The British Academy

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY FOR THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

REVIEW

July – December 2000

The British Academy

Some contents of the *Review* may also
be found in electronic form on the Academy's
web site at www.britac.ac.uk

Cover illustration: *???????*

Foreword

The British Academy publishes a regular account of its activities by means of its biannual *Review*.

Some readers may be unfamiliar with what the Academy is and what it does. The following pages seek to give a flavour of the variety of Academy activities, which range across a broad spectrum of scholarly endeavour both within the UK and on the international stage.

First and foremost, the Academy is a Fellowship of scholars, elected for outstanding academic achievement in one or more of the disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. The active participation of these Fellows enables the Academy to conduct a wide variety of activities to support academic research, to stimulate scholarly debate and to promote the role of the humanities and social sciences to a wider audience.

The activities undertaken by the Academy include the organisation of lectures and conferences, the sponsoring of major infrastructural projects that are adopted as Academy Research Projects, running a flourishing publications programme, facilitating international networks, and allocating research awards. This *Review* contains a section on each of the major areas of the Academy's work. As well as material customarily to be found in a formal Annual Report, extracts from lectures and publications and specially commissioned articles are included that seek to offer an insight into the variety of academic endeavour promoted by the Academy.

This issue of the *Review* covers events and activities that took place during the second half of the year, from July to December 2000. It is the fourth issue of the *Review*, and the Academy will be pleased to receive comments and suggestions on how the content might be developed in the future.

Contents

Contents continued

About the British Academy

The British Academy, established by Royal Charter in 1902, is the national academy for the humanities and the social sciences. It is an independent learned society, the counterpart to the Royal Society which exists to serve the physical and biological sciences. The British Academy's aims, within the scholarly disciplines it promotes, are

- to represent the interests of scholarship nationally and internationally
- to give recognition to excellence
- to promote and support advanced research
- to further international collaboration and exchanges
- to promote public understanding of research and scholarship
- to publish the results of research.

The Academy seeks to pursue these aims in a number of ways. It acts as a forum for the discussion of issues of interest and concern to scholars in the humanities and social sciences and provides advice to Government and other public bodies. And it promotes scholarship through the funding of research, the sponsorship of a number of research projects and of research institutes overseas, the organisation of lectures and conferences, the publication of various academic research series, and the award of medals and prizes.

The British Academy is a self-governing body of Fellows elected in recognition of their distinction as scholars in some branch of the humanities and the social sciences.

The bulk of the Academy's income derives from a grant-in-aid that it receives from the Government, but it also has at its disposal private funds arising from gifts and legacies, from contributions made by the Fellows themselves, and from grants made by research foundations.

Officers and Council of the Academy

President	Sir Tony Wrigley
Vice-Presidents	Professor J.L. Nelson
	Professor K.I.B. Spärck Jones
Treasurer	Mr J.S. Flemming
Foreign Secretary	Professor C.N.J. Mann
Publications Secretary	Professor F.G.B. Millar
Chairman of the Committee on Academy Research Projects	Professor R.R. Davies

Ordinary Members:

Professor J.D. Adès, Professor S. Bann, Dr P.G. Beal, Professor M.M. Bowie, Professor V.G. Bruce, Professor T.M. Devine, Professor J.F. Ermisch, Professor G.H. Jones, Professor J.D.M.H. Laver, Professor W.L. Miller, The Revd Professor J.S. Morrill, Professor J.L. Nelson, Professor I.G. Simmons, Professor K.I.B. Spärck Jones, Professor M. Strathern

Secretary	Mr P.W.H. Brown

Sections and Chairmen

The Academy is organised into 18 disciplinary Sections. On election, each Fellow is assigned to membership of a Section and may, on invitation, serve on more than one Section. The Sections and their Chairmen for 2000–2001 are as follows:

Section		Chairman
Humanities Group	H1 Classical Antiquity	Professor J. Diggle
	H2 Theology and Religious Studies	The Revd Professor E.W. Nicholson
	H3 African and Oriental Studies	Professor C. Shackle
	H4 Linguistics and Philology[1]	Professor J.D.M.H. Laver
	H5 Early Modern Languages and Literature	Professor M.M. McGowan
	H6 Modern Languages, Literatures and Other Media	Professor A.G. Hill
	H7 Archaeology	Professor B.W. Cunliffe
	H8 Medieval Studies: History and Literature	Professor C.C. Dyer
	H9 Early Modern History to *c.*1800	Professor T.C.W. Blanning
	H10 Modern History from *c.*1800	Professor C.A. Bayly
	H11 History of Art and Music	Professor J.M. Rawson
	H12 Philosophy	Professor M.A. Boden
Social Sciences Group	S1 Law	Dr S.M. Cretney
	S2 Economics and Economic History	Professor K.F. Wallis
	S3 Social Anthropology and Geography	Professor R.J.P. Kain
	S4 Sociology, Demography and Social Statistics	Professor J.F. Ermisch
	S5 Political Studies: Political Theory, Government and International Relations	Professor A.H. Brown
	S6 Psychology	Professor L.K. Tyler

[1] The Linguistics and Philology Section also belongs to the Social Sciences Group.

President's Notes

By **Sir Tony Wrigley PBA**

The *Review*, although only in its fourth issue, has already become a key element among the Academy's regular publications. It is much appreciated both by Fellows, since it is not easy to keep abreast of Academy activities from any other source, and by the wider world, since it has proved invaluable in conveying to others an insight into the scale and range of our work.

In an age in which research funding by research councils tends to be focused on relatively large-scale and institutionally based projects (and in this context the Arts and Humanities Research Board may be regarded as a research council), the Academy has a special responsibility to ensure that the smaller-scale research needs of individual scholars are not neglected. This can be done both directly, by making provision for research grants, and indirectly, by enabling individual scholars to carry out a substantial piece of research, either through giving them relief from their teaching and administrative responsibilities for a sufficient period of time or through giving their careers an initial postdoctoral boost. The Academy's two research grant schemes (for small sums up to £5,000 and somewhat larger sums of between £5,000 and £20,000) are intended to be helpful in relation to the first type of need, while the Research Readership and Senior Research Fellowship programmes were devised to facilitate research leave for hard-pressed academic staff, and Postdoctoral Fellowships to provide opportunities for recently postdoctoral scholars.

Writing in early December it is opportune to comment upon this aspect of the Academy's support for research. The report *British Academy Support for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences: Report of a Review 1999–2000* was published recently. This report, prepared under the aegis of the Grants Committee, whose chairman is Professor Roger Kain, provides a wealth of information about the operation of the small grants scheme, while the first round of 'larger' research grant applications got under way recently. Moreover, the annual round of decision-making about appointments to Research Readerships and Senior Research Fellowships, to be taken up in October 2001, has recently been completed. Decisions about Postdoctoral Fellowship awards are taken at a later point in the Academy year but this is nevertheless a good time to reflect on the operation of these various means of providing research support for the individual scholar.

Postdoctoral Fellowships

The Postdoctoral Fellowship scheme enables 30 young men and women who have recently completed their doctorates to spend three years engaged primarily in research, though with the opportunity to acquire some teaching experience and so further to enhance their prospects of future employment in academic posts. In recent years the scheme has attracted 330–360 applicants annually of whom about 120 are A-graded, so that there is an abundance of excellent candidates between whom a choice must be made. Since these were topics which figured in the report of the last Structures Review Committee, it may be of interest to consider the operation of this scheme and the other Academy schemes which support individual research in relation to gender balance and to the 'golden triangle' (Oxford–Cambridge–London) question. Aggregated over the last three years the total number of candidates whose applications were accepted was 1,009, of whom 447 or 44 per cent were female. The total of awards was 90, of which 45 or exactly 50 per cent were made to women. Of the successful applicants, 15 had studied for their doctorates in Oxford, 25 at Cambridge, 15 at London (here and subsequently London refers to the constituent colleges of the University of London), 29 at other British universities, and six at universities abroad. The comparable split for universities in which the awards were taken up was: Oxford, 17; Cambridge, 22; London, 22; and other British universities, 29.

Research Readerships and Senior Research Fellowships

The Research Readership and Senior Research Fellowship (SRF) schemes are intended for scholars in the middle decades of their careers who will normally be aged between 35 and 55. Applicants are free to apply to either or both of the two schemes: many apply to both. The schemes differ only in that the Readerships are for a two-year term whereas the SRFs are for a one-year term. In the past three years there have been 65 awards of Readerships and SRFs (most SRFs are funded by generous donations from the Leverhulme Trust). For the two schemes combined there were a total of 472 applications over the three-year period 1998–2000 of which 239 were A-graded: of the 65 awards, 40 were to Readerships, 25 to SRFs (I have included among the SRFs three awards of the Thank-Offering to Britain Fellowship). Of the 472 applicants 151 were female and 321 male, and therefore 32 per cent of the applications were by women, who in turn secured 31 per cent of the awards. The totals of applications from Oxford, Cambridge, London, and elsewhere were (percentages in brackets) 32 (7), 29 (6), 64 (14) and 347 (73), and the comparable totals and percentages of awards were 12 (19), 7 (11), 10 (15), and 36 (55).

In this context it is natural also to ask what percentage of PDFs, Readerships, and SRFs were awarded to scholars in the humanities and what percentage to social scientists since both

schemes, in common with all research grants made by the Academy are equally available to scholars in any discipline in either broad subject area. The question is more readily asked than answered, however, because a substantial proportion of all research proposals do not fall clearly into either area. The committees of final award have been increasingly conscious of this fact in recent years. In spite of this difficulty, there is no doubt that a significantly larger proportion of awards is made to scholars in the humanities than to those in the social sciences. In the case of the PDF scheme, approximately 73 per cent of awards in the past three years were made to humanities scholars, while in the case of the Readership and SRF schemes the comparable figure is about 63 per cent. The annual cost of the PDF scheme is currently about £1,975,000, while the combined annual cost of the Readership and SRF schemes is about £700,000.

Small Research Grants

The annual cost of the small grants scheme (for sums of less than £5,000) is about £1.2 million and, because the resources available to the Research Committee have increased recently, it is now able to make approximately 500 awards a year, where previously the number of awards was much smaller. It is entirely responsive in its mode of operation. Grants made under the scheme may be used for direct research costs, research assistance, travel and maintenance, and consumables. Over the three-year period 1997–98 to 1999–2000 a total of 1,044 awards was made of which 67 per cent were to male applicants and 33 per cent to female applicants. The number of awards to 'golden triangle' and other universities was as follows (percentages in brackets): Oxford 62 (6); Cambridge 43 (4); London 135 (13); other British universities 804 (77). The last total is not accurately titled. It is convenient to quote a non-'golden triangle' figure but in this instance the total includes both a small number of awards made to scholars in Colleges of Higher Education or museums and galleries (12), and a much larger number made to independent scholars (112). With the usual caveat about the difficulty of distinguishing between scholars in the humanities and social sciences, it would appear that about 75 per cent of the grants were made to humanities scholars.

Larger Research Grants

The larger research grants scheme (for sums between £5,000 and £20,000) was instituted because of the accumulating evidence that scholars were experiencing increasing difficulty in securing funding from the ESRC and the AHRB for sums larger than those available under the small grants scheme but still too small to arouse the enthusiasm of a research council. The larger research grants scheme represents an attempt to alleviate this problem. The upper limit was set on the assumption that it is proper that any project which entails the employment of a full-time worker for a year or more should be funded by the ESRC or the AHRB, which in turn suggests a figure of this order of magnitude. To finance projects accepted in the current round of applications, for which the closing date was 30 October 2000, the Academy will have available a sum of £500,000 but it is hoped that additional funding will in due course become available to enable the scheme to be conducted on a larger scale. It was agreed from the outset that the budget for small research grants should remain unaffected by any decision about the funding of larger research grants. Larger research grants are available principally for three purposes: to enable pilot projects to be carried out, usually to improve the applicant's prospects of securing funding on a larger scale in due course from the ESRC or the AHRB; for field study related to programmes of field work; and to finance extensions to an existing research project, provided that the proposal is self-contained. It is too early in the life of this new scheme to be confident that its characteristics can be identified with confidence. However, it may be of interest to note that in the current round there were 105 applications for a total of £1.57 million. The breakdown of applications by university shows that 4 (4) were from Oxford, 4 (4) from Cambridge, 9 (9) from London, 87 (83) from other British universities and 1 (1) from a museum (percentages in brackets). Men submitted 73 applications; women 32. Once again it is difficult to make a confident division between applications falling under the head of the humanities and those within the social sciences, but it appears that the approximate totals were 63 (60) and 42 (40) respectively (percentages in brackets).

Table 1. Percentage distributions of awards made in the last three years 1998–2000

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Oxford (%)	Cambridge (%)	London (%)	Other (%)	(Total no.)
Postdoctoral Fellowships	50	50	17	28	17	38	90
Senior Research Fellowships/ Research Readerships	69	31	19	11	15	55	65
Small Research Grants	67	33	6	4	13	77	1,044

Table 1 summarises some of the information set out above. It focuses on percentage distributions though the totals to which the percentages refer are also listed. The data contained in the table should be read in conjunction with the text above. Two points in particular should be borne in mind. First, the 'Other' category refers both to other British universities and, in some cases, to universities abroad or to non-university institutions such as museums, as is made clear in the text above. Second, the distribution of Postdoctoral Fellowship award holders refers to the university from which the award holder came rather than the university at which the award was taken up. Both distributions are described above.

Information Technology

When the Academy was founded the typewriter was just beginning to challenge the pen as the prime method for written communication, and the telephone was in its infancy. In the middle decades of the twentieth century the technology of communication changed only somewhat deliberately, but towards its end the pace of change became frenetic. It would be interesting to be able to plot the rising graph of Fellows regularly using email over the past five years, while word processing packages have undermined the traditional role of the secretary. Again, no institution can afford to be without a web site and the range of information obtainable directly and indirectly from web sites continues to grow exponentially. The Academy's web site was launched in 1995. It is now very greatly expanded and with the appointment of a contents manager early in the new year its centrality not simply to many of the activities of the Fellowship

but, it is to be hoped, to the humanities and social sciences in the country at large should develop rapidly. Before long it will no doubt be idiosyncratic not to apply for research appointments and research grants in electronic form. In most respects such developments are to be welcomed: in any case they can scarcely be resisted as younger scholars increasingly find earlier methods of communication inefficient or uncongenial. Not all is gain, nonetheless. The speed with which the bins set aside for paper recycling become filled, for example, seems only to increase in spite of the apparent likelihood that electronic means of communication should reduce paper use. And the ratio of dross to ore in material received has risen steeply as email has replaced the letter. Whatever happens in relation to developments such as these, however, I trust that neither concern about paper usage, nor the possibilities opened up by the web will prevent the continued and regular appearance of the *Review* in hard copy form.

Secretary of the Academy

The year 2000 was notable not only to the world at large as marking the completion of a century and a millennium but to the Academy in particular as the year in which Peter Brown completed a quarter century of service to the Academy, for the bulk of the period as its Secretary. A party was held to mark the occasion. The combined efforts of many people served to ensure that it was a memorable event, memorable for the warmth of feeling which was so evident, and perhaps also as being, one might guess, the only event of significance to take place within the Academy's walls in the last quarter century of which Peter remained ignorant until the denouement!

Pictures and Portraits

The Pictures, Portraits and Decoration Committee has been active under the Chairmanship of Professor Margaret McGowan. In recent months, it has successfully negotiated the loan of six large paintings from the Londonderry Estate which now hang in the Council and Mall Rooms. The Academy has also been lent a portrait from the Royal Collection that depicts George Canning standing at the despatch box, which is now on display in the Mall Room.

The Committee is grateful to Dr Charles Saumarez Smith, the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, and his staff for all their assistance over the past year. The Gallery has provided captions for the works that it has lent to the Academy which are on display in the Cornwall, Burlington and Marks Rooms, including captions for the paintings owned by the Academy which hang alongside them. The Committee was pleased to obtain twenty-one framed photographs from the National Portrait Gallery of deceased Fellows whom it wished to commemorate. These photographs have been hung in the corridor running between the President's and the Secretary's offices.

The Committee was also grateful to the Michael Marks Charitable Trust for the loan of the picture *Hackney Marshes from the River Lee* by Julian Perry which is currently hanging in the Rotunda Room.

The Royal Academy has agreed to lend a very large (*c*.12 ft × 18 ft) painting by Sir James Thornhill, a copy of the Raphael Cartoon of *Christ giving the keys to St Peter*. Sir James Thornhill (1675–1734) produced a series of copies of Raphael's celebrated Cartoons illustrating the Acts of the Apostles: a quarter-sized group, now lost; a half-sized set, now in New York; and a full-sized sequence, one of which will be loaned to the British Academy. The painting on loan to the Academy is the first of this sequence to be restored, and it has not been on public display for over a century. The Committee believes that it will be a splendid addition to the pictures on the walls of 10 Carlton House Terrace, and it is grateful to the Royal Academy for agreeing to lend it to the Academy. This painting will be installed in the Reading Room towards the end of January 2001.

The Committee's attention has not been focused solely on obtaining paintings produced in either the 18th, 19th or early 20th centuries, and it had been keen to obtain more con-temporary works of art for display in the Academy. It was delighted therefore that Dr John Golding kindly agreed to lend

Six Presidents
pictured left to right: Lord Quirk, Sir Anthony Kenny, Sir Tony Wrigley, Sir Keith Thomas, The Revd Professor W.O. Chadwick, OM, KBE, Sir Kenneth Dover

two of his own paintings to the Academy, and also made informal approaches on the Committee's behalf to two other distinguished contemporary painters, John Hoyland and Gillian Ayres. As a result, five large modern abstract paintings are now on display in the Fellows' Room.

A reception was held on 11 December 2000 to thank all these lenders and also to mark the unveiling of the group portrait of the six living Presidents by Stuart Pearson Wright. This painting was specially commissioned in order to help mark the Academy's centenary, and also as part of the Committee's efforts to encourage and promote promising, young artists. The group portrait of the six living Presidents is hanging in the Mall Room. Readers are free to formulate their own theories on the presence of poultry in the picture.

British Academy Awards for Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies

On 21 November 2000, the Political Studies Association (PSA) held an awards ceremony and dinner to mark 50 years since the foundation of the PSA. The celebration sought to raise the profile of the politics profession by honouring not only political scientists, but also politicians and journalists who have made an exceptional contribution to the study and practice of politics over the previous half-century. The ceremony was also an opportunity to recognize how much the PSA has done to promote the study of politics in higher education.

To support the celebration, the British Academy sponsored an Award for Lifetime Achievement in Political Studies. The prize rewarded scholarship and other contributions, such as editorships and influence in policy-making that have advanced political studies.

The winners of the British Academy awards were selected by a jury chaired by Professor Lord Smith which included Mr Will Hutton, Professor Lord Plant, Professor Gary Browning, Professor Mike Goldsmith, Professor Jack Hayward, Professor Elizabeth Meehan, Professor Michael Moran and Professor Andrew Taylor. Although it meant missing Thanksgiving, Professor Sam Beer, Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and doyen of American experts on British politics, flew in from Harvard to present the prize.

Professor Beer was also recruited into giving the PSA's 'Breaking the Mould' prize to the Rt Hon Baroness Thatcher of Finchley. The Rt Hon John Redwood MP accepted the prize on her behalf, on the eve of the 10th anniversary of her resignation.

The winners of the British Academy awards:

Professor Brian Barry FBA is Affiliate Professor at the University of Columbia, New York. He has published widely on both British politics and the relationship between democracy, power and justice and his work on social justice remains of primary importance in the field.

Professor Jean Blondel is External Professor at the European University Institute in Florence. He played a major role in founding the European Consortium for Political Research in 1969 and directed it for ten years. His key contributions are on the study of the mechanics of Government.

Dr David Butler CBE FBA has spent most of his career at Nuffield College, Oxford where he continues as Emeritus Professor. He was Personal Assistant to the British Ambassador in Washington (1955–56). He has been co-author of the *British General Election* series, possibly the most famous series of books published on contemporary politics over the last 40 years.

Professor Bernard Crick is Emeritus Professor at Birkbeck College, London. He has been literary editor of the *Political Quarterly* and Joint Chairman of the British South Africa Commission. He has also made profound contributions in the fields of political education and citizenship, including chairing the Committee on Teaching Citizenship in English Schools (1997–98).

Professor Stanley Hoffmann FBA is the Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor at Harvard where he has taught since 1955. He has taught at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris, from which he graduated, and at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. He was the Chairman of Harvard's Center for European Studies from its creation in 1969 to 1995.

Professor Richard Rose FBA is Professor of Politics at Strathclyde University which he joined in 1971. He has acted as a consultant for the OECD and the World Bank and has been a prolific producer of books and articles, at the last count well over 400, on a wide and varied range of subjects.

The award winners, left to right: Brian Barry, David Butler, Sam Beer, Jean Blondel, Mick Cox (for Stanley Hoffman), Richard Rose.

Science, Society and the Media

As part of the Academy's outreach activities, a report examining the relationship between science and the media was launched at a seminar held at the British Academy on 12 September 2000. An invited panel responded to a presentation given by the author of the report, **Professor Ian Hargreaves***, former editor of the* New Statesman *and the* Independent. *The event aimed to highlight the important contribution social science has made towards bridging the gulf of understanding between the public, media and science. The audience came from the civil service, Government, media, business and academia. Professor Hargreaves describes below some main issues that were discussed at the event.*

Peter Snow was perturbed. Here he was, about to chair a public debate between journalists, scientists and social scientists. The topic was the vexed relationship between science and the media, and the focal point was a report I had written on scientific communication. But the editor due to defend the press – Rosie Boycott of the *Express* – had failed to turn up.

The report's central charge is that after more than a decade of expensive 'public understanding of science' programmes, scientists still do not know or care how the media work. And they do not show much sign of understanding how public opinion works either. If science is to make progress in this area, I argue, it needs to pay more attention to social science – a proposition as welcome as an animal rights protester in the lab.

The view that science is in trouble with the public is establishment wisdom. BSE, the public revolt over GM foods and medical scandals have all undermined trust in scientists. According to a MORI poll for the House of Lords Science and Technology Committee, which published an important report on science and society earlier this year, fewer than one in five of us are willing to take the word of a 'government scientist'. Independent scientists fare better, but not as well as they used to. The Lords report concluded that 'public

Peter Snow and Ian Hargreaves

unease, mistrust and occasional outright hostility are breeding a climate of deep anxiety among scientists.' It urged a series of remedies, including dropping the label 'public understanding of science' which, it argued, smacks of a lost age when scientists said most problems associated with scientific advances were the result of public ignorance.

Today such a simple view of the problem is difficult to uphold. Social scientists who analyse the GM controversy or the story of nuclear power, say the difficulties arose because scientists and politicians cut themselves off from opinion and insights outside their circle. Social science argues for a more interactive process of communication between scientists and the public, and for a more open process of negotiation.

None of this has discouraged scientists from continuing to talk as if their difficulties with public opinion are primarily to be blamed upon over-excitable and dumbed down mass media. So far as scientists are concerned, the media form a distorting lens designed to obscure the passage of truth and rational argument. Sir Robert May, the government's chief scientist, was arguing this line recently, reprimanding an interviewer on Radio 4's *Today* programme for taking such a strong interest in Ed Hooper's theory that HIV was transferred to humans as a result of scientific error. The Hooper hypothesis is presumably one of those 'quixotic minority' views the Royal Society, no less, warns journalists against in the editorial guidelines it has asked the Press Complaints Commission to adopt as part of its editorial code. The Lords Committee recommended that the PCC agree to this dangerous text.

The idea that science will prosper by evading controversy or depleting the diversity of viewpoints is surely deeply misguided, if not undemocratic. It arises from the enduring fallacy that scientists can or should be able to control the terms on which the public gets information about science. If this were ever possible, it is surely no longer so in a world of instant, ubiquitous and interactive media. Equally, the 'distorting lens' view

of the media ignores work by social scientists on the complex meanings of media texts, and their social, historical, political and economic context. For example, a research report written for the House of Lords Committee analysing the GM affair would have us believe that newspapers can be plausibly divided into 'campaigning' newspapers, which tend to distort for effect, and 'reporting' newspapers, which give us things straight.

What struck me about the coverage of GM was the way that some of the papers which campaigned most stridently – the *Daily Mail* for example – also provided large quantities of reasonably well-balanced information and opinion. Equally, it is not hard to spot the loaded cultural assumptions engraved into every word of that most sober of 'reporting' newspapers, the *Financial Times*, which published a leading article on GM food contrasting the relative attractions of 'intellectual barbarism and measured progress'.

Likewise when scientists write about the media in specialised journals, they tend to operate upon the assumption that their own work is 'objective' and unaffected by special interest or cultural context. So far as medical scientists are concerned, the *Sun* tells you lies, the *Lancet* tells you the truth.

As part of its policy of engagement in areas of public debate, the Academy joined the ESRC in launching the report *Who's Misunderstanding Whom? An enquiry into the relationship between science and the media*, at the British Academy. Following a presentation by Professor Hargreaves, the issues raised by the report were discussed in a panel debate.

Members of the panel were: Peter Snow, BBC Presenter (Chair); Dr Christopher Exley, Birchall Centre for Inorganic Chemistry and Materials Science, Keele University; Dr Greg Philo, Research Director, Glasgow University Media Unit; Professor Steven Rose, Director, Brain and Behaviour Research Group, Open University; Professor Brian Wynne, Research Director, Centre for the Study of Environmental Change, Lancaster University.

The report is published by the Economic and Social Research Council and is on the ESRC website at www.esrc.ac.uk

Journalists are slaves of cynical commercial systems, scientists independent truth-tellers.

To judge by the debate that Rosie boycotted, however, the scientists may be regrouping for reflection on these matters. Dr Chris Exley, a chemist from Keele University, had been nominated by the British Academy to respond to the report. He said that most of the problems in science communication should be laid at the door of scientists. Scientists needed to communicate more clearly and engage with alternative perspectives. Professor Steven Rose, director of the Brain and Behaviour Research Group at the Open University, went further. He argued that commercialisation was leading to 'science conducted by megaphone', with the risk that those scientists most skilled at shouting most loudly would acquire the most influence, regardless of the quality of their work or the independence of their position. The sharpest charge made in the debate was that too many scientists are willing to mislead the public about their work, in pursuit of acclaim or money.

Professor Brian Wynne, a scientist turned social scientist from Lancaster University, argued that most science bestsellers were about 'science without consequences'. He said it was the type of science that confronts people in their daily lives which generates real controversy and demands a more consultative approach to decisions based on scientific discoveries. Lord Jenkin, who chaired the House of Lords inquiry, reported strong resistance in scientific circles to his committee's recommendation that the term 'public understanding of science' be abandoned in favour of the more open 'science and society'.

The next test will come in the Government's delayed response to the Jenkin report; not least because ministers are often as keen as scientists on the 'media hysteria' account of science's difficulties with the public. The Government should realise that if it does dismiss the Jenkin report, it will align itself with a diminishing and out-of-touch scientific elite. Many younger scientists hold the basic democratic assumption that science should be challenged by citizens on non-scientific grounds, and see the media as a vital, if sometimes boorish, part of that process.

Professor Hargreaves is currently Professor of Journalism and Director of the Centre for Journalism Studies at Cardiff University.

Lectures and Conferences

The programme of academic meetings has always formed a major part of the Academy's intellectual activity. There are endowed lecture series, which provide scholars with a platform for presenting new research and ideas. The Academy also organises symposia on subjects of current academic interest.

Lectures

During the period covered by this issue of the *Review*, six Academy lectures were given:

Professor John Sutton FBA
Rich Trades: Industrial Development Revisited
In this Keynes Lecture in Economics, John Sutton offered a thought-provoking theory of why the gap between rich and poor nations has proved so persistent. He has created a strikingly imaginative link that brings together the supposedly dry, positive economics of market structure, and the classical question of the wealth of nations investigated by Adam Smith nearly a quarter of a millennium ago. Professor Sutton emphasised improvements in the quality of production, and how the way these are brought about can create an elite of countries that enjoy 'rich trades'.

Dr Margaret Kean
Waiting for God: John Milton's Poems of 1671
Chatterton Lecture on Poetry

Professor Shula Marks FBA
White Masculinity: Smuts, Race and the South African War
An extract from this Raleigh Lecture on History can be found on page 16.

Professor Amartya Sen FBA
Other People
This fourth annual British Academy Lecture was given at the Institute of Education, London. An extract can be found on page 14.

The Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable the Lord Irvine of Lairg
The Law: An Engine for Trade
Thank-Offering to Britain Fund Lecture

Professor Michael Lapidge FBA
'Beowulf' and Perception
An extract from this Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture can be found on page 11.

Academy lectures are published in the
Proceedings of the British Academy

Symposia

During the period covered by this issue of the *Review*, the following meetings were held:

Rome and the Mediterranean World, July 2000
The papers from this two-day conference will be published in due course in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*.

European States and the Euro, September 2000
A report on this meeting can be found on page 18.

Prosopography in the Twenty-First Century: Late Roman and Byzantine, September 2000
A report on the project underpinning this colloquium can be found on page 24.

Translation, Knowledges and Cultures, December 2000
The process of translation brings together and negotiates between various kinds of knowledge: about language, about texts, and about the world. Repeatedly in periods which have seen the large-scale transfer of knowledges, an upsurge of translating activity has accompanied these changes. Translation has been both the vehicle of changes in what is known, and an agent (through the interactions of languages and cultural codes) in redefining what it is possible to know. This meeting looked at translation in four contrasting periods of history – medieval times, the age of Humanism, the transition from Enlightenment to the Romantics, and the contemporary world.

Images and Artefacts of the Ancient World, December 2000
A report on this meeting can be found on page 21.

Conversazione

The Academy holds informal evening discussion meetings at which Fellows of the Academy can debate issues of topical or perennial interest. These stimulating and provocative events are organised by Professor Margaret Boden FBA. *Creativity through Courtship* was the subject of the autumn 2000 *conversazione*, with principal speakers Dr Geoffrey Miller and Mr John Lucas FBA.

# *Beowulf* and Perception

Professor Michael Lapidge FBA, *Notre Dame Professor of English at the University of Notre Dame, delivered the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture at the Academy on 12 December 2000. His theme was the narrative and intellectual sophistication of the Beowulf poet, and in the extract below he introduces one of the elements in his argument.*

The story of *Beowulf* is well known, even to those who have never read the poem. It concerns a courageous young warrior from Geatland (in southern Sweden) who travels to Denmark to confront a monster that has been ravaging the hall of the Danish king Hrothgar for many years; after successfully destroying the monster, the hero is obliged to destroy the monster's mother, which he does with somewhat greater difficulty; and finally, in his declining years back home in Geatland, his confrontation with a marauding dragon proves fatal for him and, by implication, for the Geatish people. The story of *Beowulf* has been well studied for a century or more, to the point that (for example) we are well informed, and perhaps over-informed, about analogues in many languages to each of the three confrontations, but also about the poet's design in contrasting the hero's youth with his old age, about pervasive themes in the poem such as kingship and the nature of early Germanic society, and so on. But what has not been well studied is the *way* the story is told, the poem's diegesis or narrative dis-course, to borrow a useful term from the French structuralists. For the story is told in anything but a straightforward manner. Although the poet was undoubtedly able to narrate a story in a straightforward linear manner (as he does, for example, when recounting through Beowulf's mouth the story of Ingeld, lines 2024–69), his characteristic method of narration is oblique and allusive. The principal character himself is introduced when first he hears of the monster (line 194) at home in Geatland, but we are not told his name until he has reached Heorot, the Danish king's hall, some 150 lines later (line 343). The story of Hygelac's last and fatal raid is alluded to on several occasions, but never sequentially recounted. The account which the narrator gives us of Beowulf's accomplishments at Heorot differs strikingly from that given by Beowulf himself when recounting his adventure to King Hygelac back in Geatland. And these are only some of the many unsettling discrepancies found throughout the poem. The narrative looks forward and back, now moving rapidly, now moving at a snail's pace. Friedrich Klaeber, one of the poem's greatest

editors, rubricated one section of his Introduction with the title 'lack of steady advance', and Kenneth Sisam, in one of the earliest Gollancz lectures (1933), observed that, 'if *Beowulf* is a fair specimen of the longer secular poems, the Anglo-Saxons were poor story-tellers, weak in proportion and too ready to be distracted from the regular sequence of events'. One great critic of the poem – J.R.R. Tolkien, in another Gollancz lecture delivered to the Academy in 1936 – even denied that the poem *is* a narrative. The non-linearity of *Beowulf*ian narrative discourse is a feature of the poem which no reader could miss, but, as I have already said, it has been very little studied. In what follows I shall argue that this non-linearity was wholly intentional, and is a reflex of the poet's concern with the mental processes of perception and understanding. But my first task is to
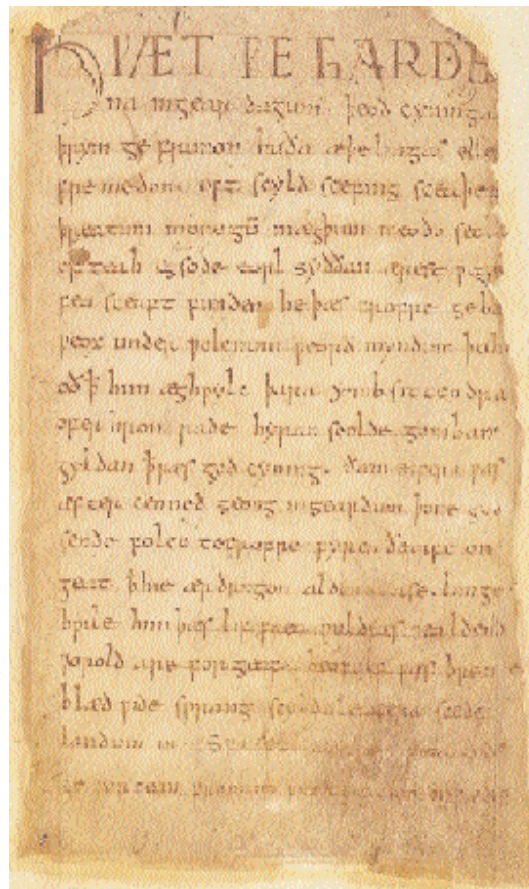
The first page of Beowulf. *Reproduced by permission of the British Library. MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv. f. 132r*

demonstrate that the non-linearities are intentional and not the result of separate lays being stitched incompetently together: in short, that the form of the poem as we have it was essentially that which left the poet's pen, and that its narrative design is his.

I wish to begin this demonstration by considering a passage which occurs near the middle of the poem (lines 1785–1802). But before coming to the passage in question, it is well to remind ourselves about certain general aspects of the poet's narrative technique. The action of *Beowulf* proceeds as it were in pulses: things go well for a while, but then disaster strikes; when the disaster has passed, things go well again, *until* the next disaster strikes, and so on. The focal point of the narrating is the moment of reversal, what the poet calls an *edwenden* or *edhwyrft*. Thus Beowulf tells the coastguard that he has come to help Hrothgar, if ever Hrothgar is to experience an *edwenden* in his misfortunes (280); Hrothgar himself later refers to the onslaught of Grendel as an *edwenden* (1774: 'Hwæt, me þæs on eþle edwenden cwom'); and the narrator later describes Beowulf's defeat of Grendel – which proved so decisive a turning-point in the hero's career – as an *edwenden* (2188–9: 'Edwenden cwom/tireadigum menn torna gehwylces'). The poet uses the adverbial construction *oð þæt* ('until') to mark the point of reversal. Bruce Mitchell has helpfully discussed the use of *oð þæt* to 'mark the termination or temporal limit of the action of the main clause and a transition in the narrative.' It is this usage, to mark a transition in the narrative, that is especially characteristic of *Beowulf*, as two examples will illustrate. Near the beginning of the poem, the poet describes the joyous life of the retainers in Heorot, *until* the monster began to wreak havoc:

> Swa ða drihtguman dreamum lifdon
> eadiglice, oð ðæt an ongan
> fyrene fremman feond on helle (99–101).

[Thus the noble retainers lived in joy, blessedly, UNTIL one began to perpetrate crimes, a fiend from hell.]

This example of a historiated initial R from the frontispiece of a 12th-century manuscript of St. Gregory's Moralia in Job closely resembles the dragon fight of Beowulf and Wiglaf. Collection Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon, France, Ms 168, fo 4v, cliché F. Perrodin.

Later in the poem, when Beowulf had returned to Geatland, he ruled that land as a wise king *until* a dragon began to wreak havoc on dark nights:

> wæs ða frod cyning,
> eald eþelweard – , oð ðæt an ongan
> deorcum nihtum draca ricsian (2209–11).

[[Beowulf] was then a wise king, an old guardian of the people, UNTIL one began to rule on dark nights, – a dragon.]

The repetition of this phrase (*oð ðæt an ongan*) – a phrase which occurs only in *Beowulf* – to mark a turning point at two crucial points in the narrative, can hardly be a matter of coincidence.

We may now return to the narrative, to the point where Beowulf has arrived in Denmark, has been introduced to Hrothgar's court, has bested Unferth in a verbal flyting, and has reassured everyone that he means to deal straightway with the problem of Grendel. This statement restores confidence in the hall and calls for a round of drinks. Momentarily, happy times have been restored to Heorot:

> Þa wæs eft swa ær inne on healle
> þryðword sprecen, ðeod on sælum,
> sigefolca sweg, oþ þæt semninga
> sunu Healfdenes secean wolde
> æfenræste; wiste þæm ahlæcan
> to þam heahsele hilde geþinged,
> siððan hie sunnan leoht geseon <ne>
>   meahton,
> oþ ðe nipende niht ofer ealle,
> scaduhelma gesceapu scriðan cwoman
> wan under wolcnum. Werod eall aras
>   (642–51).

[Then once more, as of old, within the hall brave words were spoken, the people joyous, [there was] sound of victorious folk, UNTIL presently the son of Healfdene [Hrothgar] wished to seek his nightly rest; he knew that the monster had determined to attack the lofty hall as soon as they could no longer see the sun's light, or night darkening over all things, shadowy outlines should come gliding forth, dark beneath the skies. The company all arose.]

Even at this early point in the poem we have learned that a momentary period of happiness and calm is likely to be followed by a reversal: and on cue, as it were, the monster comes, gliding through the night like a shadow, and bursts into the hall. Beowulf confronts him and tears off his arm and shoulder, inflicting thereby a mortal wound.

Grendel escapes, and calm and happiness are restored (again) to Heorot: 'Þær wæs sang ond sweg samod ætgædere' (1063), says the narrator, recalling the 'hearpan sweg' (89) that had resounded through Heorot years ago, before the monster's first assault. Here – for reasons which will become clear in due course – we must try to put ourselves in the position of the original audience, who did not know what might happen next, but who by now had internalised the poet's perception of the transitory nature of human happiness, with periods of tranquillity inevitably punctuated by reversals. Predictably, on the following night, out of the darkness comes another monster to Heorot, the advance of this monster (who turns out to be Grendel's mother) marked by diction that recalls Grendel's earlier attack (1279: 'com þa to Heorote'; cf. 720: 'com þa to recede'). This one's attack is a terrifying reversal (*edhwyrft*) for the Danes who – thinking danger has passed – have returned to sleeping in the hall:

> Þa ðær sona wearð
> edhwyrft eorlum,   siþðan inne fealh
> Grendles modor   (1280–2).

[Then there was, immediately, a reversal for the men, when Grendel's mother burst in.]

She kills one of the men (a thegn of Hrothgar named Æschere) and drags his body to the ghastly mere which she inhabits; the following morning Beowulf pursues her into the mere and, after a struggle, kills her. So peace and tranquillity are yet again restored to Heorot. Hrothgar praises Beowulf and offers him some wise advice. Beowulf – and everyone else – is happy. Then occurs the passage to which all this preamble has been leading:

> Geat wæs glædmod,   geong sona to,
> setles neosan,   swa se snotra heht.
> Þa wæs eft swa ær   ellenrofum,
> fletsittendum   fægere gereorded
> niowan stefne. –   Nihthelm geswearc
> deorc ofer dryhtgumum.   Duguð eall aras …
>   (1785–90).

[The Geat [Beowulf] was happy; he went at once to take his seat, as the wise one [King Hrothgar] commanded. Then once more, as of old, a feast was splendidly spread out for the hall-retainers, one more time. – The shadow of night grew dark, black, over the men. The company all arose …]

Let us (again) try to place ourselves in the position of the poem's original audience. Such an audience could not anticipate what would happen next, but could only reflect on what had already happened. The audience is encouraged, by the poet's repetition of earlier phrases, to recall the scene in the hall on the night before Grendel's first attack: then, too, all was as it had been before (642: *Þa wæs eft swa ær*); there, too, the shadow of night crept over everything (with *nihthelm* here cf. 650: *sceaduhelma gesceapu*); there, too, the company all arose (651: *werod eall aras*). On the eve of Grendel's assault, there was joy in the hall *until* Hrothgar got up, anticipating the monster's assault. Here Beowulf rests peacefully, *until* a black raven …

> Reste hine þa rumheort;   reced hliuade
> geap ond goldfah;   gæst inne swæf,
> oþ þæt hrefn blaca …   (1799–1801).

[The magnanimous one took his rest; the building towered up, gabled and gold-bedecked; the guest slept within, UNTIL a black raven …]

How did the first audience (or indeed: how do we) know that there is not a third monster, or an un-ending supply of monsters, lurking outside in the shadows of night, ready to attack the hall? That disaster might again be impending is hinted by the poet's characteristic use of *oþ þæt*, anticipating a reversal; and the appearance of the black raven – one of the traditional beasts of battle and slaughter – also suggests imminent carnage. The tension builds to this point, and then is swiftly dissipated by the b-verse: 'until the black raven … happily announced the joy of heaven [i.e. bright day]'. The question is: why did the poet choose the black raven to announce the joy of the coming day? Why not a meadowlark, or a cheery robin? As far as I know (from the advice of ornithologists) ravens have at best a very dubious 'dawn song': *The Handbook of British Birds* describes 'a sort of liquid gargle, like wine poured from a long-necked decanter, uttered with bill pointing upwards'. But the carefully-drawn parallel with the earlier passage suggests that the *Beowulf*-poet had in mind a narrative design irrelevant to the exactitude of ornithology: the raven was chosen because of its sinister associations with death and carnage, teasing the audience (as it were) with the anticipation of yet another slaughter-attack, and then dispelling the tension by allowing the raven, improbably, to announce the light of day. This design could only be successful if the poet could expect the audience to recall the first passage while hearing or reading the second. The narrative repetition, in other words, must be intentional.

Other People

On 7 November 2000 **Professor Amartya Sen FBA** *delivered the fourth Annual British Academy Lecture. In the extract below, Professor Sen considers various aspects of identity.*

In 1998 the Academy launched a major new lecture series, the annual keynote British Academy Lecture, to mark the move to Carlton House Terrace. Lectures are intended to address a wider audience than the purely scholarly and to advance public understanding of the subjects the Academy exists to promote.

Let me begin with the notion of 'plural identity'. This is not, of course, a new subject, and many writers have discussed with much clarity the limitation of the presumption – often made implicitly – in identity politics and in identity-based philosophy that a person belongs only to one community or group. Surely any claim of exclusivity of this kind cannot but be manifestly absurd. We invoke group identities of various kinds in very many disparate contexts, and the language of our communications reflects this diversity in the different ways in which phrases like 'my people' are used. A person can be a Nigerian, an Ibo, a British citizen, a US resident, a woman, a philosopher, a vegetarian, a Christian, a painter, and a great believer in aliens who ride on UFOs – each of these groups giving the person a particular identity which may be invoked in particular contexts.

Sometimes an identity group – the idea of 'my people' – may even have a very fleeting and highly contingent existence. Mort Sahl, the American comedian, is supposed to have responded to the intense tedium of a four-hour-long film, directed by Otto Preminger, called *Exodus* (dealing with Jewish migration), by demanding on behalf of his fellow sufferers: 'Otto, let my people go!' That group of tormented film-goers did have reason for fellow feeling, but one can see the contrast between such an ephemeral group and the well-defined and really tyrannised community led by Moses – the original subject of that famous entreaty.

There are many groups to which a person belongs. It is useful to distinguish between 'competing' and 'non-competing' identities. The different groups may belong to the same category, dealing with the same kind of membership (such as citizenship), or to different categories (such as citizenship, class, gender, or profession). In the former case, there is some 'competition' between different groups within the same category, and thus between the different identities with which they are associated. In contrast, when we deal with groups classified on different bases (such as profession and citizenship), there may be no real competition between them as far as 'belonging' is concerned.

However, even though these non-competing identities are not involved in any territorial dispute as far as belonging is concerned, they can compete with each other for our attention and priorities. When one has to do one thing or another, the loyalties can conflict between giving priority to, say, race, or religion, or political commitments, or professional obligations, or friendship. And in that context, to be guided by only one particular identity (say, race), oblivious of others, can be disastrously limiting. The neglect of our plural identities in favour of one 'principal' identity can greatly impoverish our lives and practical reason.

In fact, we can have plural identities even with competing categories. One citizenship does, in an elementary sense, compete with another, in a person's identity. For example, if an Indian citizen resident in Britain is unable to take British citizenship because she does not want lose her Indian citizenship, she may still have quite a substantial loyalty to her British attachments and to other features of her British identity which no Indian court can outlaw. Similarly, an erstwhile Indian citizen who has given up that citizenship to become a UK citizen may still retain considerable loyalties to her Indian identity.

The plurality of competing as well as non-competing identities is not only not contradictory, it can be part and parcel of the self-conceptions of migrants and their families. For example, the tendency of British citizens of West Indian or South Asian origin to cheer their 'home' teams in test cricket has sometimes been seen as proof of disloyalty to Britain. This phenomenon has led to Lord Tebbit's famous 'cricket test' (to wit, you cannot be accepted as English unless you support England in test matches). This view involves a remarkable denial of consistent pluralities that may be easily involved in a person's self-conception as well as social behaviour. Which cricket team to cheer is a completely different issue from the demands of British – or any other – citizenship, and different also from a socially cohesive life in England. In fact, in so far as Tebbit's 'cricket test' induces an exclusionary agenda, and imposes an unnecessary and irrelevant demand on

immigrants, it makes social integration that much more difficult.

Similarly, on the other side, criticism is sometimes made of people who take pride in traditional, and classically old, British or English culture, and it has even been suggested that such belief must be seen as proof of their non-acceptance of a multi-ethnic Britain. Why so? Surely there is no conflict whatsoever in (1) fully accepting that the contemporary British population is a multi-ethnic mixture, which is supportive of the liberties and civil rights of different groups, and (2) maintaining at the same time that English traditional culture is far superior to anything that the immigrants have – or could have – brought. There is, in fact, overwhelming evidence that the vast majority of the British people – of all different colours – do not believe in any cultural comparison as simple as that. But there is no reason whatever to assume that such a belief, were it to be entertained, would disqualify the person from being a good citizen of a multi-ethnic Britain. The multi-ethnicity of Britain cannot be an all-engulfing super-identity that must knock out all other identifications – and beliefs – in deference to this one cause.

A related issue has been the subject of a somewhat diverting discussion in the recent *Report* of the Commission on the Future of Multi-ethnic Britain, sponsored by the Runnymede Trust. The *Report*, to give credit where it is due, discusses many important issues that genuinely need consideration and attention. It is, thus, somewhat unfortunate that the *Report* gets distracted into the dead-end of a non-issue as to whether 'Englishness' or 'Britishness' has racial connotations. Britain has not, of course, been racially homogeneous in any strict sense for a long time, with waves of invasion and immigration over two millennia or more. But until recently the composition of the population was predominantly 'white' (a term that has come to be used for a mixed hue with varieties of ruddiness thrown in). This, of course, is a historical fact, as is the cultural

fact that this is a country the past history of which has been distinctive, and continues to be influential in the lives of the inhabitants. Even the tradition of political and social tolerance in this country has strong historical roots.

A historian of language may find it interesting enough to see how the use of the word 'British' or even 'English' is changing. And changing it certainly is, in all kinds of different ways. Indeed, it is worth noting, in fairness to Norman Tebbit, that his absurd 'cricket test', misguided as it is, does not demand a skin inspection, only a close scrutiny of the cheers that emanate from immigrants, which is very different from mooring Britishness or Englishness on racial origin alone. To lament the fact that the terms 'British' or 'English' were not historically pre-fashioned *ex ante* to take note of the future arrival of multi-ethnic immigrants would surely be an exercise in futility.

Similarly, on the other side, when J.B.S. Haldane, the great biologist and geneticist, chose to become an Indian citizen and remained so to his death in Calcutta in 1964, he did not demand that the term 'Indian' be dissociated from its historical associations, only that he too be counted in as an Indian, which of course he was. The Haldanes's acquiring of Indian citizenship was not coupled with rejecting their British linkages (only of particular features of contemporary British politics), nor, on the other side, with any qualms about the historical associations of the term 'Indian'. There is, in fact, no serious reason for caging oneself in a prison of limited identities, or volunteering to be caught in an imagined contradiction between the richness of the past and the freedom of the present.

Professor Sen is Master of Trinity College, Cambridge and Lamont Professor Emeritus at Harvard University. He won the 1998 Nobel Prize for Economics for his research into the fundamental problems of welfare economics.

White Masculinity: Jan Smuts, Race and the South African War

In his lifetime, Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870–1950) was not only widely recognised as an exceptional scholar, soldier and scientist, but was also South Africa's outstanding white statesman. For all his international achievements, however, he was incapable of anything but the rankest opportunism in relation to South Africa's racial problems. In an extract from her Raleigh Lecture delivered on 2 November 2000, **Professor Shula Marks FBA***, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, addressed this contradiction, ascribing his liberal internationalism at least in part to the influence of a group of remarkable radical and feminist women. In this extract, she considers the roots of Smuts's powerful racial fears.*

In October 1918 Sir Charles Wakefield, formerly Lord Mayor of London and later Lord Wakefield, offered the Academy a sum of money to commemorate the tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh. From this fund, the annual history lecture was founded. Since 1974 the subject has been drawn on a regular rotating basis from the medieval, early modern and modern periods.

In a recent comment, Saul Dubow has remarked, ' only by taking the intellectual discourse of scientific racism seriously is it possible to fully comprehend its strength and appeal'. Supporting this view, Peder Johan Anker has argued that Smuts's racial attitudes and repressive policies were underpinned by his philosophy of holism, especially in its ecological and evolutionary forms. According to Anker, Smuts sincerely endeavoured to 'let scientific knowledge guide his political decisions', and these 'were fully consistent with his holistic philosophy of science.' He illustrates this well with an analysis of Smuts's 1929 Rhodes lectures in Oxford in which he advocated the expansion of white settlement in the climatically suitable highlands of East Africa, because black and white communities represented separate 'wholes' and could and should therefore live in separate ecological 'bio-regions'.

Yet this ostensibly ecological analysis is followed by what can only be described as the most hoary of settler nostrums: that 'the easiest, most natural and obvious way to civilize the African native is to give him decent white employment. White employment is his best school; the gospel of labour is the most salutary gospel for him .... even more from the native point of view, the policy of African settlement [i.e. by whites] is imperatively necessary.' For all his scientific sophistication, much of Smuts's thinking on race would seem to draw on forms of nineteenth-century 'colonial knowledge' which missionaries and settlers constructed to legitimise the colonisation of Africa. This in turn seemed to rest on the notion of 'the masterful Western [male] subject as a repository and arbiter of civilisation,' rather than on Darwinian explanations of racial difference.

Even more striking is the way in which this highly intellectual man, who had his finger on the pulse of scientific advance in the first half of the twentieth century was also liable to erupt into a far more overtly racist discourse. Even in lectures, designed for his Oxford audience, the sense of menace escapes into the text:

> From time immemorial [Smuts proclaimed] the natives of Africa have been subject to a stern, even a ruthless discipline, and their social system has rested on the despotic authority of their chiefs. If this system breaks down and tribal discipline disappears, native society will be resolved into its human atoms, with possibilities of universal Bolshevism and chaos which no friend of the natives, or the orderly civilization of this continent, could contemplate with equanimity.

Notwithstanding Anker's fascinating analysis of scientific philosophy at the heart of Smuts's politics, the contradiction remains between his essentially optimistic scientific vision, his liberal internationalism, his self confidence in his manly prowess – and his almost visceral racial fears. As Bill Schwarz has noted, 'His was a culture which lived in a kind of permanent emergency, peculiarly attuned to apprehensions of its own destruction.'

These apprehensions punctuate his correspondence and speeches from the 1890s to the late 1940s. If much of this may be ascribed to Smuts's childhood experiences as the son of a landowner on a farm in the western Cape – about which we know remarkably little in fact – the really formative event seems to have been the South African war, an event which was deeply etched on Smuts's consciousness, and which made it almost impossible for him to transcend these earlier experiences. The profound meaning of the war in crystallising Smuts's racial angst can, I think, be seen in the emotionally charged letter which he wrote to the British pro-Boer journalist W.T. Stead in January 1902. In it he bitterly castigated Britain's 'baneful policy' of employing 'Natives and Coloured people as armed combatants .... not in small insignificant numbers, but in thousands ....'

Armed by the British, he continued, 'these ... fiends' had 'committed horrible atrocities on fugitive or peaceful women and children ... the world will be surprised to find that almost as many women and children have perished at the hands of barbarians in this war, by the connivance or general instigation of British officers, as were done to death by Dingaan and Moselekatze at the dawn of the Republics in South Africa ...'

It is difficult in a short extract to capture the almost hysterical language used by Smuts in this outburst. And while he was undoubtedly exaggerating for Stead's benefit – and it is interesting that he thought such a letter would appeal to British readers – there can be little doubt that what he wrote was deeply felt. For thirty passionate pages he pronounced on how shocking it was 'to employ armed barbarians under white officers in a war between two white Christian peoples,' both in view of the 'numerical disproportion of the two peoples engaged in this struggle' and 'from the point of view of South African history and public policy.' What really endangered 'the continued existence of the white community as the ruling class in South Africa', Smuts maintained, was the involvement, by Britain, of the 'coloured races' in a dispute between whites, thus allowing them to 'become the arbiter in disputes between ... [them] and in the long run the predominating factor or "casting vote" in South Africa.'

> Dark indeed is that shadow! [he proclaimed] When armed Natives and Coloured boys, trained and commanded by English officers, ... [pursue] the fugitive Boer and try to pay off old scores by insulting his wife and children on their [lonely] farms; when the Boer women in the Cape Colony have to cook for and serve the brutal Coloured scouts, ..., and are forced to listen to their filthy talk; when they hear these Coloured soldiers of the King boast that after the war the latter will be the owners of the [Boer] farms ... and will marry [their] widows ...; when, to escape violation and nameless insults at the hands of their former servants, now wearing the British uniform, Boer women and girls seek refuge in the mountains of the native land, as I have seen them do – a wound is given to South Africa which Time itself will not heal.

For Smuts, British war policy portended 'an eventual debacle of society' in which the white population would 'have to bow before a Native constabulary and soldiery'. This 'Frankenstein Monster' was, he asserted, far worse than 'the utter desolation of South Africa and the unprecedented sufferings of the whole Boer people in field and prison camps', and 'would soon cause South Africa to relapse into barbarism ...'

One's initial instinct is to dismiss this letter as propaganda premised on paranoia; the Manichean opposites of civilisation and savagery are only too familiar to students of nineteenth century racist discourse, and there is no evidence that white women were raped or even molested by 'the coloured races' on any scale during the war, despite lurid articles in the press and the taunting of masters and especially mistresses by former labourers. Indeed the handful of women who had been captured by Linchwe's Kgatla people in the eastern Transvaal after the Battle of Derdepoort in November 1899, an episode at the heart of many of the more blood-curdling rumours, all remarked on the kind treatment they had received from the chief and his followers! Looking at the evidence one is forcefully reminded of Norman Etherington's astringent comment on the so-called 'black peril' scare in Natal in 1870: 'during the rape crisis' he says, 'everyone was scared and practically no-one was raped.' One cannot, however, leave the matter there. As Etherington continues:

> ... fear of losing control was a constant under-current in the thinking of the settler minority. This substratum of anxiety rose to the surface in the form of a moral panic whenever disturbances in the economy or the body politic were severe enough to unsettle the mask of composure worn by the face of public authority. In a patriarchal society, where women were part and parcel of the property to be defended against threats from below, fear of rape was a special concern of white males ...

White masculinity in general and Smuts's in particular were at stake in the inability of the Boers either to defend their women and children or, indeed, to control them. During the war Smuts felt his entire social world beginning to crack, and this catastrophic vision seems to have haunted him for most of the rest of his life.

European States and the Euro

On 14–15 September 2000 the British Academy organised a conference on how Economic and Monetary Union is affecting European states. The conference covered epistemological and methodological problems in studying these effects. It also considered 'top-down' effects from the EU level, how different states responded to EMU and sought to reshape its development, and sectoral effects on labour markets, welfare states and financial market regulation. **Professor Kenneth Dyson FBA**, *the organiser of the conference, reflects on some of the issues.*

It is generally agreed that the process of economic and monetary union (EMU) is having profound effects on European states and that, as a consequence, they are becoming more alike. The truth is, as so often, more complex. Profound changes are linked to EMU. But these changes often anticipated EMU and made it possible in the first place. EMU reinforced a commitment to an economic policy philosophy of 'sound' money and finance whose origins were outside this framework (notably in the growing structural power of global financial markets). It was, however, sometimes vitally important in influencing the timing and tempo of this philosophical conversion, for instance in Greece, Italy and Spain. Meeting the requirements of the Stability and Growth Pact on fiscal discipline has had major practical implications for these states. European states have also become more alike, most strikingly as a consequence of the institutionalisation of 'sound' money and finance at the EU level. They share a commitment to price stability and to upholding a stability culture in economic affairs. But there is no evidence that EMU is functioning as a mechanism of convergence around an Anglo-American model of neo-liberal market capitalism. The processes of change under way in labour-market policy and welfare-state policy are more accurately characterised as about the redefinition of the European social model. This model stresses 'security in change' and emphasises the state's role in assisting processes of economic adjustment by minimising the risks that individuals must bear. EMU is not eroding the European social model in favour of neo-liberalism.

Building the pillars of EMU

Before returning to these questions, it is helpful to get some idea of the complex nature of the effects associated with EMU. Monetary union – a single central bank, a single interest rate, a single currency – is the most visible, supranational part. From 1 January 1999 the European Central Bank (ECB) in Frankfurt has set monetary policy for the Euro-Zone as a whole. Britain, Denmark and Sweden have chosen not to 'opt in', at least for the time being. But these states remain bound by the other two pillars of EMU whose rules are European Union-wide. The second pillar is a form of 'hard' co-ordination in fiscal policy through the Stability and Growth Pact, armed with sanctions against states transgressing its rules but dependent on peer-group pressure. The third pillar – economic policy and employment policy – represents 'soft' co-ordination, peer-group pressure without sanctions. Since the Lisbon European Council of March 2000, the EU has committed itself to an approach of 'benchmarking' best practice in policies to promote economic growth and employment generation. The 'big' story of EMU culminating in the Maastricht Treaty of 1993 was the institutionalisation of monetary union. But since 1995–97 the 'big' story has shifted to the other two pillars. Their development keeps the so-called 'outs' still actively involved in EMU as participants. As the EU faces up to asymmetric economic shocks, the centre of political gravity will be fiscal co-ordination and economic policy and employment policy co-ordination. As a variable promoting domestic policy and political changes, EMU is itself changing.

The effects of EMU

In studying the effects of EMU, a temporal perspective is important. EMU did not begin on 1 January 1999 or with the signature and ratification of the Maastricht Treaty. As a process it can be traced back through the twenty-year existence of the European Monetary System (EMS). State elites learnt through processes of socialisation and internalisation, through the scope given to policy leadership by EU central bankers, and through emulation of the most successful European monetary power – Germany. The critical junctures varied from state to state: for Denmark 1981–82, for France 1983, for Italy 1992–93. But, however different the timing and tempo in individual cases, the ECB was able to start its institutional life in a setting of political culture that was highly supportive. Also, the major costs of monetary and

fiscal convergence had already been managed by individual states before 1999, notably in lost output and employment during the 1990s. For these reasons – supplemented by the lengthy period of careful technical preparations – the final stage of EMU was able to start remarkably smoothly.

The effects of EMU are complex and wide-ranging and will take some time to exhibit themselves fully. Most potently, states are under pressure to be politically inventive. They have lost two policy instruments that have traditionally been associated with their sovereignty over economic policy. Neither interest rates nor devaluation are available to those states that have joined monetary union. Hence they have to consider how to devise new instruments to smooth processes of adjustment to economic shocks. This major change in the policy environment has shifted attention to the institutions of collective bargaining to promote greater flexibility at work, and to reforms of the welfare state and educational systems for the purpose of supporting employability. The result has not been retreat and dismantlement of collective bargaining and welfare-state provision. A major development since the early 1990s has been the negotiation of 'social pacts' at the national level, notably in Ireland, Italy and Spain. In Denmark corporatism has changed – becoming more Europeanised – rather than faded away. On the whole – Britain is very much an exception – state elites have preferred to negotiate with employers and trade unions. Gerhard Schröder's 'Alliance for Jobs' in Germany since 1998 is typical of a wider European practice. This preference for negotiating economic change has in turn directed political attention to what can be learnt from states like Denmark and the Netherlands. These states gave up *de facto* their sovereignty over monetary policy in the early 1980s and have used negotiated change by consensus as the main instrument for promoting economic adjustment. For this reason, at the level of economic policy practices, Denmark and the Netherlands have proved more important than Germany as a source of lesson-drawing in a post-EMU European Union.

Top-down and bottom-up effects

In debate about EMU much attention has been given to the 'top-down' effects of EMU. EMU puts states under new pressures, and not just because their repertoire of policy instruments is radically changed and 'sound' money and finances more firmly institutionalised than before.

Economic behaviour of consumers and of firms will also change. Firms will be operating in a single European market without the transaction costs of exchange-rate variability. They will also be offered new opportunities by the integrated financial markets spurred by a single currency, the first signs of which are to be seen in the explosive growth of the Euro-bond market. The result will be major corporate restructuring to anticipate and cope with new pressures of competitiveness. These pressures will be enhanced by the effects of the new transparency of prices and costs that will come with a single currency. Consumers and firms, armed with this information, are likely to seek out new ways of reducing costs and paying lower prices. The result will be new political pressures on European governments, notably over taxation questions. The combination of internet technology with a new price and cost transparency will empower European consumers to seek out advantages by shopping around the Euro-Zone. Hence 'top-down' effects will draw states into much closer webs of interdependence in managing tax and regulatory policies.

In practice, the Euro-Zone will exhibit a complex interplay between these 'top-down' effects and 'bottom-up' effects. Individual states 'construct' EMU in different ways. For the Danish elites the stress has been on the essential compatibility of EMU's 'sound' policy values with the welfare state. Their difficulty in persuading Danish public opinion to support EMU entry in the referendum of September 2000 had much to do with residual doubts about that argument. For the French elites EMU has been seen as a shield behind which to develop new forms of intervention in social and employment policies. For British elites EMU was a neo-liberal project for making welfare states and labour markets more compatible with the Anglo-American values of market capitalism. Behind these different constructions of EMU was discernible the influence of contrasting national economic structures. British views were strongly conditioned by the structural power of the financial institutions of the City. In Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark the institutional power of employer and trade union officials was more important in shaping attitudes. French views displayed the continuing role and self-interests of the grand corps. There was no sign of national traditions being torn up by the roots. EMU was being framed in different ways at domestic level to make it credible, comprehensible and legitimate.

Convergence?

Convergence is a term that has been applied too readily to characterise what is at work in the relationship between EMU and European states. It is more helpful to discriminate between pressures for convergence and other aspects. There are indeed powerful pressures for convergence, from financial markets as well as from EMU. Their effect is seen most clearly in the political ascendancy of ideas of 'sound' money and finance and the relatively easy way in which the ECB has been able to bed down as a new and powerful institution. But convergence is in other respects much more limited. There is some convergence of domestic policy processes. Finance ministries have been empowered by EMU to extend the scope and grip of their influence on domestic policies. They must, however, deal with powerful entrenched policy communities, for instance in welfare-state institutions that often involve traditions of self-management and also in often very autonomous systems of collective bargaining.

It is also difficult to identify convergence of policies and of policy outputs around a neo-liberal, market capitalism model. This type of convergence is most apparent in financial market regulation, where a shift in the direction of the Anglo-American model is discernible. The combination of the 'sound' money and finance values of EMU with an ascendant Anglo-American model of financial markets can be seen as the most powerful catalyst for a convergence around neo-liberalism. EMU then emerges as part of a process by which the model of shareholder value comes to reign supreme across Europe and efforts to manage capitalism – whether of the Schröder or Lionel Jospin type – come unstitched. This conclusion ignores two aspects of EMU. First, EMU also provides relatively small European states with a more powerful shield against currency volatility than they have known since the collapse of the Bretton Woods system. Secondly, the achievement of a 'sound' monetary and fiscal position via EMU is perfectly compatible with the continuation of high welfare-state spending and more active labour-market policies. Over the longer term the combination of security with change may prove to be a more sustainable and less costly model for coping with the vagaries and volatility of competitive markets than opponents of the European social model have recognised.

Images and Artefacts of the Ancient World

A joint discussion meeting took place under the auspices of the Academy and the Royal Society, at the Society's premises, on 6–7 December 2000. The meeting was attended by about 100 people. **Dr Alan Bowman FBA**, *co-organiser of the event with Professor Mike Brady FRS, describes the event, and overleaf* **Dr Hugh Denard** *highlights recent work on imaging Pompey's theatre in Rome.*

The stimulus for holding a joint symposium was the idea that dialogue between the disciplines of archaeology and history on the one hand and science and computer technology on the other can yield dynamic results, of genuine benefit to both. Of course, scientists have developed standard techniques for solving problems involved in electronic reproduction of different kinds of three-dimensional artefacts; and archaeologists and historians employ different skills, methods and techniques to interpret the results. But dialogue between the disciplines enables the scientists better to understand precisely what the classical scholars' problems are with specific and different types of artefact, and thence to experiment with different techniques and combinations of techniques. The results can be innovative, of genuine scientific value, and allow more generalised application to a wider range of materials and artefacts.

The theme of the meeting emphasised the vitality and necessity of dialogue between the humanities and the sciences. It provided a forum for wide-ranging discussion of state-of-the-art computer-based imaging, bringing together sixteen presentations of which half were technically scientific and half archaeologically or historically focused. The intention was to stimulate further research and to encourage people to talk introspectively about their methods and problems, to analyse their own processes of problem-solving and visual cognition and, in particular, to focus in a very precise and realistic way on what is empirically desirable and technically feasible.

The discussion format was particularly valuable because it made it essential for participants to talk across techniques and categories of material. Among the general issues which speakers addressed were: the current effectiveness of the application of computer vision techniques to interpretation of ancient artefacts and the organisation of bodies of evidence from the ancient world; the ways in which computers can acquire images of three-dimensional objects; and the ways in which techniques of signal processing can analyse and enhance the captured images.

Three of the archaeological papers focused on problems presented by written texts. The incised wooden stilus tablets from Vindolanda near Hadrian's Wall contain partial, damaged and sometimes overlaid texts which require understanding of the cognitive processes involved in decipherment, a method of image capture which optimises the visibility of the letters illuminated from different angles, and a method of signal-processing which detects and enhances the marks identified by the expert reader as significant (Dr A.K. Bowman and Dr R.S.O. Tomlin, University of Oxford). In the case of cuneiform clay tablets from the ancient near east, the use of a digital camera in the field has allowed new discoveries to be recorded, and difficult texts, such as those with 'mirror-writing', to be understood (Professor Karel Van Lerberghe, Leuven). Laser scanning is used for larger-scale rock-surfaces with runic inscriptions, using machinery which has also been employed for studying Bronze Age rock carvings and for measuring coastal erosion in Europe. Data collected in the field can be processed to produce visualisations in the form of 3-D models, contour maps and digital shadow images (Professor Jan Swantesson, Karlstad).

Small artefacts were represented in a presentation of Italian pottery (terra sigillata) with appliqué decoration in which the images are reconstructed by photogrammetry (Dr Eleni Schindler and Dr Ulrike Fastner, Magdalensberg and Technische Universität Graz), and by a discussion of the potential uses of imaging in numismatics, an under-exploited area. An extension of imaging techniques to die-studies is rich with possibilities for chronology, attribution and quantification of coin production (Dr Christopher Howgego, Ashmolean Museum). The potential for imaging on a larger scale was dramatically illustrated by the international collaborative project to reconstruct, from scattered archaeological remnants, Pompey's theatre in Rome, originally the most magnificent and extensive single architectural complex in the city. Dr Hugh Denard (Warwick) illustrates the project below. The town of Sagalassos in Turkey is a test site for the use of advanced computer vision techniques, modelling the finds in three

dimensions, applying special illumination to recover shape and texture of a surface and synthesising artificial textures to produce virtual landscape models which are texturally realistic.

Other scientific highlights included a compelling lecture on the potential of various forms of (affordable) microscopy, in particular confocal scanning optical microscopy (Professor Fred Fitzke, UCL). In a similar way, Andrew Wallace (Heriott Watt) presented some stunning results of direct calculation of 3-D range/depth profiles of objects from a device he and his colleagues have developed based on single photon counting (based on a very fast avalanche diode). Roberto Cipolla (Cambridge), Andrew Fitzgibbon (Oxford), and Luc van Gool (Zurich and Leuven) presented alternative methods for reconstructing three-dimensional scenes such as sculptures, buildings, and archaeological sites from a sequence of monocular images. All of these speakers addressed the issue of estimating 3-D reconstruction errors, an issue that is particularly important to the historians' community as they assess alternative interpretations of the artefact or site. A broader, and enormously important, aspect of these fields of research is the understanding that the historian or archaeologist is engaged in a perceptual-cognitive task when transforming often noisy and im-poverished signals into semantically rich symbols that have to be set within a cultural and historical context. Jan Koenderinck (Utrecht) addressed some fundamental issues in human assessment of depth from pictorial cues such as silhouettes, shading, etc., and proceeded to develop a mathematical theory to explain those human perceptions.

There should be no assumption, however, that computers can do everything better in the 21st century and participants were reminded of individuality and the human factor by discussions of ancient faces and three dimensional mummy-portraits from Egypt which underlined, in the latter case, the value of 3-D reconstruction on the basis of a CT scan (Dr Alf Linney and Dr Gus Alusi, UCL) and, in the former, the necessity of using the expertise of the medical illustrator working manually (Dr John Prag and Mr Richard Neave, Manchester).

Publication of the proceedings will also break new ground. The British Academy will publish the papers in a volume which will appear as a joint publication of the Academy and the Royal Society. The web sites of both organisations will carry abstracts and a selection of images to illustrate the talks. Some of the research projects discussed will also be presented at the British Association Science Fair in Glasgow (September, 2001).

Virtual Archaeology: Reconceiving Rome's 'Theatre of Pompey'

Figure 1. Theatre of Pompey: porticus postscaenum *and Temple of Venus Victrix. Rendered image from 3-D model by John Burge. Copyright University of Warwick.*

On 29 September, 55 BC, Pompey the Great dedicated a monument celebrating his military conquests. Rome had never seen anything like it. The complex contained the first permanent theatre in the city; seating up to 35,000 spectators and housing a stage almost 300 feet wide, it remains probably the largest theatre ever built. A temple of Venus Victrix crowned the auditorium, while behind the stage building lay a vast colonnaded garden adorned with statues, trophies, pools and fountains. Completing the complex was a Senate House where, on the Ides of March, 44 BC, Julius Caesar was assassinated at the foot of Pompey's statue.

As the first major example of Roman 'imperial' architecture, the Theatre decisively influenced the style of Rome's urban development. When Vitruvius wrote his treatise, *De Architectura*, Pompey's edifice formed the basis of his account of theatres. Through Vitruvius, it became the prime
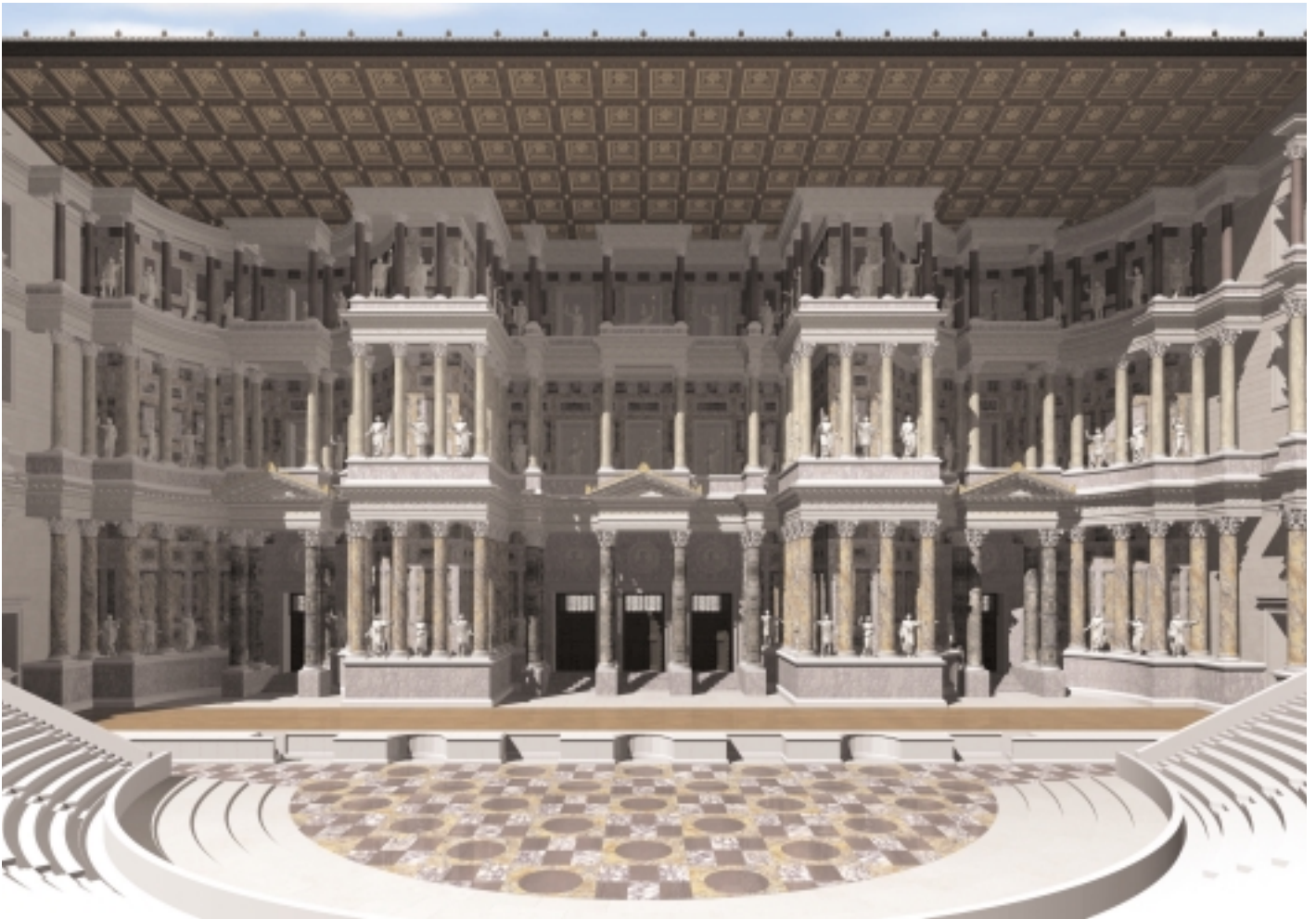
architectural model for vast numbers of theatres constructed throughout the Empire, from Arles to Timgad, Caesarea to Athens.

For over five centuries the Theatre of Pompey remained one of the city's great showplaces and its preferred theatrical venue until the end of the Roman Empire in the West. As late as the 6th century AD, the theatre was still sufficiently imposing for Cassiodorus to describe: 'caves vaulted with hanging stones, so cleverly joined into beautiful shapes that they resemble more the grottoes of a huge mountain than anything wrought by human hand.' Now, however, there is little to see above ground. Subsumed into post–antique structures, the monument can not be extensively excavated; no comprehensive analysis of the site has ever been conducted and questions of major importance remain unsolved.

Virtual Reality (VR) technologies, however, have greatly enhanced our capacity to understand such structures. So, in the spring of 1999, the AHRB granted Professor Richard Beacham (University of Warwick) substantial funds to co-ordinate, together with Professor James Packer (Northwestern University), a major, interdisciplinary study of the monument, to be aided by 3-dimensional digital modelling. The Pompey Project spans the entire history of the site, from antiquity to the present. When complete in December 2002, it will have produced three-dimensional computer models, acoustical renderings, images of artefacts, a database of all known references to the site, a history of scholarship on the site, and an analysis of the Theatre's place in the evolution of Roman theatre architecture. Most recently, VR has enabled the Project to pinpoint the optimum location for new excavations, which are scheduled to take place in the summers of 2001 and 2002.

Dr Denard is Lecturer in Theatre History at the University of Warwick, and is a participant in the Pompey Project.

Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire

An international colloquium held at the Academy at the end of September 2000 commemorated a remarkable academic enterprise lasting over fifty years, and recognised over thirty years of direct Academy support. **Professor Averil Cameron FBA***, Chairman of the PBE Project Committee, reflects on the past and recent achievements of prosopographical scholarship.*

It is fifty years since Professor A.H.M. Jones launched the idea of a prosopographical lexicon of the Later Roman Empire, a massive work which would list in alphabetical order all persons known to have held office or otherwise left a mark on late Roman history, with the primary sources for the main events of their lives. The idea of a Roman prosopography was not new. The great German scholar Theodor Mommsen had conceived and begun a continuation of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (Prosopography of the Roman Empire) into the Late Roman period, but this had been interrupted by the two World Wars. Jones's scheme was therefore to take up Mommsen's project and cover the period from AD 260 to the death of Heraclius (AD 641). The work was therefore complementary to his own great history of the period, published in 1964 as *The Later Roman Empire. A Social, Administrative and Economic Survey* (Oxford), which immediately established itself as the fundamental study for English-speaking scholars.

Jones began working on the prosopography with two of his pupils, John Morris, of University College London, where Jones had been Professor of Ancient History, and John Martindale, and the first volume of the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (PLRE), covering the years 260–395, was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1970, the year of Jones's death. The Academy, which had already substantially financed the project, then adopted it as an Academy Research Project. Its future pattern of work was already clear. John Martindale continued to work as editor and compiler together with John Morris until the latter's death during the final stages of preparation of PLRE II (395–527), which appeared in 1980. The third and final volume appeared under Martindale's name alone in 1992. PLRE was therefore a success story, and has become an institution.

The methodology adopted in these three large volumes was not without its difficulties. In the first place issues of international collaboration or rivalry led to an agreement that Christian subjects would be mainly left to the French Christian prosopography initiated by Henri Marrou. There

was also the delicate matter of Mommsen's files, but John Morris was able to negotiate their loan from the Berlin Academy. In this pre-computer age slips sent in by volunteer readers were stored in the famous shoe boxes, a filing system not to be despised even today when computers crash and databases fail to perform. In time the shoe boxes moved with John Martindale to a room in the new History Faculty building at Cambridge, and the work continued there until the end of the project. Academy committees and chairmen came and went, but John Martindale remained the linchpin. Although PLRE had become a committee venture, those were still the days of the single scholar, and most of the work was done by John Martindale himself. The three volumes of PLRE provide a vast store of information for the period from 260 to 641, a period when the nature of the Roman empire was changing dramatically (some would say that by 641 it had become well and truly Byzantine). They provide the solid scholarship and the data that constitute the unglamorous but essential underpinning for the reinvention of Jones's Later Roman Empire as 'late antiquity', which has also characterised the last thirty years or so. And they have stimulated a broader interest in prosopography in this and in other periods. The email bulletin boards which now exist for enthusiasts would probably not have been started had it not been for PLRE.

PLRE is a tool for scholars. It is not an answer to historical narrative, and the production of a prosopographical lexicon like this does not in itself endorse the idea that Roman history – or indeed any history – is explicable primarily through personal connections. What then does it allow us to do that was not possible before? The main answer must be that it enables the scholar to understand the governing structure of the empire far more clearly. Patterns of promotion emerge, and pathways for non-Romans to rise in the system. It allows one to see how the administrative structure changed, especially in the earlier and later parts of the period. In this one might say indeed that it was a quintessentially Jonesian project. It does not, of course, answer the sort of questions which Peter Brown has done so much to stimulate

Gold solidus of the Empress Irene. Facing bust on both obverse and reverse. Constantinople mint, AD 797–802. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

for the same historical period. And the data are captured in traditional printed form, within the categories decided by the editors. They can only be interrogated in limited ways.

But by 1992 ideas had changed. Already by 1989 the success of PLRE had led to the suggestion of continuing it as far as AD 1261, the starting point of the prosopography of the Palaiologan period already published by the Austrian Academy. But it was now clear that any such continuation must employ electronic means, and that it should be searchable by the user. The Academy agreed to support a new Research Project to be named The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire (PBE), which would cover the period from 641 to 1261. John Martindale would remain the main Editor, and Dr Dion Smythe was appointed in addition. After much discussion it was decided to base the project at King's College London, which had promised to house it and to provide expert computer help. The shoe boxes were no more. The information derived from the primary sources was entered in a complex database, at first non-relational, later fully relational. John Martindale entered an entirely new phase of prosopographical work.

A Byzantine prosopography posed yet more challenges. For one thing the first part of the chosen period was one in which Byzantium was undergoing rapid but not easily documented change. The available sources are difficult and in some cases sparse. For many persons the information from lead seals is all that we have. In sharp contrast the later part of the period, from 1025 to 1261, is the best documented in the history of Byzantium, not only in Greek, but in western sources as well. We also now learned that after a period of uncertainty following the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, the new Berlin-Brandenburg Academy intended to adopt as a formal project the prosopographical work on early medieval Byzantium already undertaken unofficially in East Berlin by Professor Friedhelm Winkelmann. In 1993 therefore the two Academies signed a formal agreement of collaboration. The end product of the British Academy project would eventually take the form of an on-line (or now web-based) database, while the German project would produce a series of volumes in the traditional way, their coverage ending in 1025.

Both projects are now at their first publication stage. The British project is publishing in April 2001 a CD covering the period 641–867, with more than 8,000 individual entries, while the Berlin team have issued several initial printed fascicules. The CD is extracted from the larger and more flexible database, which already includes material for the whole period to 1261. Work continues on this. But evolving such a complex tool is not simple, and in common with other such projects for different periods, we have spent a high proportion of the initial time period in its development. It has not been easy, especially as PBE was one of the earliest major research projects to use this

technique. But it is now being followed by many others and discussion of such issues was a striking theme of the British Academy colloquium.

With the establishment of the Arts and Humanities Research Board, our basic funding is now coming from that source, although the British Academy continues to provide extra help which has permitted an essential increase in staffing. The project would not have been able to advance without the guidance and practical help of the Centre for Computing in the Humanities at King's College London over a long period. However both the British and the German projects are now looking ahead to the longer term after the official end of their present funding. And after almost a lifetime spent on Academy prosopography projects, John Martindale retired on 30 September 2000 and PBE has a new team headed by Professor Michael Jeffreys of the University of Sydney.

What will this new Byzantine prosopography give us? Firstly, it could be argued that it will be more pioneering than PLRE, not only technically, but also in that the subject matter has been much less studied, and there is more primary work to be done. This makes the end product more difficult to

achieve, but also makes the results more ground-breaking. Secondly, the advent of the new technologies will not only allow individual users to ask new questions, but is already making possible a degree of international collaboration and networking unimaginable before. Our colloquium made very clear the degree to which scholars in many different historical fields are now also engaging in similar enterprises and how the discipline of history is changing as a result. The present PBE grew recognisably out of Jones's 1950 project, and the colloquium rightly celebrated fifty years of British prosopography. The related international projects mentioned above were all represented, together with interested researchers from a wide variety of disciplines in Britain, and the discussion was lively. It has become clear that in comparison with PLRE, PBE is a different animal altogether. The fundamentals of scholarship have not changed, nor has the value of prosopography. But PBE is no longer a lexicon, with pages to be turned over in the study or the library. We did not know even when we began how the technology would develop or what new possibilities it would offer. The Academy gave its support nevertheless. And now one can see that PBE truly belongs in the twenty-first century.

This example shows the results of the search for all patrikioi who were eunuchs, who are not mentioned in Theophanes Confessor's Chronographia (10 in all), choosing Ioannes 447 as an example, to show PBE's treatment of textual sources.

Publications

The British Academy has an active programme of academic publications – conference proceedings, monographs, editions and catalogues – reflecting the wide range of its scholarly activities. Seventeen new titles were published in 2000. All the British Academy publications listed here are marketed and distributed worldwide by Oxford University Press.

Academy Research Project series

The Academy acts as publisher for many of the Academy Research Projects. The most important item of business for the Academy's Publications Committee in the autumn of 2000 was a review of its Academy Research Project-based series. The review was undertaken in the light of wider deliberations about the future of Academy Research Projects. The Publications Committee investigated in detail the twelve Project-based series that are published by the Academy and that will not be complete by March 2003. The Committee looked back at the publication output of the previous five years (a total of 32 titles), and surveyed the Project committees' forward plans. The Publications Committee is very grateful to the Project committees for helping to make the review so thorough.

The series under review

- Anglo-Saxon Charters
- Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi
- Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture
- Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Great Britain
- Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain
- Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources
- Early English Church Music
- English Episcopal Acta
- Fontes Historiae Africanae – Sources of African History
- Records of Social and Economic History
- Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles
- Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum

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The Committee made recommendations concerning individual series. But there were a number of general issues arising from the review, and these may be summarised as follows.

(1) The Publications Committee believes that the publication of projects of the character and duration of the existing Academy Research Projects is something that national academies *should* undertake. Further, the current exercise has made clear to the Committee that all the series under review are distinguished scholarly endeavours that bring credit to the Academy and are worthy of support.

(2) Series such as these need to keep up a good rate of publication in order to maintain coherence and define a clear presence. What is critical to this future success is the securing of adequate *research funding*. Projects that have secured extra funding from the Academy itself or from the Arts and Humanities Research Board are already blossoming, with dramatic increases in the projected flow of titles over the next few years. However, some other projects have been drifting and require encouragement to be more active in planning their future development and mustering the necessary research resources.

(3) The Committee has been struck by the recent rapid developments in *information technology* made by most of the projects – several of them in just the last few months. The advances are both enhancing the preparation of material for conventional print publication, and creating possibilities for its dissemination electronically. This new momentum is the start of a possible transition in publication media. While wishing to continue encouraging developments in information technology, the Publications Committee believes that there is no reason why the Academy should not carry on publishing Academy Research Projects in print – in parallel with any electronic options that may develop – so long as the sales and income achieved by the volumes are enough to make the endeavour worth the investment of resources and effort.

During the period covered by this issue of the *Review*, four more Academy Research Project volumes were published:
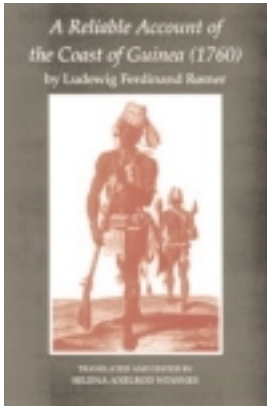
Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Part 1, edited by S.E Kelly. *Anglo-Saxon Charters VII.* ISBN 0–19–726217–1

This edition of 151 royal diplomas and other documents associated with Abingdon Abbey and its estates forms a major resource for the study of Anglo-Saxon history. Part 1 contains the first 50 texts, all pre-dating Aethelwold's crucial refoundation of the house around 955. A substantial Introduction discusses the abbey's history and endowment, and considers controversial issues arising from the texts themselves. Part 2, covering the period 955–1066, will complete the edition of this major collection of documents, relating to one of the wealthiest and most important monasteries of late Anglo-Saxon England.

English Episcopal Acta 20: York 1154–1181, edited by Marie Lovatt. ISBN 0–19–726210–4

English Episcopal Acta 21: Norwich 1215–1243, edited by Christopher Harper-Bill. ISBN 0–19–726212–0

By publishing the output of the bishops' chanceries, the *English Episcopal Acta* series sheds light on the development of administrative and legal practice in the medieval Church.

Volume 20 deals with Archbishop Roger of York, who effectively led the clerical opposition to Thomas Becket of Canterbury; when Becket was martyred in 1170, Roger was naturally vilified by Becket's numerous biographers. Yet no full-scale account of the career of Roger himself has ever been written. This collection of nearly 150 of his charters, introduced by a 'life', aims at least partially to fill this gap, and by showing how Roger administered his diocese, reveals another side of this enigmatic archbishop.

Volume 21 contains over 150 acta of Bishops Pandulph Verraclo, Thomas Blundeville and William Raleigh, of Norwich. There is much interesting detail on the clergy of Norfolk and Suffolk, including Italian incumbents; and the relationship between the bishops and their court on the one hand and the crown on the other is also traced in some detail. Overall, three bishops from a background in papal and royal administration can be seen to have devoted considerable attention to their large diocese.

A Reliable Account of the Coast of Guinea (1760), by Ludewig Ferdinand Rømer, translated and edited by Selena Axelrod Winsnes. *Fontes Historiae Africanae, New Series – Sources of African History, 3.* ISBN 0–19–726218–X

This is the first complete English translation of an important and sensitive account of Gold Coast (modern Ghana) in the mid eighteenth century. Ludewig Ferdinand Rømer was employed in West Africa from 1739 to 1749 by the Danish West India and Guinea Company. He published two books about Gold Coast, a short one in 1756, and then his more substantial *A Reliable Account of the Coast of Guinea* in 1760. Rømer deals with the operation of the various European trading companies, and discusses the African-European relations that he had witnessed. But the real value of his work lies in his descriptions of the local context – the African traders and customers, their societies, practices and religion. And he was much interested in African history, particularly from oral traditions. This edition (principally of Rømer's 1760 text, but drawing on his 1756 volume too) makes available an uncommon source for the history of West Africa.

Proceedings of the British Academy

The *Proceedings* is the flagship of the Academy's publications programme. It publishes conference proceedings, lectures, and obituaries of Academy Fellows. Three volumes were published in December 2000:

Mathematics and Necessity: Essays in the History of Philosophy, edited by Timothy Smiley FBA. *Proceedings of the British Academy 103.* ISBN 0–19–726215–5

Why did Plato put mathematics at the heart of education for the rulers of his ideal city? Why has mathematics played such a central role in Western philosophy? And just how do we acquire knowledge of necessary truths? Three philosophers of international repute tackle these questions. M F Burnyeat brings out Plato's distinctive vision of the world as it objectively is: the structures of mathematics are also the structures that express the nature of the human soul and the soul that governs the world. Ian Hacking highlights the phenomena associated with the actual experience of proof, which so impressed philosopher-mathematicians like Descartes and Leibniz and onlookers like Plato and Wittgenstein. Jonathan Bennett explores modal discovery in Locke and Leibniz, and the infallibility of reason in Descartes and Spinoza. The answers offered by these distinguished scholars make a significant contribution to our understanding of some of the great thinkers of the past. These three Dawes Hicks Lectures on Philosophy were delivered at a symposium held at the Academy in March 1998.

Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence, edited by Simon Hornblower & Elaine Matthews. *Proceedings of the British Academy 104.* ISBN 0–19–726216–3

These papers offer a unique and timely interpretative guide to the use of personal name evidence in the study of ancient Greek culture and social history. Within the great diversity of their world, the assertion of origin was essential to the ancient Greeks in defining their sense of who they were and how they distinguished themselves from neighbours and strangers. Each person's name might carry both identity and origin – 'I am ...' inseparable from 'I come from ...' Names have surfaced in many guises and locations – on coins and artefacts, embedded within inscriptions and manuscripts – carrying with them evidence even from prehistoric and preliterate times. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* has already identified more than 200,000 individuals. The contributors to this volume draw on this resource to demonstrate the breadth of scholarly uses to which name evidence can be put. These essays narrate the
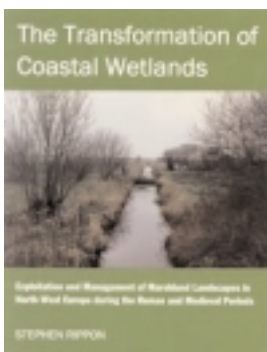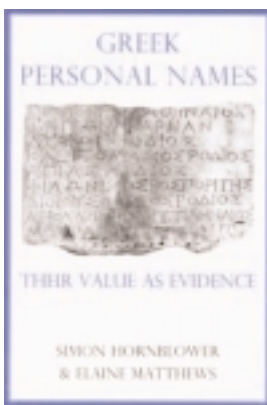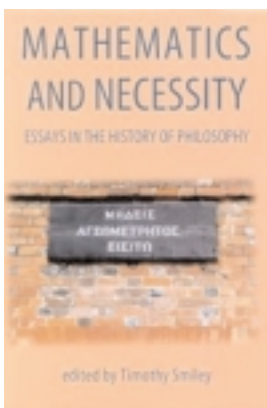
stories of political and social change revealed by the incidence of personal names and cast a fascinating light upon both the natural and supernatural phenomena which inspired them. This volume offers dramatic illumination of the ways in which the ancient Greeks both created and interpreted their world through the specific language of personal names. The papers arise from a conference held at the Academy in July 1998.

Proceedings of the British Academy 105: 1999 Lectures and Memoirs.
ISBN 0–19–726230–9

The Academy has a lively programme of named lectures series (see page 10). This volume contains the texts of 11 lectures given in 1999 (on literature, art, history, economics). It also publishes 15 memoirs of the lives and achievements of recently deceased Fellows of the Academy, contributing to a remarkable cumulative record of British scholarship in the humanities and social sciences.

Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs

The Academy operates a scheme for the selective publication of monographs arising from its British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowships – to assist individual PDFs by providing a prestigious publishing opportunity that is seen as a mark of excellence, and to act as a showcase for the PDF scheme itself. Another three volumes appeared at the end of 2000:

Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, by John Wolffe. ISBN 0–19–726238–4

This engaging new study explores the impact of the deaths of 'the Great' in the United Kingdom. It concentrates on the period between the 1840s and the First World War, but sets it within a longer perspective from the seventeenth century to the end of the twentieth.

Deaths in old age seemed to mark the ends of eras; premature deaths pointed up the fragility and poignancy of human life; 'heroic' deaths became potent symbols of national and spiritual purpose. Dr Wolffe's analysis widens our understanding of the social and cultural responses to death, from the personal to the national. And he presents intriguing insights into both the dynamics of institutional and popular religion, and the development and expression of local and national consciousness.

Life on the Amazon: The Anthropology of a Brazilian Peasant Village, by Mark Harris. ISBN 0–19–726239–2

This is an innovative contribution to anthropology's interest in how identity is created and defined. Dr Harris moves beyond notions of identity that define themselves in collective, ethnic or class terms, by focusing on people's practical engagement with their environment.

As the first full-length study of a modern Amazonian floodplain peasantry, this volume also contributes to debates in ecological and economic anthropology and to studies of the peasantry in Latin America.

The Transformation of Coastal Wetlands: Exploitation and Management of Marshland Landscapes in North West Europe during the Roman and Medieval Periods, by Stephen Rippon. ISBN 0–19–726229–5

Coastal wetlands form some of the major landscapes in North West Europe, and a challenging environment for the communities that lived there. This is the first study of the human development of that landscape during the Roman and medieval periods.

The use of the wetlands fluctuated in intensity: first the rich natural resources were harvested, then the environment was modified to increase agricultural productivity, and finally there was reclamation – wholesale landscape transformation. Dr Rippon draws on the wealth of archaeological and documentary evidence to examine the factors of time and place that governed the different strategies chosen. He reveals a range of socio-economic issues (proximity to centres of consumption, relations between lords and peasants, shifting patterns of agrarian wealth and innovation) that have significance far beyond the wetlands themselves.
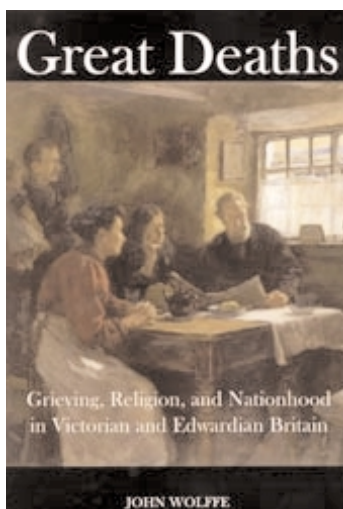
Great Deaths:
Helps us to understand the public's response to the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, by providing a much-needed historical perspective, and is an important contribution to the debate on the nature of 'Britishness'. An extract can be found on page 30.
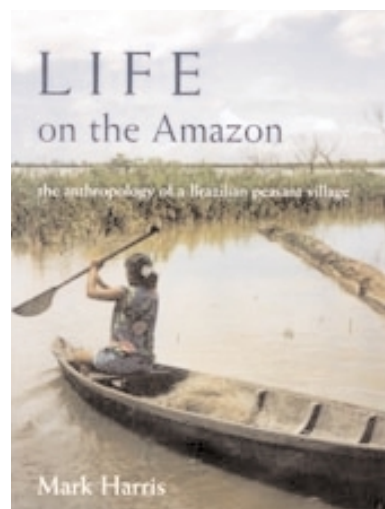
Life on the Amazon:
Challenges previous assumptions about what constitutes identity. Compelling descriptive passages provide a human dimension. An extract can be found on page 32.

The Death of Queen Victoria

In edited extracts from his book Great Deaths, **Dr John Wolffe**, *Senior Lecturer and Head of the Department of Religious Studies at the Open University, describes the demonstrations of public grief and mourning following the death of Queen Victoria in January 1901.*

As the news of the Queen's death spread quickly around the country and the world during the early evening of 22 January, public reactions were immediate and tangible. Church bells shortly began to toll. Theatres and other places of entertainment abandoned their performances, without any indication of dissent from audiences, who quietly left. The streets were unusually crowded by people seeking and sharing news and impressions. In Dublin traffic in the city centre spontaneously stopped for several minutes. On the following day, financial markets were closed and emblems of mourning were almost universally worn. In East London, 'Wednesday was a day which will never be forgotten by those living. A feeling akin to despair came upon the people.' A similarly sombre mood and suspension of normal activity prevailed in all parts of the Empire. Foreign countries joined in the wave of sympathy and tributes, notably in the United States, where press and public interest was very strong, to a degree that even *The Times* New York correspondent evidently felt rather excessive. Although foreshadowed to some extent in January 1892 (death of the Duke of Clarence) and May 1898 (Gladstone), the strength and extent of the global response to Queen Victoria's death was on an unprecedented scale.

The Queen was judged to have been 'the symbol of Empire, the golden link of the race, the magnetic idea that drew the passionate affection and allegiance of her subjects to the centre.' It is striking how universal and inclusive her role in this respect was felt to have been. In Grahamstown, South Africa, a preacher portrayed her as a 'mother in Israel', holding together the Empire as it now existed. Memorial sermons and services in Australia shared the public appeal and immediacy of their counterparts in Britain, with only a passing acknowledgement that the death they were mourning had occurred 'far off across the sea.' Nor was her appeal limited to white Christians. In London as she lay dying, Muslims in the city who had assembled to celebrate Eid, the festival marking the end of Ramadan, also offered prayers for her, as 'the Sovereign of the greatest number of The True Believers in the world.'

Similarly in India the mood was intensified by the coincidence with Eid and 'great congregations' were led in fervent prayers. Hindus and 'other sects' also offered special worship and prayers. After she died, the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, told Edward VII that Indians had invested her with almost saintly attributes. 'To all of them', he wrote, 'she was at one and the same time the Great Queen and the loving mother.' Throughout the sub-continent memorial meetings of all races and religions were being held and telegrams of sympathy poured in. Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, a leader of the Bengal aristocracy, suggested that the Queen had strikingly shared in the attributes of 'the Great Universal Mother, who is worshipped as the Adya-Sakti of our [Hindu] mythology.' Similarly Surendranath Bannerjea, a leading moderate in the Indian National Congress, paid fulsome tribute to her 'fascinating influence' which made her seem to be a living representative of 'our own Seeta and Sabriti of legendic fame'. Indian Jewish and Parsi leaders joined in the chorus of adulation. On the day of the funeral a vast crowd gathered on the Maidan in Calcutta and sat in mourning throughout the day.

Awareness of the vast weight of symbolism and sentiment focused on Queen Victoria had its corollary in a sense that her death was an historic moment, the end of an era. For some it implied dark thoughts over the future of the Empire itself, a feeling that its very survival was in danger without the 'beloved Monarch' under whose rule it had largely been created. Marie Corelli feared that Victoria's death coincided with a national turning away from those values of Christian faith and 'pure and modest' womanhood that the Queen had so powerfully represented. Arthur Balfour, moving the Commons address of sympathy and congratulation to the King, attributed the deep-seated and universal nature of public grief not only to the loss of the individual, but also to a feeling 'that the end of a great epoch has come.' The *Spectator* felt that the Queen's passing had induced 'a distinct and unexpected diminution in ... [people's] faith in the stability of things.'

The widespread reports of packed churches in the fortnight following the Queen's death suggest that many found their sense of national bereavement led them to turn to Christian ritual and language. Outside London and Windsor, religious services were generally the central focus of local observance on the day of the funeral itself. A Free Church mission to London that had chanced to coincide with the period between the death and the funeral proved to be unexpectedly successful.

The intense public mood reached its culmination on the day of the funeral. Even *Reynolds*, which had initially doubted whether the public really were deeply moved, referred on 3 February to 'the wave of emotion which has passed over the country on the death of the Queen – whose immense popularity there are too many evidences to doubt.' The mood on the streets of London on the day was not apparently one of unrelieved gloom and a few spectators cheered Earl Roberts and the King as they passed in the procession. Nevertheless the great majority frowned upon such gestures and a sombre atmosphere predominated, finding visual expression in the universal wearing of black. As the gun-carriage passed there was a sepulchral hush and the densely packed spectators stood absolutely still. Certainly the crowds in the capital and at Windsor were enormous, with the authorities experiencing problems in controlling the flow in the Marble Arch and Edgware Road areas. Such a massive turnout was all the more significant in the face of the chilly early February weather. Elsewhere, notably in Birmingham, crowds gathered around statues of the Queen and left floral tributes. Meanwhile an overwhelming quantity of flowers was sent to Windsor Castle. The Labour leader Keir Hardie might criticise the cost of the funeral and suspect that it was being used to rally support for the war, but even he implicitly accepted the reality of the popular grief. Beatrice Webb wrote on 10 February:

'We are at last free of the funeral. It has been a true national "wake", a real debauch of sentiment and loyalty – a most impressive demonstration of the whole people in favour of the monarchical principle. The streets are still black with the multitude in mourning from the great ladies in their carriages to the flower girls, who are furnished with rags of crepe. The King is hugely popular and evidently intends to play his part well.'

If feelings of grief and loss were beginning to be overlaid by a sense of occasion and of new beginnings, the former reaction remained widespread, while the latter one was testimony to the success of the funeral itself in providing a resolution and a conclusion to the public sorrow.

Life on the Amazon

Dr Mark Harris, Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of St Andrews, uses two forms of ethnographic writing to explore the historical and social identity of a village of fisherpeople who live in Parú on the banks of the Amazon. He intersperses analytical chapters with narrative sections that describe more freely what people do and how they do it. In the following edited extracts, he considers the importance of kinship.

The houses in Parú are spread out in a long line along the river bank. Some are closer together than others: some are gathered in groups of two or three and others in groups of seven or eight. No two houses are identical in design and all use a variety of construction materials. All have a wooden structure. The walls may be clad with wooden boards, or thatch. The roofs are either thatch (cool and cheaper), or clay tile (rare, because more expensive, but cooler), or asbestos sheeting.

Almost all houses are part of a 'cluster', which I define as a dense network of multi-family houses, organised around a parental couple. Houses in a cluster tend to be closely spaced together, a few metres apart or even joined by a bridge. They may lie in a straight line or be in front of or behind the central parental house. The next cluster will lie on the next piece of land. A fence often separates one cluster from another, the main purpose of which is to prevent cattle from eating neighbouring gardens, and not necessarily to mark off one cluster from another. Thus, occasionally there are fences within clusters. This happens when the parents have already divided up their land between their children and some children own cattle and some do not.

Clusters are peaceful places. Children play in front of the houses or in the water, young girls and older people sit on the veranda chatting, young men gather under a tree drinking or mending something, and there is constant movement between houses. People are relaxed, and there is rarely any shouting or crying. Pigs, chickens, dogs and cattle roam freely within the fenced areas, forever picking at the grass or scratching the

Mending nets hung from a tree

ground. Around the houses there may be some flowers and plants in raised containers, which are normally old canoes with too many holes to be repairable. Great stress is placed on keeping the area around the houses clean, which means clearing the land of long grass and making sure the place looks attractive. This creates good morale in the community, since a sure sign of internal conflict is not caring about the place in which you live. Beautiful flowers and clean spaces are said to be things to make you happy.

Most economic activities are organised within a cluster. Fishing and hunting teams are chosen from men who live together, and cattle-raising is a similarly co-operative venture. Dairy products such as milk and cheese are shared between women in different houses in a cluster. Women's gardens are mostly grown on an individual basis, though groups of men within and across clusters may clear the land ready for planting. Raw food (mostly fish) is shared between residents in a cluster on a daily basis, but a person may also access food outside the cluster through his or her unique links.

Clusters are intimate and informal places, characterised by the constant activity. The concept of people helping one another is often expressed as a key practice between co-residents. The principle of *ajudar* extends further than simply help or helping out; that would imply a casualness that belies its importance. It means a co-operation and harmony of people who are sharing their daily lives. Between kin 'work' is conceptualised as help, whereas between strangers and non-kin it is evaluated in terms of the product and its value. Also, central to the idea of *ajudar* is the informality of relations based on mutuality, where no tabs are kept on who does what and when.

Most clusters have a social focal point, normally the most senior couple in the cluster. Throughout the day groups of people can be found chatting on the veranda of the parents' house, making sure that the needs of the old people are taken care of, and that there are constantly people to talk with. Old people in such situations command intense respect, and are the authors of lively stories of the past and various folk tales, which is why they have the constant company of young children who come to listen to them. In the cluster with which I was most familiar, the children of the elderly woman, Clara, whose husband had died, used to take it in turns to provide her with food, since she could not cook. Each meal-time, one of her grandchildren used to bring a plate of food to her

Horsemen herding cattle

house on the orders of a parent. Clara lived with one grandchild who looked after the house. On either side of her house lived five of her eight children, all of whom had their own houses. She was considered exceptionally fortunate to have such a large number of her children living nearby.

Social organisation in Parú is constituted through clusters related by kinship and marriage. Parúaros do not state a residential rule, but they say they prefer to live amongst close kin. A person's close kin primarily includes parents, grandparents, siblings, uncles and aunts. As the person grows older and marries, the cluster will come to include the spouse and his or her primary close kin, nephews and nieces, co-parents. The cluster will then become more complex or heterogeneous

because the children of the parental couple (the focus of the cluster) start to develop their own links.

The term *parente*, kin/relative, and *parentes* its plural, is applied in at least two different contexts. The first usage includes both affinal and consanguineal kin, where the category of relative and gender is irrelevant, and kinship and community are synonymous. This sense of *parente* implies prolonged co-residence and mutuality, and a shared everyday life, through networks of labour or the exchange of food and visits. Through participation in such activities the in-marrying newcomer is easily integrated into this meaning of *parente*. The kin universe is a realm of reliability, unity, fairness and generosity; while outside these boundaries relations can be hazardous and aggressive, as evidenced in the fights that sometimes occur at *festas*. Some qualifying terms are used in conjunction with people considered kin. Two words which often appear after *parente* are *chegado*, literally meaning 'arrived at', and *ligado*, 'linked'. Both these terms indicate closeness (residential and genealogical) and convivial relations in day-to-day life, thus making the claim to be *parente* stronger. The extent of the people who are kin depends entirely on an individual's (ego's) recognition of his collateral ties. Here lies the importance of the cousin (*primo*) relationship, in particular between men.

The category of people recognised as cousins has an importance for linking together people in the community, and in some cases across different places. Parúaros say that 'cousins join kin together'. I once asked Jose-Maria what I thought was a rather silly question: if it was possible to say that a particular category of kin is more important than all the others, what would it be? To my surprise, he understood the question better than I had. He answered straightaway, continuing to salt the fish he had just gutted, that it is the *primo* who is the most important. He added that each person has so many cousins, and that they are considered cousins until fourth grade, from there on the link becomes too distant to be a relative. I then asked him to justify why cousins are so crucial. He replied 'Cousins unite kin who live in different houses, this is our understanding, for others it is something else.' In this way, the clusters of closely related kin are connected to other clusters through cousin links.

The term and category of *primo* is a crucial one in communal relations. Its importance derives from the fact that it has the potential to be an expansive and inclusive category, more so than any other kin term. It encompasses a large number of people. Cousins are said by Parúaros to link houses (in the sense of people) together. The following examples demonstrate the adaptability of the category of cousin. First, the relationship between ego and his or her parent's first cousin is sometimes the same as the one between ego and a parent's sibling. The second is the classification *primo-irmão* or *prima-irmã*, literally cousin-brother/sister. The term is applied to people who are genealogical cousins, but were brought up together by the same parents. This is reinforced by the incest taboo: brother and sister cousins should not marry.

Aside from the extensive nature of the term 'cousins', there is an ambiguity in the cousin relationship that helps explain why cousins are seen as a crucial link between sets of co-residential kin. This ambiguity is between the cousin as affine (or spouse) and the cousin as sibling. The sibling relationship is one of respect and solidarity, whereas the sibling-in-law relationship is more relaxed and congenial. The cousin relationship incorporates all these elements. One hypothesis that might explain why the cousin relationship is sibling-like is the sliding of relationships from one generation to the other. Where there is a solid co-residential sibling set, there is a corresponding unity amongst the children of the siblings. These cousins form a large group of men whose daily lives are often spent together. These relations then become sibling-like, although this is never a definite or necessary outcome and the cousins would need to be living in the same cluster for this attachment to be created. The affinal nature of the cousin category derives from the number of cousin marriages that brings together men and women not only into conjugal relationships but also into in-law ones. One explanation for this feature of the kinship system is that it allows for the creation and re-creation of dense and close connections. In turn this means that material resources are conserved and occupation of land by the same family is maintained over generations.

Cousins give identity, in the sense that they locate a person in a field of communal relations. This identity, though, is not intrinsic to the relationship, but depends on a host of local factors such as co-residence, parental generational solidarity, land holding, labour cooperation and intermarriage. With the interaction of these elements the linking of clusters and houses, the cousin relationship of either co-working male cousins or intermarrying cousins, becomes the dynamic principle of social organisation of floodplain communities.

Dr Harris's narrative passages provide a more informal account of life among the inhabitants of Parù.

It was so hot I went down to the river to bathe. I saw the agitations of a group of about five boys in the water. It was midday and the sun pounded ferociously. They saw me approaching, and immediately rushed towards me. They spoke with such excitement I had no idea what they said. One grabbed my hand and asked if I could swim. I said I could and was led to the water. 'What about stingrays?' I asked. And they showed me how to avoid standing on a stingray. You either had to punch a stick in front of you, as you walked in the water, or shuffle your feet along the bed of the river. In any case, one added, the bed here was too hard for stingrays to settle down on. One boy asked if I wanted to join in the game they had been playing. It was a game of tag, where you had to swim under the water and avoid being caught by the 'it'. The river-bed was indeed hard and sloped gently downwards. I did not quite expect to feel so safe. The water felt cooler than the air. It was a light relief in the midday sun.

I was happy to play. Lost in these new sensations, someone immediately touched me. I became the pursuer. The half-submerged bodies disappeared into the muddy water. I realised why the game was so attractive. Once under-water, you could not see a thing. Even the sun could not penetrate. Successful evasion and pursuit came down to a fish-like agility and speed. I dived in, aiming for where I thought a body had gone, but found nothing but the force of the water against my hand. I stood up and looked for more bodies. The river current pulled against my legs, as if to trip me up. I dived again, trying to be as graceful as the young boys were. I discovered that they would pretend to go one way, but once under the water would reverse or change their direction. An outsider adult like me had little chance. After many tries I managed to touch someone by jumping on them from a short distance. Splashing, glistening water, screaming, goading dominated above the water. Silence, darkness, voluptuous bodiliness, deft swimming characterised the world below the surface. The boys seemed in collusion with the river.

Playing in a pond on a floodplain lake

International Relations

A major reason for the foundation of the British Academy almost a century ago was the fact that there existed no national body to represent the humanities and social sciences in the international arena. The main aims of the Academy's International Relations programmes are the maintenance of relations with overseas academies, research organisations and international bodies, in order to promote international scholarly collaboration.

During the last six months the work of the Academy's International Relations Depart‑ment has been dominated by the revision of a number of long-established programmes, and the creation of new arrangements.

In July Professor Nicholas Mann, the Foreign Secretary, and Ms Jane Lyddon, Assistant Secretary (International Relations) visited Bulgaria to discuss the prolongation of the current Agreement. In addition to visiting a number of Academy institutes, the opportunity was taken to visit the site of the joint British-Bulgarian archaeological excavation at Nicopolis ad Istrum. Over the last fifteen years the British and Bulgarian Academies have been supporting a joint excavation at Nicopolis and the surrounding area, described by Dr Andrew Poulter, the British Director of the project, on page 39.

During the autumn the Agreement with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was renewed. An Agreement was also signed with the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, offering for the first time opportunities for collaboration with Slovenian scholars in the fields of the humanities and social sciences. Discussions are in progress to renew the Agreement with the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Academy is consulting among the academic community on the best way of developing relations with the other countries of the former Yugoslavia in the wake of recent political developments in Serbia. In December the Agreement with the Georgian Academy of Sciences was renewed, during the visit to Britain of Professor A. Tavkhelidze, the President of the Georgian Academy. Also in December, the scheme for supporting collaborative joint projects between British and foreign partners under the terms of the East European Agreements was publicised formally and attracted considerable interest. Two Agreements were signed with Taiwanese organisations. The inauguration of a programme with the National Science Council for the support of collaborative projects involving British and Taiwan scholars was celebrated in October while in November the Agreement with the Academia Sinica was revised and renewed during the visit to

Britain of Professor Yuan T. Lee, President of the Academy and a Nobel laureate in chemistry.

The Chairman of the China Panel, Professor J.E.S. Hayward, visited Beijing during November to attend a conference organised by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. His account of the conference and its debate appears on page 37.

During the autumn Mr William Solesbury presented to the Academy his report on *Opportunities for European Union funding of the Humanities and Social Sciences*. It has provided a valuable guide to the kinds of activities which the Academy might undertake in relation to the European Union, and discussions have been proceeding on the best way of taking this forward. The most urgent task has been to develop an Academy view on what EU priorities should be in relation to the social sciences and humanities.

The Academy's Overseas Policy Committee met in November and, among other business, made 18 awards for joint activities and networks, as well as 15 exchange awards. A full list of awards can be found on the web site at www.britac.ac.uk.

Projects currently being supported under the Academy's Exchange Agreements include:

In Poland:

• *Contemporary gender studies and its dilemmas: comparisons of the situation in Poland and the UK* (Dr Katarzyna Rosner of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Professor Vic Seidler of the Department of Sociology of Goldsmiths College)

• *Art and Religion in Great Britain and Poland from the Middle Ages to the present* (Dr Piotr Paszkiewicz of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Dr Francis Ames-Lewis of the Department of History of Art, Birkbeck College)

In Hungary:

• *The Upper Tisza Project, a British-Hungarian multi-disciplinary fieldwork collaboration to identify and explain changes in the social and physical landscape of North East Hungary over the last ten millennia* (Dr John Chapman of the University of Durham, with colleagues from the Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

A Social Scientist's Sojourn in Beijing: Retrospective Reflections

Professor J.E.S. Hayward FBA, *Chairman of the Academy's China Panel, reflects on a stimulating conference held in November 2000 under the aegis of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.*

China has a special place in the British Academy's many and varied activities, not just because of the country's intrinsic intellectual importance but because relations with its Academy of Social Sciences are, unusually, managed by a joint Academy–ESRC Panel. So, when the Academy was invited to send a representative to a Beijing conference in November 2000 on the *Prospect of the Social Sciences and Humanities in the 21st Century*, it was decided that the Chairman of the China Panel should attend, *faute de mieux*. The price was to write a paper, of which more anon.

Twenty-three foreign participants represented national academies and international academic institutions, and about the same number of participants from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) were active, particularly in the role of discussants and chairing sessions, while the foreign participants presented papers. The conference organisation was extremely efficient and the welcome warm.

With a theme as broad as the one selected, speakers predictably chose to interpret it in the light of their own particular intellectual, disciplinary preoccupations. The President of CASS, Professor Li Tieying (who visited the UK as the Academy's guest in April 1999) opened the proceedings with a paper entitled 'Hand in hand in cooperation for creating the brave new world'. To a British listener the phrase 'brave new world' had unfortunate Huxleyite associations, and we are accustomed to co-operation being accompanied by some arm twisting. However, the spirit of harmony was not disturbed by the President of the International Social Science Council's description of its activities, while the President of ALLEA (All European Academies) talked about the relevance of social and behavioural sciences to public policy.

There followed papers on the social sciences and humanities in a number of countries, conveying their specific research agendas and concerns. An issue that surfaced periodically was the increasing role of English as a global language of communication and cultural uniformity, and it took a perilous form when the French paper was distributed in that language (rather than Chinese or English, the stipulated languages of the conference), and orally presented in Chinese, resulting in certain difficulties for the interpreter.

Linguistic preoccupations were the focus of the Director of the CASS Centre for Documentation's paper on 'Languages in Competition in the Cyber-Age'. Hang Changzhu anticipated that half the 6,000 languages currently in existence would have disappeared by the end of the 21st century, and noted that nearly 500 languages had fewer than 100 speakers, 1,500 had fewer than 1,000 speakers and over 3,000 fewer than 10,000 speakers. Although English was second to Mandarin Chinese in terms of the number of its speakers, it was a world language not confined largely to one country or community. It dominated the Internet, accounting for over 90% of the information, with French at 5% and Chinese at less than 1%. Of all the information in the world's electronic retrieval systems, 80% was stored in English. It was pointed out, however, that the English language in its globalised form was neither native nor foreign, functioning only as an information system, severed from its cultural context.

Among other interesting papers, Shaul Shaked of the Israel Academy focused on the implications of new technology for scholarship, laying a timely emphasis on the need to avoid the illusion of scientific objectivity, based on an indiscriminate accumulation of information, and reasserting the necessity of intuitive, subjective appreciation and interpretation for true scholarship.

In a thoughtful paper on information technology and the future of social science, Craig Calhoun, President of the American Social Science Research Council, argued for the profound influence of intellectual diasporas on contemporary social science, and went on to discuss the combined impact of globalisation and information technology on new forms of cultural creation and dissemination. He also posed the further question: as universities became more driven by market considerations, what would this do to the production and reproduction of social science and

the humanities, whose research might not be closely related to the profitable production of goods and services. None of the likely answers to these questions bode well for the 21st century.

My own contribution, 'Tomorrow, Change and Inertia', emphasised institutionally induced inertia and resistance to change. Because, in government, as in most other established institutions, the organisational equivalent of biological death was missing, the result was that the organisation triumphed over its function. Extrapolation from past tendencies as a basis of forecasting the future was likely to lead to futurological false prophesy. The cliché 'knowledge is power' was less true than that knowledge was subordinate to power and so found difficulty in speaking truth to it. An allusion to this remark by the Vice-President of CASS in the closing ceremony suggested that its relevance was recognised as not being confined to the Western world.

After the academic part of the conference proceedings was concluded, we met the President of the National People's Congress, Li Peng, in the Great Hall of the People in the Chinese Parliament. This was filmed and shown on television, persuading some participants that it indicated the high standing of our disciplines in China with the powers that be.

If I may end on a personal note, this was my first visit to China for fifty-five years. I was born in Shanghai, and from 1943 to 1945 I was a civilian internee during the Japanese occupation. Beijing is of course not Shanghai, but I was able to get a glimpse of how a great city in China was changing. The enormous tower blocks that have been built since the opening up of China to the world market economy, as well as to house some of the millions of rural migrants, are a marked contrast with the traditional China that still survives extensively in the heart of the nation's capital. It will be for the humanities and social sciences inside China to understand, and if possible shape, some of these changes, while holding firm to what is best of the past legacies of a great civilisation. Those of us outside China will observe developments attentively and contribute where we can to their taking promising scholarly directions.

Professor Hayward is Research Professor of Politics at the University of Hull. He has been Chairman of the Academy's China Panel since 1998.

Nicopolis ad Istrum

Dr Andrew Poulter, *of the University of Nottingham is the British Director of a joint British-Bulgarian project at the site of Nicopolis. Below he describes the recent investigations and considers their significance for understanding the development of city life in late antiquity.*

The city of *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (the City of Victory near the Danube) was founded by the emperor Trajan *c.* AD 110. Although the remains of Roman Nicopolis are remarkably well-preserved, the British excavations were carried out within the Late Roman city which occupied an adjacent site and afforded a unique opportunity to examine the layout and function of an early Byzantine town, using a combination of geo-physical survey and selective excavation. A central aim was also to develop a large-scale environ-mental programme, studying the animal bones and seeds, as well as the small-finds and pottery, to build up an economic picture of the city as it existed in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Since remains of the Roman and Late Roman city were also discovered beneath the early Byzantine fortifications, the scope of the project was widened to provide a full economic study of the city's development throughout the five hundred years of its existence. The quality of the evidence exceeded all expectations.

From the earliest years, workshops were making high quality pottery and the surrounding countryside was producing grain, fruit and vegetables for the urban population. The rapid development of a full Roman economy is quite remarkable. Public buildings were erected during the second and third decades of the 2nd century and its first stone defences were built by *c.* AD 200, substantial sections of which, including the gates, were uncovered by excavation. Fine houses were constructed outside the defences, one of which, still standing to head height, was excavated; its walls were covered in frescoes, depicting archi-tectural scenes, and one room had fine moulded stucco cornices. During the 4th century, the city contained large houses built for some twenty or so wealthy families whereas the rest of the interior was occupied mainly by administrative and religious buildings. It seems that the intramural population was limited, comprising several hundred, certainly not thousands. However, outside the walls, the area was densely settled by inhabitants of clearly inferior social status, their roughly built houses and agricultural buildings jostling one another along narrow alleyways and

tracks which criss-crossed the plateau on the south side of the town. Despite difficult times in the late 4th century, there is no sign of any change in the city's economic dependence upon its own agricultural resources. Indeed, there seems to have been an even greater variety of food available and no evidence that the city needed to import much

The paved Roman road and entrance to the agora, flanked by statue-bases, Nicopolis

Environmental archaeology: drying soil samples from Gradishte

of Nicopolis itself. Early Byzantine Nicopolis had none of these characteristics. It lacked a regular plan. The episcopal basilica dominated the town but occupied the highest point within the interior, on the eastern side. There was a second, smaller church, workshops and ancillary buildings of simple stone with earth bonding but also immense store buildings of mudbrick, probably two stories high, flanking the main route across the centre of the site, protected by immensely strong fortifications, the walls 8 m high, its towers soaring to as much as 20 m in height. Even so, much of the interior was empty and used either for cultivation or for only temporary accommodation, perhaps for the Byzantine field army. No less dramatic was the change in the economy. The palaeobotanical samples suggested that large scale grain cultivation was no longer supplying the city. Instead, Spring grown crops such as millet were more plentiful and pulses (bitter vetch, lentil and field bean) were consumed more than in the Roman or Late Roman periods. Essentially the food supply suggested more of a market-garden form of cultivation, not one drawing upon the rich agricultural resources of the hinterland. This change was accompanied by a pronounced increase in imported pottery, fine wares and amphorae from the Mediterranean. Though in name Nicopolis remained a *polis* it bore no resemblance to the city it replaced but rather seems to have been a military and ecclesiastical stronghold, divorced from its former territory but no doubt supported by central authority and provisioned by the Byzantine state. All evidence for civilian occupation now comes, not from within the new fortifications, but from makeshift houses occupying the abandoned ruins of the former Roman city. Such a radical change in the nature of urbanism in the 6th century had not been suspected before and requires a reassessment of what constituted a 'city' in the age of Justinian.

Because our information about the interior planning – let alone the economy – of cities in this period is so incomplete, it is not possible to determine whether the case of Nicopolis was typical of urbanism in the Eastern Empire or whether it was unusual, perhaps a product of regional problems, either natural and the result of climatic deterioration, or stemming from the political and economic turmoil of the period when the Balkans were threatened by invading Slavs and Avar armies. It was to resolve this important question that the second programme of excavation and survey commenced in 1996. The objective is to establish whether there was an

in the way of foreign goods, except for olive oil (which cannot be produced locally as the winters are too cold) and, perhaps, for the good quality wine from the Mediterranean. This picture of a Roman to Late Roman city is unique in its detail and complexity.

However, the establishment of early Byzantine Nicopolis witnessed radical change, not only in the layout of the city, but also in its economy. The regular planning with paved streets, centrally placed public buildings around a market place (*agora*) and outer suburbs divided into regular *insulae* for housing is typical of a Graeco-Roman city (*polis*) and exemplified in the Roman plan

economic collapse in the 5th century which could explain the character of the Nicopolis in the 6th.

The method has been to examine a region of 2,000 square kilometres, stretching north to the Danube, the frontier, and south to the foothills of the Stara Planina. Extensive survey by the staff of Veliko Turnovo Museum has identified some 268 settlements of Roman to early Byzantine date. During Spring campaigns teams of Bulgarian students, together with British and Bulgarian field-staff, are engaged in exploring the layout, date and function of these sites, using a combination of intensive surface collection of pottery and building materials along with geophysical survey. The results have been impressive: Roman villas, industrial centres and nucleated villages have been identified across the region. However, the results so far suggest that this patchwork of wealthy Roman farms did not survive into the 5th century. In order to provide more detailed information – especially environmental evidence – a type site, a Late Roman fortress, was selected for excavation.

Gradishte lies *c.* 15 km west of Nicopolis, close to the south bank of the river Rositsa. Excavation quickly established that this was a major military fortification, impressive enough to rival the walls of Byzantine Nicopolis. The remains of the 5th century were singularly well-preserved; barracks and store rooms with raised timber floors, upstanding walls of earth bonded buildings with mudbrick superstructure and impressive stone defences, including the main gate, towers and an outwork (*protechisma*). Immediately after its destruction, the fort was rebuilt and then finally abandoned after a fire in the late 6th century. The site provided an unprecedented quantity of well-dated finds (weapons, shields and agricultural tools) and especially environmental evidence. Substantial quantities of different types of grain and quernstones indicate that Gradishte was used as a collection centre and store base for food-stuffs, perhaps for transfer to the city of Nicopolis or north to the Danubian garrisons on the frontier.

Already a number of preliminary conclusions can be drawn. It does now seem that there was a major change in the countryside during the early 5th century; the villas were abandoned and the villa economy collapsed. Nicopolis was deprived of the support of that small but wealthy class of inhabitants which had occupied its opulent town houses and upon whom its survival depended. The
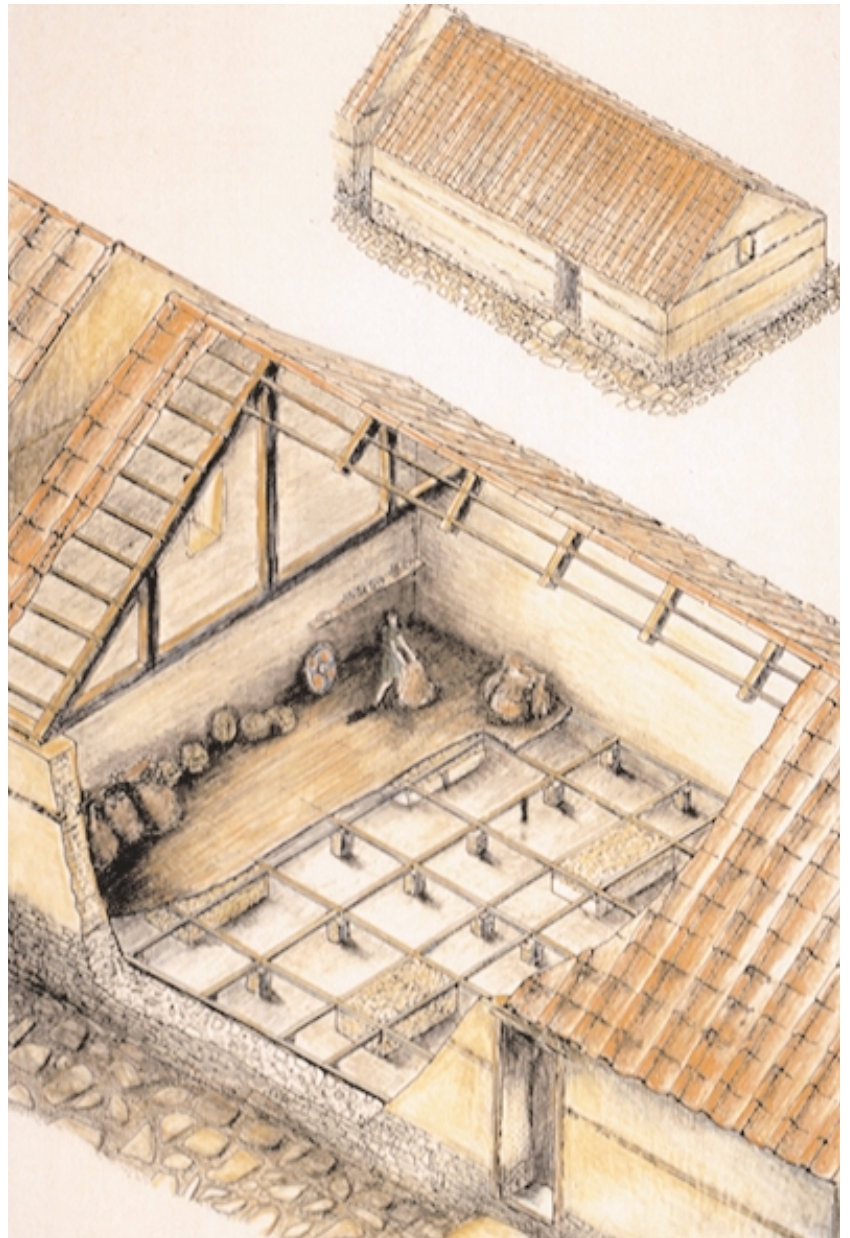
5th century granary with raised timber floor, Gradishte. Excavation (above) and artist's reconstruction (right).

Roman ring, Nicopolis

intervention of central authority is not only evidenced in the construction of new 'urban' defences but also in the countryside where the protection and control of the land was now directly in the hands of the military; forts, such as Gradishte replaced the villa owners who had previously occupied the land and who had played such a central role in the development of the Roman city.

Neither programme could have been carried out without the support of the British Academy and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The British excavations started well before the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and played a not insignificant role in strengthening links between Britain and a country then sealed behind the Iron Curtain. Nor were such contacts confined to Bulgaria. During the excavation season, up to 100 university students from Czechoslovakia, Russia, Hungary and Poland worked alongside and with the British team. After the restoration of democratic institutions and the fall of Communism, the strong links established

The Academy has supported the project through the award of a series of research grants, and through its exchange agreements.

between the British archaeologists and those in the Bulgarian Institute of Archaeology and the Veliko Turnovo Museum, provided the foundation upon which to build the new initiative. However, the scale of the programme and its success would not have been possible without the organisational skill and the work carried out by our Bulgarian colleagues.

Last summer we were pleased to welcome Professor Nico Mann, the Academy's Foreign Secretary, and the Assistant Secretary, Jane Lyddon, who visited the team during the final season of full-scale excavation, 15 years after the first excavations began. The anniversary was also celebrated by an international conference held during the excavation at which specialists from Britain, Bulgaria and other European countries were able to assess the results at Nicopolis and Gradishte in their historical context: that crucial period which separates the terminal years of the Roman Empire from the early medieval states of Europe.

Bronze weight with architectural scene, 5th/6th century, Gradishte

Overseas Institutes and Sponsored Societies

The overseas Institutes and Societies have continued to be active in a variety of ways during the second half of 2000. These include a number of major fieldwork projects and other research programmes, plus lectures, conferences and workshops, and the publication of scholarly monographs and journals. Whilst, for historic reasons, field archaeology continues to be the institutions' predominant area of research, efforts are being made to broaden their subject base in order to support research in other fields. At the end of September institutions were required to submit detailed bids to BASIS (the Board for Academy-Sponsored Institutes and Societies) for funding in 2001–2002, and members of the Board were impressed at the range and extent of activities proposed. Closer links with academic colleagues, both in the UK and in the local regions, are also being forged through a variety of joint initiatives.

This autumn has seen the start of a rolling programme of visits by members of BASIS to the overseas Institutes, as a follow-up to the major review of the overseas Institutes and Sponsored Societies carried out by the Academy in 1994–95. The first two visits were to the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, which included an excursion to the site of the major excavation at Çatalhöyük, with which the BIAA has long been involved, and to the British School at Athens, where the assessors took the opportunity to inspect the School's operation at Knossos.

Fieldwork and Research

Some examples of recent work follow below, but this account does not attempt to cover all the work currently underway, for which readers are referred to the Schools' and Societies' own publications.

The British Institute in Eastern Africa has assisted archaeologists from the National Museums of Kenya with an archaeological impact assessment along the Sondu Miriu River in South Kenya, aimed at documenting sites under threat as a consequence of the construction of a hydroelectric dam. The Institute has also funded the first phase of work on an interdisciplinary pilot project involving a survey of Nubian place-names, con-ducted jointly by researchers from Oxford and from the University of Khartoum.
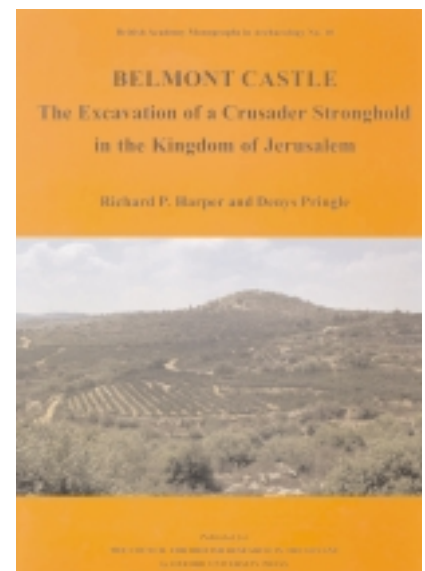
Research on the joint British-Iranian project to study the Sasanian Coins in the National Museum of Iran and the British Museum continues under the auspices of the British Institute of Persian Studies. The Institute also continues to fund a number of other research projects, including the Pre-Mongol Architecture of Iran and the History of Steel in Iran, as well as the editing for first publication of a partly unpublished Persian chronicle by an official of the Safavid government.

Meanwhile the British School of Archaeology in Iraq continues to be involved in major excavations at Chagar Bazar and Tell Brak in Syria, and at Es-Subiyah in Kuwait. The BSAI has also established a new research project on the Sumerian city of Umma, building on the extensive holdings of Umma tablets in the British Museum and the recent recovery in Iraq of further tablets from the site.

The Council for British Research in the Levant has funded a second field season on the Gaza Research Project, at the site of el-Moghraqa, north of the Wadi Gaza, and has continued to support a number of other research projects, including non-archaeological projects such as a study of Lebanese student activism in the early 1970s, and Cyprus as an Ottoman province in 1650–1700. It has also published *Belmont Castle*, in the British Academy Monographs in Archaeology series (right).

The Society for South Asian Studies has recently supported an impressively wide range of research projects, including a study of women and work in rural Bihar, a study of mental health practices in a South Indian context, and a study of 18th and 19th century Sikh manuscripts in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Work also continues on joint projects undertaken with the Archaeological Society of India, including the World Corpus of Amaravati Sculpture. The

BELMONT CASTLE
The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

Richard P. Harper and Denys Pringle

Committee for South-East Asian Studies has also continued to support research in a wide range of disciplines. Current projects include a study of Cambodia and the death of communism, and critical perspectives on Thai politics and society.

The Council for British Archaeology (which is also funded by BASIS) has continued to support a number of ongoing projects. One project, a study of 20th century defences throughout the UK, has now been completed and has led to the protection of many sites. A new research project has also commenced with the support of the CBA, which will review the practice of aerial archaeology in northern and southern Ireland. The CBA has plans to develop its annual National Archaeology Days, which have proved highly successful in enabling young people and families to experience archaeology in action.

Exhibition

The Cameron Minoan Frescoes Exhibition, organised by the British School at Athens as part of the Knossos centenary celebrations, moved from the Goulandris Museum in Athens to Herakleion in October/November. It was then due to be transported to Karlsruhe to form part of the exhibition of Minoan civilisation at the Badisches Landesmuseum.

British School at Rome Building Programme

The School officially closed in June 2000 in order for building work to commence on the extension of the current Library and the construction of a new Lecture Theatre and Gallery. The work has been funded by a grant from the DfEE, together with generous donations from a number of benefactors, most notably Lord Sainsbury of Preston Candover and the Packard Humanities Institute. Despite its temporary closure, the School has maintained a high level of 'off-site' activity, with the emphasis on site visits and external events in collaboration with other foreign academies. The highlight of the School's year was the visit of HM the Queen on 17 October to unveil a plaque inaugurating the Sainsbury Lecture Theatre and Packard Library Wing. The School expects to re-open to residents in April/May 2001, its Centenary Year, although some parts of the building programme are likely to continue into 2002.

Photograph: Mimmo Capone

Research Grants

One of the most important areas of the Academy's work is its awarding of research and conference grants. During the course of a year, the Grants Committee makes over a thousand individual awards. The following report details some of the recent achievements of the Research Grants schemes.

'Democratic control and professionalisation of the armed forces in Croatia'; 'French theatre and the twentieth-century Catholic church'; 'The Parsi diaspora'; and 'Young children's knowledge of addition and subtraction': these are only four of the awards made during the autumn period, which hint at the wide range of topics currently being supported with Academy grants. A full list of awards can be found on the Academy's web site at www.britac.ac.uk.

The Academy carefully monitors the use of its awards. During the last period, some 220 reports on research projects were received and scrutinised by the Academy's Grants Officers. It is notable that the great majority of research programmes are completed as planned, whether or not the information gathered in the course of the research turns out to be what was originally hoped for. Quite often, scholars find they have tapped a richer vein than expected, or the overall conception of the project broadens which leads to a further application for support. An example of a project that grew is given in Professor Unwin's account of his research into bank-notes and identity in central Europe (see page 46). The Academy was able to support his continuing research not only through the award of small research grants but also through its exchange schemes with the Academies of central and eastern Europe.

It is a condition of award that a copy of any resulting publication should be presented to the Academy. Books and articles are catalogued and lodged in the Academy's Library. A selection of books recently presented is shown right. The variety of publication that arises is wide: often, grants are given for a single, discrete piece of work, which might result in one specific published outcome, that appears quite quickly after the research has taken place. An example is the pamphlet on Planning the City of Tomorrow, illustrated right, for which Dr Lilley received a small grant in December 1999. Academy grants can also contribute to long-term endeavours and two such ventures appear amongst the illustrations: the immense two-volume catalogue of the paintings of Sir Joshua Reynolds, which received

a modest grant from the Academy in 1995; and the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, a major project that has received a series of grants from the Academy, and whose volumes appear with exemplary regularity. The ways in which the Academy's research grants contribute to the scholarly capital of the nation are many and various.

Autumn 2000 saw the initiation of the first round of Larger Research Grants, a new scheme that was developed, as the President explains on page 4, in response to the need articulated by the academic community for 'intermediate' levels of funding, larger than the small research grants but smaller than the very large sums of money on offer from the ESRC and AHRB. There was a gratifying response to the announcement of this new scheme. Further details on the outcome of the first competition will be given in the next issue of the *Review*.

Conferences form an increasingly necessary part of a successful academic career. Those who receive a grant from the Academy either to present a paper at a conference overseas, or to organise an international gathering in the UK, regularly attest to the vital importance of Academy awards, which are valuable out of all proportion to the relatively small amounts of money involved. Occasionally, the Academy makes available larger sums to support global congresses hosted by the UK. The Academy is sponsoring a major event this summer, *Locating the Victorians*, in collaboration with the Science Museum, the V&A, and the Natural History Museum; and it has undertaken to support the following four major Worldwide Congresses due to take place between 2002 and 2005: *European International Urban History Conference*, Edinburgh 2002; *12th International Congress of Celtic Studies*, Aberystwyth 2003; *30th International Geographical Union Congress*, Glasgow 2004; *14th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, London 2005.
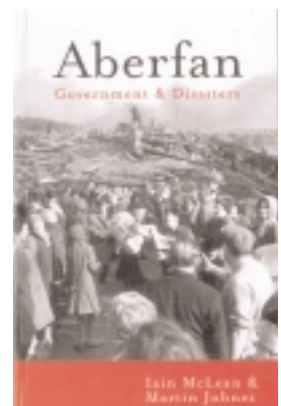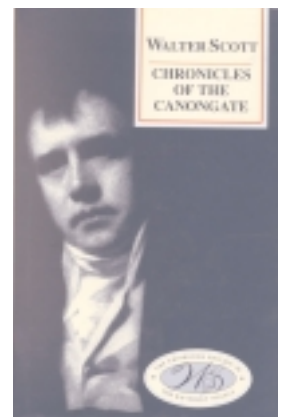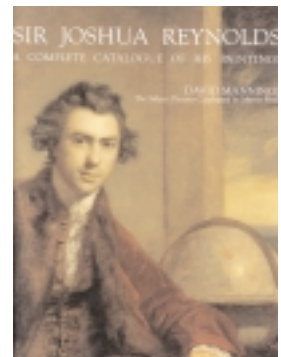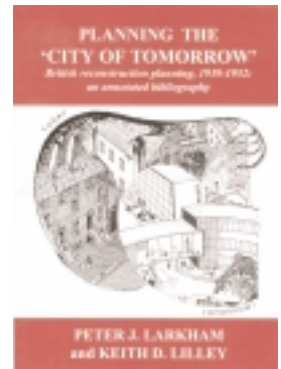
Banknotes and National Identity in Central and Eastern Europe

Professor Tim Unwin, *Head of the Department of Geography at Royal Holloway, University of London, has been undertaking research on rural change in central and eastern Europe since the early 1990s. Struck by the diversity of images appearing on the banknotes of the countries that he visited, and the very different ways in which these appeared to represent their emergent national identities, he was determined to examine the artistic and political processes involved in their creation. Research grants from the British Academy have enabled this initial fascination to be turned into a detailed banknote database, as well as an absorbing account of the very varied processes that led to their creation.*

The designs on banknotes are among the first images that foreign visitors gain of a country. Often, these symbolic represen-tations are studied and examined even before the visitor touches foot in the country, the crisp new notes being received over the counter of some glass fronted foreign bank. However, for the so-called transition economies of central and eastern Europe, new currencies are very much more than mere pictorial representations of their break with almost fifty years of centralised planning and a command economy. As Dalibor Brozovic, writing about the National Bank of Croatia's efforts to create a new monetary system, has commented, 'Money is the foundation of the national economy, but also the mark of national sovereignty and it mirrors the State which issues it. The symbolic role of money is one of its essential characteristics, and the name of the currency is its salient feature'. Moreover, for those states that aspire to join the European Union and subsume their currencies within the Euro, this is but a brief moment of national expression, which provides a fascinating opportunity to examine the very varied ways in which identity is inscribed and symbolically represented.

Research visits to Estonia, Poland and Georgia (in large part funded by the British Academy) in the mid-1990s had provided me with a wealth of information about the very different state-building processes that were emerging in central and eastern Europe during the 1990s. Particularly concerned as I was with the significance that rural life played in Estonian identity, and the way in which this was represented on the republic's banknotes (see Figure 1), I thought that a broader examination of the social and political processes creating such imagery would have much to tell us about the ways in which other states were seeking to represent themselves not only to their own peoples, but also to the wider international community.

However, as a geographer with relatively little knowledge about graphic design, let alone the enormous complexity of banknote printing, there

Figure 1. The image which helped inspire this research: a swallow (Estonia's national bird) flying above a typical rural landscape from the south of the country, as depicted on the back of the 500 Kroon banknote.

was a real question of where to begin with this exploration. A quick bibliographical survey indicated that there were indeed a few other people who had begun to see the potential significance of this source of empirical information concerning the shaping and reproduction of national identities. One of them, Virginia Hewitt, was Curator of Paper Money at the British Museum, and had already written a classic text, entitled *Beauty and the Banknote* (London, 1994), which examined the way in which women have been portrayed on banknotes in the 19th and 20th centuries. Both of us look back with some amusement at the very tentative 'phone call that ensued, and which eventually led to the development of this research project. The benefits of collaboration between two people from such different disciplinary and practical back-grounds, however, have been enormous, not least in terms of the combined expertise that we have been able to bring to our interviews of the politicians and artists involved in creating these everyday works of art.

The research has essentially involved two stages. First was the creation of a database of all of the new banknotes issued in central and eastern Europe since 1989. Remarkably, there are no generally recognised ways of classifying the images on banknotes, and so the first part of the research involved the construction of a classificatory system through which the banknote images could be examined. This was then incorporated into a *FileMaker Pro* database, which records a range of information about each note, including pictures and text descriptions of each side of the banknote, information about its colours, the images represented thereon, the designers, the printers, watermarks, languages used, the size of the note, and where to get further information about it. The database is now available to researchers on a CD, and will soon be accessible via the web. The authorities of almost all of the states examined so far have chosen to represent their national identities on the fronts of their banknotes essentially through images of famous people, usually male, and most often either artists or scientists. This male dominance is also evident throughout the whole process of the selection and design of the images, with all of the designers being male, and most members of the panels chosen to select the images also being male. On the few occasions where women are depicted on the notes, they are usually artists or images of female saints. The Czech Republic is thus highly unusual with three of its eight notes illustrating

Figure 2. A portrait of the Czech opera singer Ema Destinnová (1878–1930) on the front of the 2000 Koruna banknote.

women (see Figure 2). The dominant period represented on the notes is the 19th century, which accords well with wider theories concerning the importance of this century in the construction of national identities throughout Europe (see Figure 3). However, not all states have chosen 'heroes' from this period, and several countries such as Poland and Macedonia (see Figure 4, overleaf) have gone back much further in time in search of their symbolic identities in periods of past greatness. The backs of the notes almost always represent a place or landscape associated with the person depicted on the front, and it is remarkable how many of these images in some way reflect aspects of an urban and Christian Europe.

The second part of the research has been to try to understand the processes that led to the choice and actual design of the images and the banknotes as artistic works. This has involved us interviewing a wide range of people, from politicians and central bank officials, to graphic artists and designers, in a

Figure 3. Front of the 20 Lari note from Georgia illustrating the poet, writer and statesman Ilia Chavchavadze (1837–1907), an example of the portrayal of 19th century men as symbols of the national identity.

selection of states across central and eastern Europe. These interviews have been by no means always easy, but they have provided interesting insights into the serendipitous character of political decision making, and the great un-certainty involved in artistic design. A very wide range of decision-making processes were adopted in determining the images to be portrayed on the notes, from competitions, through committee decisions, to the simple allocation of the process to designers in the state printing works. Among the most inspiring of the interviews we have undertaken have been those that we have been privileged enough to gain with the artists themselves, many of whom have provided fascinating insights into the processes of design that they went through in creating the images that eventually appeared on the notes. In the future, we also intend to interview staff in the various printing companies in north America and Europe who also contributed to the design process.

In concluding this short review, it is very appropriate to acknowledge not only the financial support from the British Academy which has made the research possible, but also the network of collaboration provided through their International Relations Department which has enabled us to meet colleagues in the various Academies of Sciences in the countries visited.

Any enquiries about this research, or the banknote database should be directed to Professor Tim Unwin (email: t.unwin@rhul.ac.uk)

Academy programmes to support
Advanced Research 2000–2001

Research Appointments

Research Professorships

The scheme offers a prestigious series of awards, first offered in 1999. Awards are designed primarily for established scholars who have already published works of distinction in their field. Applicants should have a major programme of work which would benefit from a sustained period of support. The Research Professorship awards enable scholars to be relieved of their normal teaching and administrative commitments for three years. The next competition is expected to be held at the end of 2002.

Research Readerships and Senior Research Fellowships

These schemes are aimed at established scholars in UK universities who are in mid-career, having already published works of distinction. Awards allow scholars to undertake or complete an approved programme of sustained research, while relieved of their normal teaching and administrative commitments. Readerships are tenable for two years, and Fellowships for one.

Postdoctoral Fellowships

One of the Academy's most popular schemes, this programme enables outstanding recently postdoctoral scholars to obtain experience of research and teaching in the university environment, which will strengthen their curriculum vitae and improve their prospects of securing permanent posts by the end of the Fellowship. Awards are tenable for three years.

Research Projects

The Academy supports a series of major infrastructural research projects, which are designated 'Academy Research Projects'. This programme is currently under review. In addition, the Academy makes annual grants to collaborative international projects on behalf of the UK, and provides a substantial contribution to the *New Dictionary of National Biography*.

Research Grants

Small Research Grants are available to support the direct expenses of a research programme, such as travel and maintenance, consumables, research assistance, and specific IT costs excluding hardware. The upper limit of award is £5,000.

Larger Research Grants are available for pilot projects which require levels of research assistance, data collection and analysis, or other costs that cannot be contained within the Academy's Small Research Grants scheme; field study for programmes of field work extending over periods of up to three years; or extensions to existing research activity (applications under this head must be for self-contained projects). The upper limit of award is £20,000, and grants are tenable over three years.

Conferences

The Academy offers three main forms of support for conferences: *Overseas Conference* Grants, providing travel expenses for a British scholar to present a paper abroad; *British Conference Grants*, offering a contribution to the costs of conferences in the UK, particularly to assist with the costs of bringing key overseas speakers to participate in a conference held in Britain; and *Worldwide Congress Grants*, giving large grants to contribute to the administrative expenses of running a major congress in the UK. In addition, block grants are available for learned societies/subject associations to support the attendance of UK-based scholars at conferences overseas.

International Programmes

Exchanges

The Academy provides opportunities, through exchange agreements with other Academies, research libraries and other research organisations for British scholars to carry out individual research programmes or to collaborate in joint programmes with overseas scholars. Research visits (in either direction) are supported, as well as attendance at joint seminars or conferences, and the holding of workshops in connection with joint projects. An exchange programme may be particularly valuable for scholars wishing to work in countries where access might otherwise be problematic. Logistic and other support in arranging a research programme is available from the relevant partner organisation.

Joint Activities

This scheme supports international joint activities involving British scholars in collaboration with foreign partners. The research programme should be clearly defined (not open-ended) and involve partners from one or possibly two other countries.

Networks

The Networks programme has been developed to support small groups of scholars from different countries meeting over a period of three to five years to work on particular issues or questions of methodology. This scheme is intended to support research which is wide-ranging in scope, and broader than that for which the 'joint activities' programme has been developed.

Visiting Professorships and Fellowships

This scheme enables distinguished scholars from overseas to be invited to spend a minimum of two weeks in the UK. The main purpose is to enable the visitor to pursue research, but the delivery of lectures and participation in seminars is also allowed. A British sponsor must apply on behalf of the overseas scholar.

British Academy Visiting Lectureships

This programme is designed to enable a limited number of distinguished scholars from overseas (up to 4 a year) to be invited to spend around 2 weeks in the UK, to deliver a lecture or series of lectures and/or seminars.

Special international symposia and Meetings

Funds are available to support the organisation of conferences or symposia in the UK and/or overseas, usually organised jointly by the Academy and another partner institution in the UK, and an appropriate organisation abroad. The active involvement of the British Academy in the conference is necessary.

Full details of the Academy's programmes can be found on the web site at www.britac.ac.uk/guide

Diary of Events

Lectures marked ★ take place at the British Academy unless otherwise stated at 5.30 pm and are freely open to the general public. There is no admission charge but because of limitations on space those wishing to attend are asked to inform the Academy on 020 7969 5264, or email: secretary@britac.ac.uk.

All those interested are also welcome to attend symposia marked ★, but for these meetings it is essential to register in advance. A small registration fee is charged for some events. Please contact Angela Pusey (telephone 020 7969 5264 or email: a.pusey@britac.ac.uk) for details about individual symposia.

Spring/Summer 2001

16–17 February
Lantern Projections
Two-day colloquium ★

23–24 February
Wetland Landscapes and Cultural Responses
Two-day conference ★

9 March
Economic Policy for Competition and Consumers
Professor John Vickers FBA, Director General, The Office of Fair Trading
British Academy Lecture to teachers at the EBEA annual conference, Hilton Leeds

10 March
Game Theory
Professor Ken Binmore FBA, University College London
British Academy Lecture to teachers at the EBEA annual conference, Hilton Leeds

10 March
Bayes's Theorem
One-day discussion meeting ★

28 March
Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community
Professor Robert Putnam, Harvard University
British Academy Lecture at CREST Conference on 'Is There a Crisis of Democracy?', to be held at the Academy

29 March
How Northern was the Northern Master at Assisi?
Dr Paul Binski, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
ASPECTS OF ART LECTURE ★

3 April
British Academy PDF Symposium
A day of talks given by final year Postdoctoral Fellows ★
Please contact Ken Emond on kene@britac.ac.uk if you wish to attend

5 April
Gertrude Stein and the Question of Modernism
Professor Marjorie Perloff, Stanford University
SARAH TRYPHENA PHILLIPS LECTURE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE ★

25 April
'A World Elsewhere' – Sense of an exit
Professor Richard Wilson, University of Lancaster
SHAKESPEARE LECTURE ★

26 April
'I see men as trees suffering': The vision of Keith Douglas
Dr Tim Kendall, University of Bristol
CHATTERTON LECTURE ON POETRY ★
The lecture will be delivered a second time at the University of York

1 May
Prosperity and Power in the Age of Bede and Beowulf
By Dr J L Maddicott FBA, Exeter College, Oxford
RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY ★

10 May
'After Glyn Dwr': An age of Reconciliation
By Professor Ralph Griffiths, University of Wales, Swansea
SIR JOHN RHYS MEMORIAL LECTURE ★
The lecture will be delivered a second time at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth on 24 May

11–12 May
Aerial Archaeology – Into the Future
Two-day conference ★

15 May
Two Enlightenments: A Contrast in Social Ethics
By Professor Gertrude Himmelfarb FBA
ELIE KEDOURIE MEMORIAL LECTURE ★

6–7 June
Risk, Democratic Citizenship and Public Policy
Two-day symposium

12–15 July
Locating the Victorians
Major international conference commemorating 150 years since the Great Exhibition, and the centenary of Queen Victoria's death. To be held at the Science Museum and Imperial College, with collaboration from the Natural History and Victoria & Albert Museums. The British Academy will host a strand on *The structure of knowledge*.

September
Francis Bacon on History and Francis Bacon in History
Three-day conference to be held at Queen Mary and Westfield College, with a fourth day for excursions to places of Baconian interest

3–7 September
Academy presentation on *Images and Artefacts of the Ancient World* at British Association's annual *Festival of Science*, Glasgow

30 October
Holistic Government
One-day conference

15–16 November
Mediterranean Urbanisation
Two-day symposium

29–30 November
Germany and Europe: a Europeanized Germany?
Two-day research workshop

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From the Archive

One hundred years ago…

. . . the formation of a British Academy was making slow progress. In January 1900, the Council of the Royal Society had set up a Committee of Fellows to examine a plan for representing philosophico-historical and philological studies in a national Academy, and to prepare a report.

The 'Report of the British Academy Committee' was presented to the Royal Society's Council on 5 July 1900. The following are extracts from this lengthy document:

Four Solutions considered by the Committee.

There have been submitted to the Committee four possible ways of dealing with the demand for the representation of Philosophico-Historical studies in an "Academy":

(i.) The creation of an organization independent of the Royal Society, though possibly in some way connected with it, in which case they might both form parts of some larger body, as, for instance, the French Academies form parts of the Institute of France.

(ii.) The creation of two "Academies" within the Royal Society, one of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, the other of Philosophy-History, each Academy having its own Council, Secretaries and President, and the President of each being in turn President of the whole Society.

(iii.) The creation of two or three "Sections" of the Royal Society, either A and B, corresponding to the Academies just named; or A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences; B, Biological Sciences; C, Philosophico-Historical Sciences.

(iv.) The election of some 25 to 50 Fellows representing the Philosophico-Historical subjects, to serve as a nucleus, and the creation of three or four committees, similar to those already existing, viz., one for Ethnography and Archaeology, one for Philology, one for Statistics and Political Economy, and one for Psychology — the Officers and Council remaining, so far as statute and enactment are concerned, precisely as they are at present.

[Each solution is discussed in detail.]

Views of Representatives of Philosophico-Historical Sciences.

These several schemes were discussed at an interview [on 29 May] with a number of representatives of the Philosophico-Historical Sciences. These gentlemen all concurred in disapproving of any attempt to establish an independent body to represent the sciences in question by means of the federation of any existing societies, and appeared so impressed with the difficulties of founding an independent body *de novo* that they shrank from attempting it. They therefore all expressed themselves in favour of any effort for the corporate representation of those sciences being associated in some way or other with the Royal Society. They seemed unanimous in feeling the great desirability of the organization and official representation of the Philosophico-Historical subjects, both on the ground of the general encouragement of their pursuit, and also, and more especially, as a means of developing the more scientific methods of treating those subjects.

The general opinion of these gentlemen upon the practical courses discussed in the Report seemed to be in favour of the plan numbered (iii.) in the Report, but, recognising the practical difficulties in the way of carrying out any such scheme immediately, they were generally in favour of an effort being made on the lines laid down in plan numbered (iv.) as a beginning, in the belief that should its adoption lead, as they believe it would, to greater activity in this country in the studies in question, there might ultimately develop out of it some more formal organization, such as is contemplated in the other plans submitted.

Your Committee were much impressed by the concurrence of opinion among these gentlemen, and by the high value they set on the inclusion within the scope of the Royal Society's action of the subjects they represented.

According to the Committee, the 'fundamental issue' was whether the Royal Society would be more useful if the area of its interests was enlarged — 'whether the gains which might result if the Royal Society represented History, Economics and Philosophy, as it now represents Physics and Biology, would compensate the disadvantages which might arise from the loss of singleness and concentration of aim, and the ultimate complication of organization.' The Report laid out detailed arguments on either side.

The Council of the Royal Society received the Report but postponed further consideration of it. Further impetus was lost in August 1900 on the death of Henry Sidgwick, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, whose 'Plan for Institution of new Academy or Section' had prompted the preparation of the Report.

At the meeting of the Royal Society's Council on 1 November 1900, there was some discussion of the Report, but further consideration of it was deferred. At the meeting on 6 December, discussion was again put off, until 17 January 1901.

However, the following six months saw major developments, and these will be covered in the next issue of the *Review*.