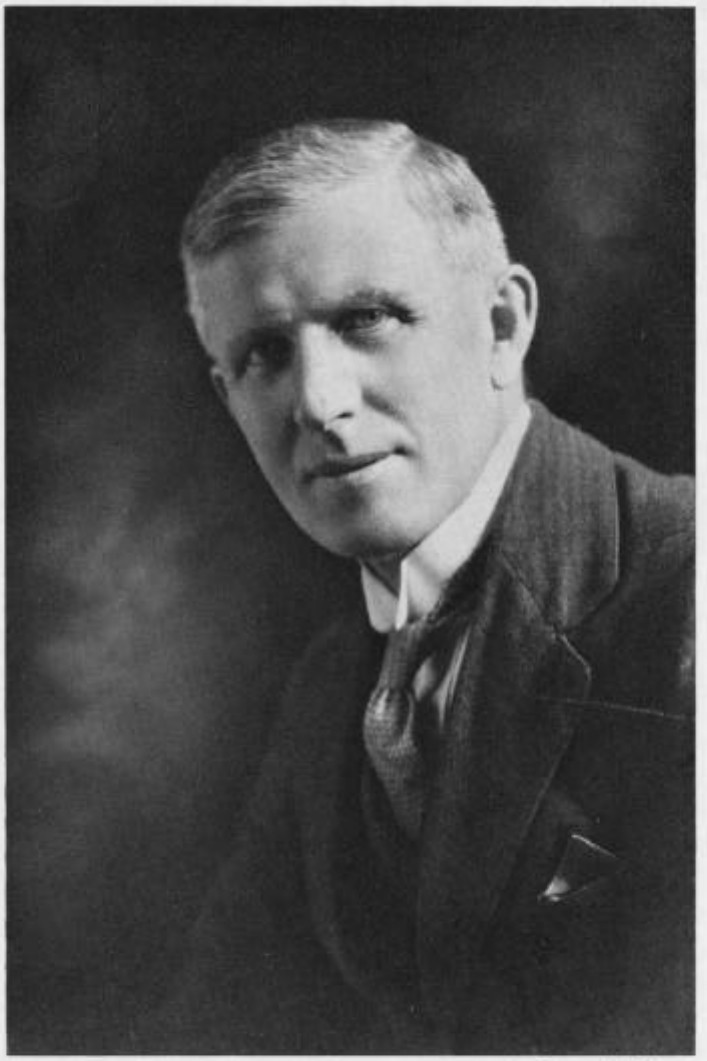
PLATE XVIII



Photograph by Lafayette

MARCUS NIEBUHR TOD, O.B.E.

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1878–1974

FEW dons' names were so well known at Oxford in the inter-war years as those of Marcus Niebuhr Tod. His Christian names, of which he was very proud, came from his German mother's family; on his father's side the family's roots were in Scotland. Marcus was the name of his mother's father who was the son of Barthold Georg Niebuhr, royal historiographer and Professor of Berlin University and, later, Prussian ambassador to the Vatican, the first volume of whose refreshingly original Roman history was published in 1811. His son, Marcus von Niebuhr, was secretary to Frederic Wilhelm, king of Prussia, and married the daughter of a general who was Prussian military adviser to the Tsar of Russia when Napoleon invaded Russia; they lived in the grounds of the Sans Souci Palace at Potsdam. The Tods were Scottish tea merchants who had a family business based on Leith. These two families with their sharply different backgrounds came together when two Niebuhr daughters, Hildegarde and Gertrude, came to England for an evangelical conference and there met the brothers John and William Tod. From this meeting followed two very happy marriages founded on a strong Christian dedication; John married Gertrude, and William a third sister, Hedwig.

While William and Hedwig remained in Edinburgh John with Gertrude left Scotland and settled in Highgate. Marcus Niebuhr Tod was born on 24 November 1878, the second of four sons, and he had two younger sisters. There was a demanding but warm religious background to family life and a new Presbyterian church which was opened in Highgate became the main focus of their social activities. Marcus was devoted to his parents and his mother's death when he was only ten was a great shock to him. It also led to his separation from his elder brother, for it was decided to send James, who was two years older, to school in Edinburgh, living with his uncle. From George Watson's James went to Heriot Watt College to study Engineering, but though their lives drifted further apart the affection of Marcus for his elder brother remained very strong and throughout their lives he felt uncomfortable if he wrote less than twice a month. These letters, which were preserved by his

brother, throw an interesting light on the early development of Marcus. His letters from prep. school show signs of what was to come. His handwriting was already well formed and conspicuously legible. He liked to recount events in great detail with names and figures. Though he already had a taste for colourful words (he even wrote of 'the diminutive magnitude' of his writing-paper) his descriptions were concise and exact: 'I am enclosing a facsimile of the certificate I got on Thursday. George's is just the same, George Herbert Tod instead of Marcus Niebuhr Tod, Third class instead of Second class, and the list of subjects slightly different. It is on paper slightly brown with a much larger margin than in my facsimile.'

At his prep. school Marcus had had a good grounding in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics and when he went to Merchant Taylors' in 1892 he seems to have had no difficulty in his first term in coming top in Classics, Divinity, French, and Mathematics, though, ironically, second in Greek History. As he went up the school he remained at or near the top of his classes in Classics; in Mathematics he had to work harder for his results but he could have been an able mathematician had he so wished. He had no particular skills in games, though he enjoyed Fives, but he followed the fortunes of school teams very keenly. Test matches were great occasions and he was delighted when Scotland beat England at football. He was a keen stamp collector and also spent much of his spare time in searching for second-hand book bargains: he was particularly pleased when at the age of sixteen he secured a copy of Dindorf's notes on Sophocles for a halfpenny! Meanwhile his Christian faith, strengthened by much serious study of the Bible, remained a dominant factor in his life.

In his last year at school he became head monitor and this involved a wide range of responsibilities, including being treasurer of the Sports Committee and chairman of the Debating Society. It is significant that in detailing his duties to his brother he lists first the collection of mission subscriptions. During his Easter holiday he had undertaken, in addition to routine duties, to write a prize poem and 'to investigate a certain point concerned with Greek versification and put down the results of my research in the form of a monograph, dealing with the apparent violations of the rule of the cretic occurring in the iambic portions of the Attic tragedians.' Such interests help to explain the scholarliness of his comments on points of syntax and usage in his later epigraphic publications. And this was a relaxation

after he had won his scholarship to St. John's College at Oxford, which was historically linked with his school.

His first visit to Oxford had been in March 1896 when he went up to take Responsions: 'On the whole I have received a splendid first impression of Oxford, and have seen very little unpleasant except only the great amount of smoking.' When he came up to Oxford in October 1897 there were things that shocked him more, and particularly the drinking habits with the excesses they led to—'after the Torpid races 107 panes of glass broken in one college'. He accepted sadly what had become traditional, but he himself remained teetotal. In all other respects Oxford fulfilled his hopes. He worked himself hard but he had plenty of diversions. There was much walking, he had a wide range of friends, and found ample opportunity to join in religious discussions and activities. Since both the captain and the secretary of the college boat club were from his own school he inevitably joined the novices on the river, but after a year of what he came to regard as a refined form of slavery he claimed his freedom. However, he followed the fortunes of college games with the same loyal commitment as at school. But as his finals approached he concentrated intensively on his work and when his brother asked him to stay during the Christmas holiday he would only consider it 'if, as you say, I will be able to get a full day's work every day—each day will be important'. The result was an outstanding First, followed by a flood of awards. In less than a year he was elected to a Senior Scholarship at his own college, the Craven Travelling Fellowship, and a Senior Studentship at the British School of Archaeology at Athens; and he only narrowly missed a Fellowship by examination at Merton, which was won by H. W. Garrod.

The British School at Athens was to be the centre of his life and work for the next four years and few students can have made better use of their opportunities in Greece. Bosanquet was Director, Dawkins had made it a temporary base, and Wace later came out as a student. There were rarely more than four in residence but the company was stimulating and among the visitors were H. R. Hall, the Egyptologist from the British Museum, like himself from Merchant Taylors' and St. John's, and Professor Bury, 'alert and interested in everything'. Tod's gift for languages also made it easy for him to establish contacts with the other schools in Athens. He had fluent German from his mother, adequate French from school, and he quickly mastered Modern Greek. His German was particularly useful because it

enabled him to attend regular courses of lectures by Dörpfeld, who was Secretary of the German Institute and Adolf Wilhelm, Secretary of the Austrian Archaeological School. Dörpfeld lectured on archaeology at the various sites and the sessions were long as well as arduous, often exceeding two hours. Wilhelm's class was in the Epigraphic Museum and Tod was at once his disciple. He also attended lectures by Dr. Schrader on sculpture in the Acropolis Museum. This intensive introduction to original material was the best of all possible preparations for his academic career.

In his second year he was appointed Assistant Director and Librarian, the first appointment to the office. It was a critical period for the library, as it had to be moved into new quarters, and apart from the organization of books and shelves a card catalogue was needed. The work suited Tod's orderly mind and readers in the library still have cause to be grateful for the beautiful clarity of his writing. In the spring of 1903 he was excavating with Bosanquet at Palaikastro in Crete and was in charge of operations for a month while the Director returned to Athens. In the autumn he went with Bosanquet to Sparta to reconnoitre and prepare a report outlining proposals for a programme of excavation. While the school was engaged at Sparta he walked energetically in Laconia and Messenia. He enjoyed the company of peasants but felt embarrassed by the cheapness of the cost of living: 'I am trying to bring the bill for board and lodging to reach the sum of 3/- a day in order to give the proper impression of English wealth and lavishness.' Some of his walking was for sheer enjoyment. When he reached the top of Taygetus (*c.* 7900 ft.) he waited to see sunset and sunrise and did not come down till 5.30 a.m. But usually he was looking for sites, inscriptions, and antique objects in museums or in private possession.

These excursions and his growing interest in Sparta proved fruitful. He collaborated with Wace in an excellent catalogue of the Spartan Museum, published in 1906, in which his main contribution was a substantial section on the inscriptions. This was in effect a mini-corpus of the inscriptions of Sparta and W. Kolbe, editing *Inscriptiones Graecae*, V in 1913, warmly thanked Tod for making his own work easier. Later he published a 'Survey of Laconian Epigraphy, 1913–1925' (*BSA* 26) and was able to fill some omissions in the Corpus from his own gleanings. The fruits of his walking in Messenia were a number of new inscriptions and some useful topographical notes (*JHS* 25).

In two further articles he collected the surviving records referring to a Spartan ball game and by analysing the formulae made sense of the series.

In spite of his many preoccupations he found time to write two epigraphic articles in 1904 for the Annual of the British School (*BSA*, vols. 8 and 9). In the first he published new fragments of an inventory of silver *phialae* dedicated on the Acropolis and, as with the Spartan ball game, by assembling all the fragments he could determine the nature of the dedication. In the second article he produced a text with commentary of a new Athenian decree conferring honours on a board of officials at the end of their year of office. It was a great tribute to be entrusted so early with the first publication of new inscriptions, but the articles are surprisingly mature. The description is concise, the comments brief but judicious, the bibliography full but not inflated. He also became tutor in 1904 of the Greek royal family and was well remembered by Prince George who, as King George II, visited his old tutor unofficially during the Second World War.

In 1905 he returned to Oxford to take up a Fellowship at Oriel College to which he had been elected in 1903. He had already established his reputation in Athens as a Greek epigraphist and his standing was confirmed when in 1906 he was made a corresponding member of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute. In the following year he was appointed University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy and later, from 1927, Reader. In other countries Tod would have probably followed a more specialized study of epigraphy and would soon have been appointed to a Chair in the subject, but in Britain there were no Professors of Greek Epigraphy. In his forty-four years as Fellow of Oriel his primary responsibilities were to teach Ancient History to Greats undergraduates and to take an active part in the administration of the college. Some scholars begrudge such wider commitments as an obstruction to their own work; Tod enjoyed them. In 1912 he won the Conington Prize (for the best work submitted by an Oxford graduate within fifteen terms from graduation) and the essay, *Greek International Arbitration*, was published the next year. It remains a model of its kind, combining the fullest collection of evidence with a thorough command of the literature on the subject. It may not have been a very demanding subject but the organization of the material could not have been better.

By now Tod was a married man. Soon after he returned from

Athens he had been joined in Oxford by his younger sister. She had come up to Somerville to read Classics and in due course was sent for Ancient History tutorials to her brother. In one of his reports he wrote that 'she made up for the lack of depth in her knowledge by her clearness of expression'; but he had good reason to be grateful to her, for it was through her that he met her great friend Mabel Byrom who was reading Modern History at Somerville. When courtship issued in engagement the Principal of Somerville, Dame Emily Penrose, proved an encouraging and tactful chaperone. They married in 1909 and were ideally suited to one another. Mabel came from near Manchester where her father owned a cotton-mill and was well known for his concern for the all-round welfare of his workers. Her family background was firmly Christian and, though she remained a Methodist and he a Presbyterian, they both supported each other's church as well as their own, the family going to the Presbyterian University Chaplaincy on Sunday morning and to the Wesley Memorial Church in the evening. She understood the religious principles that informed his life and appreciated the demands of his work, while at the same time widening his interests and encouraging his sense of humour. She also was the perfect partner on Sunday afternoons when their house in Norham Road was open at tea to his pupils and other friends.

When the First World War broke out Tod at first stayed in Oxford combining his college commitments with temporary work for the Ministry of Labour. He then for a short time worked with the Y.M.C.A. in France, but when the war spread to the Balkans he wrote to the War Office offering his services as interpreter in modern Greek. At the end of 1915, after an erratic journey of five weeks, he found himself as a 2nd Lieutenant in Salonica, committed with Professor Ernest Gardner to reading the Greek daily newspapers and translating anything that affected the Allied armies. The work was neither demanding, nor, after the initial stages, interesting; 'Nothing could be more unromantic and unheroic than my "Active Service".' He fretted with underemployment. But by the middle of 1916 he had been transferred to the Intelligence Corps and served, as Captain, in the French Sector. His work, including censorship and the decoding of German ciphers, for which his epigraphy was an admirable training, kept him busier and happier. He rarely discussed his war experiences but his work was clearly important and appreciated, for he was mentioned

three times in dispatches and awarded the Croix de Guerre *avec palmes* and the O.B.E. During the Macedonian campaign archaeologists temporarily militarized could not ignore Greek and Latin inscriptions that they chanced to see. Lt. E. A. Gardner, R.N.V.R., Captain S. Casson, general staff, and Lt. A. M. Woodward handed over their notes to Tod who checked the texts and published them with useful commentaries (*BSA* 23 (1918–19), 67). For the same Macedonian volume of the Annual he wrote a masterly article on the Macedonian Era justifying decisively the views of Kubitschek against the massive concordance of Boeckh, Mommsen, Marquardt, and Dittenberger.

Tod referred at the time to his Conington Prize as 'his last youthful flutter'. In a sense it was the end of a chapter. When he came back to Oxford in 1919 the pattern of his life was very different. He now had a young son and a young daughter (born in 1912 and 1916) to enjoy and a family life to develop. He was no longer a young don, but played an increasingly important part in the life of the college as Librarian, Senior Tutor, and then as Vice-Provost from 1934 to 1945. He also remained a loyal and active friend of his wife's college, and served from 1913 to 1931 on the Council that governed Somerville before the Principal and Fellows became the governing body. The University continued to take advantage of his passion for accuracy and willingness to take on new commitments: he had been made secretary of the Committee for Classical Archaeology in 1907; in 1919 he accepted the secretaryship of the Oxford Committee of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities. In Greek History his lectures on the sixth century and on the Pentekontaetia had become the backbone of the lecture list in the Trinity and Michaelmas terms, and they attracted large attendances; what is more surprising in Oxford the attendance did not melt progressively in the course of the year. This was primarily because the lectures were very thoroughly prepared and delivered by a master of elocution in a style of Edwardian rotundity with echoes of Gladstone. It was impossible not to be impressed by the tall and handsome figure looking the picture of health, happiness, and benevolence and by the almost embarrassing courtesy with which he addressed us: 'Will one of the gentlemen at the back of the hall please fling open the other flange of the door. By so doing he will greatly facilitate egress.' The lectures were not intended to break new ground, but they formed an admirable training in the use of sources and provided a solid foundation on which to build.

Tod enjoyed lecturing but he also enjoyed the more personal relationships of tutorials, and remained interested in his pupils long after they had left the college. The subjects that he chose for essays tended to be broad and humane. He regretted the growth of specialization and the proliferation of specialist articles which distracted weaker men from the basic evidence. His aim was always to lead back to the original sources; the reading of the *Cambridge Ancient History* was discouraged because the sources were inadequately quoted. He shared the teaching for Greats with David Ross, the philosopher, who later became Provost of the College. They formed a powerful combination and it was inevitable but not inappropriate that they should be called the Right and the Good. The religious element in college life was important to him. Each morning after breakfast he would bicycle down to college chapel at 8 and after the service walk round Merton Meadow with Ross. He took an active interest in the Student Christian movement, preached in college chapel, and often on Sunday afternoons bicycled out to Methodist chapels in the country round Oxford to take the service.

In spite of his increasing commitments the flow of articles and reviews continued. He completed the comprehensive study of Greek Numerical Systems that he had begun before the war, and continued his invaluable surveys on the Progress of Greek Epigraphy which he had begun in 1909 (at first in the *Year's Work in Classical Studies* and from 1915 in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*), together with regular bibliographies of Greek inscriptions in Egypt for the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. When the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, designed for the regular publication of new Greek inscriptions, was launched in 1923 Tod was among its keenest supporters and worked closely with his friend J. J. E. Hondius the first editor, collecting material and reading proofs. He was also busy with his own more personal work. His chapter on the economic background of the fifth century in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (vol. 5, 1927) was an impressive assembly and analysis of the evidence. In 1933 three lectures delivered at University College London were published as *Sidelights on Greek History*: the last lecture, on clubs and societies in the Greek world, remains a good introduction to a good subject. But his main concern in these years had been the preparation of a handbook for students. In 1933 the first volume of his *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, extending to the end of the fifth century, was published, and a second volume, covering the

fourth century, followed in 1948. These volumes of texts and commentaries at once became essential tools for the study of Greek History, and not only for students. Their ancestor was a single-volume *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* by E. L. Hicks, published in 1882, and revised in 1901 by Hicks with G. F. Hill. Tod followed their pattern, but made great improvements in form and substance. His choice of inscriptions was admirably balanced, his form of the *lemma* was definitive, and his commentaries were a triumph of compression. Some epigraphists thought that he was mistaken in transcribing epigraphic texts in literary form but his main concern was to give as much help as possible to as many as possible and he thought that the gain in intelligibility outweighed the drawbacks.

These two volumes were dedicated to Adolf Wilhelm whose lectures had inspired him when he first went to Athens as a young graduate, whose encouragement led to his first publications, and who became a life-long friend. Tod's work brought him many other rewarding friendships, particularly with Hondius, Meritt, and Woodhead. There was a much larger circle of scholars at home and abroad who felt in his debt with affectionate respect, for he was always ready to share his knowledge. Appeals for help on epigraphic points were always promptly answered, and always with a courteous deference as if it was he who was receiving the favour. It was only gradually that one came to realize that helping others in this way gave him real pleasure and that his humility was an essential element in his nature. He always underestimated his own achievement.

Tod was not primarily a historian, nor did he concern himself with the greater historical issues, but in his own epigraphic field he was a master. He had a passion for accuracy and was worried by carelessness; he even used to correct the accents on the Greek compositions of weak scholarship candidates, though they were destined to pass immediately into the waste-paper basket. He was an outstanding linguist and had an enviable capacity to read rapidly and retain what he had read; his bibliographical range was very wide indeed. In exposition and argument he developed the directness and economy of a mathematician. His output was impressive not only in quantity and quality, but in the wide range of subjects on which he wrote with authority, from Spartan ball games to Diocletian's price edict. He was a splendidly meticulous reader of proofs and could never ignore misprints though he understood the weakness of others: 'I hope he won't be offended when he sees my

69 corrections.' Though highly critical of his own work, he was always generous in his criticisms of others and was saddened when personal polemic soured controversies or when promising work by younger scholars was discouraged by uncharitable reviews.

In 1947 he reached the age of retirement and was elected to an Honorary Fellowship of Oriel, an honour which had also just been conferred on him by his first college, St. John's. Soon afterwards he had a severe heart attack following an operation, perhaps the inevitable price of having worked himself too hard. After this serious illness he was to enjoy more than twenty years of good health in Birmingham, which he and his wife had chosen for their retirement in order to be near their married daughter. It was a great wrench to leave Oxford, but there were ample compensations. The happy marriage of their daughter was a continuing joy to them and both grandparents delighted in their grandchildren; the loss of the Bodleian and Ashmolean was eased by the warm friendliness with which he was welcomed by Birmingham University, who made him an Honorary Member of Staff, and in 1953 an Hon. D.Litt. This enabled him to continue the work he so much enjoyed, following the progress of Greek epigraphy through offprints from friends and the periodicals that were available. When in 1965 his own selection of *Greek Historical Inscriptions* went out of print and sufficient material had accumulated to require a new book he most generously gave his successors a free hand to incorporate material from his own work and kept them supplied with detailed bibliographies. In 1963 he wrote to a former pupil: 'I find unfailing interest and pleasure in what work I can still do for the much maligned *SEG* and for Liddell and Scott, to the editors of which I have now sent over 16,000 slips recording new or rare words, nearly all from epigraphical sources.' This work for the Greek lexicon he had begun in 1911, and his number would be correct. Like Herodotus he was fascinated by numbers, but, unlike Herodotus, he was never irresponsible with them. Much more of his time and energy had been devoted to *SEG*. He had worked closely with Hondius from the first volume and when Woodhead succeeded as editor he was an unfailing source of practical help and moral support until nearing his ninetieth year. It was a very fitting tribute when the index volume for vols. xi–xx (published in 1970) was dedicated to him to commemorate his ninetieth birthday; but it is sad that he did not live to see how widely *SEG* was missed by epigraphists when it became no longer possible to continue publication.

This was the third of his anniversaries to be commemorated. His friends and colleagues had celebrated his seventieth birthday with an address and a bibliography of the formidable list of his writings up to 1947; and the British School at Athens, where he had laid the foundations of his career, and on whose Managing Committee he had served from 1907 to 1939, dedicated a volume of the School Annual (vol. 62) to commemorate his seventy-fifth birthday. He became a Fellow of the British Academy in 1927 and received honorary degrees from Dublin, Edinburgh, and Birmingham universities, and finally in 1967 from his own Oxford. The Hon. D.Litt. from Oxford was a very extraordinary occasion. Normally Oxford scholars, whose careers have been in Oxford, submit their own works for the Doctorate of Letters. It was typical of Tod that he would not venture to place this value on his own work. The origin of the degree was a unanimous resolution of the Ancient History Sub-Faculty, submitted to the Vice-Chancellor. It was to be his last visit to Oxford. He was deeply moved.

In his last years he had to struggle against the approach of blindness and increasing deafness, though his mind and spirit were unimpaired, and when his wife died in 1973 he felt her loss very keenly. She had provided all that he most needed to preserve a due balance in his life; and through their long married life they had remained devoted to one another. He died in the next year. The strength of their marriage derived in no small measure from their Christian faith, which had a wide influence on others and was reflected in their family. The son of their daughter, who followed her mother to Somerville and her father to an outstanding First in Greats, is now a Methodist minister, and their son, having found his vocation after Greats at Oxford in teaching, became a Methodist local preacher when he retired.

RUSSELL MEIGGS

I am deeply grateful for the generous help I have received from Marcus Tod's daughter, Mrs. Sheila Davies, from his nephew, Mr. A. F. Martin, Fellow of St. John's College, through whose kindness I was also able to read the letters of Marcus to his elder brother, and from Mr. A. G. Woodhead, Tod's closest friend among epigraphists in his later years. In Oxford I have learnt most from Mr. R. W. B. Burton, Fellow of Oriel College, Professors R. Syme and P. A. Brunt, both former pupils, and from Mrs. Barbara Craig, Principal of Somerville College.