The National Curriculum and Classics
Practice v. Theory

John Moore

I am sure that the members of JACT will have been grateful to the previous Secretary of State for Education and Science for the very positive tone of his article in the last JACT Review, and heartened by his support for the classics. His stress on the wide-ranging intellectual value of the subjects involved, their contribution to many areas of the curriculum, and their value both in themselves and as a preparation for adult life is very welcome. It is also good to see him write so warmly about the excellent HMI publication *Classics from 5–16*.

So far, so good. However, it is when one considers the practical implementation of the generalised propositions in the article that doubts must surface. Mr Baker describes the statement that the introduction of the National Curriculum will mean the demise of classics as 'a myth'. I profoundly hope that he is right, but I am not persuaded that anything but harm can result.

Let us look at the general position first. True, schools can still offer Classics, but if they are to offer A and AS level Classics, as Mr Baker suggests will be possible, this Sixth Form work will have to be based on a sound grounding in the years leading up to GCSE. That is where all the schools will face a key conflict in the official statements about the National Curriculum. It is laid down that all pupils must study all Core and Foundation subjects up to the age of 16, and yet it is said that a 10 or 11 subject curriculum can be taught in something like 70% of the available time. It is extremely difficult to see how this could work in practice – and the problem affects all subjects not specified as part of the Core and Foundation, not just classics. True, no set allocations of time have been specified for individual Core or Foundation subjects, but 70% of any normal school week surely cannot allow enough time for a sensible allocation to be made to each one of so many subjects.

Secondly, the pressure against any 'extra' subjects is growing as the programmes for the Core subjects are emerging; the Government suggestion that the Core and Foundation can be taught on 70% of the available time looks less and less plausible as the details of the Attainment Targets emerge. In short, theory may say that there is room; practicalities suggest that there is not.

So much is background. Let us now consider the way in which Mr Baker suggests in his article that classics may be accommodated within a school's curriculum; he writes: 'the more able should be able to [meet the specified Attainment Target] in less time than others, and thus have more time for other subjects'. This may turn out to be so for a very few pupils in a wide range of subjects, but in most cases will surely be true for each pupil in only a few subjects if any – and different ones at that. It has also been implied that pupils may in National Curriculum subjects either take some 16+ Attainment Tests early or continue one or more subjects to 16 on a greatly reduced allocation of periods. In either case, and particularly if both options are followed in a school, it will be very difficult if not impossible to construct a timetable in such a way that the relevant pupils are all free for the same periods and therefore available to be taught classics or any other subject which is not included in the National Curriculum. That difficulty will be compounded by the problem of fitting such flexibility into a timetable which will inevitably, and rightly, have as its first priority the provision of the whole National Curriculum for the full ability range – an exercise which is itself not going to be easy.

Even if such complications can be overcome, underlying both suggested ways of accommodating classics is the proposition that pupils should either give up, or cut back their commitment to their 'best' subject or subjects. For the bright, these will quite possibly be the subjects which they, at least provisionally, intend to take further in the Sixth Form. The pupils may reasonably not wish to give them up or to reduce the time spent on them. There is certainly an inherent danger that they will either end up by not taking at A level just the subjects which they would do most successfully, or that they will be less successful in the Sixth Form because of the lack of continuity in their studies.

Further, the stress which will apparently be placed on the Attainment Tests which all pupils are to take at 14 and 16 in all National Curriculum subjects will inhibit this flexibility. Since results in these tests will be published subject by subject and school by school, and presumably therefore comparisons will be drawn, I doubt if there will be many schools willing to risk a lower school score by allowing any but the very ablest pupils to take the tests early.

In short, the general flexibility claimed by the Government is, I fear, in reality largely, if not totally, illusory.

Then there is a more general point in these times when education is sadly underfunded. For the last two years, I have been afraid that it may be easiest from the point of view of staffing and timetabling, and also most cost-effective – and therefore very tempting – for schools, particularly those affected by falling rolls, to offer little or nothing on the academic side apart from the National Curriculum subjects. If this fear is well founded, the threat to classics in the maintained sector is grave indeed.

Moving, then, to the section on Classical Studies, we find a welcome stress on the importance of some acquain-

tance with the Classical World for all pupils as an essential part of their cultural heritage. This is good, and has been reflected in the recent proposals of the History Working Group. However, what is suggested in that report is, to put it mildly, bitty. The classical components should be taught by people trained in classics, and again we are up against the reality of timetables: it would be surprising if many schools could arrange for a classicist to be drafted in for a module in the history syllabus when it appears unlikely that that module will last for a term, let alone a year. It is extremely unlikely that the suggested components on Greece and Rome will be taught by people with a classical training unless it so happens that there is a historian on a school's staff who trained as a classicist.

I am delighted that the Working Groups on geography and modern foreign languages are to be asked 'to consider the contribution these subjects can make to the study of the classics and vice versa', but have my doubts whether anything which we should regard as real classics will emerge as a result – indeed, I expect even lesss than has emerged from the History Group. I have still less optimism that valuable study of our subjects will emerge from the suggestion that classics should be encouraged as a cross-curricular theme; maybe it will in early years, but surely nothing effective for the curriculum of the 14–16 age group and very little for the 11–14 year-olds.

Classics in some form is at present taught in nearly a third of the maintained secondary schools; Mr Baker would like to see that proportion increased. An admirable sentiment, but I fear the reality will be very different – and that it is the very system which Mr Baker has set up which will ensure that what he would like to see will not come to pass. He says: 'classics can occupy a valid place in the school curriculum for the subject is so rich in itself and can serve such a variety of educational aims', and suggests that this will be made possible by the new emphasis on quality and effort, and the raising of standards which the Government's policies are intended to bring about. The logic eludes me; apart from that, I cannot see how these admirable sentiments match up with the reality of the National Curriculum when looked at in terms of delivering the detail of it in a school as opposed to considering the theory behind it.

In sum, the words are all very fine, and I would be the last to do anything but welcome them – as far as they go; the practical difficulties of matching the abstract sentiments to the realities of a school curriculum and timetable seem to me to undermine what is said. If classics is severely curtailed or eliminated in schools below the Sixth Form, it will no longer be practical for school pupils to offer it at A level. If the number of A level classicists declines dramatically, so will the number of undergraduates reading classics – and then where does the next generation of properly trained teachers come from even if there is classics to teach? We all know the scenario; it seems to me dangerously imminent. The role of JACT is clear – and it is one which Mr Baker sees as ours, though it will be nothing like as easy as he implies. The battle of the Education Reform Act was only the first round; we must be realistic and fight as hard and as subtly as we can to preserve our subject. I hope that the battle will go as Mr Baker implies that it will, but I fear that I shall remain pessimistic until a Secretary of State for Education can be persuaded to introduce some sensible degree of flexibility into the list of Foundation Subjects.

JOHN M. MOORE
The King's School, Worcester

The National Curriculum Classics for English and History

Jane Whiter

I am an English teacher who views with concern the possibility that Latin and Greek, and Classical Studies should be pushed aside by the demands of the National Curriculum. In schools such as mine, where the classics and classical studies are not taught at all, the only route available to pupils to the ideals and ideas of classical civilisations is through the History and English syllabi. As Head of English in a small comprehensive, I work within a Humanities department which teaches English and History as integrated subjects to the first and second years. This has enabled us to teach something about the Greek and Roman civilisations, and to support this with a study of myth. We have sent several pupils on to sixth form to study Ancient History, or beyond that to read Politics and philosophy, and some of the initial interest has stemmed from that, albeit slight, early experience of the classical civilisations. Since classics and classical studies are not subjects which are to be taught as part of the National Curriculum, their position within the maintained sector is not secure: it is therefore with considerable interest I examined the proposals for the content of National Curriculum subjects to see whether we can continue our present

path, and if any provision is made for the more widespread teaching of classical studies on a cross-circular basis, and to see whether this provision is going to stimulate possible selection of classics as a subject at a later stage of education.

In the *JACT Review* No 5 Kenneth Baker said that he had 'asked the National Curriculum Working Groups on English and History to consider the contribution of classical studies, as a cross-curricular theme, to the attainment targets and programmes of study for these subjects'. It is disappointing to find only the most nugatory of references to classical studies in the completed Cox Report on English for ages 5 to 16. There are three attainment targets: Speaking and Listening, Reading and Writing, and for each target a programme of study for each of the four Key Stages. There is no reference to classical myths in the programmes of study for reading, although in 16.31:

> Teachers should introduce pupils to some of the works which have been most influential in shaping and refining the English language and its literature – for example the Authorised Version of the Bible, Wordsworth's poems or Dickens's novels. In particular, they should give pupils the opportunity to gain some experience of the work of Shakespeare.

There are chapters in the report on the teaching of the different aspects of the subject, and in the chapter on Literature – 7.6 we learn that:

> relevant translated works, including classical stories from Greece and Rome, may find a place in English lessons.

This is a weak suggestion rather than a forceful recommendation. Later in the same chapter, 7.15:

> as many pupils as possible should have contact with some of the great writing which has been influential in shaping our language and culture. Rich and rewarding as the study of contemporary material undoubtedly is, it should not dominate in the classroom to the exclusion of all else. In particular, every pupil should be given at least some experience of the plays or poetry of Shakespeare.

There is no suggestion that classical stories are the shared heritage of western civilisation and significant shapers of Shakespeare's language! All pupils ought to experience the stories without which Renaissance art, never mind so many English writers, cannot be properly appreciated: to deny them the opportunity is to cut them off from so much of their culture.

Friends of the Classics would do well to urge the new Secretary of State for Education to strengthen the reference to classical studies in the English proposals, as it is so often the classical myths which fire the enthusiasm for further study in pupils at schools where there is no classics teaching. The study of Ancient Egypt, understandably very popular in schools with its romantic 'buried treasure' story, is visually exciting, but that civilisation did not contain within it the cultural seeds of our own.

There are available a number of re-tellings of these timeless myths and English teachers should be required to ensure that their pupils experience some of them.

The other part of the Cox Report where one might look for some reference to the contribution made to English by the classics is in the chapter on 'Knowledge about Language'. The report rightly rejects the 'clause analysis' teaching of grammar as inappropriate, being based on a Latinate perception which cannot be directly transferred to English, but fails to recommend the study of the ways in which the English vocabulary has derived words from Latin and Greek, and the circumstances which have contributed to these acquisitions. In 6.19 (3) Language Variation across time is discussed. It would be suitable for pupils studying this to examine the expansion of language in the 16th century, and the way in which the acquisition of scientific knowledge, occurring at the time of the Renaissance, required an expanded vocabulary to handle the new concepts and so made use of Latin and Greek roots to develop these words: a practice which the expansion of technology in the 20th century has continued.

The interim report from the working group on History shows that there is considerably more hope for classical studies here: Ancient Greece is a topic for pupils in the 7 to 11 range, the Roman Empire for 11–14 year olds, and the influence of Greek culture is proposed as one of two alternative study units for 14 to 16 year olds. Friends of the Classics should be delighted that some of these classical topics should be made compulsory. The working party have ensured that the shared heritage of Greek and Roman civilisation should be an integral part of the pupils' knowledge.

If this element of classical studies is included within the National Curriculum during Key Stage 4, the years between 14 to 16, this will almost certainly increase the demand for Ancient History at 'A' level, and similarly there will develop a requirement for Latin and Greek at post 16 level, and possibly a minority request for it at 14–16.

The problem here at present is the small demand: my son's sixth form college has agreed that it would be desirable for him to embark upon GCSE Latin or Greek, to support Ancient History, but cannot foresee whether there will be sufficient demand for the subject for them to be able to offer a course. I would argue that teachers of classics now should be considering ways of structuring intensive courses at sixth form level which make use of pupils' individual learning skills to enable them to follow a partly self-directed course, with some supervision and tutorial help. Northumberland has set up a Supported Self Study Unit to develop ways in which pupils in Sixth Forms where no specialist teaching is available may be able to undertake subjects in which they are interested. The subject areas which they are at present examining are Business Studies, Geology, German, Music, Design-Technology and Physics: this, surely is an area where JACT experience in learning Ancient Greek could have a valuable input.

The prospect for interest in the classics seems brighter since the publication of the Interim Report on History: now is the time for those interested to take every opportunity to make their views felt by the Secretary of State for

Education, congratulating the History Working Party and urging some strengthening of the reference in the English Report.

English for Ages 5–16 Proposals of the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales. HMSO June 1989.

National Curriculum History Working Group Interim Report, Department of Education and Science and the Welsh Office.

(Both available from the National Curriculum Council)

Supported Self Study in Northumberland
Supported Self Study Unit, Till House, Hepscott Park, Morpeth, Northumberland NE61 6NF.

JANE WHITER
Swavesey Village College

Classics in the Open A294 Fifth Century Athens – Democracy and City State

Lorna Hardwick

This is a new Open University course launched in 1989 and expected to run for up to 10 years. The Open University does not offer single subject degrees so it is not possible to graduate in Classics as such. However, Classical Studies courses have formed a popular part of the Arts Faculty profile for a number of years. Students build up degrees on a credit basis, with six full credits needed for an ordinary B.A. and eight for Honours. Assessment is by written assignment submitted at intervals during the year and by end of year exam. The 'average' student who is employed inside or outside the home (sometimes both) proceeds at one credit per year, so taking a degree involves a substantial commitment of energy over a period of years. It is also possible to take individual courses as an Associate student, without registering in the undergraduate programme, and the classical studies courses have consistently proved attractive to such people, whether studying for personal interest or updating previous qualifications.

One of the specialisms of the Arts Faculty is the provision of broad-based interdisciplinary courses, often focused on a particular period, and the Classical Studies courses grew from this base. Currently two courses are offered (the other is on Augustan Rome) each counting as a half credit towards a degree (a half credit assumes about 210 hours study in an academic year). The classical courses have each consistently attracted between 500 and 600 students annually so over the years a considerable number of OU Arts graduates have chosen to include study of the ancient world in their degree profile. This is an encouraging thought since by definition all are voters and a large proportion are parents; while some are school governors or teachers or are in other ways able to influence what goes on in schools and colleges.

The course material – printed course units, illustrations booklets, audio cassettes, and TV programmes – is produced by a course team based at Milton Keynes (Colin Cunningham, Lorna Hardwick, Chris Emlyn-Jones and John Purkis, with Tony Coe and Mags Noble from the BBC). The assignment questions and examination are also set centrally. Students purchase their own set books. However, the major role in the teaching of this course each year is played by part-time tutors, based in the 13 regions across England, Scotland, Wales and the north of Ireland. Each student is allocated to a tutorial group and the tutor is responsible for grading and commmentary on written work, conducting local seminars and day schools and giving individual advice. Over the years a very strong body of classics tutors had been established and the course team has drawn heavily on their expertise and advice when planning tutorial policy and course content. Open University policy is that all courses in preparation have an external assessor and for the new course we were extremely fortunate to have Sir Kenneth Dover in that capacity. Sir Kenneth attended the first draft conference and read, listened, watched and commented on all the course materials.

The philosophy of the Open University is to provide access to degree-level study for people who are not able to study full time and also unlikely to be able to have regular use of large academic libraries. The course materials therefore have to include translation of texts and inscriptions, introduction to a range of perspectives, discussion, arguments and exercises. They are not text-books. The approach followed in Classical Studies courses is strongly source based. The first aim is to enable students to work critically with various types of ancient source material – written and visual, and to use them appropriately. Sources are studied in translation but language sensitivity is

strongly encouraged. Secondly, students move on through detailed use of sources to construct and consider critically arguments relating to the central themes and concepts of the course, such as the dramatic and social significance of Greek plays, tension between old and new traditions, the relationship between imperialism and democracy, and the confrontation between rationalism and religion. Thirdly, the course aims to encourage students to relate the study of the past to our own present, to think critically about the ways in which our own social and cultural environment affects the assumptions we make and the basis upon which we argue.

To promote this learning process a range of materials has been developed in order to facilitate access to essential sources and modern scholarship and to ensure that students are actively engaged in using and criticising them (no passive assimilation of received widom!). Background information is provided by the excellent JACT introduction *The World of Athens* which was bought in by the OU and is issued to students as part of the course material. The book is used to provide a chronological framework and to act as a basic reference for facts, names, technical terms, etc. This means that the printed course units are free from the need to provide an introductory synthesis and can concentrate on detailed analysis and argument. Through the co-operation of LACT the Lactor volume *Old Oligarch* has been reprinted in the booklet of translations of supplementary texts. Other major set texts are prescribed in the Penguin translations – Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound*, Sophocles *Antigone*, Aristophanes *The Clouds*, Euripides *The Bacchae* and *The Women of Troy*, Plato *Euthyphro, Apology and Crito*, and Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War*. There are two illustration booklets with plates of major sources from architecture, sculpture, vase painting and topography, while colour maps are included in the course guide. The printed study units are divided into thematic blocks:

Block 1 Introduction to the course
(Part 1 *The study of a society*; images of classical Greece; the nature of the evidence; basic concepts – polis, democracy, religion,
Part 2 Historical introduction. Causes and results of the Persian Wars, Primary sources; the Athenians' sense of identity; from the Persian to the Peloponnesian War).

Block 2 The Greek theatre in its dramatic and social context (with detailed study of *Prometheus Bound* and *Antigone*).

Block 3 Thucydides and Athenian democracy.

Block 4 Tensions and change in fifth century Athens.

Block 5 Philosophy and religious experience in late fifth century Athens.

Block 6 Revision. Essays on Tradition and Change, Religion, Art and Society; The Meaning of Athens.

A major innovation in the course is the use of the audio-cassette as a teaching medium. The methodology of source analysis is taught step by step, and by use of stop start and replay mechanisms students can work independently on in-text exercises and then receive feedback. This has proved a particularly useful way of teaching not only 'close reading' but 'close looking' at, for example, vase paintings or architectural plans.

Audio-cassettes have also been used to present full performances of most of the set plays, using the Penguin translations. Not only do the plays come alive (with the aid of such actors as Kate Binchy, Steven Earle and John Franklyn-Robbins) but students experience the fact that they are dealing with plays that were performed (and in a largely oral culture). We have also audio-cassettes to present four Guest Lectures, twenty minute talks by external speakers followed by discussion with members of the course team. Our guests were Oliver Taplin (Homer and Greek Drama), John Percival (Thucydides), Simon Hornblower (State and individual in fifth century Athens) and Mary Margaret Mackenzie (Words and Things: Plato's Response to Socrates and the Sophists).

Television has been used to present evidence and develop ideas in two main areas of the course, drama and archaeology. Drama is approached through a series of three programmes illustrating creative, realistic and authentic approaches to Greek myths and texts. The poet Tom Paulin was commissioned to write a modern response to *Prometheus Bound* and this is presented as *Seize the Fire* in the first programme, followed in subsequent programmes by examples of alternative ways of tackling the tension between distance and immediacy which underlies our attempts to understand the Greeks. Site-based programmes discuss evidence and interpretation for mining by the state at Laureion (Silver – a source of power for the state), for civic concerns and religion (Acropolis now – the public face of the state; and the Art of commerce between gods and men), and evidence from the Agora is featured in The Weight of the Evidence – the trial of Socrates. The final programme (Interrogating the Past – challenging the present) reviews the interaction between past and present in our interpretation of the evidence and suggests ways in which study of the past can help us focus critically on our own ideas and assumptions.

One of the most challenging aspects in creating the course was the balance to be struck between detailed attention to the sources and student awareness of modern scholarship, especially recent work in historiography, literary theory and sociology. Any study of the Athenian democracy is immensely enriched by, for example, appreciation of the evidence yielded by material sources on the use of place and space as well as by understanding of the *mentalité* (attitudes and mental structures) of the ordinary Athenian. The course makes a conscious effort to get to grips with these processes of inference – the 'gaps in the evidence', which can perhaps liberate us from the stranglehold of the frequently oligarchic written sources. We were fortunate to be preparing the course at a time when several illuminating modern works appeared. It is difficult to narrow the field but (for very different reasons) three are likely to be a rich source of ideas and argument about themes considered in this course.

S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* (Duckworth 1987);
N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens: the Funeral Oration in*

the Classical City (trans. A. Sheridan, Harvard 1986); R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and written record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge University Press 1989).

Plans for the future from Milton Keynes include an 'open structure' course on Homer (1993 onwards). This will replace A293 *Rome: the Augustan Age*, but we hope it will not be too long after 1993 before Roman Studies returns to the profile. We have negotiated collaborative schemes with a few universities with the prime aim of allowing O.U. students to begin or continue study of classical languages and to count credits obtained towards their O.U. degrees and we hope others will follow. There are also collaborative schemes in Archaeology. We are also actively engaged in discussions with representatives of the JACT Greek diploma committee, to develop ways by which we can encourage the wider provision of Greek courses for adults linking in to the Greek Diploma and to O.U. degrees. The philosophy of the Open University is to promote Access, Quality and Breadth. We are doing our best to make sure Classical Studies is to the fore on all three counts.

LORNA HARDWICK
The Open University

The British School at Rome Britain's Centre for the Visual Arts and Research in the Humanities in Italy

Richard Hodges

Open a late Victorian newspaper and it is apparent that, apart from newsworthy incidents, two events dominated the era. These were Heinrich Schliemann's excavations of Mycenae and Troy, and the huge excavations by Boni, Lanciani and De Rosa of the Roman Forum in Rome. These excavations were stimulated by north European interest in classical antiquity as the Great Powers each sought appropriate expressions for their strident nationalism. In Rome, in addition, the excavations of the Forum were a conscious attempt by the city authorities to recapture the status of the ancient capital in the newly unified state of Italy. These circumstances, as well as an age-old north European love for Italy, its *ambiente* and people led inevitably to the foundation of French and German archaeological and art institutes. It was hardly unexpected that the British should be attracted to doing the same. In September 1878 The Times printed a letter from R. C. Jebb, Professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow, asking: 'Why should there not be a British school of archaeology at Athens and at Rome?' By 1884 Jebb had succeeded in engaging support for a British School at Athens. But it was to be another seventeen years before a British School was founded in Rome. The Rome school owed a great deal to Henry Pelham, Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford University. Pelham visited Rome in April 1898 with his friend and younger colleague F. J. Haverfield, not only to see the excavations in the Forum, but also to view the discoveries made by Haverfield's most able student, Thomas Ashby, in the environs of Rome. Pelham was evidently so impressed that, rather like Jebb before him, he purposefully set about creating a Provisional Management Committee. Drawing upon private support and donations the British School was formally constituted in October 1899; by 1900 it had acquired an apartment in the Palazzo Odescalchi in the centro storico; and early in 1901 Gordon Rushforth, classical tutor at Oriel College Oxford, took up residence as the first director.[1]

The first seventy-five years

Pelham's achievement was to turn Jebb's idea into a reality. Since then the challenge has been to sustain an institute with often uncertain funding far from Britain. France and Germany from the beginning regarded their institutes as fundamental parts of their cultural diplomacy and national education systems. From the beginning Britain unfortunately declined to adpot a policy of this kind. Rushforth was modestly paid, and remained for only two years. In this time with the help of the School's first student, Thomas Ashby, the first volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome* was produced. This contained a long essay by Rushforth on Santa Maria Antiqua, recently unearthed by Boni in the Forum, and the first of Ashby's many long essays on the classical archaeology of the Roman Campagna. Rushforth was succeeded by Henry Stuart Jones, another classical scholar, who stayed only two more years. Then the School faced some difficulty in finding a new director. Roger Fry, the artist and critic, turned down the position. By good fortune at about the same time the Government awarded the School £500 per annum, and this convinced the ever-vigilant Pelham that

Ashby was by now the obvious candidate for the position. It was to prove a brilliant choice. Ashby was a man of immense energy. In many ways, the School today is a tribute to his academic and unorthodox administrative abilities.

In 1911 the British pavilion for the International Exhibition in Rome was designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens. Funds for the building were provided by the Committee for the Great Exhibition of 1851. After the exhibition, Lord Esher, Chairman of the 1851 Committee, was persuaded that the pavilion would make an excellent centre for artists and architects as well as archaeologists. As a result, the committee put up the money for Rome scholarships in the fine arts as well as in archaeology and classics and supported the constructions of a three-sided building, which included seven artists' studios and a large, permanent library. It was agreed for the sake of continuity that Ashby should remain as Director, and the rather older and formidable Mrs Eugenie Strong, a renowned student of classical sculpture, appointed as Assistant Director in 1909, should also remian. In practice building works continued in the School into 1915, by which time Ashby had already spent many months as an interpreter attached to an ambulance unit on the north Italian front.

Ashby's documentation of the Alpine war, like his work on the Roman Campagna, or his studies of late Renaissance drawings and books reveals a remarkably active, indeed restless mind. His brilliance pervaded the new School. Its library, its furnishings, its books, and its activities reflected his wide-ranging interests and his deep understanding of Italy. But he was not a conventional scholar or administrator. He was quiet by nature; often gruff over dinner; sensitive to artists; and he dashed off notes in his spidery script rather than attend to administration in an orthodox manner. After the deaths of Pelham in 1907 and Haverfield in 1919 he was without any major patron in the halls of power in Britain. Then in 1921 he married May Price-Williams. The imperious Assistant Director, Mrs Strong was 61 by this time and deeply upset at no longer being the first lady of the institute. Relations between the three steadily deteriorated and induced the executive committee in 1925 to terminate the contracts of both Ashby and Strong. Ashby was then 47 and Strong was 65; for some twenty years the School paid the penalty for this ill-considered decision.

The string of subsequent inter-war directors managed gallantly to sustain the importance of the School. Bernard Ashmole, Ashby's successor, a brilliant scholar of classical sculpture, for two years encouraged a steady flow of artists including John Skeaping, Barbara Hepworth and Tom Monnington who gave distinction to the Rome prize in Britain. Ian Richmond, director for two years between 1930–32, published important studies of the walls of Rome, Trajan's column and Verona. During this period too the School established itself as a fertile haven for young scholars in ancient history and classics. Some of the notable students of this time were Russell Meiggs, Jocelyn Toynbee, Dale Trendall, and John Ward-Perkins. However, the focus of academic attention in British archaeology had switched from the Mediterranean, where it was becoming increasingly difficult to excavate, to Britain. Led by R. E. M. Wheeler, an institute for archaeologists was set up in London, modelled upon the schools in Athens and Rome, in order to provide for Britain's own needs. Bereft of a scholar of the stature of Ashby, it is interesting to speculate what might have happened to the British School at Rome as an institution had the war not occurred. As it was, the building was locked up in 1939 and manned by one member of staff until the city was liberated by the Allies in 1944.

In 1945 John Ward-Perkins, who had held a Craven Award at the School during the 'thirties, was appointed Director. Ward-Perkins was a disciple and assistant of Wheeler, which, as with Pelham's support for Ashby, was to prove invaluable in the harsh post-war economic climate. Wheeler in his capacity as Secretary of the British Academy provided Ward-Perkins with firm financial and academic support. As a result, Ward-Perkins, rather in the manner of Ashby, began a series of studies that embraced field archaeology, ancient topography, architecture and church history. In a rather more autocratic way he renewed the status of the School that had been lost with Ashby's departure. He created a great impression in Rome, and was no less influential in Britain. His ambitious survey of the archaeology of South Etruria in the face of the destruction of the traditional landscape by mechanical cultivation was instantly recognised as one of the outstanding archaeological projects of the century. Likewise his studies of Roman architecture in almost every Mediterranean country raised the international reputation of the School. Like Ashby, Ward-Perkins became synonymous with the British School. Such a larger-than-life character has posed considerable problems for the directors who have succeeded him since his retirement in 1974. The modern academic world, the needs of modern artists, and above all, Italy's dramatically altered economic circumstances have presented the School with new challenges which are less clear-cut than those encountered in 1945. Nonetheless, this fourth quarter-century of the School's history promises to be remembered as its most active.

A modern centre for the humanities and visual arts

Capably supported by the British Academy, the School has become an extremely active centre over the past twenty-five years. Its most prominent role is as a centre for visiting academics. The building contains about 10–12 rooms, which accommodate visiting scholars throughout the year. Many come to use the School's library, which has becoming an increasingly important resource as libraries in Britain have been cut back in recent times. Others come to use the Vatican Library, perhaps the greatest library in the world. A steady flow of visitors comes to plan projects, to visit colleagues in Italy, to attend conferences, and from time to time to make films or radio programmes. The variety of visitors, presently exceeding four hundred a year, provides dinner at the British School with its own rather memorable atmosphere.

The School's activities in the humanities include running an archaeological programme, awarding fellowships, scholarships and grants-in-aid of research, as well as mounting a lecture programme throughout the winter months. Each of these aspects merits a few words. The School's archaeological work, as might be imagined after a sequence of distinguished archaeologists as directors, has achieved a good deal of prominence in Italy. Since the 'sixties the School has carried out excavations in Central Italy, many of which are described in Timothy Potter's *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (London, 1979).

At present the School has a variety of projects underway. Potter himself continues to work in South Etruria, where he is excavating a Roman villa that was occupied until the 9th century at Monte Gelato. Graeme Barker, the previous Director, also works in South Etruria. In collaboration with Tom Rasmussen, he is making a survey of the Etruscan farms around Tuscania in the northern parts of the region. Meanwhile, Amanda Claridge, the Assistant Director, is excavating the Roman *vicus* at Castelporziano near Ostia, a seaside urban settlement that serviced a string of nearby sprawling coastal villas such as that of Pliny the Younger. The School is also planning to mount a large campaign of excavations focusing upon the later Roman and early medieval periods. A project in the heart of Rome is being negotiated at present, while to the south, in the region of Molise, a new campaign of investigations will begin this year at San Vincenzo al Volturno, an exceptional Dark Age Benedictine monastery overlying a fifth century villa. Negotiations are also under way to work in the heel of Italy in the territory of Otranto, to map the archaeology of the later Roman period, as well as to study St Benedict's monastery at Monte Cassino. This diverse programme of projects will provide an opportunity for large numbers of professionals and volunteers to work in Italy over the coming decade. One particular hope is that the School can regularly turn one of these projects into a training excavation for pre-university students.

Fellowships to schoolteachers, scholarships to advanced doctoral students in the humanities, and grants to support research in Italian studies are another feature of the School's activities. As a rule half-a-dozen bursaries are made each year to schoolteachers to promote a greater familiarity with classical archaeology. As a rule the teachers stay in the School and use every opportunity to see and photograph ancient Rome, taking a few days out to visit Pompeii and other places around the Bay of Naples. The scholars, by contrast, come each October and remain until June. The competition for these awards has become quite intense, and as a rule three of four are offered from a field of forty or more. The grants are made for shorter periods. Some grantees remain only two or three weeks; others for up to three months. The sum of all these awards and grants is a lively interchange between the School's community and a great range of Italian scholars.

One further aspect of the School often surprises students in the humanities – the presence of an active group of artists who occupy the purpose-built studios at the rear of the building. The School regularly offers eight or more scholarships in the visual arts as well as two scholarships for architects. These residents represent an altogether different tradition in the institute, but one that has flourished in Rome. The artists hold a mid-term exhibition in the early spring, and a large Mostra (as it is called) at the end of May, when their work over the previous eight months is displayed throughout the entire School. The Mostra, in many ways, is the high point of the School's annual calendar, and at opening night more than five hundred guests and residents representing myriad disciplines and interests come for a party in the School's courtyard.

Higher education in Britain is experiencing a good deal of change at the moment, but there can be little doubt that with the increasingly international complexion of the fine arts, archaeology, history and letters, the British School at Rome is splendidly placed for the future. More scholars and artists make use of the institute, providing it with an undeniably buoyant atmosphere. Perhaps Italy brings out the best in the British. Far from being pessimistic about the future, providing it can manage the inevitably tight finances, the School stands to prosper. Jebb's concept has been realised and, thanks to Pelham's persistence, the foundations have been laid for a centre in the fine arts and humanities which, in a new Europe, promises to play a singularly important role.

RICHARD HODGES
Director
The British School at Rome

NOTE

1 Peter Wiseman, *A Short History of the British School at Rome*, British School at Rome, London, 1989; price £4.00.

Information about: (1) fellowships, scholarships and grants-in-aid may be obtained by writing to: The Secretary, British School at Rome, The Tuke Building, Regent's College, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London NW1 4NS; (2) accommodation, use of the library, excavations etc., write to: The Director, British School at Rome, Via Gramsci 61, 00196 Rome, Italy.

Primary Schools and the Classical World

Martin Forrest

When the Cambridge School Classics Project was established in 1965 in order to review the Classical curriculum for pupils between the ages of the 11–16, its brief did not extend to the primary school. There were good reasons for this concentration upon the needs of secondary school at this time as the move towards comprehensive reorganisation gathered pace. The concept of Classical Studies for all as a precursor to linguistic study for a smaller number of pupils was seen as a major feature of the approach advocated by JACT and by CSCP. Pupils who had encountered the Classical world through a study of Greece and Rome including the memorable myths and legends would have their appetite whetted for further study in future years. As it happened, a small number of primary school teachers became interested in linking up with the trials of classical studies materials which were used experimentally in the late 1960s. A very small number of preparatory schools also became involved in this aspect of the Project's work and chose to anticipate the study of Latin by including a form of Classical Studies foundation course.

The recent emphasis upon the possibilities for Classics to play a part in the primary school years is to be welcomed, since the same argument used by JACT and the Cambridge Project in the 1960s also applies to the primary phase of schooling. Whilst the arrival of the National Curriculum is concentrating the minds of Classics teachers anxious about the survival of their subject during the statutory secondary school years, fresh opportunities are opening up in primary school. The publication of *Classics from 5 to 16* signposts opportunities that have frequently been neglected in the past.

We await with interest the outcome of the deliberations of the History Working Group which is considering the place of the subject within the National Curriculum. The Secretary of State for Education and Science has asked that consideration be given by the historians to the Classical World. *The Guardian* saw Mr Baker's guidance to the Working Group that 'pupils should recognise and develop an awareness of Classical civilization' as a 'sop' to the Classics lobby. There is, however, at last some official recognition of the importance of ensuring that all pupils have **some** acquaintance with Greece and Rome as part of a common curriculum. Clearly it is early days yet and even a requirement to include the Classical World in the History programme could turn out to be little more than a superficial canter through the early centuries of European history by secondary teachers who are keen to progress to more recent periods of history.

The possibilities for incorporating the Classical World in ways which could enrich the National Curriculum have been well illustrated by work undertaken in primary schools in recent years. The popularity of television programmes such as *Zigzag* and *Watch* has led to the proliferation of topic work based on both Greece and Rome. The following example is drawn from my own work during 1983 with infant and junior school teachers and their children on historical artefacts. A detailed account of this work appears in my M.Ed dissertation submitted to the University of Bath (*Teacher as researcher: the use of historical artefacts in primary schools*).

An infant teacher was keen to develop in her 5 and 6 year old class 'Lively and enquiring minds' and to use the work with historical objects as a means of enhancing their language development. In this piece of 'action research', the teacher was concerned that her children were not capable of working collaboratively in groups and that they had only a minimal concept of time past. A 'feely box' and, later, wrapping paper were used to conceal the objects in the first instance, and this encouraged the children to speculate among themselves as to what each object was.

The following extracts show how the children dealt with a Roman amphora fragment once the wrapping paper had been removed:

S. Perhaps it's an old pot.
T. It might be a pot ... it's a handle.
A. Isn't um it part of an old type of tap?
S. I don't think it is.
A. ...or part of a pump?
S. Perhaps it's an old pot. Anyway there's no hole in it.
Teacher What is it made of?
Three voices. Stone.
A. I can't be sure whether it's stone.
...
S. Well this must be ... it's one of those jugs ... now this is part of the handle, this bit here and it must have gone round there. It might be one of those things that you get water in from a stream.
P. Put it under water ...
S. Yes, and you scoop the water up.
A. I'm not too sure about that.
...
A. The only idea I've got is in the Roman days.
Teacher. So, you think it might be Roman?
S. Yes, in the Roman days, or it might be in the knight days ...
A. I think it makes me think it was made in the Roman days because there's not many of them around in these days.

The children had become used through their earlier work with artefacts to raising questions about the nature of each object. These questions included: What is it made out of? What kind of person might have used it? Is it

complete? What would it have looked like before? How old is it? What is it?

It is clear from the lively dialogue of the young children referred to above, that even children in the middle infant stage are capable of developing a critical and questioning approach towards the past (even the more distant past). It is possible to identify in the foregoing discussion the language of young scholars in the making.

Encouraged by these earlier activities in primary school classrooms and supported by a small sum of money from the Cambridge School Classics Project, I began work in 1986–7 with Jean Farrall, a primary school teacher from St Annes School, Oldland Common, near Bristol. Jean was working with a class of first year juniors and is the school's curriculum leader for Humanities. This work was published by the CSCP in 1989 as a short monograph (*Classics in the primary school: a pilot study during 1986–87*).

This collaboration was developed with the intention of exploring a variety of cross-curricular approaches and activities in relation to the Classical World (Rome in the first instance) with a mixed ability class of seven and eight year olds. A number of key contributions from the Roman world were identified. These were as follows:

1. Opportunities for handling artefacts;
2. Visits to archaeological sites and museums;
3. Practical investigations and problem solving based upon ancient technology;
4. Interpretation of primary sources using photograph of artefacts and printed documentary sources.
5. Development of language awareness.

During the time that we were working on our Roman project, children had the opportunity to use some of the materials (carefully selected of course) that were originally published by the CSCP for use with secondary school pupils. Picture cards of Roman shops and trades were particularly useful.

The Roman topic began in the autumn term with three 'tasters': work on artefacts (all of them from the Roman period), field work at an archaeological site (Caerleon) and practical activity in the classroom (making mosaics). Work on the Roman artefacts involved the raising of questions similar to those generated by the activity with younger pupils, but this time it was possible to lead into the detailed study of one specific period of history. The fieldwork involved an extension of these questions to the large-scale remains from the Roman period: the amphitheatre, the barrack blocks and the legionary baths. Besides offering scope for much English language work, this visit provided considerable opportunity for some practical mathematics. The story of Androclus and the lion from Aulus Gellius read to the children during their visit to Caerleon led to the production of a 'big book' back at school which was typed up in the classroom by the children on their word processor and which they then illustrated. The finished article became a useful addition to the school library for other children to enjoy.

The 'tasters' during the first term led to a more systematic study of Roman home life in Pompeii during the second. The earlier work on mosaics (made from self hardening clay) had involved the close examination of many close-up photographs in order to see how Roman mosaics were made. This time there was detailed attention to the structure of Pompeian houses. Models of houses using shoe boxes again provided scope for Mathematics. The children were all given a Roman name. Flash cards were made from enlarged pictures with captions taken from the *Cambridge Latin Course* and all enjoyed learning a little bit of oral Latin. Several important differences between English and an inflected language were quickly identified by the children.

During 1989 the emphasis has been upon the Ancient Greeks. The collaboration was between Jean Farrall and myself again working with first year juniors. This has taken place at a time when schools are being showered with publications relating to the National Curriculum, and as the nation's primary teachers are considering ways in which they can best 'deliver' the specified Attainment Targets through the programmes of study they devise for their pupils.

Key Stage 2 is the stage which covers the junior age range and covers those years which lie between the infant stage and the secondary school. Pupils in this key stage will be tested for the first time in the summer of 1994, when they reach the end of that key stage. Schools in the County of Avon have been looking at ways in which the Science requirements of the National Curriculum can be delivered through cross-curricular topics such as 'Harvest' or 'Transport' or 'Sea/water'. Although we have subsequently given some consideration to how we can give a Classical emphasis to some of these topics, our main concern during the present year has been to explore possible links between a topic based upon the Ancient Greeks and Science in the National Curriculum. We have also kept a close watch on the links with English and Mathematics but our particular concern has been to seek ways in which a study of the Ancient Greeks can open up opportunities for exploring primary school science along the lines advocated in the National Curriculum documentation.

Links with Attainment Target 10 (Forces) proved to be particularly rich in possibilities. Our Greek project had begun with the interest generated by the Seoul Olympics in the autumn and by Jean's half-term holiday in Crete. The seafaring exploits of Odysseus *en route* from Ithaca and Jason's voyage on 'Argo', explored by the children in terms of their potential for art and movement provided a ready-made context in which we could explore sinking and floating. Level 3 of Key Stage 2 suggests that children should be able to understand the factors which cause objects to float or sink in water. An aquarium tank filled with water provided opportunities for testing a variety of objects to determine which floated and which sank. Children were able to estimate what they thought would happen and a vote was taken before the object was actually immersed in water. A variety of mathematical ways were found of expressing the findings, such as bar graphs and Venn diagrams. The children went on to discover for themselves, how it was possible to make 'floaters' to sink and 'sinkers' to float. Makeshift boats were made from

balsa wood and plasticine and these were tested to see how much cargo they would hold. Children carried out a variety of experiments in groups connected with the concept of displacement using jam jars filled with water and a variety of objects such as marbles.

Another aspect of Attainment Target 10, which is appropriate at this age, is the requirement that children should understand that the movement of an object depends on the size and direction of the forces exerted on it, for example, in the context of investigations with elastic and wind powered models. Experiments were carried out using a long narrow water tank and an electric hairdrier, to investigate a variety of materials to see which would make the best sail for a model Greek ship. Other work related to the effects of streamlining. At the same time as the work on science was taking place, the children carried out their own investigations to find out more about Greek galleys and triremes using a range of resources. The CSCP's Folder 1 – 'Troy and the early Greeks' and Folder 4 'Athens, Sparta and Persia' were useful for their visual items (in particular photographs of ships on vase paintings and artists' reconstructions of ancient ships sailing the sea). There were also some adult books including those by Casson and Morrison which provided the answers to move technical questions! Many children made their own detailed drawings of ships and wrote about the use of oar and sail power in propelling them. The conjunction of science and history helped the children to appreciate some of the difficulties faced by ancient Greek sailors. A number of children contributed to the making of a three dimensional model or part of the Mediterranean including the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea. This was constructed from papier maché made by soaking newspaper and mixing it with wall paper paste. The resulting model was both impressive to look at and durable. Children enjoyed identifying places they had met in the differnet stories and locating them on the model. In some cases the knowledge acquired through their own reading was remarkable.

Forces were also explored in terms of military conflict: the use of rams in sea battles and the deployment of siege engines in land warfare.

Other Attainment Targets which we considered included AT 14 (Sound and Music), when we explored the way in which sound waves travel in the context of ancient Greek theatres. There is much scope here for further development of close links between science and history as well as in other areas that have not been referred to above. Further work is being done at the time of writing to bring together a number of ideas for topic work along these lines.

One important development in this work has been th identification of appropriate stories. Archimedes feature on several occasions but other stories were drawn fro myths and on one occasion from Aesop. Greek Myths ca be found that are relevant to all the science Attainmen Targets. The children also wrote their own myths t explain the origins of natural phenomena.

One major development was on the language front. Th children worked at the dramatisation of the Circe episod in the *Odyssey* and produced a series of pieces of dialogue These were then edited into the form of a six scene play First Year Primary BEd History students at Bristo worked with the children on three occasions over a thre week period to rehearse and present the play. The total group of 35 children and 18 student teachers were divided into three parts and three versions of the same play were performed at the end of the third week.

These presentations besides being rich in opportunities for English language work also provided wide scope for researching and making properties such as weapons, drinking cups and scenery. Costumes were made from white pillow slips and these were printed with a decorative border using designs inspired by Minoan and Classical pottery. A final version of the play was also presented to parents as the school.

In these days of parent power the last word must be given to the mothers and fathers who heard so much about the Greeks from their enthusiastic offspring. Parents of children of this age are less concerned with what the school curriculum has to offer vocationally than with being reassured that their children are receiving a sound basic education and that they are happily settled in their school. There was no doubt as to the powerful impact of this Greek topic upon the motivation of these particular eight year olds. They were well-informed and eager to find out more about the Classical World. One girl urged her mother to take her to the library to look for books about the Greeks. Quite a few children were given books as birthday presents. One boy's parents were astonished at the breadth of his knowledge. His keenness to find out more had contributed to improving his reading skills including the use of the index and contents pages.

The possibilities described above will continue to be explored in the coming months, as the full detail of National Curriculum requirements becomes clear. If opportunities can be fully realised, this can only be good news for the long-term future of Classical Studies.

MARTIN FORREST
Principal Lecturer in Education at Bristol Polytechnic

How do we read Vergil across Europe today?

Gerry Nussbaum

In 1988 Geneva enjoyed a particularly beautiful spring. I was there, by courtesy of the British Academy, staying at an international Classical institute, the *Fondation Hardt* (and as I am blind, my wife came too, by courtesy of Keele University). The Foundation's home, *la Chandoleine*, is a large house of some distinction, in the discreetly opulent suburb of Vandoeuvres, a short walk from the shores of *Lac Léman*, and with Mont Blanc majestically visible from the verandah on a clear day. The house stands in a large garden full of mature trees and birdsong and flowers: we often sat reading below the verandah festooned with rambling wysteria. And in the garden also stands the library, a separate building, housing books and periodicals on the Ancient World – some 35,000 and rising.

Baron von Hardt himself remains a somewhat enigmatic figure. Youngest child of a German manufacturing magnate, he retired early in life to Italy, collecting furniture and table-ware and books. Soon after the war, some Classical friends persuaded him to buy a villa (then going cheap) in Geneva, with its university and its focal location. Here he established the régime of holding an annual invited colloquium and, for the rest of the time, keeping an open house for Classicists worldwide to come and be looked after while they pursue their own readings or writing and meet one another. After his death, the tradition has continued under an academic committee of management. While we were there, it so happened that none of us were from overseas; but there were guests from no fewer than ten European countries East and West – Italy, Switzerland, France, the UK, Belgium, West Germany (including one of Yugoslav origin), East Germany, Hungary and the Soviet Union. They were men and women ranging from young post-graduates working on their Ph.D. to a retired professor. Their interests included the archaeology of pre-Classical and Classical burial sites, the poetics of Aeschylus, the self-image of the Greeks under Roman rule, the Ancient novel, Roman Gaul, Machiavelli and the Classics, early printed texts, and several more in history, philosophy and literature. At the fine round dining-table, Mme Moor – Suzanne to us – presided over her 'family' of eight or so at any one time, assisted in house and kitchen by Spanish Margarita and Antonio – with Bernard over at the library. With quadrilingual fluency, Suzanne encouraged us all to slip more or less easily in and out of Italian, German, English and French. My wife, who is into TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) had an interesting time exploring with each of the guests (yes, of course, they all knew some English!) what their experience of learning our language had been. And I myself took this unique opportunity to listen (with the help of a tape-recorder) to the reading of Latin and in particular of the poetry of Vergil across Europe in the late twentieth century (Spain being the chief missing guest). In Britain, we now all learn the 'reformed' pronunciation first introduced early this century. Indeed, if we ever get the chance to hear Latin in the old traditional pronunciation, it sounds quite incredible and incomprehensible. How happy this would have made Erasmus and his disciples! Their efforts to introduce such reform in the sixteenth century were firmly put down, whether at Cambridge by its ecclesiastical chancellor, on pain of loss of privileges and even of expulsion from the senate, or at Paris, where the theologians of the Sorbonne dubbed the new pronunciation a grammatical heresy. Erasmus makes fun of the mutual incomprehension of Latin speakers from different parts of Europe; Scaliger is still doing the same a hundred years later, and I would be surprised if that had changed very much before the end of the last century. Even in 1962 the same was reported of the bishops assembled in Rome for Vatican II, and that despite 50 years of official encouragement for the 'italianate' pronunciation in the Roman Catholic church. Three cheers, then, for 'reform' thanks to which (together with the natural affinity of Latin to native Italian) I had no serious problems in understanding the motley band of my companions at Geneva.

As for the reading of poetry, the old style 'metrical chant' – that is, drumming out the verse-beat with total disregard for the natural word-accent and with the uniform rendering of every vowel-junction as an elision – seems to be disappearing, to be replaced by an 'as prose' style, in which all words are read in full, regardless of vowel-junctions, with their natural accents. In such a style of reading, a knowledge of the metre is, strictly speaking, unnecessary, since it will not affect the *sound* produced in reading. Indeed, at the end of each line the rule of coincidence of ictus and accent will preserve the basic hexameter rhythm without any knowledge of the metre. This does mean that we can teach our students to read Vergil without bothering them with the metre, just so long as we insist on correct accentuation of all the words! As to the phrasing of the text, the older style of reading surely did treat uniform pausing at the caesura and the line-end as a schoolroom exercise, which admittedly many never outgrew. To-day the 'as prose' style also tends to involve a uniform disregard for the line-end and, in the case of the caesura, no necessity even to know of its existence: one simply phrases by the sense. True, there is a great deal in our English (including American) commentaries and discussions about 'interplay' and 'counterpoint' between ictus and accent, and between sense and metre units. But when we actually *read* (aloud, of course: I do not presume

to know what goes on in the privacy of silent reading!), the dominant tendency today is to read Latin poetry just as if it were prose. In Britain, then (and I have the impression also in the USA), a revolution has taken place in the mid-twentieth century in the Anglophone reading of Latin poetry – almost by default, and without the least fuss, except perhaps that most teachers still feel a sort of obligation to teach metre if they can make the time, which they often can't: hence, perhaps, the revolution by default.

So what did I find in Geneva? Not, let me stress, a valid sample for a survey. Rather, we have here a dozen individual readings with a rather special distribution pattern.

Pronunciation

Let us begin with the pronunciation of vowels and consonants. Here 'reform' as instigated, in Britain at least, a century ago has begun, in the last two or three decades, to confront the challenge of a fully 'restored' or 'reconstructed' authentic Classical pronunciation of Latin. So for instance we are aware of the nasal quality of final vowel + M in the endings AM UM etc., and we surely welcome this in theory, explaining as it does why these endings are treated as vowels in verse. But we in Britain remain reluctant to admit this newcomer to the regular team of received pronunciations – and in this, it turns out, we are being good Europeans. All, but *all* of my 11 readers produced a good firm final M whenever they did not elide – *ItaliaM, caeluM*, and so on. GN fared a little better: one German reader had fully made it to the NGN sound, another was clearly in hot pursuit; though in fact reading GN as hard G + N itself generally represents a shift from traditional practice – one which the two young Italians had not undergone, retaining the sound as in *renyum*; while the oldest German read *recnum*. Indeed, the two Italians seemed as it were innocently unreformed. Apart from GN, their G and C were soft, = DJ and TCH, before E and I; SC was like our SH; and AE and OE became long E; nor can reform take credit for some true doubled consonants not heard from the others.

Initial H is a problem for French and Italians, being unsounded in their own languages – and remaining so for three of my four: was the exception here a stray hint of reform in Italy (together with one hard G in *magistri*)? H should be a problem, this time for Anglophones too, in differentiating C P T from CH PH TH: I sensed here the same general unconcern as with the final M. PH went untroubled on its way as F, while C-CH and T-TH probably achieved their differentiation best in French and Italian readings simply by virtue of narrative speech-habits. Y did sound like Greek U with the Germans and the Belgian, but as I with the French and Italians.

If you had to pick out one sound as the touchstone of reform, which would you choose? I would certainly have gone for the disappearance of V in favour of the true consonantal U = W: not so, it seems. At least under recording conditions (whose stress may have caused some reversion to early habits), even some of the younger German readers retain V, whereas the French and Belgian (not, of course, the Italians) were securely into W. It was AE that turned out to be the base-line which all but the Italians had crossed, even the oldest German: one of East Europeans actually demonstrated the change f *tselo* to *caelo*. Indeed, it seems that East Europe has Germany as its mentor in these matters, using a Germa type of unreformed pronunciation in the past, and taking its cue for reform also from Germany.

It is worth spending a few moments on R and S, wh between them must account for a formidable proportio un-Latin sound in Anglophone Latin. *S*, we know, always hard or hissed, even between vowels and at word-end – whereas we tend to produce a buzzing Z the intervocalic S (as in *causa*), for final S after a conson (as is *pars* or *ingens*) and especially in the ending *es* normally have good hard final S after any other vowel). our continental colleagues at Geneva, the South Itali and the two South Germans (perhaps just naturally?) them all right; the rest were liable to produce the buzzi Z, either within a consistent unreformed older Germ practice or as another resistant feature, like some othe already noted in the newer style S. As for R, the actu 'trilled' sound itself was there with the Italians and ev the South Germans and the Belgian: whereas the Nor Germans and, no less, the French used a guttural sour which actually became a CH, before another consonant, that *parte* is heard as *pachte*. More important, howeve than the quality of the sound is its actual presence absence. Here we Anglophones are probably the wor offenders, typically failing to articulate an R at the end of word or syllable, as in *arma* or *pater*. The Italians, Frenc Belgian and, interestingly, old-style East Europeans wer all clear and firm; whereas the Germans, with one excep tion, were less reliable, dropping final R more or les regularly, and in fact using it as we do to modify th preceding vowel rather than as a true consonant.

Finally, a word on accentuation. A sample of *vers* readings may not reveal how the same readers would accent words in prose. But one thing does strike the ear in these recordings. Different as readings based on Italian, German and English may sound in many ways, there was an underlying sense of agreement between them about the Latin accent (extending also to the Belgian – a Fleming, I believe, rather than a Walloon): it is a dynamic or stress accent, like that of English, German and Italian and, provided there are no false quantities, it falls pretty readily into the position prescribed by the Latin rules. By contrast, my French readers used a strong melodic or pitch accent, characteristically on the last syllable of the word, which is never prominent in Latin. French does use a subsidiary stress factor (just as the other languages do with pitch); but this too tends to fall on the wrong Latin syllables. In short, the French readers read Latin according to the rules of French accentuation – just as we (lest we wax proud) still use stress, governed by Latin rules, to read Ancient Greek, despite all those melodic accents!

Altogether, then, a picture of several interacting influences:

1 Historically, an idiosyncratic national pronunciation, itself related to the phonology and history of our four languages, and still lingering on especially in Italy (paradoxically, the wish to recover the authentic sound of Latin

seems to be least urgent just where the potential for it might be greatest);

2 A conscious process of reform begun in a previous generation and now progressing unevenly from 'reformed' to 'restored';

3 The continuing impact of native speech habits on all of us, so that different national 'dialects' of spoken Latin remain and will remain, with many subtle variations in the sound-qualities of vowels and consonants and in accentuation. Yet these dialects are now mutually comprehensible – and what is more, they might be comprehensible and even acceptable to Cicero and Vergil!

The Hexameter

We come now to our main theme. All those who read for me at Geneva had, of course, learned to scan the hexameter fluently (one or two preferred not to participate perhaps precisely because they did not feel confident in this area). Two questions arise. First: discounting some false qualities, the pattern of long and short syllables organised into six dactyls or spondees was, by definition, actually *there* in what people said. Did they pick out that pattern by stressing the first syllable of each foot (using ictus) and by uniformly eliding IE suppressing the first vowel at every vowel-junction? Or did they stress the words naturally (using word-accent) and read each word in full, with hiatus and an extra unmetrical syllable at all vowel-junctions? Or did any reader seem to be trying to have the best of both worlds, creating an interplay of ictus and accent and dealing with some of the vowel-junctions in such a way as neither to suppress important end-vowels altogether nor yet to create hiatus and extra syllables – the kind of reading, in fact, which I explore in my *Vergil's Metre* (BCP 1986)? Secondly: did they phrase the text simply according to the metre, or simply according to the sense; or was there something of both, with interplay between the two?

So first, stress and elision. All but three of my readers used a strong ictus, suppressing the natural word-accents where the two did not coincide, and preserving uniform elision (in just one instance we had *locuta 'st* rather than *locut' est*). Clearly, the traditional 'metrical chant' style of reading is still very strong on the continent. For me, this helped to explain the crusade, launched by Prof. Wilfred Stroh of Munich, against the very idea of ictus in Latin verse – the *ictus fictus*, as he calls it, invented as part of a general (and regrettable) preoccupation with 'beat' inaugurated some two centuries ago. His new style of reading (also developed and presented in English recorded form by Prof. Stephen Daitz of New York) insists on quantity *alone* for a sense of metre, stressing the text as prose – but differing from our 'as prose' style by using uniform elision, so preserving the metrical pattern.

Of the three who did not stress by ictus, one was actually a pupil of Prof. Stroh from Munich. He used uniform elision; and, with regard to stress, his intention was evidently to confine it to word-accent. Earlier training, however, was still partially resistant, so that in some cases a word was stressed according to ictus rather than word-accent, e.g. *VenerIS* or *ILle diES* (for *ILle DIes*). But on occasion both were stressed, setting up – by inadvertence, but also perhaps by artistic instinct – just the kind of ictus-accent interplay which (if it is real) is surely one of the glories of the Latin hexameter. Thus in the fateful sentence (4.160–1):

> *speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem*
> *deueniunt ...*

each of the first 7 syllables received some appreciable stress, with ictus on *spe, cam, do* and *et* alternating with the accents on *lun, Di* and *dux*; and with the accent a little stronger and more prominent, preserving the natural shape of the words *speluncam* and *Dido*. The effect is quite different from a normal prose reading, giving the verse an enriched sonority and an enhanced power and tension in its movement. To go back for a moment to *ille dies*: do we stress *IL* and *ES* (ictus); or *IL* and *DI* (accent); or *IL* (coincidence of ictus and accent), *DI* (accent) *and ES* (ictus), the last just a little less than *DI*, but still perceptibly more than *le*, and more than if this were prose? No-one at Geneva actually *meant* to read like that. But this one performance did suggest that such a style is where the challenge to 'metrical chant' should be leading us – rather than to the equally exclusive opposite 'as prose' style.

What a contrast when we turn to France! The two young French readers both used an 'as prose' style: in a sense they were closest to what is happening with us, reading everything in full regardless of vowel-junctions, and using no ictus as such. But their dominant accent was a melodic or pitch accent; and, more important, this accent characteristically gave prominence to the last syllable of a word. In the earlier part of the hexameter this sometimes misleadingly sounds like an ictus, which often falls on the last syllable. But the characteristic closing cadence of the line is more or less completely dislocated by such a reading – as it is not in our own 'as prose' style. It turns out that any appearance of an Anglo-French accord here is deceptive. For as we saw earlier (to put it just so smugly) we get it right and they get it wrong! That is, an 'as prose' reading based on English approximates quite closely to the nature and the rules of Latin word-accent, whereas one based on French does not. It looks as if it could be as formidable a task for a native French speaker to read Latin verse with authentic accentuation as it would be for us to do so in Greek. Paradoxically, however, the fact that our 'as prose' style (vowel-junctions apart) works rather well is double-edged; for, if ictus is indeed real, and we simploy ignore it, we are settling for a second-best, even if it is a better one than the traditional second-best of metrical chant. And what is to become of all that subtle artistry of interplay between ictus and accent in our modern discussions of Vergil's poetry if it actually has no reality for voice or ear?

Phrasing – The Interplay of Metre and Sense

We move now into an area which is in part a matter of generally applicable rules, partly of personal judgment. Phrasing is not only a question of pauses – where they come and how long they last – but also of subtler ways of grouping words together and separating one group from another, in particular by the pitch-line of the voice. Pauses

are broadly of two kinds. A major pause is a break, where one more or less complete unit of sense ends and a new one begins: the pause may be longer or shorter, but the pitch-line of the voice suggests completion, normally by a drop on the last two syllables before the pause. One unit of sense has been completed, and the next word will begin a new one. By contrast, a minor or 'suspensive' pause (whatever its duration) sounds provisional. Between two word-groups that belong to a larger sense-unit, the pitch of the voice is kept up in such a way as to suggest just a momentary suspension or lingering within a continuous sense-unit. There is often room for subjective judgment and variation about whether a given pause is a major break or a minor suspension.

In verse, the absence of vowel-junction over the line-end points to a clear separation of line from line by a required minor or suspensive pause quite independent of the sense, which may or may not have a pause (major or minor) coinciding with the line-end. Conversely, the sense has pauses (minor and major) in mid-line: what then of the mid-line caesura, as required by the metre? Is this another metrical minor pause in the line additional to all sense-pauses? In the 'metrical chant' style, alongside the strong ictus and suppression of word-accent (with uniform elision), we also find that every line is read with a minor pause at every caesura and a major pause at every line-end, regardless of the sense; while all the sense-pauses themselves are ignored. One of the Italians at Geneva read like that, with a wonderful lilt which actually conveyed powe fully the two-part rise-and-fall movement of the hex meter rhythm – but which dissolved the sense, with a fu stop at every line-end and no sense-pauses, not even a fu stop, in mid-line. Even this rise-and-fall of the metre w lost in an older East European reading, in which every lir moved at a spanking rate, unimpeded by either sens pause or caesura, to a firm final break. In three readings the other Italian and two of the Germans, one older, or younger – a fairly insistent two-part metrical style wa being supplemented but not displaced by sensitivity to th movement of the sense: still there was a tendency toward firm line-ends and, within the line, to add a minor pause a the caesura to those required by the sense. In the Belgia and younger East European this tendency remained, bu now perceptibly weaker. All this correlates well with th use of ictus and uniform elision as featuring a spectrum o basically *metrical* styles of reading.

Particularly interesting here was the young Swiss-Ger man, who was still reading metrically, by ictus and with uniform elision, despite some contact with the Munich school; but whose phrasing had really moved to as 'as prose' style, in which a run-on line with enjambement ends with no perceptible pause before the first word of the next line, and in which there is no trace of the caesura. Naturally, this was also the style of phrasing heard in the *unmetrical* readings by the young German from Munich and by the two readers from France. So we had the full

spectrum that we might find in Britain also, with a tendency to swing from a 'metrical chant' to a totally free 'as prose' style in the phrasing just as in the stresses and the vowel-junctions; though, as my Swiss reader showed, the two are not always combined. Predictably, of course, my own position is in the middle: every line-end should observe a metrical minor pause independent of the sense; the caesura, however, is a kind of latent minor pause only, and needs some support from the sense to be actually heard. None of the colleagues at Geneva read quite like that; for those in the middle of the spectrum were using a basically metrical style modified to accommodate the sense, so that that caesura was still asserting itself in its own right, either consistently or occasionally.

Expressive Reading

But reading Vergil is, of course, far more than getting the sounds and the stresses and the phrasing right, however important these may be in the magic of his verbal artistry. Indeed, when it comes to expressing the life and soul of this poetry, we realise that we need the talents and skills of actors which, as teachers and scholars, we possess and have developed to very different degrees. Some, perhaps most, of the readings I recorded remained at the level of articulating a text in verse: this does not at all mean that the readers did not feel the inner life of the passage chosen, but only that they were not able there and then to express and communicate this through the voice: the passages included the opening of the poem; the opening of Book 2 and the meeting of Aeneas with Creusa from the end of the same book; the opening of Book 9, and part of the duel of Aeneas and Turnus from Book 12. Three of the younger readers chose passages from Book 4 – and it was the same three who seemed to me clearly to have broken through into expressive reading. Between them, they exemplified two quite different styles of expressiveness; and it is interesting to correlate these with their handling of the basics of stress etc. in hexameter reading. The German-Swiss, who read metrically by ictus and accent with uniform elision but phrased according to the sense, rendered Dido's despairing dawn soliloquy (4. 522 ff.) with a dramatic power and sensitivity that allowed the voice to rise and fall strongly in volume and pitch, and to vary considerably in its timbre and tone. By contrast, the German reader from Munich, reading by word-accent alone, and phrasing as prose, and one of the French readers, reading as prose – French prose – both for accent and phrasing, used a restrained, inward intensity for two highly charged moments: the 'wedding' of Dido and Aeneas in the cave (4.160 ff.) and her answer to his rejection of her pleas (4.361 ff.). Both styles were effective.

According to the *Vita*, Vergil himself *pronuntiabat cum suauitate et lenociniis miris*: what kind of 'sweetness and seductive effects'? (*Vita* 27–9, where a rival poet disparages Vergil as 'all voice and face and acting' – *uocem et os et hypocrisin*.) But even if we knew what was 'authentic', we might still have to choose our style according to our capacities and acceptable contemporary idiom. Moreover, 'authenticity' in the more technical areas, of sounds, stresses and phrasing, may not have much correlation with the level of expressiveness. How much did it actually matter that in the quietly intense French reading there was so much in the basics that was actually wrong? Do we insist that such a reading, however much it comes alive, so much diminishes and distorts Latin poetry as to justify and inspire all the hardwork of getting it right?

Epilogue

In the visitors' book at *La Chandoleine*, by now an imposing set of volumes, we chanced upon a poem from the *Fondation's* early days by none other than Prof. Daitz, who has worked so hard to give a higher profile to the realisation of Greek and Latin literature as *aural* art, as something created for, and to be experienced through, the voice and the ear. The poem captures the immediate experience of sunset on Mont Blanc; but this highest peak of our continent, in its immediate immemorial majesty, stirs Europe's ancient memory:–

On contemplating Mont Blanc from the Terrace of *La Chandoleine* (Stephen Daitz)

toward sunset hour
the sky's pallet shifts
from soft watery grey
to bright-burning blue.

far off, the white giant
effortlessly raises his kingly head
above his subject peaks:
Power and Majesty,
Zeus among the Olympians.

but see where darkening dusk
begins her ascent
skirting nimbly, quietly
from plain to mountain.

reaching the heights
she slowly and tenderly
enfolds one by one
the chorus of crests
in her rose-purple-violet
robe of repose

last of all glides the silent shadow of sleep
upon the giant
who grows grey and old
and seems to die
with the night.

but he is immortal,
he will be reborn
to-morrow.

The memory is Greek – but 'conquered Greece took her fierce conqueror captive'; and, two thousand years on, Vergil surely remains 'Jupiter among the Olympians'. He belongs to that perennial renewal which we are left to contemplate at the end of the poem – that renewal of antiquity to which the Fondation Hardt is in its own way committed and, each in our own way, so are we all.

References: on the Reading of Latin Verse

The *Vita Donati* (often attributed to Suetonius), available in English as Appendix 1 of W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Vergil's Aeneid*. See especially Sections 27–9.

The Pronunciation and Reading of Classical Latin: a Practical Guide, by Stephen G. Daitz (published by Jeffrey Norton Publishers Inc., 1984), in the series *The Living Voice of Greek and Latin Literature*: obtainable on cassette from Audio-Forum, 31, Kensington Church St., London W8 4LL. (Readings both of Vergil and of a wider selection of classical authors by Robert Sonkowsky may also be obtained from the same supplier.)

'Kann man es lernen, lateinische Verse zu sprec
Wilfred Stoh, in: begegnungen mit Neuem und
Dialog Schule – Wissenschaft, Klassische Sprac
Literaturen, Band 15, pp. 62–7 (Munich 1981).

My *Vergil's Metre* (Bristol Classical Press 1986). Discourses Ltd also offer an earlier version of my i cassette under the title: *Dre Sonandum*.

GERRY NUSS
University of

Oratio Valedictoria to the Summer School of ARLT

Hilary Walters

saepe et multum hoc mecum cogitavi, o Arelates, de ludo aestivo in Aula Philomelae, anne sit, quid sit, et qualis sit ...[1]

qualis sit ... oratores contiones optimas habuerunt:

ille professor Lapis aestatis[2] de Aristophane disertissime narravit.

postea dixit[1] Iohannes Silva (Lucus)[3] de harena et glarea Ratis Corieltauvorum.

postea dixit Davidius μεν Oppidum solum,[4] Margaret δε Cervus[5] de paedagogia.

postea dixit ille professor Donaldus Murmur[1] de inventione, unde haec oratio.

quales picturas lucernae magicae ille Dalladies[6] nobis ostendit! ludos quoque cognovimus, a musico Porcello docti.[7]

saepe et multum hoc mecum cogitaveram, cui libro opus sit mihi, historiam antiquam docenti; nonnullos libros Iohannes Davus[8] commemorabat, sed – ecce! – feles sacra de templo Isidis exiit ...

Aemilia[9] doctissima epulas vero nobis praebuit; postremo 'arma virumque cano' – illum Vulcanum Iacobum Versatorem.[10]

quid miror? oratores nos maxime delectaverunt, sed re vera est nihil suave, nihil gratum sine vobis, comites optimi.

athletae adsunt, quisque 'ποδας ὠκυς Ἀχιλλευς', men
sanae in corporibus sanis.[11] actores adsunt, Paulus, Chr
tina et Alexandra.[12] philomelae ipsae adsunt, a sacerd
nostro ducti.[13] barbarus adest, a Romanis indomitus
senes[15] adsunt, 'pueri, innuptaeque puellae impositiq
rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum', etiam rex adest, βασ
λευς Ἀθηναιος.[16]

amici, ludus aestivus quid est? est vos omnes, quoru
gratia omnia operae sunt pretium. gratias ago
καλλινυκτα.

NOTES:

1 Prof Donald Russell spoke on Cicero 'de inventione' – there ar some quotations from the passage he used.
2 Prof Alan Sommerstein on Aristophanes in performance.
3 John Lucas from the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit on recent excavations in Leicester.
4 David Singleton HMI.
5 Margaret Roebuck on Pupil Profiling.
6 Roger Dalladay on Using Visual Aids.
7 Nicholas Purcell on Roman Games of Chance.
8 A cat came through the French windows during Prof John Davies' lecture on New Directions in Ancient History.
9 Emily Kearns on Cakes: the work of women's hands.
10 Jim Turner on Roman Armour and Equipment.
11 Ian Gill and Joe Milligan ran regularly.
12 Paul, Kirsten and Alex Davison took major parts in both plays.
13 The choir conducted by Rev David Parsons.
14 John McNee from Belfast.
15 Bill Wilkie.
16 Vasilios Haralambakos from Athens University.