396, expectations were high. Livy says that he is the *dux fatalis*, the destined or fated leader. He writes that Camillus is careful to make the appropriate religious observances that are required for a successful campaign. By doing so Camillus has ensured that he and Rome have the blessing of the gods and of Fortune. Having sought divine intervention, the Romans followed the advice of the Delphic oracle to ensure a victory over Veii. In return for the oracle's advice to Rome was to make a gift of a tenth of the Veientine booty, and the people to continue to perform the sacred rites of the fatherland in the customary way. Camillus successfully took Veii and Livy says that he was astounded by the amount of booty to be taken. By this time Camillus had begun to develop a reputation for stinginess, after a previous encounter with the Faliscans and Capenates. He ordered, contrary to custom, that this booty be handed over to his quaestor and not to his soldiers. When it came time to decide what to do with the

Veientine booty, he chose instead to refer the question of the disposition of the booty to the Senate. Livy does not explain exactly why Camillus made this decision, but it did put him in a difficult position with the people and it did set him up for the events that were to come. A proposal that each man keep the booty he had taken for himself, was adopted by the Senate. This decision resulted in the tithe having to be recovered later on from the booty taken as personal spoils by individuals. After the victory, Camillus celebrated his triumph, decked out to look like Jupiter himself, in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which the people viewed as a sacrilege.

The tribunes agitated the people against the patricians, especially Camillus, for leaving so little of the booty after most of it had been dedicated to the state and religion. Another war with the Faliscans and Capenates in 395 prompted a proposal to establish a colony in Volscian territory, but the plebeians demanded that a colony be established at Veii instead. Camillus harangues the people, as a matter of conscience, and further angers them over the amount promised as a gift to Apollo. But, while Camillus' reputation continued to deteriorate with the tribunes and people, his military reputation continued to grow.

The people, still smarting over the distribution of the Veientine booty, took their opportunity to exact revenge on Camillus and he was indicted by a tribune of the plebs. Livy tells his readers that Camillus' own clients could not acquit him, but they offered to pay his fine. Camillus was so angry at the ingratitude of his fellow citizens that, at a critical time for Rome, he opted to remove himself from the city altogether and went to live in Ardea. Camillus might have made himself wise to the feelings of the people, but then Livy would not have been able to have Camillus return from exile so spectacularly to save Rome.

Of the many themes running through Book Five perhaps the main theme is that of religio, religion, through which Livy instructs his readers about the relationship between the Romans and their gods. Livy writes that when the people make luxury their object and are absorbed by their own interests, they forget to honour the gods. To remind Romans that they must return to pietas, the gods do not hesitate to punish by inflicting disaster and war on the people, and with Camillus gone from Rome, Livy says that things begin to go badly for the Romans. Having failed miserably through diplomacy to prevent the Gauls from reaching Rome, the Romans went out to meet them in battle near the Allia River. Here Livy lists the failures of the Romans, as they prepare to meet the enemy in battle. He infers that, had Camillus still been in the

city, he would have been appointed dictator and ensured that the army was levied with due care. Nor would Camillus have believed that the threat of the Gauls marching to Rome was in any way insignificant, as up until that point in time, the people had ignored all the portents that foretold the disaster. Livy says the military tribunes failed to make the proper preparations for the battle. While having ignored standard military procedures, most importantly, they failed to take the auspices prior to the battle, which is what Camillus would have done had he been in command. The Roman army is completely routed and the survivors flee to Veii and Rome. Those survivors, who reached Rome in time before the arrival of the Gauls, rushed to the safety of the Capitoline, the home of the gods, but they forgot to close the city gates behind them. Livy makes it clear in his narrative that the gods had forsaken the Romans and gone over to the Gauls!

However, the fates determined that Camillus was the one to save Rome from destruction. Though he had found himself in a situation that was not of his choosing, Camillus was attended by good fortune as he followed his destiny, as the gods used him to teach his fellow Romans that disaster is a companion to greed, extravagance, and impiety. And so a message was sent to him urgently recalling him from exile to save Rome having already been made dictator in his absence. He gathers together an army of Ardeans and the survivors who had sought refuge at Veii after the Battle of the Allia and he heads for Rome. In the meantime, after having bravely defended the Capitoline hill, the besieged Romans were starving and had almost given up hope of rescue. In desperation, they agreed to pay a ransom of gold to the Gauls, but Camillus arrived just in the nick of time to prevent the gold from being handed over declaring to both Romans and Gauls present that the agreement was invalid. Camillus completely routed the Gauls and Rome is saved. Livy says no greater glory could have been bestowed upon an individual by his own soldiers than when Camillus was named parens patriae, father of his country and second founder of the city.

Having just saved his country in war, Livy writes, Camillus saves it a second time in peace by preventing the migration to Veii. Here Livy emphasizes Camillus' change from a military commander to a restorer of the state religion. As he is still in the role of dictator he puts before the senate those obligations to the gods to which Rome must adhere. Among the many things he asked for is that all the shrines that were occupied by the Gauls be restored, their boundaries established, the sites expiated by the rites of purification and the Capitoline games be

established in honour of Jupiter the Best and Greatest, who had protected his home during the Gallic occupation

The people viewed their damaged city and opted to support the move by the tribunes of the plebs to migrate to Veii which was still physically intact. While the gods are now back on the side of the Romans the people are still concerned with their own affairs and not with those of Rome. Camillus perceived that the people's desire to migrate was more about abandoning the gods of Rome than it was about leaving a damaged city.

Livy writes a speech in Camillus' voice, in which he points out that everything turned out well when Romans were pious and very badly when they were not. In this speech, Camillus seeks to restore the contact between the people and the divine power that resides in the city. However, much of Rome had been destroyed, so he set out to reconstruct the temples, shrines and altars in the eyes of his audience. He confronted them with the physical reality of their city, but he also challenged them to see it as something more than just a burnt out remnant to be abandoned. From Camillus' perspective, and as a patriot, it was beyond his comprehension why the people wanted to abandon Rome for Veii. Where Veii had been abandoned by its own gods, referring back to his direct removal of the city's statue of their patron goddess, Juno, he tells them there is no place in Rome that is not permeated by a sense of religion and the gods. He expressed his love for his country as he recalled the memories he had, while he was still in exile, of the Roman hills, the fields, the Tiber and the region where he was born and reared. His visual recollection went beyond the city itself to those areas from which Rome prospered: the health-giving hills, the commercial function of the river, the proximity to the sea and the city that was so fortunately situated to be able to sustain growth. He reminded his audience how successful Rome had been against its neighbours, but if the people take their *virtus* to Veii, the fortune of Rome will not transfer with them. Camillus' audience was stirred by his speech enough to prompt a change of heart.

Livy's program for the moral regeneration of his own society was clearly set out in his preface. He related the lives of those men, who he held up as an example for his readers to imitate or avoid. Livy demands that his readers participate in his narrative, if they are to learn the moral lessons. The readers are constantly drawn to the good and bad in the narrative. Already familiar with the traditional story of Camillus, Livy's history would have resonated with his readers, who were reading against a background of the recent civil war. Like Rome when the Gauls invaded and it was almost

destroyed, so too had Rome almost been destroyed in their time. It was imperative that Livy's readers use Camillus' image as a reminder of what it meant to be Roman.

ATHLETES IN SATYRIC DRAMA

David Pritchard

Satyr drama introduced athletics much more regularly as an activity than either comedy or tragedy. Many of its villains defeated hapless travellers in a boxing or wrestling bout before murdering them. Satyr-plays were often set at athletic contests where the satyrs of the chorus encountered athletes or tried to be competitors themselves. In one of his plays Euripides provided the most detailed critique of athletics in any genre of classical Athenian literature. Explaining this striking prominence of athletics in satyr drama and what light it might shed on the standing of this upper-class activity in classical Athens has not proven easy. Poets probably dramatised the myths of villainous athletes because of their physicality and black-and-white morality, which theatre-goers would have relished after the ethical quandaries of tragedy. But this does not explain why they regularly had satyrs encountering or attempting to be athletes. This appears to have been a consequence of the unusually central role of the chorus of satyrs. The behaviour of these imaginary creatures was the antithesis of popular morality. With their unrestrained appetites for sex and wine satyrs lacked the important virtue of *sôphrosunê* (moderation). Nor did they have *andreia* (manliness).

Poets made theatre-goers laugh by dropping the chorus into a scenario which required them to display these virtues. They always failed to do so and only regained their carefree lives through the intercession of Dionysus or a hero.

Mixing up satyrs and athletics was a sure way to get this positive response. Athletics and *sôphrosunê* went together. Sporting victory required manly courage and the enduring of *ponoi* (toils). As satyrs had neither virtue and knew only the *ponoi* of fornicating and carousing, they were very incongruous athletes. Thus the genre employed athletics as a foil for drawing out the pleasing foibles of its chorus. The Euripides fragment below is a useful counterpoint to the praise lavished on professional athletes and Olympians, then and now:

While countless bad things exist across Greece, nothing is worse than the race of athletic competitors. Firstly they do not know how to live

well nor would they be able to do so; for how could a man who is a slave of his jaw and weaker than his belly acquire prosperity beyond his father? Additionally they are not capable of working for a living and making the best of fortune, because they have not learnt good customs and hence change with difficulty when facing a lack of resources. They are illustrious in their youth and go back and forth as statues of the city. But when bitter old age falls upon them, their humble cloaks are no more because of their loss of thread. Also, I blame the custom of the Greeks, who gather together for these men and honour useless pleasures for the sake of a feast. Who by wrestling well or being swift footed or by punching a jaw finely aided his paternal city through the winning of a crown? Will they fight the enemy with discuses in their hands or repel them from the fatherland by striking between the shields with their hands? In this no one is silly when standing before the spear. Wise and good men must be wreathed with leaves, along with him who, being a moderate and just man, leads his city very finely and the man who puts away bad deeds with words and diminishes battles and civil wars; for such things are fine both for every city and every one of the Greeks.²



Dionysus and satyrs: red-figure cup interior
 Brygos Painter c480BC
 (Wikicommons: CDM Paris 575)

discussion forum with the theme ‘Unity in Diversity: Perspectives from Ancient Literature’. The aim of the panel was to showcase the role of Ancient Greece and Rome in shaping the society and culture of the modern world. The works of Homer, Plato, Virgil, and Cicero (to name just a few) have influenced generations of poets, philosophers, and politicians, and their writings continue to challenge us to think critically about the world and our place within it.

This panel and discussion forum considered the Diversity Week theme of ‘Unity in Diversity’ from the perspective of three different works of Ancient Greek Literature: Xenophon’s *Anabasis* (Amelia Brown), Dio Chrysostom’s *Alexandrian Oration* (Christopher Mallan) and the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius (Caillan Davenport). These texts were written in Ancient Greek between the fourth century B.C. and the second century A.D., but their reflections on the interaction between individuals, governments, and communities remain as relevant as ever.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND HIS MEDITATIONS

Caillan Davenport

Marcus Aurelius’ *Meditations* is a rare work in that it provides us with genuine insights into the mind of a Roman emperor. The *Meditations*, which is called ‘To himself’ in the medieval manuscripts, consists of Marcus’ private thoughts written during the campaigns which he conducted against the Germanic tribes on the northern frontiers during the 160s and 170s A.D. These thoughts were carefully edited – by Marcus or a later editor we do not know – into a twelve-book work. The *Meditations* had been formally published by the mid-fourth century A.D., since they are mentioned by the emperor Julian in his *Caesares*, and by the orator Themistius in a speech to the emperor Valens.

Marcus Aurelius ruled the Roman empire between A.D. 161-180. His realm stretched from the straits of Gibraltar in the west to the Euphrates in the east, from northern Britain in the north to the edge of the Sahara in the south. In this empire of some sixty million inhabitants, there were Italians, Moors, Syrians, Gauls, Britons and Thracians. But the people to whom the Romans owed the most, at least in terms of culture, were the Greeks. The conquest of Greece and Asia Minor in the first and second century B.C. ushered in a new period of ‘Hellenization’, as Romans adapted Greek ideas, artistic forms and tastes, and made them their own. It was this united Greco-Roman culture which then

UNITY IN DIVERSITY: PERSPECTIVES FROM ANCIENT LITERATURE

The theme for the 2012 Diversity Week at the University of Queensland was ‘Unity in Diversity’. As part of the week-long celebrations, Dr Caillan Davenport, Dr Amelia Brown, and Mr. Christopher Mallan from the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics, organized a panel and

² Translation by Dr Pritchard of Euripides *First Autolykos* (fragment 282 Kannicht). A pre-print of the article on which the abstract above is based can be found at <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:254256>

spread throughout the Mediterranean basin as Roman influence expanded in subsequent centuries.

The love of Greek culture was especially apparent among the Antonine emperors, who ruled the Roman world in the second century A.D. Hadrian, Marcus' adoptive grandfather, was a prominent philhellene, adopting a beard that was reminiscent of that worn by philosophers and intellectuals in the Greek world. Statues of Hadrian were erected throughout Greece and other parts of the empire showing the emperor wearing a very distinctive breastplate. It depicted the goddess Athena crowned by victories, while being supported by a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, the legendary founders of Rome. Such a breastplate was emblematic of the unity of Greek and Roman cultures which Hadrian and the other Antonine emperors espoused.



Hadrian's breastplate from a statue of the emperor at Olympia, Greece

This was the world into which Marcus Aurelius was born. He received the very best education at the court of his adoptive father, Antoninus Pius, who was himself the adopted son of Hadrian. Marcus had tutors in Greek and Latin language and literature, law, philosophy, music and geometry, who provided him with an excellent liberal arts education. These tutors were drawn from the educated elite of the Roman empire. M. Cornelius Fronto, an orator from Africa who made a name for himself as a lawyer in Rome, was Marcus' tutor in Latin rhetoric. He had no fewer than three teachers in Greek, including the millionaire senator Herodes Atticus, the richest man in Greece. Atticus was a famous orator in his own right, attracting numerous pupils to his school in Athens.

Philosophers exerted a significant influence on the young Marcus, which he acknowledged in the first book of the *Meditations*. The first of these was Apollonius, from Chalcedon in Asia Minor. As a Stoic, Apollonius taught Marcus to live his life guided by nature (*physis* in Greek, *natura* in Latin) and reason (*logos* in Greek, *ratio* in Latin). Marcus

wrote that he learned from Apollonius 'moral freedom, the certainty to ignore the dice of fortune, and have no other perspective, even for a moment, than that of reason alone: to be always the same man, unchanged in sudden pain, in the loss of a child, in lingering sickness...' (*Meditations* 1.8). Philosophy could be combined with politics, as in the case of Cn. Claudius Severus Arabianus, a Roman senator from Asia Minor who was consul in A.D. 146. Marcus says that Severus instilled in him 'the idea of a balanced constitution, a commonwealth based on equality and freedom of speech, and of a monarchy which values above all the liberty of the subject...' (*Meditations* 1.14).

Sextus of Chaeronea, nephew of the biographer Plutarch, was another important mentor. It is said that Marcus continued to attend his classes even after becoming emperor. Sextus taught him 'never to give the impression of anger or any other passion, but to combine complete freedom from passion with the greatest human affection; to praise without fanfare, and to wear great learning lightly.' (*Meditations* 1.9) The use of the term 'human affection' (*philostorgia*) by Marcus is important. According to Fronto, there was no equivalent word for *philostorgia* in Latin, because it was not a Roman concept. In his education, Marcus truly benefited from both Greek and Latin learning in preparation for his future responsibilities.

Marcus' ideals were to be tested when he came to the throne in A.D. 161 after the death of Antoninus Pius. He ruled for eight years with a younger co-emperor, Lucius Verus, until Verus died of a stroke in A.D. 169. Marcus had spent his youth touring Italy with the court, receiving instruction by letters and in person from Fronto and his other tutors. Yet his reign was marked by a series of major wars, notably a campaign against the Parthians in the east, and then the Marcomannic wars on the northern frontiers. These were not wars of expansion, but defensive conflicts, prompted by incursions of Germanic tribes into north Italy which threatened the safety and security of the Roman empire.

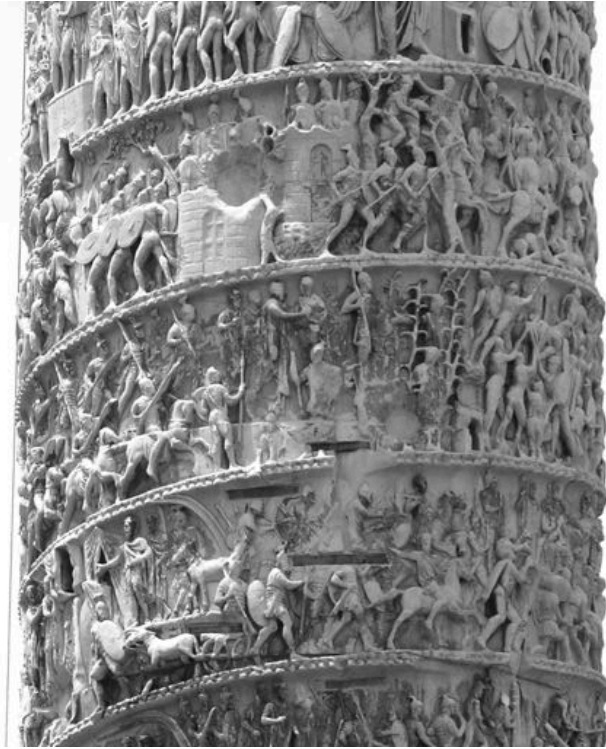
Despite not being trained in the arts of warfare, but in rhetoric and philosophy, Marcus proved to be a successful military leader, personally leading campaigns on the frontiers. He was not an aggressive man, and despised warfare for its own sake. Marcus reserved particular disdain for some of the greatest leaders in the ancient world, such as Alexander, Pompey and Caesar, whom he said were 'slaves to all their ambitions' (*Meditations* 8.3). He found no particular joy in death and killing, either of animals or of the barbarians against whom he was fighting. As he wrote: 'A

spider is proud to trap a fly. Men are proud of their own hunting – a hare, a sprat in the net, boars, bears, Sarmatian prisoners. If you examine their motives, are they not all bandits?' (Meditations 10.10) These reflections provide an important counterpoint to the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which celebrated the subjugation of the Germanic tribes. They demonstrate the wide gulf that could exist between the emperor's personal thoughts, as found in the Meditations, and the official rhetoric of Roman triumphalism.

But you should still be kind to them.' (Meditations 9.27)

Marcus Aurelius' actions and outlook won him admiration throughout the empire, a sentiment that was only increased by the troublesome and turbulent reign of his son and successor, Commodus (A.D. 180-192). The historian Cassius Dio, himself a Greek from Asia Minor who entered the Roman senate, considered Marcus Aurelius to be the best Roman emperor. Writing approximately forty years after Marcus' death, Dio paid tribute to the emperor's virtues and his ability to maintain the integrity of the empire in difficult circumstances.

...he did not meet with the good fortune that he deserved, for he was not strong in body and was involved in a multitude of troubles throughout practically his entire reign. But for my part, I admire him all the more for this very reason, that amid unusual and extraordinary difficulties he both survived and preserved the empire. (Cassius Dio 72.35.2-3)



Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome

Marcus Aurelius faced one major revolt in A.D. 175. Avidius Cassius, one of his best generals and governor of Syria, had heard incorrectly that Marcus was gravely ill and would not survive, and decided to make a bid for the throne. Once news of the emperor's recovery had reached Syria, it was too late to stop the uprising. Avidius was killed by one of his own soldiers only three months later. In his response to the revolt, Marcus Aurelius was merciful and did not summarily execute any of Avidius' supporters. Instead, they were brought for trial before the senate. These actions seem very much in keeping with the emperor's attitudes regarding those who would criticise his rule, as expressed in the Meditations.

When another blames you or hates you, or people voice similar criticisms, go to their souls, penetrate inside and see what sort of people they are. You will realise that there is no need to be racked with anxiety that they should hold any particular opinion about you.

The Roman empire was not an idyllic paradise. On many levels it was a totalitarian dictatorship, with peace secured through military might. Slavery was an accepted part of life, and the empire's inhabitants rejoiced in gruesome blood sports. But that does not diminish the achievements of an emperor such as Marcus Aurelius or the importance of a text such as the Meditations. For in this work we have the thoughts of an emperor, educated by the best teachers and philosophers in the Greco-Roman world, who wrestled constantly with himself in his desire to provide his subjects with just and honorable leadership.

80,000 ARTEFACTS AND COUNTING ...

Pamela Rushby

Quite some years ago I was in Egypt and was fortunate enough to be able to visit some excavations: Geoffrey Martin's at Saqqara, and Naguib Kanawati's at Dershasha. The tombs the team were working on at Dershasha, restoring the tomb paintings, had first been recorded by William Matthew Flinders Petrie, who worked at Dershasha in 1897.

The work Petrie did there contributed greatly to the knowledge of Old Kingdom burial customs. The artefacts he discovered included textiles: nine linen shirts which were sent back to University College London, but were considered too fragile to be even unwrapped – let alone put on display – until 1981.

Now, however, they are on display, and with this in mind, on a recent visit to London, we set out to find the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology.

The Museum's website had warned us that the Museum was 'difficult to find', especially as building works were taking place nearby, but we found our way through the alleys and backways of UCL to a small, plain black door – thankfully, identified with a banner outside advertising the Museum. Up a flight of stairs, through a very small reception area, and we were there.



The whole collection, numbering more than 80,000 objects, is packed into two galleries and a third area with display cases running down the side of a flight of steps in a stairwell, leading back to the street. We were warned not to exit by that door, however, 'It's fire alarmed', and to return through the galleries. But it wasn't as if there wouldn't be plenty to see on our return journey. The galleries are ... overwhelming.

At first glance I thought all 80,000 objects were on display, packed into rows of high, shelved cases in the galleries, hanging on the walls in even more display cases. Sculpture, pots, jewellery, tiles, mummy portraits, textiles, bowls, hair combs, mirrors, cosmetic jars, papyrus, spoons, amulets, shabtis. But they aren't all on display. Far from it. Only ten per cent of the collection is on display; the rest is in storage around the galleries. So that meant the crowded galleries contained a mere 8000 pieces. And we had three hours until the Museum closed for the day ...

The collection is largely the achievement of Flinders Petrie, first UCL Edwards Professor of Egyptian Archaeology and Philology. Over seventy-five per cent of the artefacts come from excavations personally directed or funded by Petrie, or from purchases which he chose himself for teaching purposes at UCL. It's said to be one of the greatest collections of Egyptian and Sudanese archaeology in the world, telling the

story of the Nile Valley and its people from prehistory to the Islamic period.

The collection proudly claims to be full of 'first's'. One of the first examples of linen from Egypt, dating from 5000 BC. A fragment from the first kinglist (about 2900 BC). The first worked iron beads from Egypt. The oldest wills written on papyrus. The oldest gynaecological papyrus. The only veterinary papyrus from ancient Egypt. The list goes on and on.

In another 'first', Flinders Petrie was the first UCL Edwards Professor of Egyptian Archaeology and Philology. The Chair was funded through a bequest from Amelia Edwards, an English writer, traveller and Egyptologist, and a fascinating person in her own right.

Amelia Edwards was a successful English novelist, publishing her first novel in 1855. In 1873-4 Amelia Edwards toured Egypt with a party of friends, and developed a life-long passion for the land and history of Egypt. She wrote a book about her travels, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, which became an immediate best seller.

Amelia Edwards co-founded the Egypt Exploration Fund (now the Egypt Exploration Society), which aimed at preserving and studying the ancient monuments of Egypt. In her later years she abandoned fiction and concentrated on Egyptology, writing articles for encyclopaedias, and undertaking lecture tours.

On her death in 1892, Amelia Edwards left her collection of Egyptian antiquities and her library to UCL (it's rumoured because this was the only university which awarded degrees to women at the time), together with a sum of money to fund the Edwards Chair of Egyptology – under the condition that Petrie should become the first Edwards Professor. Amelia Edwards' antiquities became the initial collection for the Museum. This was later added to by Petrie's own collection, in 1913, and his successors added to the collection, excavating in Egypt and the Sudan, resulting in a collection numbering tens of thousands of artefacts.

Because the collection is so overwhelmingly huge, the Museum has developed themed Trails for visitors to follow. Each trail has a map, a list of objects related to the theme, and their locations. One, for example, is a quick guide to the founding collection of the Museum and its founder, Amelia Edwards. Others take visitors to objects associated with the mummification and burial of the dead in ancient Egypt; food and cookery; Islamic Egypt; Coptic Egypt; cartonnage mask

conservation; Alexander and the Greeks; Freemasonry and ancient Egypt.

There are Family Trails, where children can be introduced to archaeology, or learn about the importance of the cat in ancient Egypt – and are invited to search for the cats in the collection.

And then there are the off-beat looks at Egypt: the Sci-fi Trail where Dr Who encounters Seth and we step through the Stargate; the Gothic Egypt Trail that explores the 'morbid and macabre'; and the Beyond Isis and Osiris Trail – a rather Explicit Trail, where you're warned not to take the kiddies.

We set out to explore, armed with a supplied torch for a closer look at objects of special interest, as the lighting is kept low for conservation purposes.

The labels on many of the objects are interesting in themselves. Some are faded, a little battered, hand-written, looking as if they've been there for years and years, quite possibly written by Amelia Edwards or Petrie himself. Some are typed on an old, manual typewriter – and some have corrections hand-written on them. Yet right beside many of them, are bar codes. Flash your smart phone and get all the information you need.

The collection clearly overflowed its space quite quickly, as part of it is housed down the side of a staircase, in cases against the wall filled with small bronze figurines, wooden model boats and larger pots.

So, in just three hours, what really caught the eye? An urn burial. Cases of beautiful, fragile glass. Jewellery in gleaming gold and brilliant blues and greens. A whole shelf of cartonnage mummy masks. Another shelf of mummy masks from Roman times. The ancient linen we'd come to see.

And something that really got my attention. A set of what looked like tiny saucepans, small enough to fit into a doll's house. I leaned over to look closer. A child's toy, perhaps? But the label suggested they were 'opium measures' and had been found in the Sudan. Opium measures? Really? I'd never heard that one before.

So, when I got back to my computer, I accessed the online data base of the Museum's 80,000 objects and found the tiny 'saucepans' – now identified as gold measures. Gold. Had I misread the label? Was the battery of the torch too low? Did I have my reading glasses on? Had I looked at just a few artefacts too many? I could have sworn the label read 'opium measures'. Looks like another trip to London's going to be necessary – just to check it out.

REVIEW OF SOME RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNALS

John Ratcliffe

The purpose of this regular column is to bring to your attention, and whet your appetite for reading some articles from archaeological journals which I have found interesting. Some of the journals are 'popular' and will have been on your local newsagent's stands, but by the time you read about it in *Nova* the newsagent will have sold out. However, the magazine will be available in the Brisbane City Library. Other journals are more scholarly and will be found in the UQ Library, either in hard copy or online. I will give you the catalogue number of these. For those of you who have not taken advantage of becoming a member of the UQ Library at the discounted rates available to members of FoA take a look at the notice on the FOA website. Go to the FOA website at friendsofantiquity.org.au and click on the tab at the right hand end of the grey bar at the top labelled 'Membership'. This will open a page in which you will see written in blue on the left side the words 'Alumni Library Privileges'; click on those blue words and you will open a document which explains the wonderful privileges which one may purchase that give access to the treasure house of knowledge in the UQ Library.

(1) **'The Weapon that changed History'**
Andrew Curry, *Archaeology*, vol 65, 1, 2012. (UQ cat. no: CC1.A69. Also available online).

This article follows on a paper I reviewed in the May 2012 *Nova* on the Carthaginians at war in Sicily. Andrew Curry documents the discovery of some of the remains from wrecks of ships which sank (almost certainly) in the battle between the Roman and Carthaginian navies just off the west coast of Sicily in 241 BCE. The Carthaginian navy was destroyed, the first Punic war came to an end and Carthage lost its grip on the Mediterranean. As a result, Rome gained control of Sicily. This was Rome's first overseas province and the start of its overseas Empire. The battle and reasons for the Roman victory are documented in Polybius (*Histories*, 1, 59-61). As I wrote in the last issue of *Nova* it is always good to have an ancient literary source to contextualise archaeological findings. In fact it was examination of Polybius' text which led the leader of the maritime archaeological team, Dr. Jeff Royal, to explore the sea bed near the Egadia islands using state of the art sonar equipment and a remotely controlled submersible vehicle to locate and then retrieve the confirmatory objects from the sea bed. This is the first time that the actual site of an ancient sea battle has been accurately

predicted from an ancient text and then the site confirmed with archaeological evidence. The most significant, and for me the most interesting, objects found by this American-Italian research team are six bronze rams which had been mounted on the prows of the war galleys. Bronze helmets of a type which help date the wrecks and help confirm the belligerent purpose of the ships were also found nearby, as were numerous amphorae. Polybius tells us that the Carthaginian fleet was sailing to resupply and free their besieged forces at Eryx near Drepana, where Hamilcar Barca was trapped on the mainland of Sicily.

The interesting thing about the rams is how well they were designed to make holes in the side of the enemy ship and this can be appreciated from the illustration (Figure1). Although these rams or beaks have been illustrated on pottery and sculpture the detail of their construction is usually difficult to discern. The rams, made entirely of bronze, consist of three almost horizontal plates about three feet long and two feet wide. These plates are joined by a vertical wedge with a narrow leading edge and the whole bronze apparatus firmly attached to the prow and stem-post of the galley at water level. Although the edges of the bronze plates and the vertical wedge look blunt, when driven by the momentum of heavy galley propelled by its ranks of powerful oarsmen, it is likely that the ram would have cut into the side of the victim ship like a knife into butter.

For those of you who find this as fascinating as I do I recommend that you look at the website of the exploration team at <http://www.rpmmnautical.org/>.



Trireme *Olympias* of the Hellenic Navy
Ελληνικά: Χρήστης [Templar52](#)

(2) **'Aging cremated infants: the problem of sacrifice at the Tophet of Carthage'**

Smith, P., Avishai, G., Greene, J.A. and Stager, L. E, *Antiquity*, vol 85, No 329, pp 859-874. (UQ cat. no. CC1.A65, and online through *Proquest*).

The second article also concerns the Carthaginians. The question of human sacrifice is problematic for us in modern times and particularly so when those sacrificed are children or infants. In some other cultures in European and American prehistory human infant sacrifice seems to have been accepted as normal but we should be very sure of our interpretation of archaeological findings before attributing this practice to a particular community in antiquity.

Archaeologists have discovered many thousands of cinerary urns dating from eighth to second century BCE within specialised areas of ancient Carthage which archaeologists have named 'Tophets' after Biblical references. Some of the urns were marked by stelae. Within the urns were found the cremated remains of infant humans and relatively fewer juvenile ovicaprines and birds. There are Biblical references (2 Kings 23:10, 2 Chronicles 28:3, 33:6, Jeremiah 7:31, 19:50) to infant human sacrifice to Baal by incineration amongst the Canaanites who are thought to be the Levantine predecessors of the Carthaginians and Diodorus Siculus very clearly describes infant human sacrifice amongst the Carthaginians (Library 20:14).

Smith et al. argue that if the statistical distribution of the ages of the infants found cremated in the Tophet does not correspond with the distribution of ages of infants dying from natural causes then it is reasonable to assume that the infants died from unnatural causes. Sacrifice either for propitiation of a deity or for population control could provide an explanation; selection for sacrifice might have been influenced by gender or social considerations such as class or marital status of the parents. The authors discuss and explore several methods of estimating skeletal maturity (bone age). They examined 445 urns and of these only 325 contained identifiable human bones; some urns contained more than one individual and the remains of at least 390 separate human infants were examined. Measurement of bones which is a normal method of estimating skeletal age of infants was unreliable because baby bones shrink very considerably during cremation and there was evidence that the fire-temperature during cremation differed widely between individuals. The authors concluded that the teeth and the petrous temporal bone (a rather solid bone inside the skull) were less affected by differences in fire temperature and measurement of these structures is likely to

correlate reasonably well with the age of the infant at death. A variety of special techniques, including micro C.T. scanning, were used to measure the teeth and petrous bones.

Smith et al conclude that the cremated infants are indeed testament to infant human sacrifice because the range of maturity of the infants found in the Tophet at Carthage is narrow; a very significant majority were between four and six weeks post-natal age whereas the age of foetuses and infants dying from natural causes would be very much wider and would have included a greater proportion of premature babies.

The authors are likely to be right, but one issue which they do not address is that infants dying from natural causes between certain calendar-dictated religious rituals might have been accorded special funeral rites and this, maybe, could account for the unusual distribution of the ages at death of this population.

(3) 'The meaning of wine in Egyptian tombs: the three amphorae from Tutankhamun's burial chamber'

Maria Guasch-Jané, *Antiquity*, vol 85, No 329, pp 851-858.

When Tutankhamun's tomb was discovered in 1921 most, if not all, the material needed to sustain the pharaoh's bodily needs in the afterlife, including amphorae for wine or oil, were stored in an antechamber. However lying between the sarcophagus and the walls of the actual burial chamber were discovered three amphorae. The amphorae had been placed on the east, west and south sides of the king's casket. Inscriptions on them indicated that the contents had been wine of different vintages and from different locations. Previous analysis by Guasch-Jané of the residues within the amphorae, using liquid chromatography mass spectroscopy, had indicated that that they contained three different types of wine; the eastern amphora had contained a white wine, the western a red wine and the southern amphora had contained a specialised red wine which had had a much more complex manufacture. This last beverage was labelled sheddah on its amphora. The meaning of sheddah is unknown.

Guasch-Jané presents many interesting details about the production, labelling and consumption of wine in ancient Egypt. Wine was drunk by the ancient Egyptian élite and was an offering made to the gods. In some royal tombs very many amphorae had been found and had been assumed to be for the storage of wine intended for consumption in the afterlife. The main purpose of her paper, however, was to propose an explanation

for the presence of these three different beverages at three cardinal points in such close, and presumably sacred, proximity to the remains of the dead pharaoh. Her explanation takes into account significant cosmological features in ancient Egyptian religion and readers will be able to link this explanation to details of John Whitehorne's talk at the last Ancient History Day. Guasch-Jané points out that in some of the Ramesside tombs the sun god, Ra, is transformed from red at sunset to yellow at sunrise; the red sun disc enters the mouth of the sky goddess Nut in the west and is reborn in the east as a yellow sun disc- Ra-Horakhty. This might explain the symbolic locations of the red wine on the west and the white on the east of the pharaoh's sarcophagus. This does not explain the presence of a more complex wine, sheddah, to the south. Guasch-Jané suggests that because the northern stars neither rise nor set during the solar year, Ra's passage through the northern part of Nut's body is easier, whereas passage through the southern celestial hemisphere is either prolonged or more difficult because of the inconstant star- Sothis and the constellation Orion. He also suggests that Ra might require a special wine, the sheddah, to fortify him through his travels through the southern hemisphere of the night sky.

Further reading: The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt indicates that Sothis probably equates to Sirius which rises each year at the same time as the Nile flood, an essential event for Egyptian prosperity. Sothis' husband is Orion whose constellation is nearby. Sothis and Orion parallel Isis and Osiris and, according to one text, Sothis gives birth to the morning star after coupling with Osiris.

The departed pharaoh identified with Osiris whilst travelling through Nut to the morning in the east and thus his nocturnal duties might well have benefited with a bit of special wine such as sheddah., either to fortify himself or as a special gift for Sothis to encourage her to grant the annual Nile flood.

Editor's apology

The last issue of Nova contained what proved to be an elusive illustration. John Ratcliffe had gone to great trouble to get permission for *Nova* to reproduce. Sincere apologies to John. See following page: Limestone Relief of the Goddess Atargatis, or Tyche, with Doves (from the Temple of Adonis, Dura-Europos, 1st century CE. Yale University Art Gallery, Yale-French Excavations at Dura-Europos: 1935.46. Photography © 2011 Yale University Art Gallery



REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Roger Scott

'CHUTBRIS' AND HOMER TRANSLATIONS

I thought Edward Luttwak was a surprising choice of author for the *New York Review of Books*' lead article in the February 23 issue, reviewing at unusual length the translation of the *Iliad* by Stephen Mitchell. I am familiar from my African studies with Luttwak's book *Coup D'Etat - A Practical Handbook* and I am not alone in this familiarity as the book has been reprinted numerous times and translated into fourteen languages. He has also written a best-selling textbook on contemporary military strategy and once played a prominent role as a military adviser to various American Presidents. His qualification for discussing Homer rests on his more specialised writing on the grand strategy of the Roman and, more recently, Byzantine empires. His pugnacious style is utterly devastating, likely to upset anyone with a fragile ego in its outright condemnation. I doubt Mitchell will care.

Luttwak counsels readers not to be taken in by the hype which has other reviewers calling the new translation 'magnificent', 'daring, an action-packed, slick and contemporary rendering', 'clear-sighted and thrilling' and Mitchell being identified as 'a poet and one of the pre-eminent translators and interpreters of ancient and modern classics' and 'the closest thing the translation world has to a rock star'.

Luttwak begins his review by reporting on the vast number of translations available and their continuing popularity - he was impressed to find ten different versions of the *Iliad* available in the bookshop of an airline terminal. He notes the extent to which other countries and other cultures have admired the *Iliad*, including China and Japan. He also notes the astonishing diversity of Mitchell's previous work - on Babylonian, Chinese, French and German epics to mention but a few.

Presumably it was this reputation which made it possible for Mitchell to draw so fruitfully on the unstinting help and advice from M L West, identified by Luttwak as 'the current Zeus of the Homeric world - with West's divine afflatus Mitchell could translate anything'.

But then Mitchell is put to the sword for his cavalier approach to the *Iliad*, particularly the excisions of individual descriptions and editing out of details. Luttwak also criticises Mitchell for accepting the truncations of West's edition when more complete versions are available such as that of Helmut van Thiel and the recent English translation based on van Thiel by Anthony Verity.

I found Luttwak's commentary incidental to the review on the creation of a final (largely) agreed 'single text' compelling reading, dealing in particular with the contributions of generations of librarians in the great library of Alexandria - Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus.

The crux of Luttwak's complaint was not just about the slangy style, which he saw as in poor taste and unbalancing the narrative force of the poetry. It was mainly about the massive excision of the whole of Book 10 when the raiding party led by Odysseus and Diomedes moves from intelligence gathering about the Trojans to infiltrating and looting the camp of their Thracian allies. Luttwak convincingly demolishes the case made by Mitchell for this excision and graphically illustrates the dramatic purpose of Book 10 as well as its historical significance in the detail provided to support the once-contested case that the *Iliad* was historically based.

He concludes by considering the reason for the longevity of enthusiasm for reading the *Iliad*. He suggests, that, if Homer had existed, 'he would have been the star pupil in any creative writing course. These courses teach a variety of tricks and techniques for different kinds of writing, but Homer uses absolutely all of them'. He also suggests that the value system underlying the relationship between humans, heroes and gods are universal and enduring. Finally, as someone from a military background, he sees the *Iliad* as the ultimate war novel in its concern for the details of equipment and the gory details of actual personal conflict.

The clear advice from Luttwak is not to read Mitchell, even for light entertainment. 'Mitchell's excisions of details are too frequent, but his much greater offence is outright mutilation. He omits the entirety of Book 10 which he regards as a baroque and nasty episode', to be recognised as an interpolation with major inconsistencies in style and

content with the rest of the *Iliad*. Luttwak suggests that 'each contention has some merit, yet the exclusion of the Book still amounts to an extreme case of 'chutbris' - chutzpah for effrontery, hubris for arrogance.'

Postscript: 'Do we now prefer a road movie to a war story?'

A letter in the following *London Review of Books* (22 March 2012) questioned Luttwak's assertion that the *Iliad* had always been preferred to the *Odyssey*. Michael Lang argues that the preference for the *Iliad*, in English translation at least, ended well before Luttwak's visit to the San Francisco airport. Quoting one of his own essays, Lang reports that 'this preference (for the *Iliad*) continued to be reflected until the end of World War One. Not surprisingly, by the November armistice, the Western romantic notion of war, first expressed in Homer's portrayal of aristocratic warriors engaged in glorious combat, was utterly shattered ... the tactics of modern warfare could no longer accommodate Homeric models'. Reflecting this cultural turnabout, Lang points out that in the 300 years preceding the armistice, the *Iliad* was translated into English 38 times and the *Odyssey* 26 times; in the nine decades after 1918, only 16 *Iliads* appeared and 25 *Odysseys*. Using these statistics (rather than, for example, total copies sold or levels of library borrowings) Lang concluded that 'it seems to have taken almost three thousand years for the story of Odysseus' long and difficult journey home to finally surpass, in general popularity at least, Homer's pounding tale of war'.

WHAT'S IN A WORD: 'CHUM'

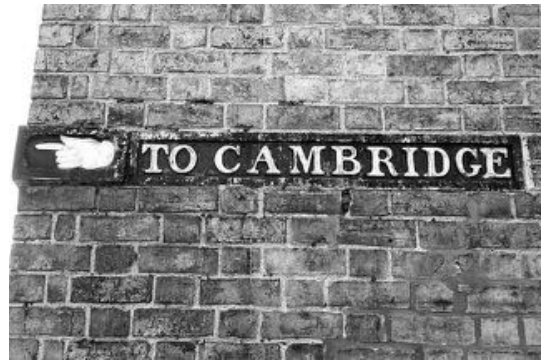
Bob Milns

Breakfast time chez Milns can occasionally be a revelatory time for lovers of words like my wife Lyn and myself. For some reason, now forgotten, the expression 'new chum' came up in conversation. It used to refer to a recently arrived migrant from England; I myself, after my arrival in Armidale in 1964, was sometimes referred to as a 'new chum'. What, we wondered, was the origin of 'chum'!

On looking it up in our etymological dictionary, we learned that it was first attested in the 17th century and was probably a shortened form of 'chamber fellow', used by Oxford students. The article then referred us to 'crony' – a word with unsavoury connotations and, sadly, not infrequently heard these days.

Under 'crony' we found that it too came into usage in the 17th century and was student slang, though apparently without the pejorative tone, at

Cambridge, from the Greek 'khronios', 'of long duration', the adjective from the noun 'khronos', 'time'.



Where Tim Hamlyn is going, and Bob Milns has been

As a Cambridge graduate – 50 years ago to the day as I write this – I would have preferred 'crony' to have originated in Oxford and 'chum' in Cambridge, despite the Greek origin of the former ; and I shall try to convince myself that the dictionary has got the words the wrong way round. The word 'crony', incidentally, has no etymological connection with 'crone', 'a witch-like old woman', which apparently came into the language in the 14th century from the Old French 'carogne', meaning 'carrion' and ultimately from the Latin 'caro', 'flesh'. Alas, language has not always been kind to the female sex.

2012 VISITING PROFESSOR, AUSTRALIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, ATHENS

The 2012 Visiting Professor of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens is Professor Catherine Morgan, Director of the British School at Athens, who will be visiting the University of Queensland in its capacity as an Institutional Member of the AAIA. The Discipline of Classics & Ancient History and the Queensland Friends of the AAIA will be hosting her visit which is from 14-17 August. She will be giving a public lecture on Thursday 16 August at 6pm in addition to a seminar for students of the Discipline. Details of the public lecture will appear in due course on the Friends of Antiquity website for those interested in attending it. The University of Queensland is one of 11 universities throughout Australia, together with 11 secondary schools or colleges and other institutions, all of which are Institutional Members of the AAIA. Professor Morgan is the 23rd Visiting Professor for the Institute which was founded in 1980 and operates from the University of Sydney under the directorship of Professor Alexander Cambitoglou. The Institute has also an office and a hostel in Athens.

ALEXANDER

Bob Milns

There was a lad from Macedon;
King Philip was his dad;
He lived a short and brutal life
And some folk called him mad.

His mother thought so much of him
That for his sake she'd kill;
Which seems to be precisely what
She did to poor King Phil.

His tutor was a famous man;
Who's not heard of Aristotle?
Who taught him many useful things,
But not to shun the bottle.

At horses, sports, manoeuvres too,
He'd toil till dusk from dawn;
But when it came to bedding girls
He'd give a great big yawn.

Hephaestion was his only love,
For Hephaestion were his sighs;
And Heaven, so go our source's words,
Lay 'tween Hephaestion's thighs.



Busts of Alexander the Great and Hephaestion, Getty Museum, California (WikiCommons)

Though once, on Afghan's craggy peaks,
Rhexane his loins did fire
To do his duty, like a man
A son and heir to sire.

Alas, he never saw the babe
Born to his charming wife;
Ere that occurred, in Babylon
He departed from this life.

Just how he met his early death
The theories still go on;
But some advance a broken heart
For dead Hephaestion.

MILNS TOUR: April 2013

IN SEARCH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN GREECE AND TURKEY

In April 2012, *Nova* referred to the 'Alexander the Great – 2000 Years of Treasures' exhibition coming to Sydney from the State Hermitage in St Petersburg, Russia later this year.

Bob Milns will be leading a tour 'In Search of Alexander the Great in Greece and Turkey' during April next year (2013). Interested persons should contact Mrs Rebecca Georgiou of Atlas Travel Service ph. 3844.1304 or email rebecca@atlastravel.com.au

The tour begins at Alexander's birthplace, Pella, in northern Greece and follows his route into Turkey, via Troy, to the River Granicus, the scene of Alexander's first battle against the forces of Persia in 334 BC. Onwards then throughout Turkey to Tarsus and the River Cydnus where Alexander swam, falling ill afterwards. The search for Alexander will end at Iskenderun (formerly Alexandretta, founded by Alexander to celebrate his great victory at Issus over the Persian king in November 333 BC) which is near the site of the Battle of Issus.

MEMBERSHIP OF FOA AND ALUMNI FRIENDS

1. Alumni Friends single membership is \$33.00 (joint membership is \$44.00);
2. Friends of Antiquity membership is \$16.50 for each member;
3. Friends of Antiquity mailing list fee is \$27.50;
4. Full time student membership is \$5.50.

CONTACTING FRIENDS OF ANTIQUITY

Friends of Antiquity can be found through the websites: <http://www.friendsofantiqunty.org.au/> and <http://www.uq.edu.au/hprc>.

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Vice-President: Roger Scott: scottroger2@me.com
Editor of *Nova*: Ann Scott: aemscott@bigpond.net.au

Change of address notification should be sent to: Friends of Antiquity, c/o The Alumni Centre, 50 Walcott Street, St Lucia 4067, or email: alumni@uq.edu.au

FRIENDS OF ANTIQUITY PROGRAM

AUGUST - DECEMBER 2012

FRIDAY 24 AUGUST 8PM
and
ALL DAY
SATURDAY 25 AUGUST
ABEL SMITH LECTURE THEATRE

ANCIENT HISTORY DAY 2012
(SEE ENCLOSED FLIER)

7 OCTOBER : SUNDAY SERIES

2pm: Dr John Ratcliffe

**'GAIUS MARIUS, HIS VARICOSE VEINS AND
THE SMALL HOOK**

2.30pm: Dr Luca Asmonti

**DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND
ARISTOCRATIC SPIRIT IN ANCIENT ATHENS**

THURSDAY 30 AUGUST
7.30PM
ABEL SMITH LECTURE THEATRE

PROFESSOR JUDITH BARRINGER
(UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH)

R D MILNS VISITING LECTURER
PUBLIC LECTURE

4 NOVEMBER : SUNDAY SERIES

2pm: Mrs Vera Heath

THE EXCAVATION OF TELL HALAF, SYRIA

2.30 pm: Emeritus Trevor Bryce

THE SEARCH FOR HOMER'S GREEKS

ALL REMAINING 2012 SUNDAY SERIES
ROOM E302
FORGAN SMITH BUILDING



9 SEPTEMBER : SUNDAY SERIES

2pm: Mrs Juliet O'Brien

THE MYSTERY OF THE RING

2.30pm: Professor Eric Csapo (University
of Sydney)

**THE DIONYSIAN PARADE AND THE
PREHISTORY OF COMEDY**

9 DECEMBER 2012

FRIENDS OF ANTIQUITY CHRISTMAS PARTY

A DATE FOR YOUR DIARY

FULL DETAILS WILL BE PROVIDED IN A FLIER
IN THE OCTOBER
ISSUE OF *NOVA*