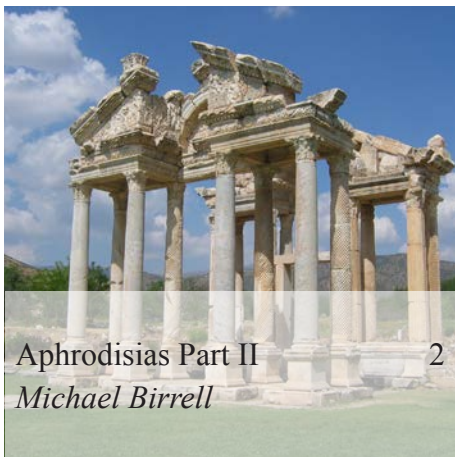


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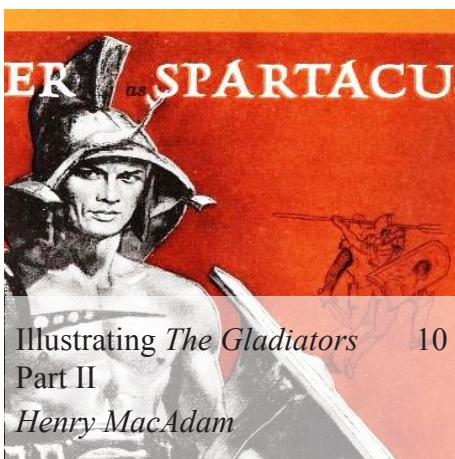
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Changes at UWA *David Kennedy retires*



David during the 2017 Aerial Archaeology season. Photograph: Don Boyer.

It's hard to believe that our illustrious Chairperson David Kennedy has gone 'off the books' of UWA after 27 years (1990-2017), 41 years since he took his first lectureship at the University of Sheffield in 1976. John Melville-Jones summarises his career to date for RAG. We have no doubt there are more great things to come out of his 'retirement'.

David Kennedy was born in Scotland, but chose to study at Sassenach universities. He had great success at Manchester (where he took his first degree, majoring in Ancient History and Archaeology), and then moved to Oxford, where he achieved a Doctorate of Philosophy (D.Phil.) in 1980. By that time (1976) he had gained a position at Sheffield University, which was followed by two years at Reading University and a move to Boston University. But since he had two brothers who had established themselves in Western Australia, and had seen what a good place Perth was to live and bring up a family, he moved to UWA in 1990, and has used it as his base ever since.

David developed a major research interest after gaining access to aerial photographs of Jordan taken before the Second World War by Antoine Poidebard, Sir Aurel Stein, and others, which compelled him to set up an Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East in 1978. Since 1997 he has spent many hours flying over Jordan in helicopters to add more material. His work has been aided by the fact that Jordan is an amazingly peaceful country compared with its neighbours, and also

by establishing his credibility and trustworthiness with the Jordanian royal family and the Royal Jordanian Air Force. To retain his standing with the Jordanians, he felt that it was essential that he go there every year, to show that he was not losing interest, to publish the result of his work regularly, and to make the large corpus of aerial photography digitally available. In these endeavours he was supported by funding from the Packhard Humanities Institute (2008-2015), and others.

His work has been so widely recognised that he has been elected to the prestigious British Society of Antiquaries, as well as the Australian Academy of the Humanities, and he has been welcomed as a Member of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton twice.

David has published a long series of books, as well as articles in journals and book chapters. The list of books alone is greater than most academics achieve.

In addition, after he had arranged two very successful tours to Roman sites and museums in Britain in 2004 and 2005, he started an organisation called the 'Roman Archaeology Group', which has thrived. Now that he is going 'off the payroll', he will continue to take an interest in its activities.

For the immediate future, David's retirement is likely to look much like his pre-retirement: he will continue to engage in archaeology (with fieldwork in Greece and Jordan planned), and boomerang between Perth and Oxford. He will be marking his 70th birthday with two weeks of hiking in Spain.

Editor's note: You can keep up to date with David's impressive publication output through the APAAME website: <http://www.apaame.org/p/publications.html>

Aphrodisias: an ancient Roman city in Turkey. Part II. *Michael Birrell*



The Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias.

In our last issue, Dr. Michael Birrell introduced us to the site of Aphrodisias in Turkey. Here he takes us on an exploration of the site's many individual architectural features, complimenting Norah Cooper's Vol. 9 Iss. 1 article in RAG, which focused on the sculpture of the Sebasteion.

Temple of Aphrodite

The temple of Aphrodite, the main cult place of the town, is located in the northern part of the site and was clearly the focal point of the entire settlement. Traces of an early phase have been detected in the vicinity. The recovered pottery and assorted artefacts suggest a date in the Archaic Period (7th to 6th centuries BC) for this earlier structure.

The temple that can be seen today was octastyle (meaning that it had 8 columns across the façade), and there were 13 columns along the sides. The temple was completed in the period of the Emperor Augustus (27 BC – AD 14). In the 5th Century AD the temple was remodelled into a Christian basilica with major alterations to the building. The temple was transformed by the removal of the sanctuary walls – in fact it was turned inside out! The front and side columns were shifted to create a nave and two side aisles. An apse and atrium were added on the east and west sides.

Agora

The heart of the ancient city was the agora, a large public market area, which was planned in the late 1st Century BC and developed thereafter. It lay south of the temple of Aphrodite, not far from the so-called 'acropolis' hill. It consisted of 2 long Ionic porticos which stretched east-west over a length of 200 m. The south portico was investigated under the 1937 Italian mission and has been further cleared by the New York University programme of excavations under the direction of Kenan

Erim. This work has identified a number of sections of magnificent friezes and a dedicatory inscription which honours the Emperor Tiberius (AD 14-37), giving the structure its moniker the 'Portico of Tiberius'. The friezes were decorated with masks in the form of individual faces which are joined by garlands. Opening off to the south of the Agora, in the south-west corner, was a large Roman basilica, that is, an administrative building and law court. It appears to have been constructed in the late 1st Century AD.

Theatre

One of the best preserved structures of the city is the theatre, which was constructed in the later part of the 1st Century BC, probably during the reign of Augustus. The eastern slope of the prehistoric Acropolis mound was utilised as the support for their new play house. Excavations started here only in 1966 as the town of old Geyre's houses covered the slope of the hill and obscured most of the complex. What archaeologists discovered was one of the best preserved theatres in Western Asia!

The 1st Century BC construction date is suggested by the dedicatory inscription on the façade of the stage building. The proscenium of the stage was a gift of Gaius Julius Zoilos and was dedicated to 'Aphrodite and the People of the City'. Zoilos was a former slave of Octavian Augustus who came from the city. He appears



The open space of the ruined Agora at Aphrodisias.



The theatre at Aphrodisias.



The Odeon.

to have played a part in obtaining a special status for his city, namely that it be declared 'free and tax exempt'.

The stage building had six vaulted rooms which were used for dressing and storing stage equipment. Four of these rooms opened onto the corridor behind the proscaenium. The north stage corridor, or *parados*, was inscribed during the 2nd or 3rd Centuries AD with a number of texts relating to the history of the city. The surface is inscribed with a beautiful Greek script, preserved to a height of 5 m and approximately 15 m in length. The passages are of official correspondence from Roman leaders and Emperors from the Late Republican Period through to the middle of the 3rd Century AD, for example, the Senatorial decree which conferred special status and privileges on the city of Aphrodisias, and Julius Caesar's dedication of a golden statue of Eros to Aphrodite and her temple.

A number of changes were made to the theatre in the 2nd Century AD. The main objective of the new work was to convert the theatre so that it could be used for sports more in keeping with Roman taste such as gladiatorial combat, wrestling matches, animal baiting and even animal hunts. The orchestra was deepened by removing the lowest 2 or 3 rows of seats and replacing them with a vertical wall which protected the spectators from the violent activities which took place in the old orchestra pit.

Odeon

The town Odeon is located to the south of the temple of Aphrodite and is very well preserved. What is remarkable, considering its state of preservation, is that it was only discovered in 1962 lying under the houses of the local village. The Odeon was originally a roofed building with a capacity of about 1000 spectators. It was used for all sorts of purposes where a more intimate enclosed space was required including concerts, pantomime, and music performances. It also functioned as the city council chambers and was a place for public lectures and meetings.

Only the lower part of the auditorium is well preserved, the upper sections having been robbed away. The collapse appears to have taken place in the 4th Century AD when there were major earthquakes in the area.



The Tetrapylon, or 'Gate' of Aphrodite.

The floor of the semi-circular orchestra was paved with beautiful *opus sectilium* floor, inlaid with large pieces of marble. The *pulpitum* of the stage was richly decorated with statues which adorned the niches of the stage complex. Many of these sculptures were found fallen on the floor of the stage or in the pit of the orchestra. A portico behind the stage to the south was also decorated with full length portraits of notables from Aphrodisias.

Sebasteion (see also *RAG* Vol. 9 Iss. 1)

One of the most unusual and significant buildings discovered at Aphrodisias is a remarkable structure dedicated to the Imperial Roman cult which is known as the 'Sebasteion'. This religious complex was named after Sebastos, the Greek version of Augustus, and was devoted to the cult of the deified Emperor Augustus and members of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty – the family claimed descent from Aphrodite/Venus and as a result had a strong ideological link with this city. The complex was unearthed in 1979 when the village houses of Geyre were demolished. In its day, the Sebasteion was one of the most spectacular buildings in the Classical world.

The Sebasteion was located in the southern part of the city to the east of the agora. The building is not aligned with the agora or any other structure in the city and may have been converted from an earlier shrine. It consisted of 2 long parallel porticos facing each other and separated by a paved processional road about 14 m wide. At the western end the porticos were joined by a monumental gateway which gave access to a street running north-south. At the opposite end of the road was a flight of steps which led onto a platform where a temple of the divine Emperor once stood.

The porticos presented a facade which was similar to a theatre stage. They consisted of 3 storeys of superimposed colonnaded, the lowest order being Doric, with smaller Ionic and Corinthian columns decorating the upper arcades. A very large number of decorated panels were discovered outside the porticos and these undoubtedly came originally from the spaces between the columns of the upper two storeys. The south portico

The RAG

had reliefs portraying mythological scenes such as the birth of Eros, the Three Graces, Apollo at Delphi, the hero Meleager, Achilles and Penthesilea, and the infant Dionysus. The upper arcades were decorated with panels representing members of the imperial family and included Augustus, Germanicus, Lucius and Gaius Caesar, Claudius and Agrippina. It also showed other mythological scenes such as the liberation of Prometheus, and Aeneas fleeing from Troy. The most interesting scenes show Claudius defeating Britannia and Nero defeated Armenia. All scenes are identified by inscriptions on their bases.

The temple at the end of the compound does not survive – only a few architectural elements such as column drums and bases remain. In the period between the 5th and 7th Centuries the area was used as a market but it completely collapsed in the 7th Century AD. Much of the material was later taken away to be used in the defensive walls which were built around the city.

The Baths of Hadrian

The Emperor Hadrian made a number of significant changes to the city, providing funds for new civic amenities and a grand new gateway to the Temple of Aphrodite. As was common under his administration, the Emperor gave funds for the construction of a new bath complex so that the citizens of Aphrodisias could relax in typical Roman style.

The Baths of Hadrian lie 200 m west of the agora. They consist of a huge central hall flanked by a symmetrical group of buildings on either side. The rooms include the frigidarium (cold water baths), tepidarium (warm water baths), and caldarium (hot baths). There is a complex of underground passages which were used by the staff, as well as furnace rooms for heating the water.

The Tetracylon

One of the most beautiful monuments from the site is the new gateway into the Aphrodite compound which was probably built during the period of the Emperor Hadrian (middle of the 2nd Century AD). The structure is a tetracylon, a monumental gateway with 4 rows of columns creating a crossroad.

The main axis was east-west. The front had spiral-fluted Corinthian columns. A broken pediment with a semi-circular lintel occurred on either side of the gateway, the one on the western side being lavishly decorated with relief figures of Erotes and Nikes who are hunting amongst acanthus leaves.

The Stadium

At the northern edge of the city, the stadium of Aphrodisias is one of the best preserved examples from the ancient world. It is 262 m long and 59 m wide with two semi-circular ends to accommodate the maximum number of spectators. The long sides are not parallel, but are in fact slightly bowed to enable spectators to have an unimpeded view of the action. It is estimated that about 30,000 people could comfortably be seated. The size of the monument is disproportionate to the number of residents of the city and it is highly likely that it catered to citizens from the surrounding district who would have come to Aphrodisias for specific well advertised events.

The stadium in this instance was not used for horse racing but for most of its life was the arena for athletic competition, a Greek pastime. Later in its history, during the Roman period, the eastern portion of the arena was converted into an arena for animal shows in which gladiators fought with wild beasts.

School of Sculpture

The last 30 years of excavations at the site of Aphrodisias have identified a thriving school of sculpture and marble carving activities. The theory was first proposed by archaeologist Maria Squarciapino and is further demonstrated by the repeated discovery of works of sculpture with the name of the artist clearly inscribed. Marble quarries, located in the Salbakos Mountains (the modern Baba Dag) to the north-east of the city, undoubtedly played a part in the development of sculpture at the site.

An extraordinary amount of sculpture has been found at the city. In addition there are a large number of practice pieces, and unfinished works. The school appears to have been in existence for about 600 years, stretching from the 1st Century BC until the end of the 5th Century AD. It developed into one of the most important schools in the Mediterranean area, undoubtedly enhanced by Imperial patronage and the peaceful conditions provided by the *pax Romana*. Sculptural work from Aphrodisias was shipped throughout the Empire.

Defensive Wall

The city of Aphrodisias was protected by a large defensive wall in the Late Roman Period. This is roughly circular and has a perimeter of about 3.5 km with four principle gates located at the main cardinal points.



The Stadium.

There are also a series of watch towers. Together the area encompassed measures 494 hectares. The walls were probably built during the mid 3rd Century AD through to the 4th Century AD when the Empire was under threat from invasion. The Goths invaded in the AD 260s and created a great deal of panic amongst inhabitants of cities in Western Asia – it is possible that the first defensive walls date from this period although they appear to have been developed in the subsequent century.

Later City and Decline

The city of Aphrodisias became an administrative centre in the 3rd Century AD and during the reign of Diocletian it was made the capital of the province of Caria. It was subsequently incorporated into the eastern half of the Empire and thus became part of the Byzantine Empire in the 4th Century. The advent of Christianity saw the establishment of a Bishopric but this did not eradicate the fervent devotion to the goddess Aphrodite. In the 5th Century AD the name ‘Aphrodisias’ and ‘Aphrodite’ was systematically eradicated from all visible inscriptions in the city as a means of destroying any lingering connection with the old religion. The name Stavropolis ‘City of the Cross’ was instituted but did not become popular. It became more common for the city to be called simply ‘Caria’ – in the Turkish period this became ‘Geyre’.

The area of Aphrodisias was affected by two major earthquakes in the 4th Century (between AD 350 and 360) which appear to have knocked down many of the buildings – these were not rebuilt but were simply robbed of their stone for new construction work. Much of the city also experienced a rise in the water table with consequent flooding in this period. Another major earthquake during the 7th Century, under the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (AD 610-41), caused severe damage and left most of Aphrodisias in ruins. The subsequent period saw invasions from the east by the Persians, religious strife, political and economic chaos – all of which hastened the decline of the once great city.

Today the substantial and picturesque ruins at the site remind us that Aphrodisias was a once flourishing and dynamic city under the Roman Empire.

When in Rome ...

Anyone who's visited Rome knows that however much you thought there was to see, there's always more. Some of those 'extras' are completely missed by the vast majority of visitors. Here you tell us what we need to keep an eye out for on our next visit to our favourite ancient city.



The Tomb of Bibulus. Photograph: Guy de la Bédoyère.

The Tomb of Bibulus

The Tomb of Bibulus in the Piazza Venezia is so incongruous a survival it seems impossible it could have escaped being cleared away long ago. It's on a little patch of grass right next to the gigantic Vittorio Emanuele Monument (the 'Wedding Cake'), slap bang in the heart of Rome. Hardly anyone visits it. Instead, taxis, buses and scooters thunder by, and tourists normally entirely fail to notice this bedraggled little piece of masonry as they wander through the imperial forums. The tomb dates to the 1st Century BC and it once stood by the Porta Fontinalis on the old Republican city wall just where the Via Flaminia started. As Rome expanded the tomb was gradually absorbed into the built-up area. This structure commemorated an 'aedile of the plebs' called Gaius Poplicius Bibulus who served in 209 BC and perhaps died in office – this would explain why he was honoured with such a prominent tomb, paid for at public expense, in a zone around the city which ought to have been free of funerary monuments. The discrepancy in dates can be explained by the fact that the tomb which stands now is actually a rebuilding, probably by his 1st century BC descendants anxious to bask in the inherited prestige of belonging to his family and advertise that to passers-by. It's amazing that the tomb is still there, so next time you're in Rome pay Bibulus a visit.

Guy de la Bédoyère

The Colossi of the Quirinal

This photo was taken in the Piazza del Quirinale, named for the hill on which it stands – the Quirinal Hill. It depicts monumental statues of the ‘Horse Tamers’, also known as the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, at the base of a 14.5 m obelisk.

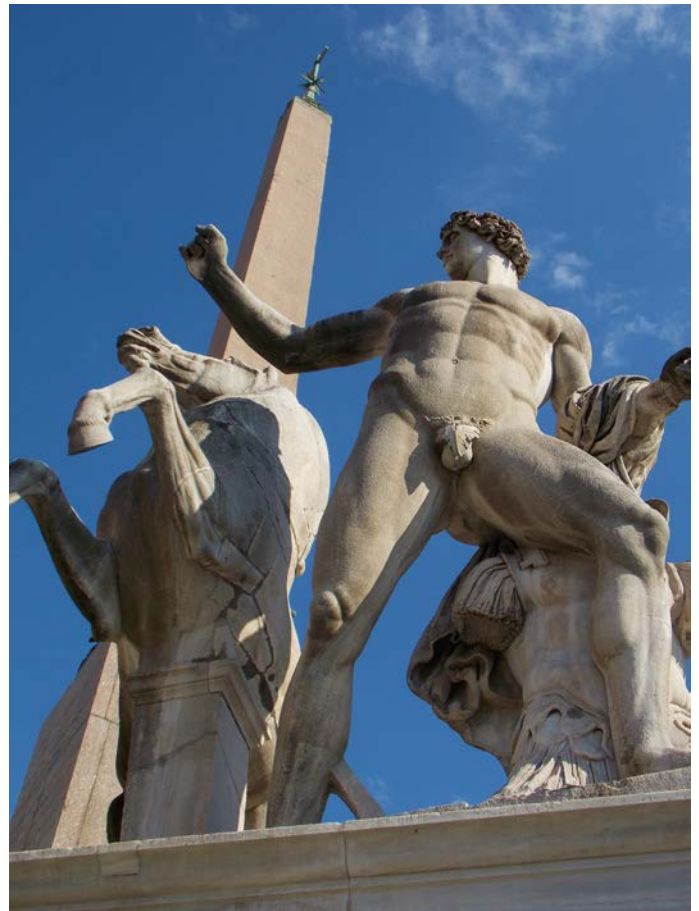
When I took the photo the following thought went through my mind:

“I live among giants. Endlessly stretching to the heavens, these titans rule over a world that scarcely notices me. Their physical perfection and size serve me as a reminder of how insignificant I am. But then again, I am only an ant! Created by the God that also created the hands that crafted this towering image.

I wonder, if the hands that crafted this work of art realized, that it stands right above my home? Created by my colony of ancestral brothers and sisters, giants in their own right. Providing the lasting foundation for you to display your perceived superior intellect and power.”

Frank Padua

The ‘Horse Tamers’ are believed to have been on the Quirinal Hill since the 4th-5th Century, then located in the Baths of Constanine. The obelisk erected between the ‘Horse Tamers’ however was one of a pair originally set up at the Mausoleum of Augustus. The obelisk was erected in this location in 1786 by Pope Pius VI. The other obelisk is now in the Piazza del Esquilino. The large granite basin that stands before the group was taken from the Roman Forum, where it was used for watering cattle, and placed here in the 19th Century.



The ‘Horse Tamers’ in the Piazza del Quirinale.

Photograph: Frank Padua



The Pantheon. Photograph: Rebecca Norman.

The Pantheon

My favourite site in Rome is the Pantheon, a magnificent edifice, which encapsulates everything I love about the Eternal City. An astonishing example of elegant engineering, the current building – commissioned by the Emperor Hadrian, in AD 120-5 – is believed to be the third incarnation of a temple first built by Marcus Agrippa in 27 BC. Originally a temple dedicated to ‘All Gods’ the Pantheon, was ‘appropriated’ by the Catholic Church AD 609 and reconsecrated into a Christian building honouring one god. It has remained an active church and subsequently the burial place for several famous Italians including Raphael, Vittorio Emanuele II and Umberto I,

explaining why the Pantheon remains the best preserved of all ancient Roman buildings. Although partially restored by Pope Benedict, the building has been robbed and repaired several times throughout its history. Thankfully, the great bronze doors and much of its original interior has been preserved, leaving us a hint of what might have been, had other buildings from antiquity survived intact. Being able to walk through the Pantheon, across the same floor on which an emperor trod nearly two thousand years ago, is a rare privilege. Here, the past exists along side the present, somehow making history more tangible and this beautiful building will continue to inspire me.

Rebecca Norman



Sites from Glenda Judge's walk from Trastevere to the Palazzo Farnese. Photographs: Glenda Judge.



The painted garden of the suburban Villa of Livia Drusilla. Photograph: Glenda Judge.

Walking Rome

I've had a few short stays in Rome and never tire of it.

Last September a friend and I enjoyed five nights in an apartment on Piazza San Cosimato in Trastevere. From there we walked for 20 minutes to the non-Catholic Cemetery and adjoining Pyramid of Cestio, the monumental tomb of Caius Cestius, Roman magistrate, built between 18 and 12 BC along the Via Ostiensis, its shape inspired by an exotic taste for Egyptian architecture which spread in Rome after the conquest of Egypt. It was later incorporated in the city's defensive walls built by Emperor Aurelian between AD 272 and 279.

We followed the wall to the intersection of Porta San Sebastiano, opposite the entrance to Via Appia. It was interesting to compare the lengthy stretch of obviously Roman built wall, irregular and patched with a variety of materials, with the 16th Century section crowned by the Farnese coat of arms of its sponsor Pope Paul III. We returned to the city centre via the Baths of Caracalla. By sheer coincidence that evening we discovered the Palazzo Farnese, Pope Paul III's residence (for many years now the heavily-guarded French Embassy) was open to the public and its vast, muralled walls and ceilings were spectacular.

Palazzo Massimo

Another favourite from my stay in Rome last September was the Palazzo Massimo, National Roman Museum, at the Largo di Villa Peretti, Rome. It is just a short walk from the Roma Termini and with its own secure luggage area it is ideal if you have a couple of hours to fill on arrival or prior to departure. Spanning four floors this museum has a wonderful collection of sculptures and portraiture, including Greek originals discovered in Rome; frescoes and mosaics from prestigious Roman dwellings, and coins, jewels, and personal effects. The frescoed panels from the Villa of Livia are surprisingly well preserved:

"This lush painted garden covered the walls of a semi-subterranean chamber, probably a cool triclinium (dining room) for summer banquets, in the suburban Villa of Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus." (<http://archeorama.beniculturali.it/>)

Glenda Judge

Editor's Note: We are eager to hear from you about the hidden gems or favourites you have found in and about Rome. Please send an image and text to rebecca.banks@graduate.uwa.edu.au for inclusion in our next issue of RAG.

Illustrating *The Gladiators* Edith Simon's Lost Sketches for Arthur Koestler's *Spartacus* Novel *Henry MacAdam*

This is Part 2 of a two-part essay on the collaboration between Edith Simon and Arthur Koestler on the translation of his novel about the Third Servile War. In the first segment (*RAG* Vol. 12 Iss. 1, May 2017) I outlined how and when artist and novelist met in London in 1936 and agreed to work on the translation of *Der Sklavenkrieg* even though Koestler had written only half of the text. Completion of the novel took until the summer of 1938, and the translation wasn't finished until the end of that year. In this segment I want to focus on the letters to Simon from Koestler while that process was underway, correspondence that she saved until her death in 2003, and is now among her personal papers being



Figure 1. Inge (left) and Edith Simon c. 1938 in London. Drawn by Edith Simon.

archived at the National Library of Scotland. The NLS's announcement of the Edith Simon Archive by Sally Harrower, Manuscripts Curator, just appeared in their publication: "Creative Force", *Discover*: (Issue # 35 Summer 2017) 10-13. Those letters also provide some context to the unfolding plot of *The Gladiators*, and Simon's drawings in turn evolved during her translation of it. Plot and sketches also deserve attention.

There is a total of twelve letters and notes, written between late 1936 and late 1940, from Koestler to Simon. All but one can be dated to month, day, and year with certainty, and the chronological place of the undated letter is reasonably established from internal evidence. Simon is addressed throughout as "Liebe Edith" ("Dear Edith"); Koestler signs all letters and most notes very formally: "Herzlichst Dein ("Sincerely Yours"), Koestler". There are also two dated business letters from publishers, one to Koestler and the other to Simon. On the reverse of one typed page from him is a handwritten draft of detailed notes by her about the translation in progress, which probably became a letter to him on that topic. There is one handwritten note from 1940 from Koestler's girlfriend Daphne Hardy to Simon. This correspondence cache will be transcribed, and the German letters translated into English, before publication by me with commentary. As readers of *RAG* already know, Simon's sketches are being published here for the first time.

Space allows only the briefest summary of the letters. Two aspects that may be of interest are (1) that Simon was only nineteen when she accepted the translating job, and (2) that Koestler micro-managed Simon's translation, not so much because he mistrusted her abilities, but because he himself was competent in reading and writing English and could offer cogent advice on literary techniques. It is clear from the first letter (26 December 1936) that Koestler expected much progress to be made during 1937. He was on assignment early in the New Year as a correspondent for a London paper to cover the Spanish Civil War that began in 1936. Unexpectedly he was arrested by pro-Franco forces in February, summarily tried as a Communist spy, and sentenced to death. An international effort allowed him to be freed in a prisoner exchange in May, and he spent the summer of 1937 in London writing an account of that war and his imprisonment (*Spanish Testament*, 1937). He conferred with Simon: she lived in a flat with her parents and younger sister (Inge). Edith drew a self-portrait (including Inge) at that time (figure 1).

It is evident that by early December 1937 Koestler had interested a London publisher in his novel: Stanley Went, on behalf of several editors at Putnam's, agreed that if "three or four chapters" of AK's novel

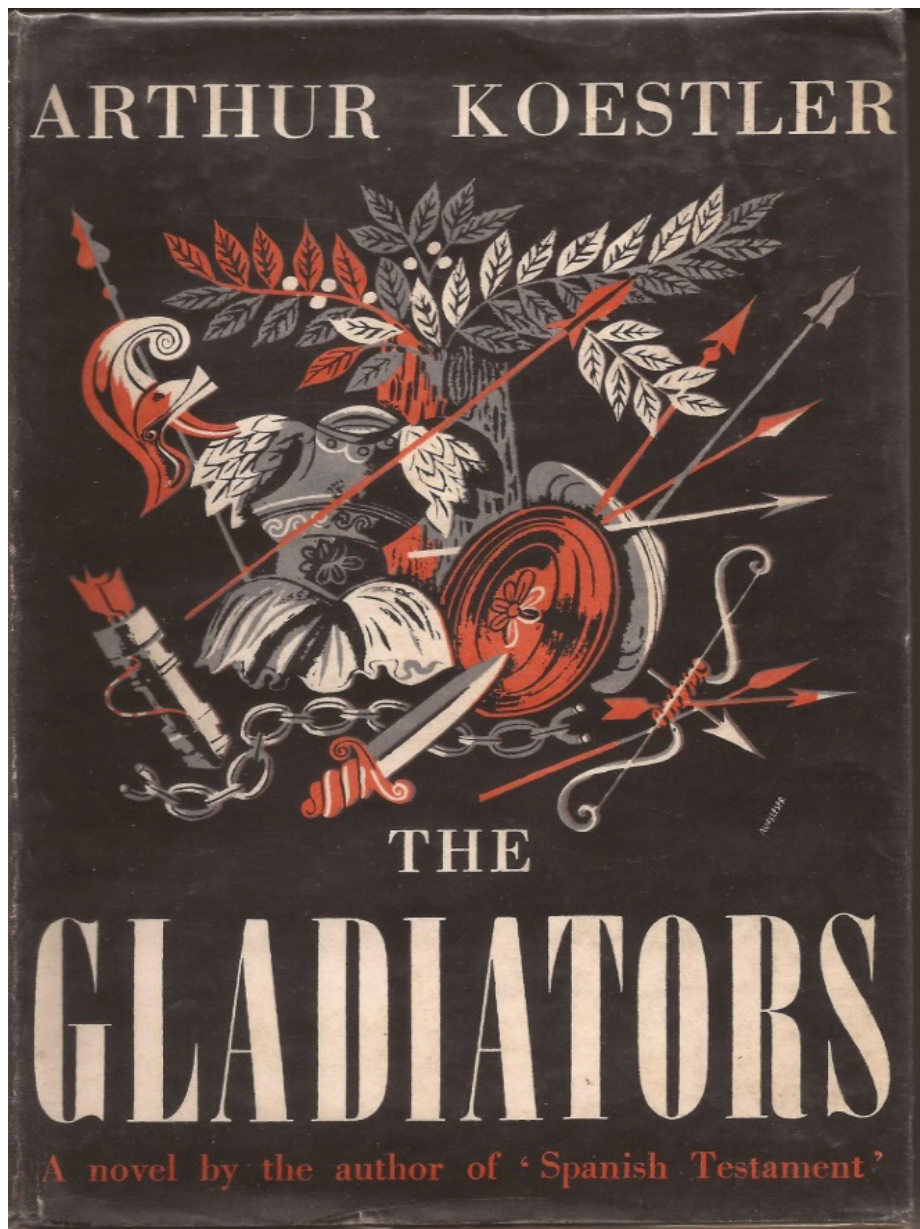


Figure 2. Cover art for first UK printing by Ernst Aufseeser (note the 'broken chain' image for the Third Servile War).

Spartacus [sic] are submitted for their review, publication would be considered. Koestler had received the letter in France and forwarded it to Simon. She wrote back to Koestler regarding the details of translation, and over the next two weeks they exchanged several letters as she worked. Until the letter from Went came to light in Simon's archive we had no knowledge that Putnam's had considered his novel, or that Koestler's English title was *Spartacus* rather than *The Slave War*. Just before Christmas Koestler wrote that he is pleased with the work Simon is doing, but points out some aspects of translation that she needs to revise. He asks her to consult specific English and German bibles for correct language use, and wants her to read Thornton Wilder's novel *The Woman of Andros* [1930] as an example of the style of English sentences he favors. Koestler's range of reading was as vast as it was diverse.

Throughout the first half of 1938 his letters to Simon demonstrate how closely he followed the progress of translation. In early April Koestler gives Simon his telephone number in Paris in preparation for her visit to France (presumably with her parents) on 15 April. This is the first reference to the two of them meeting outside the UK. Three weeks after that visit, when Simon has returned to London, he sends an additional 59 pages of his MS, and hopes she will read it and send him a critical response. He will be sending other portions of the MS (as printed matter) on a weekly basis. Clearly the pace of writing/translation is steadily increasing and by the first of June the end is in sight: a reference to Koestler having only "a fortnight until June 15" must mean that he may finish by mid-month. Simon is thanked for sending him "die Texte," this probably means

not printed “books” but her translated sections of the MS (he likes especially her rendering of “the Prologue”). We know from Koestler’s autobiography that the central sections of the novel were written first, and this note to Simon confirms that the *Prologue*, and presumably the *Epilogue*, were added at the very end (see *The Invisible Writing* [1954; 1969] Chapter 24 entitled “Excursion into the First Century BC”).

There is a break in the correspondence that lasts until the beginning of 1939; it signals that during the intervening six months the translation of the completed novel was finished, and that galley-proofs of the novel have been printed. Koestler writes Simon on 7 January 1939 thanking her for New Year’s good wishes. He expresses much pleasure with the translation as their work together is coming to an end: “I read the *Spartacus* again [just] now; your translation is at times really dazzling.” He also thanks her for sending a drawing (presumably one of the many sketches she made while translating), and expresses concern about a difficult “patron”, the émigré Austrian novelist “[Paul] Frischauer”. Koestler then lists seven specific portions of the novel where revision still needs to be done. The first concerns the *Table of Contents*, specifically the placement of the two “Interludes”, and the last is accepting that Cape editor Rupert Hart-Davis’ choice of title *The Gladiators*—instead of Koestler’s *The Slave War* or *Spartacus*—was made for political (i.e. anti-Left) reasons. Koestler hopes to be in London within three or four weeks (early February), and asks Simon to speak to Hart-Davis on his behalf.

That letter is the first indication of a change of publishers: *Cape* instead of *Putnam’s*. The significance of Frischauer’s patronage is unclear; he may have helped Koestler with Cape. Koestler is annoyed that his preferred title has been “diluted”: Cape does not want the tone of this publication to evoke class struggle (*The Slave War*) or to focus on an ancient freedom fighter (*Spartacus*). With a *real* war looming against Fascism in Europe at that moment, the editorial decision in favor of the bland title *The Gladiators* now seems an odd demand from Cape. It is complemented in banality by the front cover illustration for the first edition (fig. 2). There is more than a touch of irony in the fact that Scottish author James Leslie Mitchell’s novel *Spartacus* (1933; paperback reprint 1937) was then on sale in London book stores. That Cape was aware of it is doubtful; they would not have gone to press with Koestler’s “duplicate” novel. If Koestler was aware of it he would not have brought it to the attention of Cape’s editors.

The last letter to Edith Simon before publication was not from Koestler. On 18 January 1939 Hart-Davis at Cape requested Simon’s agreement that Cape would “delete all reference to the book [*The Gladiators*] being translated.” It is doubtful that Koestler had acquiesced to this request, and Simon did *not* accept the proposal. Her name appears as the translator on an inside page, but *the language translated is not mentioned*: war tensions and fears that English readers might shun a novel written in German won out. Simon is credited in all subsequent English printings as well as the many different translations based on her original rendering. *The Gladiators* was first published in March 1939 in London, and in July an American printing (Macmillan) followed. Reviews were generally favorable. The novel that Koestler envisioned is large and complex, but carefully structured, and a few words should be said about its plan and the focus of action. That in turn will introduce individuals sketched by Simon not included with those (Crassus, Spartacus, the Essene, stock stage characters) featured in Part 1 of this essay.

Though the setting is the Italian peninsula in 73-71 BC, the narrative of the slave revolt does not include Rome. There *is* a Roman element, but that component is reserved for the provincial cities of central and southern Italy (Capua, Nola, and Thurium figure prominently). Koestler’s tale unfolds in segments imitated in part by two later novels of the Spartacus Revolt (see *RAG*



Figure 3. Lavatory “throne room” called Hall of the Dolphins (within the Public Baths at Capua): (l-r) impresario Marcus Cornelius Rufus; First Scribe of the Capua Market Court Quintus Apronius; the lanista of the Capua gladiatorial training school [Gnaeus] Lentulus Batiatus. The halo above the head of Apronius may be Simon’s wry tribute to his “saintly” fortitude.



Figure 4. Fulvius the Lawyer: Chronicler of the Slave War, Advisor to Spartacus. He fled Capua, joined the insurrection and drafted the governing laws of the Sun City near Thurium.



Figure 5. Hegio, Citizen of Thurium, descendant of Greek colonists. He is fantasizing aphorisms he hears from the greengrocer Tyndarus: ‘Keep Your Bowstring Flexible and Ready for Use at All Times’; ‘Do Not Disturb A Sleeping Lion.’

10.2 [2015]). Four major “Books” (*Rise*; *The Law of Detours*; *The Sun State*; *Decline*) are bracketed by a *Prologue* and *Epilogue* called *The Dolphins*. Books Two and Four are introduced by an “Interlude” also entitled *The Dolphins*. Simon was attracted to several characters that dominate the narrative within all but the final *Dolphin* segment, especially the *Prologue*. She conveniently depicted the three of them together as the narrative does, conversing in the public lavatory of the Roman baths in Capua (fig. 3). *Marcus Rufus* financed the production at Nola of the stage farce *Bucco the Peasant*, from which Simon had singled out three stock characters to sketch (see Part 1). *Lentulus Batiatus* is the owner and manager of the *ludus* for gladiators at Capua, and is like Spartacus and Crassus an historical figure.

Quintus Apronius is not: he is the novel’s “Everyman”, a minor bureaucrat trapped in his social position at Capua’s Market Court and envious of the powerful men around him. The ravages of the slave revolt have cost him a promotion, and as the novel ends a year after the suppression of the insurrection, he lives in abject fear of yet another slave uprising. *Fulvius the Lawyer* (fig. 4), another of Koestler’s fictional characters, is quick to realize at the onset of the revolt that it should be chronicled for its socio-political impact. We might say he represents a prototype of more recent *gonzo* journalism, in which the chronicler is also an active participant at the time of writing (e.g. the late American journalist Hunter S. Thompson). Another Koestler character worth our attention is *Hegio* “a citizen of Thurium the city” (fig. 5) and a descendent of *Magna Graecia* colonists. He is a witness to the creation, and then to the destruction, of the utopian “Sun City” near the ruins of ancient Greek Sybaris. Koestler’s penultimate scene follows the final defeat of the slave army by Crassus. Six thousand survivors will be crucified along the Appian Way. Fulvius and the Essene are among the last, but Simon has chosen three others to depict: a peasant, a blind elder, and an unnamed black man (fig. 6). Her reason for selecting them is because she had already sketched the other two.

My thanks to Antonia Reeve, daughter of Edith Simon, for permission to quote from the latter’s correspondence archive at the NLS, and also to the Simon Studio in Edinburgh for permission to publish Edith’s sketches. Other illustrations (book cover, magazine ad), are in the public domain.



Figure 6. Three Slave-Army Captives Awaiting Crucifixion along the Appian Way: (l-r) Nicolaos the Peasant; Nicos the Blind Elder; an unnamed Black Man.

Addendum

The Project to Film *The Gladiators*

To date only two of the half-dozen Spartacus novels that achieved any notice have been filmed: Raffaello Giovagnoli's *Spartaco* (1874), and Howard Fast's *Spartacus* (1951). On films derived from them see my essay in *RAG* Vol. 10 Iss. 2 (2015). Virtually forgotten is the serious attempt to film *The Gladiators* in the late 1950s, a project that would have succeeded had Kirk Douglas' *Spartacus* not made it to the big screen first. Between 1957 and 1961 *The Gladiators* was set for filming by the independent company Alciona Productions, with distribution to be done by United Artists. Martin Ritt was designated to direct it, and Abraham Polonsky wrote the screenplay. Yul Brynner, founder of Alciona, was to play Spartacus, and Anthony Quinn signed on to co-star as Crixus. The role of Crassus was offered to Michael Rennie, and Sophia Loren considered the role of Spartacus' wife Lydia. Production was set for Rome and Spain during 1959-60. Completion and release of the rival *Spartacus* in 1960, and its capture of four Academy Awards in early 1961, doomed *The Gladiators* to oblivion. Few physical reminders of it now exist 60 years later: I discovered a copy of the lost screenplay in 2011, and plan to publish it with backstory narrative and full commentary in 2018. No artifact or document is more evocative of that noble but unfinished film project than an advert in 1958 (Fig. 7).

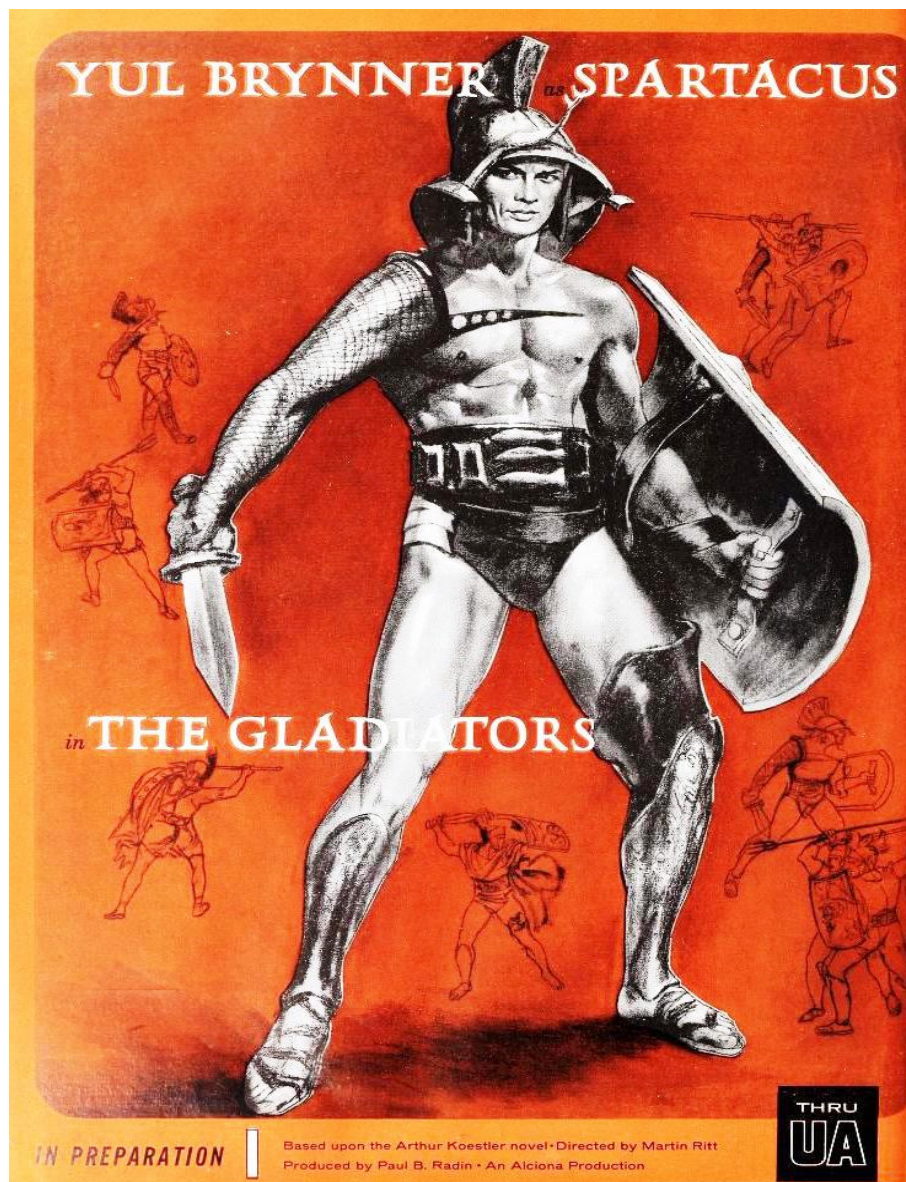


Figure 7. Full-page advertisement for *The Gladiators* in the *Hollywood Reporter* 2 April 1958.

RAG News from DLK

A busy few months ...

Late September/ early October saw three of the RAG Committee in Jordan on fieldwork. Don Boyer was there to carry out the next season of fieldwork at Jarash to allow him to move towards the completion of his PhD thesis. While there he was interviewed for the English-language *Jordan Times* which has now published an article about him and his research. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/researcher-seeks-answers-ancient-water-network>

Don was joined by Rebecca Repper who arrived for the next season of the Aerial Archaeology in Jordan project. This was Rebecca's 6th annual season and apart from her usual hard-work on the demanding but vital task of cataloguing thousands of photographs, she was able to take part in a two-day flight to the south of Jordan which included a few minutes over Petra.

David K was in Jordan for two weeks. The first half was to join two of the days of flying which marked the 20th year of this AAJ project and our 21st season of flying. The first flight of the two was designed to include all the places flown over in 1997 to monitor changes in the intervening years. The intention is to write an article reviewing the original motivation and objectives of the project and point the way to the next 20 years ... We hope!

Then D's wife arrived to join him for 5 days in Petra. The first two days were to explore Petra. Although D had been there 15+ times and this was Veronica's third visit, it is such a huge place that it was just the next round in exploring

things already seen and adding new ones. High points – literally, were the ascents to two High Places with wonderful views all around. Next came The First Conference on the Archaeology and Tourism of the Ma'an Governorate – the region in which Petra lies. DK gave two papers – 'Western Travellers at Petra in 1857' and 'Endangered Archaeology in the Maan Governorate.' This was a very enjoyable and profitable conference with a chance to meet many old friends and in a magical place (it should be on everyone's 'Bucket List').

While trekking around the ruins of Petra, the helicopter carrying Rebecca and the AAJ co-director Bob Bewley, came overhead but they claim not to have seen David and V's wild waving.

RAG Saturdays

Following the very successful Saturday lectures by Michael Birrell, we have now a session on Constantinople on 4th November (where you will hopefully be receiving this RAG Mag). First a lecture on the 'Walls of Constantinople' by Nigel Westbrook of UWA then one by John Melville-Jones on the 'Fall of Constantinople'.

In between the lectures will be a short AGM.

Changes at UWA

Interviews are in progress for a new appointment in Classics and Ancient History, the advert calling for someone to fill a position as 'Senior Lecturer (Roman History and Material Culture)'. Hopefully this means new blood for RAG!

The RAG Inc

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