



E. D. RAWSON

Elizabeth Donata Rawson 1934–1988

ELIZABETH RAWSON was born in London on 13 April 1934, the first child of Graham Stanhope Rawson and Ivy Marion *née* Enthoven, of 8 Campden Hill Square, Kensington. The Rawsons, whose lineage goes back to about 1500, are a Yorkshire family, but in the early nineteenth century Thomas Samuel Rawson, the youngest of six brothers, settled in Kent; he was Elizabeth Rawson's great-great-grandfather.¹

Her father and his brother Tristan both spent much time in Germany in their youth. Graham Rawson achieved a doctorate of philosophy at Jena,² while Tristan studied operatic singing at Cologne. Thanks to his fluent German, Graham Rawson was employed in British Intelligence at the Admiralty during the First World War. Tristan, meanwhile, had married a young German pianist in 1914; they spent the war in Switzerland.³ When peace came, both brothers devoted themselves to the theatre, Tristan as a solidly successful actor, Graham as a much less successful dramatic author.⁴ They collaborated in new stage versions of both parts of Goethe's *Faust* and in translating and adapting various German plays; Graham also wrote several historical

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¹ *Burke's Landed Gentry*, III (18th ed., 1972), pp. 750–2.

² The National Union Catalogue has his dissertation: *William Morris's Political Romance 'News from Nowhere': its Sources and its Relationship to 'John Ball' and Bellamy's Political Romance 'Looking Backward'* (Leipzig, 1914).

³ They had two children before his wife died, at twenty-six, in the influenza epidemic. She was Jewish, and Tristan Rawson, though now remarried, helped to get her parents out of Germany in the 1930s.

⁴ *Who was Who in the Theatre*, IV (1978), pp. 1990–2.

dramas of his own, now forgotten.⁵ He married Marion Enthoven in 1930.

Elizabeth's brother John remembers their father as a somewhat remote figure (John was seventeen, and Elizabeth nearly twenty, when he died in 1954), but the theatrical ambience evidently had an effect on both children. They had a miniature theatre of their own, which they made themselves, and Elizabeth once recalled to a colleague in later life how she would always do her school prep immediately, as soon as she got home, so that she could spend as much time as possible on what mattered most to her — writing and producing plays for their theatre.

It is clear, however, that by far the greatest influence on Elizabeth came from her mother. Marion Rawson was beautiful, elegant, and (in the phrase of Elizabeth's cousin Deborah) an intellectual to the backbone. She had very exacting standards, which her brilliant daughter evidently found it a pleasure to meet. Elizabeth Rawson's first book, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, owed most, 'at every stage, to one who in no way resembles a Spartan Mother, save in her dislike of unnecessary verbiage.'⁶ And on this side of Elizabeth's family inheritance, the continental connections were even more important.

The Enthovens were a family of Dutch Jews, whose business was metal smelting. H. J. Enthoven came to England in the early nineteenth century and set up a lead works in Rotherhythe. His son James married Miriam Mozley, one of the daughters of Lewin Mozley, a Jewish banker of Liverpool (two other Mozley daughters married two sons of Count Gigliucci of Fermo, of whom more below); one of the many children of James and Miriam was Ernest Enthoven, whose wife Linda Eustace Smith was the daughter of a Newcastle shipbuilder. Her sister was Mrs Donald Crawford, 'the most notorious woman in England',⁷ whose confession of adultery provoked the scandal that destroyed Sir Charles Dilke's career in 1885. To Elizabeth's mother, the daughter of Ernest

⁵ T. Fisher Unwin published *The Stroke of Marbot*, and two other plays of Napoleonic times (1917) and *The Measure and Down Stream: two plays* (1919); John Lane published three three-act plays, *The Golden Hind* (1928), *Scandal at Court* (1930) and *Rudolph of Austria* (1931).

⁶ *Spartan Tradition* (see Bibliography), p. vi.

⁷ Roy Jenkins, *Sir Charles Dilke: a Victorian Tragedy* (1958), p. 331; chaps. XI–XVI deal with the scandal at length.

Enthoven, Mrs Crawford was Aunt Nia (for Virginia), and a woman shamefully traduced.⁸

In the 1920s, aunt and niece worked together for an organisation in support of political exiles from Fascist Italy, a cause to which Marion Enthoven was deeply committed. She was in close touch with Gaetano Salvemini and Don Luigi Sturzo, and in 1928 and 1929 used her visits to Italy to pass messages from them to opponents of the regime.⁹ 'I seem to see myself as I was at the time,' she wrote in 1957:¹⁰ 'a serious young woman, brought up in a leisured, moderately cultured English home, from which I had gone to study art in London and to become interested in international affairs; rather a prig, no doubt, but genuinely shocked at what was happening in Italy.' These clandestine errands had to be kept secret from her Italian cousins, most of whom were pro-Fascist. But she was very fond of them nevertheless, and used to visit them often. After the Second World War,¹¹ when continental travel became possible again, her regular visits resumed, this time *en famille*.

Her children were fourteen and ten when they first met the Gigliucis. The connection was important to Elizabeth Rawson, and deserves to be treated at length.

Vincent Novello, the musician friend of Leigh Hunt and Charles Lamb, had a large family. It included Alfred Novello, the founder of the Novello music publishing business; Edward Novello, a gifted painter who died young; Mary Victoria Novello, author of the first concordance to Shakespeare, wife to Charles Cowden Clark, who had been John Keats' tutor; and Clara Novello, one of the greatest sopranos of the nineteenth century.¹² In 1842 (she was twenty-four) Clara Novello sang

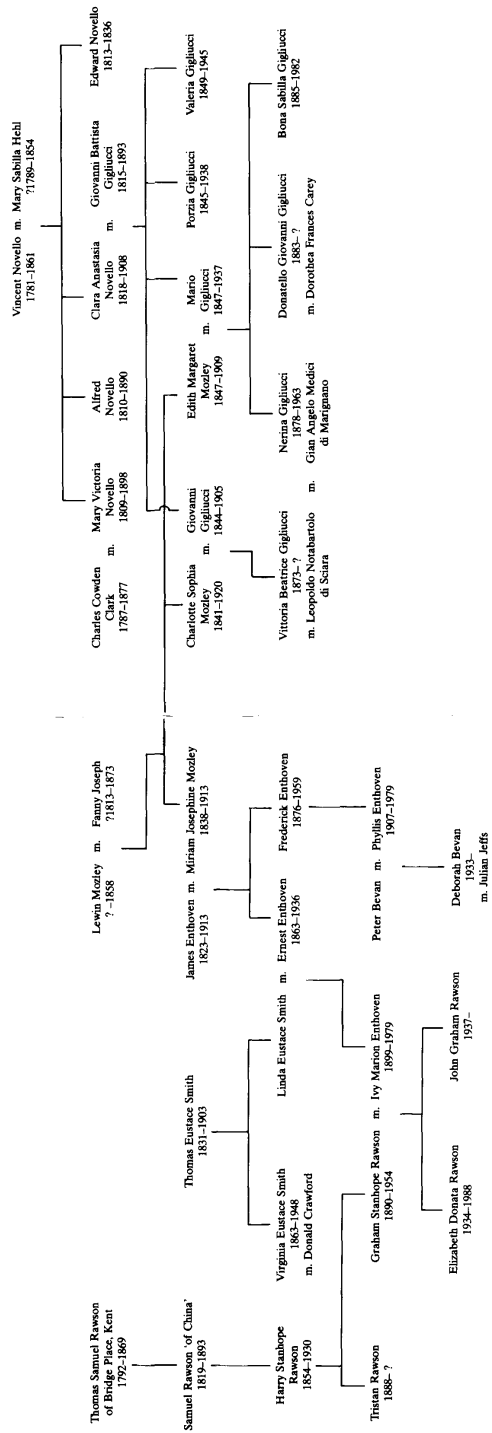
⁸ In an unpublished family memoir, Marion Rawson mounts a spirited defence of her aunt, admitting (of course) the adultery, but strongly denying perjury. She describes Roy Jenkins' analysis as 'not reliable'.

⁹ See the memoir by Vittorio Gabrieli, *La Cultura* 18.2-3 (April-Sept. 1980), 303-6.

¹⁰ In a manuscript addition to 'Notes on a Journey in Italy under Fascism', a typescript dated June 1928 (in the possession of her son John Rawson).

¹¹ *Ibid.*: 'Even my Gigliucci cousins stopped being Fascist during the War, and so have had the best of both worlds (though no-one has ever heard them say to their anti-Fascist friends "After all, you were right"!).'

¹² See Averil Mackenzie-Grieve, *Clara Novello 1818-1908* (1955); Richard D. Altick, *The Cowden Clarks* (1948); Nerina Medici di Marignano and Rosemary Hughes, *A Mozart Pilgrimage, being the Travel Diaries of Vincent and Mary Novello in the Year 1829* (1955). All three books were based, wholly or in part, on Gigliucci family papers.



This family tree is deliberately selective, to show the relationships of individuals mentioned in the text.

in Rossini's *Stabat Mater* in Bologna. On the composer's advice, she accepted an offer from Fermo, in the Marche; a dispute over contracts prevented her from leaving the Papal States, and during her enforced stay she became engaged to Count Giovanni Battista Gigliucci. They were married in London in November 1843.

Gigliucci was a Liberal. 'In later life he attributed to the ancient Greeks and Romans the first burgeoning of his revolutionary ideas, . . . but his "classic republicanism" did not survive his examination of the French Revolution.'¹³ It survived well enough for him to name his two daughters Porzia and Valeria, after the Roman republican laws which guaranteed citizens the right of appeal.¹⁴ Under the arbitrary papal rule of the 1840s, that was a significant act. Gigliucci was briefly a member of Pius IX's Council of Deputies, but left the Papal States in self-imposed exile in 1849. Returning in 1861, he was immediately elected to the Parliament in Turin, where he was one of the signatories of the resolution declaring Italy a united kingdom under Victor Emmanuel. He was a Deputy in the Rome Parliament in 1874–6 (though increasingly suspicious of the Left), and a Senator in 1889. He saw himself as an Italian patriot first and last — 'National independence was always more to me than the colour of the government at home. Rather than be governed by Austrians or French or any foreigner, I would have chosen the Pope or even King Bomba'¹⁵ — and he took care to bring up his sons to the same ideal.¹⁶

The Gigliuccis had two sons. Giovanni married Charlotte Sophia Mozley in 1870; Mario married Edith Margaret Mozley in 1875. A third Mozley sister was married to James Enthoven, Elizabeth Rawson's great-grandfather. So Giovanni's daughter Beatrice, Mario's daughters Nerina and Bona, and Mario's son Donatello were the Italian cousins with whom Elizabeth's mother kept up the close friend-

¹³ Mackenzie-Grieve, op. cit., p. 133 — from Gigliucci's own manuscript reminiscences.

¹⁴ *Lex Porcia, lex Valeria*: Cicero, *De republica* II 54; Livy X 9.3–6.

¹⁵ Quoted from Gigliucci's reminiscences by Mackenzie-Grieve, op. cit., p. 191.

¹⁶ See *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 64.3 (July-Sept. 1977), 285–7. Mario Gigliucci joined Garibaldi's volunteers in 1866. Sixty-two years later Marion Enthoven wrote of him ('Notes on a Journey' [n. 10 above], 29): 'How he ever came to be a pro-Fascist will always be something of a mystery to me, for he of all people has always loved liberty and hated injustice: hated, above all, rhetoric and bombast, so that one wonders how he can bring himself to read the Fascist press. Yet one can see that, believing all too innocently that Mussolini had saved Italy from communism, that all anti-Fascists were communists, and that the Fascist Government was making their country strong and prosperous and respected abroad, he thought it right to join the Party.'

ship that transcended political disagreement. (The only one of the Gigliuccis who opposed Fascism was Donatello;¹⁷ that may be one reason why in 1934 Marion Rawson named her daughter Elizabeth Donata.)

When Elizabeth first knew the Gigliuccis, in about 1948, she was in her early teens and they were in their sixties and seventies. They were of her grandparents' generation, themselves the grandchildren of Clara Novello, whom they remembered vividly. Longevity was a Gigliucci characteristic, and a vigorous oral tradition was reinforced by abundant family papers, portraits, and memorabilia of all kinds.¹⁸ In the house Mario Gigliucci had built in what were then the fields outside Florence (now Piazza Savonarola 15), or in the sub-Palladian mansion at Briosco near Milan, where his daughter Nerina and her Medici husband presided over an estate still essentially feudal, the Risorgimento and the English Romantics were recent memories, the ambience itself virtually unchanged since the nineteenth century. Some idea of its impact may be inferred from the obituary description of Nerina by Rosemary Hughes, who had collaborated in the edition of the Novello diaries:¹⁹

Donna Nerina Medici de Marignano [was] a living representative of the Anglo-Italian culture and intellectual and human contact which was so characteristic a feature of the Victorian and Edwardian era . . . To her guest, the massive frescoed old house, the animated and completely bilingual conversation round the dining-table, and Donna Nerina's intense, keen-eyed vitality, width of reading and power of evoking the past while living zestfully in the present, were in themselves an education in European civilization.

For more than twenty years, as a girl and as a young woman, Elizabeth Rawson was a regular visitor to these historic households, not just as a guest but as part of the family. Their influence on her formative years can hardly be exaggerated.

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¹⁷ 'Notes on a Journey' (n. 10 above), 7: 'Sometimes I fear that Nello's unswerving adherence to his beliefs — to the old ideals of liberalism in which he grew up — may yet end in tragedy.' During the Second World War he and his English wife were sent to *confino* in the Abruzzi.

¹⁸ The portraits, including several by Edward Novello, are now in the National Portrait Gallery's nineteenth-century 'out-station' at Bodelwyddan Castle, Clwyd (*Country Life*, 21 July 1988, 148); the papers and other materials are now in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

¹⁹ *The Times*, 22 February 1963, 17; cf. *A Mozart Pilgrimage* (n. 12 above), especially Nerina's Foreword, Introduction and Afterword (pp. xi–xviii, xxi–xli, 250–3).

The Rawson family had a cottage at Bucklebury in Berkshire, where they stayed for the duration of the Second World War. Elizabeth's first school was therefore St. Ursula's at Bradfield, but when the family returned to Kensington in 1945 she went to Colet Girl's School for a year, and thence to St. Paul's on a foundation scholarship. She was a formidably well-read child: her brother recalls that she had read the whole of Shakespeare by the age of ten, and the impression she made on one of her St. Paul's contemporaries was 'her outstanding intelligence and the width as well as the depth of her knowledge. She had read every book mentioned in English lessons, she knew more history than we were taught, her languages were excellent and her Maths more than adequate.' No doubt because, in her parents' milieu, modern languages were not something you had to be taught at school, she chose to add Greek rather than German to the English, History, Latin, French and Mathematics in which she sat the General School Examination in 1948. She had no sporting or gymnastic talent, but was good at drama, both acting and producing.

Elizabeth was quite often off school, sometimes for weeks at a time, with what her mother described later as 'frequent and appalling colds, accompanied by a high temperature.'²⁰ That was not all lost time, for she read and read, and her memory was always excellent; so these periods no doubt helped to fill her mind at least as effectively as class work. In any case, what she lost in school tuition was more than made up by Mrs Diana Zvegintzov, at whose house in Hammersmith Terrace many classical hopefuls were coached for Oxford entrance. 'Mrs Zveg' was a Somervillian, and it was to Somerville that Elizabeth applied in 1950, taking the entrance examination at the unusually early age of 16 years and 7 months.

'She is a brilliantly clever girl who cannot be kept back,' wrote the St. Paul's High Mistress, 'though her youth is obvious in some of her work . . . We have seldom had a more interesting girl.'²¹ The college took the same view, and awarded an unconditional scholarship for 1952, when Elizabeth would be eighteen. Advanced level school examinations were now superfluous, and with the active approval of the Principal and Miss Hartley (the Mods tutor), Elizabeth spent much of the intervening year on a long visit to the Gigliucci cousins in Italy.

²⁰ Letter cited at n. 22 below.

²¹ Letter to Dr Janet Vaughan (Principal of Somerville), 27 Sept. 1950. All the documents cited in nn. 21–24 are in the Somerville College archive.

Even among the excellent Somerville classicists of that period, Elizabeth was outstanding. But she wore her gifts very lightly, too modest and self-deprecating to take them for granted. Miss Hartley 'farmed her out' for her language work to T. F. Higham at Trinity, where she was competing with young men who had started Latin at their prep schools. She worked very hard, and genuinely did not realise that she was expected to get a First in Mods. She did so, however, even though her father was desperately ill at the time of the examination (he died on 12 March 1954). Self-discipline was always prominent among Elizabeth Rawson's virtues.

Her own health was still not good. The feverish colds had gone, but now she was subject to lengthy periods of continuous slight temperature. Her mother wrote to the Principal:²² 'I know that these attacks make her feel very low and unlike work. She puts a good face on it in company, and hates complaining; but she does in fact feel pretty rotten at times.' The college referred Elizabeth to two specialists (chest and ENT) at the Radcliffe, who pronounced her fit: there was nothing the matter except 'an unstable temperature-regulating mechanism.'²³ So casually did the medical profession dismiss a condition that was to hold back her scholarly career for ten years.

The greatest single influence on Elizabeth Rawson's development as a scholar was certainly Isobel Henderson, the Somerville ancient history tutor, of whom, like so many of Mrs Henderson's pupils, she always spoke with reverence and deep affection. Elizabeth was less at home with philosophy, wryly reporting to one of her contemporaries the comment of her tutor Philippa Foot: 'I don't think you've made the problem your own!' But the shortcoming was only relative. As Mrs Foot put it in her report for Hilary Term 1955, 'I like her work because she is intelligent and makes helpful and sometimes original suggestions. But she is bound to find it unsatisfactory because it is only good and not very good, and she knows the difference.' Nevertheless, when doing logic with Miss Anscombe, Elizabeth was the only one of the group to point out that one of the exercises was (by an oversight of the tutor) formally insoluble. Indeed, she got an alpha in her logic paper in Schools, and according to the chief examiner 'would have been in the

²² Letter to Dr Vaughan, 12 Oct. 1954. The Principal wrote to the college doctor (13 October): 'I don't think the girl fusses, but a great many other people fuss on her behalf.'

²³ Professor L. J. Witts to Dr Mary Fraser, 4 Nov. 1954. Mrs Rawson wrote to the Principal (7 Nov. 1954): 'Professor Witts' report on Elizabeth is most reassuring; although I have a lingering regret that he has not found *something* that can be dealt with!'

running for a First as a philosopher if her History papers had not clinched the question’.

All three of her history papers, Mr Brunt reported, were marked by exceptional erudition, and one of them was the most remarkable he had read in his three years, ‘distinguished by enthusiasm, learning far outside the prescribed work, and an unusual power of applying reading of the poets to historical questions’. Her overall performance made her one of the three or four best candidates of the year, and that was despite the fact that she was suffering from one of her temperature attacks. (The college submitted a medical report without Elizabeth’s knowledge.) As Mr Brunt observed, ‘this speaks for her determination and concentration’.²⁴

Earlier that year, Elizabeth had sent in her application for the Rome Scholarship.²⁵ Mrs Henderson had discussed her subject with R. M. Ogilvie,

since I hope she may make a solid contribution to some of the matters he and A. H. Macdonald are working on. The history of antiquarian studies down to Varro obviously needs intelligent investigation. She does not know much about it yet, but she already asks the right questions about the historiographical tradition, and I feel sure that she will produce something both learned and penetrating.

Nearly thirty years later, *Intellectual Life in the Later Roman Republic* appeared. Its embryo is already clearly visible in her proposal:

If elected, I should propose to work on the development of Roman antiquarian studies before Augustus, with special reference to the use of documentary and archaeological material for historiography, and the character, methods and criteria of late-republican research . . . The whole question of the documentary basis of republican Roman annals cannot of course be covered in such a short time, but while a direct study of such questions as the *Fasti* or *Annales Maximi* might perhaps yield no improvement on present conclusions, an approach from the point of view of the growth of interest in, and of Hellenistic influence upon, Roman critical methods might perhaps be a small preparation for work on such tasks as the editing of Varro’s *Antiquitates*.

Mrs Henderson commented: ‘To edit Varro’s *Antiquitates* would take fifty years’ work, but there is much preliminary work to be done on

²⁴ P. A. Brunt to Dr Vaughan, 9 March 1957 — a reference submitted at Mrs Henderson’s request, for a State studentship.

²⁵ Copy of application and references kindly supplied by the General Secretary of the British School at Rome.

limited aspects of the subject.' The Faculty of the British School appointed two Rome Scholars in Classical Studies that year, and split the £300 stipend between Elizabeth Rawson and Guy Duncan.²⁶

During the first of her two years as Rome Scholar, Elizabeth also held an Italian Government scholarship and a Pelham studentship; in her second, a Craven Fellowship and a State studentship, the latter notable not so much for its financial significance (her mother's income meant she got very little) as for the fact that it was granted without her being registered for any higher degree. Elizabeth was 'Miss Rawson' from first to last, and it pleased her in later life to think that hers was probably the last State scholarship ever given to an independent scholar rather than a graduate student.

At Rome, as in Oxford, Elizabeth worked hard and systematically. Mrs Henderson reported on her in May 1957:²⁷

I have had very high opinions of her from F. Lepper and other scholars who have seen her in Rome, and I hear from her regularly. After learning enough German to begin, she has had only five months' work on a large and tangled subject, but she is getting down to some very advanced difficulties — tearing her hair but keeping her head. She has all it takes to make a historian — humanism as well as scholarship, greed for learning, a very mature understanding of ancient sources.

In the sometimes boisterous atmosphere of the British School, she was a civilising influence. She avoided the rowdier parties and kept herself detached from the personal tensions inevitable in a small society. But she was liked and respected, not least by the artists, with whom her interest in the fine arts made her more communicative than with her fellow-historians. And there was certainly some influence the other way too: the two years at the School broadened her social experience and taught her to value people whose cultural resources were less extensive than her own.

At that time, the main research effort at the British School was the South Etruria survey, which was being carried out with great energy, and great success, by the Director, John Ward-Perkins. Elizabeth's fellow-scholar Guy Duncan was much involved in that, but her own work had little relevance to it, and since her temperature problem was still with her (though she never talked about it), she might easily have

²⁶ The omission of EDR's name is one of several unfortunate errors in the list of Rome Scholars reproduced in T. P. Wiseman, *A Short History of the British School at Rome* (London 1990), p. 30.

²⁷ Isobel Henderson to Ursula Brown (Dean), 5 May 1957: Somerville College archive.

excused herself from strenuous activity. But that was not her way. In the article on ancient road systems in the *ager Faliscus* we find her thanked for helping with the fieldwork,²⁸ and her successor H. D. Jocelyn, who overlapped with her in 1957–8, confirms the point: ‘She had no deep sympathy with the approach to the ancient world Ward-Perkins favoured. She nevertheless co-operated loyally in all the field activities and made polite noises at appropriate moments.’ The combination of courtesy, good humour, and dependability in performing what was required is very characteristic.

Professor Jocelyn also comments that she spent more time at the German Institute than was thought proper in those days, ‘but returned for BSR occasions, e.g. whenever the egregious Blunt gave a lecture’. (Another visitor whose lectures excited her was Peter Brown.) She had more contacts outside the School than most of her contemporaries, and took the opportunity to travel widely, including a two-month visit to Munich in the autumn of 1957. That was probably to friends of her father, who had kept up his German connections; and in 1958–9, after the expiry of the Rome Scholarship, she returned to Germany for a lengthy visit, with the effect, and no doubt the purpose, of making her German as fluent as her Italian.

Elizabeth Rawson always loved to travel. She enjoyed architecture, taking particular pleasure in the baroque, and her knowledge in that field, as in so many others, was exact and profound. There is a wonderful paragraph in a review she wrote years later, which betrays something of her passion for travel and scholarship combined:²⁹

There is much [in the book] on those who travelled for trade, health, pleasure or piety, but little on that interesting band who travelled to gain, or impart, knowledge. There is no Hecataeus, and Herodotus is just ‘the first travel writer’, author of a ‘travelogue’; no Polybius, exploring the Atlantic coast, lambasting arm-chair writers, and claiming that Odysseus was the ideal potential historian; no Posidonius, visiting the West to study tides and Celts; no Dio Chrysostom, driven by curiosity all the way to the Getae; no Plotinus joining the expedition against Persia to study Eastern wisdom; not even Apollonius of Tyana, supposedly setting off on foot to Parthia and India with a shorthand writer, a calligrapher, and (picked up *en route*) a biographer, not to mention the divine gift of tongues. In short, the connection of travel with culture — perhaps above all with ethnography, geography and histori-

²⁸ M. W. Frederiksen and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 25 (1957), 71.

²⁹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, 66 (1976), 233, reviewing Lionel Casson’s *Travel in the Ancient World*.

ography — is never considered (one might add even with poetry, for there is a great deal more to travel-poetry than Horace's *Iter Brundisinum*). Equally to seek in this book are those at a humbler level of society, the wandering Cynics, holy men and beggar-priests, for whom poverty was no bar to travel. Even Dio Chrysostom in the period of his exile often avoided towns and main roads to lose his way in the wilds of Greece, where he consorted with the very poor, who accepted him as a philosopher, though he did not claim the title.

The sense of fellow-feeling is very clear — and one cannot help reflecting that eventually it was travel 'to gain and impart knowledge' that would bring about her death.

While Elizabeth was in Germany in 1958–9, a severe bout of influenza apparently had the unexpected result of neutralising whatever undetected agent it was that caused her temperature to rise. Equally welcome was the invitation from the recently-founded New Hall to a Leverhulme Research Fellowship. In October 1959 (she was twenty-five) Miss Rawson began her twenty-one-year career in Cambridge.

Ancient history in Cambridge was presided over at that time by A. H. M. Jones, who had succeeded to Sir Frank Adcock's chair in 1952. Adcock himself was still active in retirement; his *Caesar as a Man of Letters* (1956) and *Roman Political Ideas and Practice* (1959), closely followed by Jones's *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (1960), indicate how welcoming the intellectual climate was for one working on Roman history and literature at that time. There was A. H. McDonald at Clare and John Crook at St. John's, experts respectively on Livy and on Roman law; at Caius, Guy Griffith was urbanely erudite on many congenial subjects, from Hellenistic historiography to Jane Austen; and W. K. Lacey, whose historical interests were always close to Elizabeth's, had recently been appointed to St. Catharine's. More important than all of these, however, was Joyce Reynolds at Newnham. She too had come from Somerville via the British School at Rome, and now acted as a guide and mentor for Mrs Henderson's brilliant but diffident pupil.

New Hall was still a tiny institution. In 1959 it was in its fifth year of existence, with three teaching staff and about sixty undergraduates. There was no college building (until 1965), and the Leverhulme Research Fellow, with five undergraduates, occupied 'The Old Granary' on Silver Street, once part of the house immortalised in Mrs Raverat's

memoirs.³⁰ She had a single large room, with a balcony giving a superb view over the river; and there she worked, a self-contained scholar knowing just what she wanted to do, reading and annotating, with no urge to publish until she had something substantial to say.

Elizabeth and Joyce Reynolds were regular attenders at Jones's graduate seminars at Fen Ditton. Jones recognised the high quality of Elizabeth's scholarship, but he was a shy man, and these occasions were very different from the later Cambridge seminars of the Moses Finley era. Elizabeth herself never liked to talk much about her research, and what is now called 'networking' was something entirely foreign to her character.³¹ She had work to do, and while there was time at her disposal she got on with it.

But there was less time than there should have been. The temperature symptoms came back, in a more acute form. Each afternoon, between about 3 and 5 p.m., the temperature would rise and Elizabeth would have to go and sleep for a few hours. Never one to make a fuss, her unfailing description of the symptoms was 'I just felt tired'. In effect, this regular exhaustion wrote off half her day for serious work, and went on year after year. Another anxiety was her mother's health. In 1961 Mrs Rawson had to give up her post as Secretary of the Istituto Italiano in London: leukaemia was diagnosed.³²

Elizabeth had no university post, but in 1964–5 and 1965–6 she gave a course of lectures by invitation on 'Cicero as a Statesman'. When the Leverhulme Fellowship ran out in 1967, New Hall appointed her as College Lecturer and Fellow — one of fifteen now, in a growing institution whose scholarly reputation she had done much to establish. The death of Mrs Henderson in March 1967 was a grievous loss, but offered the possibility of a return to Somerville; in other circumstances it might have been an obvious appointment, but with nothing published and a query about her health it is not surprising that she was passed over. It may have been that disappointment that drove Elizabeth to insist to her doctor that something had to be done about her symptoms.

Many specialists had been consulted — 'up one side of Harley

³⁰ Gwen Raverat, *Period Piece: a Cambridge Childhood* (London, 1952), chap. 2.

³¹ 'Elizabeth's modesty, courtesy, beautiful manners, readiness to do justice to the views of others, and possibly also her impeccable taste in clothes, shrouded from those who did not know her the strength and toughness of her mind' (Mrs Barbara Craig to TPW, 4 June 1992).

³² The date is given by Gabrieli, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 303. But according to the family GP, Mrs Rawson 'lived for fifteen years with leukaemia, a record for survival at that time' (Dr Brian Rhodes to TPW, 29 June 1992); she died in 1979.

Street,' as she put it, 'and down the other' — but always without result. Now she was referred to Dr Margaret Reinhold, a consultant in the (at that time) novel field of psychopharmacology, who succeeded in identifying the chemical imbalance that caused the condition, and prescribed the medication to overcome it. As a friend recalls, 'she started taking daily pills, and the ailment simply disappeared'.

That was in early 1968. In 1969 appeared Elizabeth Rawson's first publication — and for those who thought of her as 'someone working on Varro', it was astonishing. *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* begins as follows, with a characteristic combination of modesty and confidence:

Classical scholars are aware of the long and remarkable tale of the idealization of Sparta in antiquity, and a good deal of work has been done on the subject. But when I attempted to carry on the story, in outline, down to the present day — for a lecture, and also for my own interest — I was surprised to find that almost no part of it had been explicitly treated . . . I was left, therefore, to my own resources: and the subject, though often of minor importance, is a vast one. I am very much aware of my incompetence adequately to deal with the twenty-seven or so centuries involved, as of the frequent superficialities and probable inaccuracies of my rash attempt. But it seems to me that what is so fascinating is the whole tale in all its length and variety, and therefore that a first sketch was worth making and might encourage others to amend it.

This 'first sketch' was twenty chapters long, 370 pages of text, ranging from Lycurgus to Hitler with a mastery of cultural references that very few English classical scholars could — or can — hope to emulate.

It is a work of description, not analysis, coming to no conclusions and deliberately minimising the citation of secondary literature — pure antiquarianism, one reviewer called it, going on to describe it, justly and without contradiction, as 'one of the most fascinating and stimulating books on the classical tradition to have appeared for some time'.³³ Encyclopaedic though the coverage is, it is much more than a mere list. The author's wide reading and familiarity with the material — particularly on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — gives her a real authority. To take one example out of many: on the *Encyclopédie*, she notes that Jaucourt's articles on Sparta ('it does not seem to have been observed') consist of unattributed quotations from Montesquieu,

³³ Oswyn Murray, *Classical Review*, 21 (1971), 231–3. Similarly F. Lasserre, *Erasmus*, 22 (1970), 430–1: 'On admire, d'autre part, tant d'érudition dans tant de langues . . . et tant de justesse de jugement malgré cette dispersion.'

Rousseau, Helvétius, Montaigne, and Guillet; and her judgement on an editorial addition to one of them is that 'if Diderot's mind had not been so receptive to different points of view and so continually in evolution one would firmly deny that this could be his'.³⁴ The learning is worn lightly, and if the chaste style is sometimes a little archaic, it is always hospitable to gentle humour, and capable of an elegance not often found in works of such erudition:³⁵

Chateaubriand, visiting Sparta some years before, had as we should expect shown no enthusiasm for her *moeurs*, nor for considering the pirates of Taygetus the heirs of Lacedaemonian liberty. He preferred, he said, the memory of Helen and the poet Alcman to that of black broth and the *crypteia*; but he despised neither glory nor liberty, and was moved to cry aloud the name Leonidas, to which no echo replied, and to seek his tomb, in vain.

The first six chapters show Elizabeth Rawson as a Greek historian; soon afterwards a couple of articles appeared on Euripides, and for two years she lectured on tragedy and politics in fifth-century Athens.³⁶ But as she quotes Montesquieu as saying, 'on ne peut jamais quitter les Romains'. Several times in *The Spartan Tradition* one can see her first love reasserting itself — not only in the chapter on 'Laconism exported', where Cato and the *De republica* come in naturally, but also on Aristotle's pupil Dicaearchus ('the tantalizing figure . . . so admired by Cicero'), and in a splendid passage on a favourite author, Alfieri.³⁷

It would be rash to say that Spartan themes were not, to use Alfieri's word, *tragediabili*; doubtless there are very few satisfactory tragedies on any subject, and very few indeed, for a complicated set of reasons, from the periods and places where interest in Sparta was highest. The analogous myth of republican Rome has been, as a subject, less fatal, though dangerous enough. But perhaps the noble Roman was never so inhumanly single-minded as the noble Spartiate; and his tongue, his surroundings, his whole tradition, have been a nearer, richer, and more living reality to Rome's heirs

³⁴ *Spartan Tradition*, pp. 252, 254.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 294. Archaism: EDR must have been one of the last English authors to use 'in fine' unselfconsciously (e.g. *Spartan Tradition*, p. 103).

³⁶ *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 11 (1970), 109–27; *Arethusa*, 5 (1972), 155–67; the lectures were in 1972–4 (also on the Greek historians in 1967–9). In 1973 EDR published a delightful popular book, *Life in Ancient Greece: Pictures from Pottery*; the text bears out her interest in Euripides, as well as her keen eye for the detail of clothes, headwear, jewellery and furniture ('The woman in [illustration] 86 has decorated pins in her bun').

³⁷ *Spartan Tradition*, p. 304f; cf. 82 (Dicaearchus), 228 (Montesquieu). For Dicaearchus, 'who was of course the pioneer of intellectual and cultural history', see *Roman Culture and Society*, p. 60f.

in Europe. It is true, indeed, that Greek history proper, at least of the classical period and as opposed, of course, to Greek mythology, has produced few works of art in any field to compare with those inspired by Roman history.

Twelve years later, she had some cutting things to say about a book on Marcus Brutus' *Nachleben* that failed to do justice to Alfieri and Leopardi.³⁸

The liberation brought about by Dr Reinhold's treatment allowed Elizabeth to work up the material she had been accumulating ever since her time in Rome. P. A. Brunt, who had admired her work as Greats examiner in 1956, was now Bursar of Caius, and Elizabeth took the opportunity to discuss in detail with him her ideas on the Roman historiographical tradition.³⁹ One result of that was the epoch-making article on prodigy-lists and the *annales maximi* (1971), which demonstrated beyond doubt the unimportance of the *pontifices'* chronicle for Roman historiography. 'The consequences for our knowledge of Roman history, both in the archaic period and as late as the second century B.C., need no stressing. There may still be good information at times in the annalistic tradition; but one of our best tools for identifying it has broken.'⁴⁰

Brunt's stay in Cambridge was a short one: in 1970 he was called to the Camden Chair. That year also saw the death of A. H. M. Jones, and the appointment of Moses Finley as his successor. W. K. Lacey, meanwhile, had gone to Auckland, and so there was a university post in ancient history to be filled. Despite the success of *The Spartan Tradition*, Elizabeth did not get it; nor did she get the post freed by A. H. McDonald's retirement in 1973. The change of regime had come at the wrong time for her. Moses Finley did not like the sort of history that could be written, as he put it, from a box of index cards. That would be a grossly unjust description of Elizabeth Rawson's work, but one can see how it might seem to apply.

'I want to collect the evidence bearing on these matters'; 'scattered facts require to be put together and considered more carefully than

³⁸ *Classical Review*, 31 (1981), 327, reviewing M. L. Clarke's *The Noblest Roman: Marcus Brutus and his Reputation*.

³⁹ 'My stuff dates from many years back and is hardly legible to anyone but me; I was very concerned about the historiographical aspect, which I thought I could disentangle, but I don't think I convinced the few people I showed it to, especially Brunt' (EDR to TPW, 12 Nov. 1971); I had consulted her about the traditions of the patrician Claudii.

⁴⁰ *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 1–15.

has hitherto been done'; 'I want to sum up what has been achieved so far, and to try and go a little further'; 'I would like to press one or two of the arguments a little further and to make one or two possibly new suggestions, but chiefly to pull together something of what has been achieved'; 'perhaps it is worth trying to establish where we do stand, for it is not impossible that more evidence will accrue, to clarify the situation'.⁴¹ From first to last, that was her characteristic gambit — no grand claims, but the modest consciousness of having made an advance by thorough and systematic attention to the evidence. A friend from Elizabeth's Cambridge days describes her working technique:⁴²

She would get interested in a subject, and as soon as she had a modicum of information on it she'd write a draft (leaving quantities of white spaces in the margins) of the article or chapter intended. Then she'd continue research as long as necessary, inserting information or revisions as she went along. She said it was the only way to keep the information in some kind of order as it arrived. She'd stop when the whole thing made sense, and rewrite for continuity and polish.

What that (inevitably) leaves out is the historical acumen that identifies the problem in the first place and enables the author to see what sort of information might be applied to it. Collecting material does not by itself make sense of history; but it is a necessary precondition.

From 1970 onwards, Elizabeth Rawson regularly produced up to three articles a year,⁴³ a rhythm of work evidently not affected by the visiting appointment she held at Penn State University in the Lent Term of 1974. (It was her first American experience, and she loved it — not only for the museums of Philadelphia and Washington DC, but equally for the stimulus of teaching a very different type of student.)

One clear example of an article that went back to her time in Rome is 'The Literary Sources of the Pre-Marian Army', appropriately published in the *Papers* of the British School. (Elizabeth remained a faithful contributor to *PBSR*, especially, but not only, on subjects where her accumulated material was archaeological or epigraphical.)⁴⁴ But the most conspicuous contributions in the first few years were on

⁴¹ *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 149f, 154, 245, 364, 407.

⁴² Robert Tannenbaum to TPW, 26 Dec. 1991.

⁴³ Collected in *Roman Culture and Society*; see Bibliography for the few that were omitted.

⁴⁴ 'The Literary Sources for the Pre-Marian Army', 1971; 'Architecture and Sculpture: the Activities of the Cossutii', 1975; 'The Introduction of Logical Organization in Roman Prose Literature', 1978; 'Chariot-Racing in the Roman Republic', 1981; 'Theatrical Life in Republican Rome and Italy', 1985; '*Discrimina Ordinum*: the *Lex Julia Theatralis*', 1987.

Cicero and his age, on which she had been lecturing since 1964.⁴⁵ Three in particular are major works. 'Cicero the Historian and Cicero the Antiquarian' (1972) brilliantly pins down the use of antiquarian material and techniques in Cicero's dialogues, and offers the preface to *De oratore* III as a sample of historiography proper, a glimpse of 'the history that Cicero never got round to writing'.⁴⁶ A long and careful analysis of the *De legibus* (1973) properly insists on the importance of that difficult and much-neglected dialogue: 'those who write accounts of Cicero as a politician without coming to grips with the *De legibus* and what it does tell us are evading their responsibilities.'⁴⁷ And the old question of Caesar's kingship was (surely) solved in the masterly article on 'Caesar's Heritage: Hellenistic Kings and their Roman Equals' (1975),⁴⁸ which argues

that Caesar stressed his descent from Alban kings, allowed his statue to be placed beside the kings of Rome, made much of associations with Romulus/Quirinus, above all dressed in the triumphal toga and sat in an ivory or even a golden chair with a wreath of gold — the insignia of ancient Etruscan royalty — not in order to prepare the way for taking a name still loathed by both the people and the old aristocracy, and associated with *crudelitas*, a quality he was still firmly eschewing; but in order to claim . . . that he did not need the name of king, for he had the essence: he was the Roman descendant of kings, who was also consul, *imperator*, above all *triumphator* and, reuniting the powers split and delimited in time at the beginning of the Republic, *dictator perpetuo*. These titles . . . both evoked and outdid kingship. 'I am not Rex but Caesar', indeed.

A paper given at the Cambridge Philological Society, entitled 'Lucius Crassus and Cicero: the Formation of a Statesman' (1971), marks the early stages of work on Elizabeth Rawson's next book, a biography of Cicero commissioned by an ex-pupil who was now a literary agent. *Cicero: a Portrait* appeared in 1975, dedicated to the memory of Isobel Henderson. It was written 'for the ordinary reader,' under a commercial imprint with a minimum of scholarly apparatus; but it is also (and was meant to be) an original historical interpretation. 'I have borne in mind,' she wrote, 'that I am dealing with a man who himself hardly ever wrote obscurely, and who was as capable of rapid and precise narrative enlivened by vivid detail as of the clear exposition

⁴⁵ 'Cicero as a Statesman' in 1964–6, and other Ciceronian themes every year from 1969 to 1980 — all, of course, given by invitation of the Faculty Board.

⁴⁶ *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 58–79.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 125–48; quotation from p. 141.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 169–88; quotation from p. 170.

of an intellectual position.⁴⁹ The invited comparison is bold for so modest a writer, but the book amply justifies it.

No other biographer of Cicero has so successfully combined the private man, the politician and the author, or mastered with equal finesse, in a single coherent narrative, the very different interpretative demands of the letters, the speeches and the dialogues. A beautifully sensitive account of Cicero's youth, noting the absence of any personal recollections of his great fellow-townsmen Marius, identifies Lucius Crassus as the main influence on the future statesman's thinking, the moderate instinct to be, where necessary, 'wisely *popularis* for the sake of unity'.⁵⁰ Central to the book (Chapter 9 out of seventeen) is the analysis of 'Cicero on the Republic', the great political dialogues *De oratore*, *De republica* and *De legibus*, in which the judgement is finely balanced between admiration of the seriousness of the ideals and regret at their practical limitations: 'whatever the shortcomings of Cicero's political works, there is no evidence that any of his contemporaries understood the problems of the time as clearly or indeed produced nearly so positive a contribution towards solving them as he did.'⁵¹

One of the reasons for the success of *Cicero: a Portrait* is the sense of sympathy between author and subject. The civilised friendship of Cicero with Atticus ('an amusing conversationalist with . . . a pleasing tartness of judgement'), and the courteous formality of the settings of the dialogues, responded to Elizabeth Rawson's own manner of life.⁵² Provincial Cambridge was not her home. Her mother was still living at the elegant town house at 8 Campden Hill Square:⁵³

La sua pallida e pensosa figura di gran dama, degna della ritrattistica d'un Gainsborough, si faceva d'anno in anno più diafana, estenuata dal male ma, sino alla fine, la mente di Marion conservò la sua lucidità e il vigore naturale.

Elizabeth had the corresponding mews house (8 Hillsleigh Road), and much of her time was still spent in the cultivated milieu of literary

⁴⁹ *Cicero*, p. xvi.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 12f, quoting *De republica* II 54; cf. *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 25–33.

⁵¹ *Cicero*, p. 159. *Ibid.* pp. 150, 160 on the absence of democratic political theory ('what we badly want is a *popularis* or Caesarian view of the crisis'); it is striking that EDR never took seriously the work of Licinius Macer. 'I've tried to work on Macer myself and given up in despair at the uncertainties of Quellenforschung' (EDR to TPW, 22 Nov. 1971).

⁵² *Cicero*, p. 99 (Atticus); pp. 147, 233 (dialogues).

⁵³ Gabrieli, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 303.

and artistic London in which she had grown up.⁵⁴ That part of her life was not far removed from the villas and town houses of the Roman élite; Atticus would have been a welcome dinner guest.

This instinctive sympathy provides constant minor pleasures for the careful reader. Cicero as a boy in L. Crassus' house on the Palatine, noting the pure old-fashioned Latin of Crassus' wife Mucia;⁵⁵ the brilliant Caesar, so unlike Cicero, as 'a dashing horseman, a successful lover, and probably incapable of laughing at himself';⁵⁶ Cicero on Atticus' little daughter — 'though I have never seen her I am very fond of her and sure she deserves it';⁵⁷ Cicero's own daughter Tullia, well-educated but 'with an impetuous and even unfeminine step';⁵⁸ Cicero himself in old age, 'the most sensitive and emotional of beings', writing the *Tusculan Disputations* 'to persuade himself into the serenity of the Sage, into independence of the fears and hopes, the pain and grief, that had racked him for so long'.⁵⁹ The reviewer who called it 'a scholarly book but not a book for scholars' revealed more about himself than about the merits of the work.⁶⁰

Academics who combine first-rate scholarship with a readable, and even elegant, literary style are very thin on the ground. In the 1970s Hugh Lloyd-Jones was successfully recruiting as many as he could find for Duckworth's new 'Classical Life and Letters' series. Elizabeth was an obvious choice, and Lloyd-Jones duly signed her up for a book on Varro and Roman intellectual life. This was the long-term project on which she had been amassing material for more than twenty years. Not surprisingly, the book soon outgrew the format of the series, and for all the weighty virtues of *Intellectual Life* as it finally appeared, one may perhaps regret the slimmer, more selective book that was never written.⁶¹

⁵⁴ See for instance I. M. Rawson, 'Patrons of Talent: the Behrends of Burghclere', *Country Life*, 4242 (26 Oct. 1978), 1347–9.

⁵⁵ Cicero, p. 8; cf. *Roman Culture and Society*, p. 27; Cic. *Brutus* 211.

⁵⁶ Cicero, p. 63, cf. p. 219 on 'the depression that haunted [Caesar's] last months'.

⁵⁷ Cicero, p. 168. Little Attica was 'prone to alarming fevers' (Cic. *Ad Atticum* XII 1.2 etc): noted in *Ancient Writers: Greece and Rome*, I (New York, 1982), p. 579, and in *Intellectual Life*, p. 86.

⁵⁸ Cicero, p. 197; Macrobius II 3.16.

⁵⁹ Cicero, p. 241; cf. p. 307, 'what is most impressive about Cicero is the sensitivity and energy that enabled him to go on growing into old age.'

⁶⁰ *TLS* 74 (24 Oct. 1975), 1271; cf. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 62 (1972), 217f for EDR on Shackleton Bailey's *Cicero*.

⁶¹ See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Classical Philology*, 83 (1988), 229 — still hoping for it even afterwards.

Two of the articles of this period neatly illustrate the ramifications of the subject. Among the antiquarian authors of the late Republic were Granius Flaccus and Cornificius, both of whom wrote on the names of the gods.⁶² Granius wrote a commentary on the *ius Papirianum*, an ancient collection of pontifical law thought to date back to the time of the kings. A late quotation from the *ius Papirianum* contains the name Iuno Populonia, which appears also, as *dea patria*, on a dedication made in Dacia by a legionary legate in the late second century AD. The legate bears a name attested at the town of Aquinum in southern Latium, where an early dedication to 'Pupluna' was found in 1973. Three dense pages in the Italian journal *Athenaeum* (1979) tease out the implications.⁶³ As for Cornificius, was he identical with the senator and general Q. Cornificius, known also as a poet and a friend of Catullus? This time it took thirteen pages of *Classical Quarterly* (1978), deftly sorting out the evidence for social, political and literary history, and the argument for identity rests on a characteristically subtle judgement: 'Cicero in his letters never presses philosophy on those who are not attracted by it.' He writes to Cornificius the general about philosophy's defence against the assaults of fortune, adding 'but you know that better than I'; and the fragments of Cornificius the antiquarian show clear evidence of Stoic influence.⁶⁴ Just two details among many — a Latin goddess in the Roman priesthood's records, and a senior senator (probably) engaged on learned research — but argued with the care and precision which alone could make them usable data for the *magnum opus*.

Up to 1977, all Elizabeth's invited lecturing had been for Part I of the Tripos, but in 1977–8, and again in 1978–9, she shared with Finley a Part II lecture course on Greek history. After that, she was to have two terms' sabbatical. In June 1978 she wrote to the Principal of Somerville to enquire about the chances of spending it in Oxford: 'I'd like to get away from here for a bit, but don't want to go to Rome or elsewhere abroad for long because of my mother, who is getting rather frail.'⁶⁵ Somerville had no room, but Wolfson provided a Visiting Fellowship from January to September 1979; she thus had the enjoyable

⁶² H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* (1907), pp. 433–5, 473–80: respectively *Indigitamenta* and *De etymis deorum*.

⁶³ *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 359–62 (starting from *CIL* III 1074–6 and Macrobius II 11.5).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 272–88, esp. p. 279 on Cic. *Ad familiares* XII 23.4.

⁶⁵ EDR to Mrs Barbara Craig, 3 June 1978 (Somerville College archive).

experience of being a colleague of Sir Ronald Syme. In April of that year, Elizabeth fitted in a visit to Princeton as Short-Term Visiting Fellow; soon after her return, her mother died. As she wrote to Barbara Craig a year later,⁶⁶

She was, I really think, a most remarkable person; but she felt herself that the time had come for her to go, and she did go blessedly quickly . . . I do miss her very much — we always had masses to talk about; and she would have been pleased to talk about the job.

'The job' had come up during her stay in Oxford. From October 1980 she was Fellow and Tutor in Ancient History at Corpus.

Anima naturaliter Oxoniensis (as John Crook described her), Elizabeth returned to Oxford at the age of forty-six, the first woman to be elected to a Tutorial Fellowship in Classics or Ancient History at a former men's college. 'She had found,' writes Fergus Millar, 'her true role in life, . . . her true home.'⁶⁷ Not quite true in the literal sense: Elizabeth kept her mews house in Kensington and as a colleague observed, 'she dressed out of London, not out of Oxford'. But clearly she was very happy at Corpus, where she was Secretary to the Governing Body and Master of Common Room (a title she modestly enjoyed), responsible for the college's pictures and later also for the Fellow's Garden. The President at the time of her appointment was Sir Kenneth Dover, whose judgement is laconically eloquent: 'As a colleague, she was splendid. Never malicious or out of temper, always positive and helpful.'

Elizabeth's later years in Cambridge had been afflicted by arthritic lameness. That was cured in the summer of 1981, when she had a successful hip replacement operation. Independent and well-off since her mother's death,⁶⁸ she was now able to enjoy to the full her taste for travel and the insatiable curiosity about foreign ways that made her conversation so wonderfully well-informed and full of anecdote. And despite her increased teaching load (she always took her teaching very seriously), she had time and energy to spare for such duties as

⁶⁶ EDR to Mrs Craig, 6 May 1980 (Somerville College archive).

⁶⁷ *Roman Culture and Society*, p. v. Professor Millar had helped to arrange the Wolfson Fellowship, and encouraged her to apply for the Corpus post.

⁶⁸ 'While surprised, embarrassed and almost dismissive, she enjoyed what it brought her and was discreetly able to help some people who needed it more than she' (Nicholas Horsfall, n. 97 below).

joint-editor of the new *Cambridge Ancient History* volume IX, and (from 1985) Honorary Secretary of the Roman Society. In the latter capacity she renewed her partnership with Joyce Reynolds, President of the Society from 1986 to 1989, who has attested ‘the steady but unobtrusive service she would give, the balanced and humane judgements she offered, the proposals finely expressed, and with a neat, but never biting, wit.’⁶⁹

Although the tones of that inimitable upper-crust accent cannot be reproduced, with a little imagination we can still hear Elizabeth Rawson in action, in the surviving text of one of her lecture courses.⁷⁰ It was given in 1982 for the ‘Cicero and Catiline’ special subject in Mods, and consisted of four lectures on Sallust’s *Bellum Catilinarium* and four on Cicero’s speeches in 63 BC.

I have in fact just examined for this paper in Mods, and though I thought most of the candidates did very well on the historical side, it was noteworthy that hardly anyone said anything about either historiography or rhetoric. I think in fact that last year there were no lectures specially designed to fill that gap; I shall try to do so as far as I can this term . . .

The first lecture, entitled ‘Sallust and Cicero’, begins with the evidence for Sallust’s political career. As tribune in 52 BC, Sallust may have been a *popularis*, but *popularis* does not mean ‘democrat’:

Democrat he certainly was not; his belief that one must pursue *virtus* and *gloria* whether by deeds or by authorship is individualistic and elitist, indeed an adaptation of the old aristocratic Roman tradition. *Popularis* is in fact a word he never uses; and in the end his analysis of the collapse of Rome might be said to be less *popularis* than Cicero’s; for Sallust declares that one important factor was the restoration of the old powers of the tribunate in 70 BC, which gave young men (irresponsibility is inferred) too much power. Cicero on the other hand, in his difficult, fragmentary but important treatise the *De legibus*, argued that it was right to restore the *tribunicia potestas* in 70: the People was deeply attached to it, it was a check on other ambitious magistrates, and it gave the People leaders who were likely to be more responsible than a mere mob could be. But Sallust seems to have despaired of the Republic, which Cicero never quite did — though if he had lived into the period of the triumvirate as Sallust did he might well have done so.⁷¹

She goes on to point out that according to Asconius, who wrote a life

⁶⁹ From Miss Reynolds’ obituary of EDR in the *Somerville Report*.

⁷⁰ Generously made available by Robert Tannenbaum.

⁷¹ The passages referred to are Sallust *Bell. Cat.* 1.3–4, 38.4, Cicero *De legibus* III 23. Cf. Cicero, p. 161 on whether Cicero did ‘despair of the Republic’ (the *De legibus* was never finished).

of Sallust, there was a tradition that the two men, political enemies in 52 BC, were subsequently reconciled.⁷² But isn't Sallust hostile to Cicero in the *Bellum Catilinarium*? No: 'I think it might be fairest to say that Cicero did not immensely interest Sallust.' And for good reason:

What Sallust is most concerned with is his theme: the corruption of Rome. Since he thinks the conspiracy an episode *typical* of Rome's present corruption, which was indeed apparently worse if anything by the time he came to write, he cannot think that Cicero's success in crushing the conspiracy really changed anything, nor that Cicero was really the saviour of Rome. Hence he omits the honours paid to Cicero by the Senate, especially the hailing of him as *pater patriae* . . .

How different from the crude 'popular party' Sallust that students still pick up from the standard works!⁷³

The second lecture was on historiography, with special reference to the influence of rhetoric — a matter not merely of choice of words and figures of speech, but of the content and organisation of narrative. The third was on Sallust's moral corruption theme, insisting on the title of his work as the *Catilinarian War*. 'Whatever had gone wrong in Rome, it had led to civil wars — wars that were going on as Sallust wrote.' Hence the final scene of the conspiracy, with Catiline as a real Roman *imperator*, his rebel army as legions under the standard of Marius, and his defeat as the mutual killing of friends and kinsmen. The fourth lecture, the last on Sallust, dealt with character-drawing, and in particular the juxtaposition of Caesar and Cato in Chapter 54. The orator and the biographer may give physical details, but not the historian; 'history is interested in ethical characteristics alone.'

In other words, classical historiography is a branch of classical art; and the definition of classicism, I think, is that it simplifies; it in a sense idealises; it omits the accidental in order to get at the essential; it is not interested in the personal idiosyncrasy, physical or even mental, but in the fundamental ethical character of a man.

Sallust contrasted the 'mercy and mildness' of Caesar with Cato's 'severity'.⁷⁴ That was surely significant at the time:

⁷² Asconius 37C; for the *Life of Sallust*, see ps.Acro on Horace *Satires* I 2.41.

⁷³ 'Bias in favour of the "popular" side in Roman politics'; 'political sympathies tending towards the popular, plebeian side': respectively S. A. Handford, *Sallust: Jugurthine War, Conspiracy of Catiline* (Penguin Classics, 1963), p. 10, and S. Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome* (London, 1969), p. 140.

⁷⁴ *Bell. Cat.* 54.2: 'ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat.'

When Caesar was killed, some argued that *clementia* had failed: for example, the Triumvirs did so in an edict prefaced to the first proscription list in 43, if we may trust the historian Appian. But one can well see that shortly after these horrible proscriptions, when Sallust was writing, Caesar's mercifulness might seem profoundly admirable.

The same effortless combination of the generic and the historically specific appears in the later lectures, on Cicero's Catilinarian speeches. For example, why does Cicero make more of the gods when addressing the People than he does in his speeches to the Senate? Not, as some think, because 'the People was deeply superstitious, while the Senate was full of philosophic sceptics', but because the orator mainly uses the high style (to move the emotions) when addressing the People, and the plain style (to persuade) for the Senate; and references to the gods are suitable to the high style only. So no inference is justified: 'Most of the Senate was probably fairly pious, not to say superstitious. Even the Stoic might believe in divination, and anyway the number of senators who had a real philosophical training was limited.'⁷⁵

I have dwelt on these lectures, and quoted from them at length, not only to give an idea of their quality and style, but also because of the particular interest of the Sallustian material. Elizabeth Rawson was concerned with Roman historiography throughout her career; she wrote brilliantly judicious articles on lost histories and on histories that were never written;⁷⁶ but there is nothing — or nothing else — from her pen on the Roman historical writing that survives.⁷⁷

Not that one has any right to grumble: what she did write on is varied enough. Among the papers that appeared during her first two years in Oxford were a pioneering study of the early history of Roman chariot-racing, with far-reaching implications for aristocratic culture in archaic Rome;⁷⁸ a re-examination of M. Crassus' motives for the invasion of Parthia, revealing the importance of his son Publius'

⁷⁵ EDR goes on to refer to the necromantic activities of Nigidius Figulus and Ap. Claudius (see *Intellectual Life*, p. 309f).

⁷⁶ L. Cassius Hemina, L. Calpurnius Piso, Cn. Gellius (*Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 245–71), L. Cornelius Sisenna (ibid. pp. 363–88), Cicero's *Expositio consiliorum suorum* (ibid. pp. 408–15), Sallust's *Historiae* (ibid. pp. 546–69); n. 46 above for Cicero's unwritten history.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Intellectual Life*, pp. vii, 264: Sallust explicitly omitted.

⁷⁸ *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 389–407 (n. 44 above): 'If I am right, a point of some interest about the difference in ethos between the Roman aristocracies of the Early and Middle Republic might seem to emerge.'

ambition to rival Alexander;⁷⁹ and a detailed reconstruction of the life and career of Asclepiades of Bithynia, physician, dietician, and epideictic orator, who is presented as arguably the most original and influential intellectual figure at work in Rome in the late Republic.⁸⁰

In 1985, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* at last appeared. The book is in two parts: 'the first is roughly social history, the second the history of ideas.'⁸¹ Part One discusses the hellenisation of Roman culture, emphasising the effect of the Mithridatic wars in bringing Greek intellectuals to Rome, and the Italian background, including earlier Greek influence from Magna Graecia and hellenised Campania and Etruria. It deals with the conditions of scholarship — libraries, bookshops, lectures, reading habits; it asks how far the Greek authors wrote for a Roman audience; it examines the professional and social status of intellectuals of different kinds, and the consequent variations in the importance of patronage; and it concludes with a discussion of Atticus, Pompey and Caesar as figures representing a period of transition to the conditions of the Principate. Part Two, 'simply descriptive', is a systematic account of what is known about the state of the different *artes* or *disciplinae* in the late Republic: grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, mathematics, medicine, architecture, law, historiography, antiquarianism, geography, literary study, philosophy, and theology. There is no dedication, but an epigraph from Cicero: 'Indagatio ipsa rerum habet oblectationem; si vero aliquid occurrit quod veri simile videatur, humanissima completur animus voluptate.'⁸²

The book got a very mixed reception. Elizabeth herself, conscious of its imperfections, began her preface defensively:⁸³

This book is perhaps an arbitrary one; no complete defence can be given for what it includes and what it leaves out. Above all, intellectual life in the Ciceronian Age without Cicero himself must be Hamlet without the Prince . . .

⁷⁹ *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 416–26: '[Publius'] influence on the events of his time was very great, though perhaps wholly disastrous.'

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 427–43: 'Unfortunately, knowledge of his life has gone backwards since the eighteenth century . . .'

⁸¹ *Intellectual Life*, p. viii — respectively chaps. 1–7, 8–20.

⁸² Cic. *Academica* II 127 (slightly abbreviated): 'The investigation itself is a delight; but what fills the mind with the most humane of pleasures is if an idea occurs that seems to be probable.'

⁸³ *Intellectual Life*, p. vii.

But what the reviewers complained about was, on the one hand, the impact of the sheer mass of material ('the writing does little to spice a necessarily stodgy dish'; 'about as easy to read as a volume of Pully-Wissowa'),⁸⁴ and on the other, the absence of an overall argument or hypothesis. There is truth in both these charges, but they seem to betray a certain lack of gratitude for what *is* provided. The book does indeed aim at encyclopaedic coverage, and the paragon who could make that an easy read has yet to manifest himself. As for the second complaint, Elizabeth Rawson knew it was coming, and had her answer:⁸⁵

The historian must make generalisations; it is the condition of his understanding his material. ['So far the concession to Finley,' comments the most perceptive of the critics.]⁸⁶ But a historical generalisation means nothing, is totally empty, without the concrete details from which it emerges and to which it lends significance. There are a number of phrases that we use somewhat glibly when talking of the first century B.C. at Rome. What does 'Graeco-Roman civilisation' really mean? Or 'increasing orientalisation'? Or 'the dominating influence of Stoicism'? How far can 'the practical Roman mind' really be contrasted with a more abstract Greek cast of thought? The answers given often rest on too narrow a basis, most often a purely literary one... Perhaps some of the material in this book can help us to start building more securely.

What is on offer is 'the concrete details', as they had never been assembled before. The book is justly described as 'a landmark: a monument of formidable learning, an unprecedented assault on a subject as difficult as it is important.'⁸⁷

The presiding genius of the work is of course the master-antiquarian M. Terentius Varro. His lost work *Disciplinae* defined the world of scholarship in nine books, the order of which is reproduced in chapters 8–13: Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric; Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, Music (all subsumed in chapter 11, 'The Mathematical Arts'); Medicine, Architecture. The fact that that is never made explicit, the information being provided piecemeal in three different places,⁸⁸ illustrates part of the problem; so too does the inadequate cross-referen-

⁸⁴ D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *TLS* 85 (20 June 1986), 672; G. W. Bowersock, *Phoenix*, 42 (1988), 272–4.

⁸⁵ *Intellectual Life*, p. ix. Cf. *Spartan Tradition*, p. 272 ('if one must generalize...').

⁸⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, loc. cit. (n. 61 above), 230f.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 225. Wallace-Hadrill's review article, admiring but not uncritical, 'builds on the material' in just the way EDR envisaged.

⁸⁸ *Intellectual Life*, pp. 117, 158, 170.

cing, an authorial 'as we have seen' sending the reader back, without a guide, to hunt through a hundred or more dense pages for the previous discussion;⁸⁹ and above all, for a work that will always be much used for reference, the computer-generated index is hopelessly un-analytic. All of that, enough to explain the grumpy reviews, is regrettable but secondary, and in a sense predictable.

Elizabeth Rawson was simultaneously a profoundly erudite scholar and a person of taste and culture, widely read and civilised in the broadest sense. Her style, at its best supple, elegant and a little mannered, reflects the latter side of her personality more easily than the former. Rather than Varro, the figure of Atticus again suggests itself as an analogue:

We cannot linger here on Atticus' role as a connoisseur of the visual arts, except to note his dislike of extravagant building and collecting, and the sense of period that made him prefer the old-fashioned simplicity of his uncle's house in Rome, or on his love of poetry, which he read delightfully . . .

Atticus had inherited his uncle's house on the Quirinal, and refused to modernise it.⁹⁰ One thinks of the house in Florence, so redolent of the *ottocento*, where Elizabeth's cousin Bona Sabilla Gigliucci, granddaughter of Clara Novello, lived until 1982.

The competing demands of elegance and erudition, which make *Intellectual Life*, momentous though it is, a less than wholly satisfying work, remind us of the rival pursuits of historiography and antiquarianism in Rome. Elizabeth Rawson spent much of her life investigating both, and her sympathies were most closely engaged by those who combined the virtues of each.⁹¹ A little outside her usual chronological range was Q. Asconius Pedianus, who wrote commentaries (dedicated to his sons) on Cicero's speeches. In a review in 1986, Elizabeth gently exposed the limitations of a modern commentary on Asconius, in particular the author's lack of sensitivity to the generic and social issues involved.⁹²

It is true that Asconius is called a *vir historicus* by Jerome. Why, when all

⁸⁹ Three (extreme) examples out of many: pp. 256 (Alexander Polyhistor on Italy), 284 (the origin of Rabirius the Epicurean), 299 (the decline of the Etruscan language), referring back respectively to pp. 36, 23 and 28.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 100, cf. p. 235; *Nepos Atticus* 13.2.

⁹¹ Cicero, of course, but also Timaeus: *Roman Culture and Society*, p. 79 ('such a man, both artist and scholar, is the complete historian of antiquity'); cf. *Intellectual Life*, p. 234.

⁹² *Liverpool Classical Monthly*, 11.5 (May 1986), 80. (Appian and Plutarch refer to Varro as a historian.)

his known works seem to be firmly in the tradition of the *grammatici*? One may perhaps compare what is said about Varro, who also did not write real history; it may be relevant that one would not call a gentleman, who did not teach, a *grammaticus* . . . Perhaps also if a gentleman wrote a commentary — a form that suggests the actual teacher — he was wise to make it clear that he had done it for his sons.

Who else would have picked up that delicate point? Elizabeth herself was both a lady and a teacher, and no less a historian for being a learned scholar.

Intellectual Life was the culmination of nearly thirty years' work. What next? It is clear where her interests were now leading — towards the theatre, and the social and intellectual context of drama in Italy and Rome. Two major articles in the *Papers* of the British School at Rome (1985, 1987), and a fine discussion of the theatre as a source of moral instruction (in the Festschrift for John Bramble, 1987),⁹³ show how long-lasting her father's influence and her own youthful enthusiasm had been. She was now taking a keen interest in the work of Charlotte Roueché on the theatre-inscriptions of Aphrodisias.⁹⁴

But it is clear that Elizabeth was in no hurry to undertake another major work. 'She had, in effect, cleared her desk,'⁹⁵ and when an invitation came to spend a term teaching Greek and Roman history in China, at Nankai University (Tienjin), she accepted it with pleasure as an opportunity and a challenge. She set about studying Chinese history, and learning as much as she could of the language, and looked forward with eagerness to the chance to travel somewhere so unfamiliar.

In June 1988 Elizabeth Rawson was elected a Fellow of the Academy. It was certainly not before time; and as it turned out, the Academy was to see tragically little of her. She left for Nankai in October.

The visit was a great success, on both sides. Her hosts appreciated both her scholarship and her gentle courtesy; as for Elizabeth herself,⁹⁶

despite the barriers to full communication she liked her students and was an enthusiastic visitor of monuments. In her letters the descriptions, particularly of the more remote of these, are vivid and evocative and thoroughly happy.

⁹³ *Roman Culture and Society*, pp. 468–87, 508–45, 570–81; *ibid.* p. 237, and *Intellectual Life*, pp. 22, 33, 53, for her interest in the overlap of comedy and philosophy; and see the Bibliography for two uncollected pieces, on Plautus and on Roman mime.

⁹⁴ Charlotte Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (*JRS* Monograph 6, London, 1993): p. viii for EDR's contribution.

⁹⁵ Joyce Reynolds, *loc. cit.* (n. 69 above).

⁹⁶ Joyce Reynolds, obituary in *The Independent* (15 December 1988).

But she pushed herself too hard. She was limping again, with arthritis in the other hip, and by the end of the term, when she was determined to fit in all the sites she hadn't seen, the weather was cold and the heating poor. In Beijing in early December, preparing for her journey home, she could not shake off what she thought was a persistent cold. On 9 December she fainted at her hotel, but insisted that she would be all right, and was put to bed. She was found dead the next morning. The autopsy revealed pneumonia followed by a heart attack.

At the Memorial Service in Oxford two months later, the first Lesson was from Job ('Where shall wisdom be found?'), and the second from Tennyson's *Ulysses*:

How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use!

This account ('memoir' is not the word) is written by one who admired Elizabeth Rawson's scholarship and liked her greatly as a person, but could not claim to be a close friend. Perhaps few people could. Nicholas Horsfall, who had a better claim than most, describes her as 'an exceedingly complex person and a very private one indeed'. A few months after her death he talked to three people who had known her well:⁹⁷

I did so very carefully, deliberately and separately, since I wanted if possible to help both the Academy's obituarist and indeed myself, since I am not usually slow to seize the pen, and was trying to work out what had held me back.

We came up with four different people, quite seriously. One supposes that that must have been the result of a very conscious decision on her part, to reveal very little and to do so differently to different people, preferring not to be known well and if not in her entirety then at least largely, by anyone, even among those who appeared in her later years to count in Oxford among her intimates. So, in one sense, the core, the essence, the kernel of the matter is simply not there for the having, by her choice . . .

E. herself lived by curious and complicated rules of secrecy; she could indeed herself be most provokingly and inconveniently discreet; on the other hand there were evenings when she had a great need to let her hair down (never literally!) and I have sat amazed and appalled at the things I have heard.

(Somehow, one is pleased to hear that; her self-discipline and self-control surely needed a safety-valve.)

⁹⁷ Memorandum to TPW, July 1989.

Outside her family, the person closest to Elizabeth was Robert Tannenbaum. He sees it somewhat differently:⁹⁸

Why was it so difficult for her to trust others? Always the same reason: she never outgrew her childhood shyness. She lamented, all her life, that this put a barrier between her and others, but there was nothing she could do about it. For all her charm, for all her encyclopaedic intelligence, she was convinced she wasn't worth knowing, that no-one could seriously take an interest in her. And, of course, no-one who met her could believe she could believe such a thing. Thence the mystery of Elizabeth: why does this clearly fascinating woman hold back? Hauteur, some supposed (must be a question of class, surely?). A complex personality's love of mystification, said others. But no-one had less sense of superiority, and less pose, than Elizabeth. She was probably the most straightforward person I ever knew. Only she was constitutionally unsure of herself, so much so that she could not *be* herself, could never be entirely free or forthcoming, in any company. That's the heart of the mystery.

But if the private person was hard to reach, the public persona was generously offered. Visiting ancient historians in Oxford were always delighted by her hospitality. Dr Horsfall offers a nice sketch of Elizabeth as a social being:

Too modest about her cooking, a marvellous hostess, a tremendous guest, great lover of good food, drink and talk. Drawn out, I would say, better by women than by men; very good with the young, when they learned (i) not to be in awe and (ii) not not to be in awe, either.

Her ashes rest in Corpus Fellows' Garden, in a casket made by her brother John. A slate tablet with a fine Latin inscription (text by Robin Nisbet) marks the spot. Around a doorway in the Old Lodgings, overlooking the garden, a stained glass memorial by Martha Henry incorporates in its design the Attic owl, the Roman eagle, the Corpus pelican, and the dome of New Hall. And in places far beyond Oxford she is remembered with affection and respect.⁹⁹

Die Teilnehmer des Symposiums [Berlin, July 1988] beklagen zutiefst den Verlust dieser herausragenden Gelehrten, die sie als menschlich wie wissenschaftlich vorbildliche Kollegin in Erinnerung behalten werden.

T. P. WISEMAN
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⁹⁸Letter to TPW, 11 Dec. 1993.

⁹⁹W. Eder (ed.), *Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik* (Stuttgart, 1990), p. 158.

Note. I am grateful above all to John Rawson, Deborah Jeffs, Joyce Reynolds and Robert Tannenbaum; also to Fergus Millar, for letting me have the text of his address at the Memorial Service. Among the others whose memories I have solicited are Elizabeth Anscombe, Glen Bowersock, Ewen Bowie, Celia Clarke, Barbara Craig, John Crook, Sir Kenneth Dover, Ruth Finnegan, Miriam Griffin, Bernard Hamilton, Robin Hammond, Jane Hands, Harry Jocelyn, Ted Kenney, Tony Luttrell, Ruth Lynden-Bell, Gladys Murray, Dame Rosemary Murray, Anthony Podlecki, Margaret Reinhold, Brian Rhodes, Margaret Rigal, Sir Keith Thomas, Dorothy Thompson and Daphne Williamson.

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