



OXFORD

rediscovering
E. R. DODDS

Scholarship, Education, Poetry,
and the Paranormal

edited by

Christopher Stray, Christopher Pelling,
and Stephen Harrison

Rediscovering E. R. Dodds



Frontispiece: Portrait in oils of E. R. Dodds by Corinna MacNeice (1976?), owned by the Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford. Also printed in *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), opp. 139. Reproduced by kind permission of the artist.

Rediscovering E. R. Dodds

*Scholarship, Education, Poetry,
and the Paranormal*

Edited by

CHRISTOPHER STRAY,
CHRISTOPHER PELLING,

and

STEPHEN HARRISON

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2019

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2019

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2019949832

ISBN 978-0-19-877736-6

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198777366.003.0001

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

Preface

This book originated in a conference on E.R. Dodds held at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 1 March 2014, under the aegis of the Corpus Christi College Centre for the Study of Greek and Roman Antiquity. The meeting was organized by Stephen Harrison and Chris Stray, who then asked Chris Pelling to join a collaboration which has proved both productive and enjoyable.

The editors offer their thanks to Donald Russell, Dodds's literary executor, both for his contribution to the conference and now to the volume, and for granting permission for quotation from Dodds's published work.¹ They also thank Colin Harris and Judith Priestman for help with the Dodds papers in the Bodleian Library, and Luke Pitcher, Anne Sheppard, and Stephanie West for help of various kinds. At Oxford University Press, Charlotte Loveridge and Georgina Leighton have provided sterling support for the volume. The anonymous reviewers for the Press have given us helpful suggestions, especially the reviewer who also supplied a final review.

A note on archival sources: the major deposit of Dodds's papers (fifty-two boxes) is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and is referred to in this volume as 'Dodds Papers'; a recent additional deposit (two boxes) is referred to as 'Dodds Papers additional'. These additional papers are not catalogued, but a box list is available on site for the main deposit. Dodds's papers on psychic research (thirteen boxes, catalogued) are held in Cambridge University Library, MS SPR/67.

Christopher Stray, Christopher Pelling,
and Stephen Harrison

¹ Donald Russell has now been succeeded by Chris Pelling as Dodds's literary executor.

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xi
1. Introduction: A Missing Person? <i>Christopher Stray and Christopher Pelling</i>	1
2. An Irishman Abroad <i>Christopher Stray</i>	10
3. The Battle for the Irrational: Greek Religion 1920–50 <i>Renaud Gagné</i>	36
4. The Rational Irrationalist: Dodds and the Paranormal <i>N.J. Lowe</i>	88
5. <i>The Greeks and the Irrational</i> <i>Robert Parker</i>	116
6. ‘The road of excess’: Dodds and Greek Tragedy <i>Scott Scullion</i>	128
7. Dodds on Plato: The <i>Gorgias</i> Edition <i>R.B. Rutherford</i>	149
8. Dodds’s Influence on Neoplatonic Studies <i>Anne Sheppard</i>	167
9. Pagans and Christians: Fifty Years of Anxiety <i>Teresa Morgan</i>	182
10. Dodds, Plotinus, and Stephen MacKenna <i>John Dillon</i>	198
11. ‘The lonely flight of Mind’: W.B. Yeats, Louis MacNeice, and the Metaphysical Poetry of Dodds’s Scholarship <i>Tom Walker</i>	210
12. The Deaths of Tragedy: The <i>Agamemnon</i> of MacNeice, Dodds, and Yeats <i>Peter McDonald</i>	228

13. Dodds and Educational Policy for a Defeated Germany	244
<i>David Phillips</i>	
14. Memories of E. R. Dodds	264
<i>Ruth Padel, Helen Ganly, Oswyn Murray, and Donald Russell</i>	
<i>E. R. Dodds: A Bibliography of His Publications</i>	287
<i>Bibliography</i>	299
<i>Index</i>	333

List of Illustrations

- Frontispiece:** Portrait in oils of E. R. Dodds by Corinna MacNeice (1976?), owned by the Faculty of Classics, University of Oxford. Also printed in *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), opp. 139 ii
Reproduced by kind permission of the artist
- 2.1 Photo of Dodds at the site of Troy, holding a garden fork (1960) 26
Taken by Susan Mary Riley Clagett and reproduced by kind permission of Kathleen Williams
- 2.2 Eric Robertson Dodds by Walter Stoneman, February 1945. Given by Walter Stoneman, 1951. NPG × 20540 31
© National Portrait Gallery, London
- 14.1 Detail of a pencil portrait of E. R. Dodds by Helen Ganly (1979), in possession of Oswyn Murray 273
Reproduced by kind permission of the artist

List of Contributors

John Dillon is Emeritus Regius Professor of Greek at Trinity College Dublin.

Renaud Gagné is Reader in Ancient Greek Literature and Religion at the University of Cambridge.

Helen Ganly is First Artist in Residence at the Ashmolean Museum.

Stephen Harrison is Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Oxford.

N.J. Lowe is Reader in Classics at Royal Holloway, University of London.

Peter McDonald is Professor of English and Related Literature at the University of Oxford.

Teresa Morgan is Professor of Graeco-Roman History at the University of Oxford.

Oswyn Murray is Emeritus Fellow of Balliol College at the University of Oxford.

Ruth Padel is Professor of Poetry at King's College London.

Robert Parker is Emeritus Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford.

Christopher Pelling is Emeritus Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford.

David Phillips is Emeritus Professor of Comparative Education at the University of Oxford.

Donald Russell is Emeritus Professor of Classical Literature at the University of Oxford.

R.B. Rutherford is Tutor in Greek and Latin Literature at Christ Church, Oxford.

Scott Scullion is Associate Professor in Classical Languages and Literature at the University of Oxford.

Anne Sheppard is Professor Emerita of Ancient Philosophy at Royal Holloway, University of London.

Christopher Stray is Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of Classics, Ancient History, and Egyptology at Swansea University.

Tom Walker is Ussher Assistant Professor in Irish Writing at Trinity College Dublin.

1

Introduction

A Missing Person?

Christopher Stray and Christopher Pelling

Missing Persons was the title eventually chosen by Eric Robertson Dodds for his autobiography, published just two years before the end of his long life (1893–1979). The title was intended to bring out the disconnections and discontinuities of his life, the range of his interests, the paths not taken. Yet not all have found the title appropriate. One of the earliest reviewers (Toynbee 1977) immediately picked up on the underlying unity of personality that emerged from a book so rich in retrospective self-analysis and so beautifully written (it won the Duff Cooper prize), and Donald Russell returned to the point in his British Academy obituary (‘presenting an unusually coherent and consistent character’, Russell 1981, 357).¹ Another obituarist, however, remarked that ‘the reader feels that something is being withheld; there was more to Dodds’s complicated personality than the book reveals’ (Lloyd-Jones 1980); and in his own autobiography Kenneth Dover referred to Dodds’s ‘characteristic charity and reticence’ (Dover 1994, 39–40). We hope that this collection may complement *Missing Persons* (henceforth *MP*) and do something to illuminate the ways in which the various elements in Dodds’s life come together.

For come together they do. His deep engagement with modern poetry, enriched by personal contacts with Yeats (in that case rather uneasy, *MP* 57–61), Eliot, Auden, and especially MacNeice, makes it unsurprising that his *Bacchae* commentary is still unsurpassed for bringing out the beauty and artistry of the Greek.² The earnestness with which he took political issues and any public role, whether in his early sticking to his convictions despite

¹ Cf. also Murray, p. 276. References of this kind are to contributions to this book.

² Thus Lloyd-Jones 1965, 166, reviewing Barrett’s *Hippolytos* (1964): ‘In point of power to communicate a full enjoyment of the beauty of the poetry and the impact of the tragedy, this commentary, like all others known to me, falls short of Dodds’ *Bacchae*.’

the risk to his career or in his later engagement with Germany's educational future (see Phillips), matches his choice of the *Gorgias* as a subject, a dialogue that wrestles with the fundamental issue of 'how one should live' (*ὄντινα τρόπον δεῖ ζῆν*: Dodds 1959a, 4, cf. e.g. *Gorg.* 507d). That earnestness too sometimes meant that he was at less than his scholarly best, especially when confronting texts rich in frivolity or irony (Russell 1981, 369–70 and in this volume). The fascination with human psychology, clear in *MP* not just in the ruminations on his own past self but also in his pen-pictures of others,³ is seen across the whole range of his interests. That fascination grew particularly deep when behaviour went beyond the normal and expected, whether that was a matter of breaking conventional societal bounds (Callicles in *Gorgias*) or pushing out into the mystical and the occult in what others derided as 'Neoplatonic poppycock' (Denys Page, cited at p. 285 [Russell]). The paranormal held a particular fascination, seen both in his lifelong interest in psychic research (see Lowe) and as one of the several different areas that he embraced in 'the irrational'; yet that co-existed with a mindset that he himself characterized, in an early letter to his future wife, as 'incurably rational' (*MP* 59). Telling here is his differentiation of his own and Yeats' attitude to the occult (*MP* 60–1): 'what I viewed coldly as a historian of ideas he saw with the inflamed imagination of an occultist who happened also to be a great poet'. 'As a historian of ideas', he says, not 'as a scholar of ancient Greek poetry',⁴ and he took a similar view of his priorities in the *Bacchae* commentary (*MP* 169–70: see Scullion). Through all his work runs that overwhelming interest in the people and their minds, not just their words, sensitive though he was when those words were beautiful; and insights from and into the modern world can often be sensed in his remarks on the ancient. As Parker says in this volume (p. 123), it is often about us as much as about them.⁵

It would be 'flat-footed', says Dodds, to ask whether Euripides was for Dionysus or against,⁶ and it would be just as flat-footed to ask if Dodds was pro- or anti- 'the irrational': it was simply to be accepted as a recurrent

³ E.g. Yeats, *MP* 57–61; MacKenna, *MP* 114–19 and 135–6 (see Dillon and Walker); MacNeice, *MP* 119–23, see McDonald); Auden, 136–7; and even more marginal figures like Percy Ure, *MP* 73, and John Blofeld, *MP* 158.

⁴ Still less as someone who had written poems himself: on his reticence about this in *MP*, see Stray, p. 22.

⁵ A verdict that Dodds himself would have welcomed: cf. *MP* 180–1 on *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 'in trying to understand the ancient Greek world I was also trying, as I had always done, to understand a little better the world I lived in'.

⁶ Dodds 1960a, xlv, cited and compared with an earlier version by Oakley 2016, 92–3.

feature of human experience, something that a historian of ideas had a duty to explore and acknowledge—as he puts it in the last paragraph of *The Greeks and the Irrational*—‘the power, the wonder, and the peril’. But that rationalist strand does sometimes emerge. It is there in a rather immature impatience that is evident in the early Euripides articles (see Scullion); it is still there much later when he treats Aelius Aristides’ ‘neurosis’ or Christian ascetic ‘madness’ (see Morgan). We can see it too in an optimistic vision of a distant future when humankind may have progressed further. The valuable elements of parapsychology will one day be explicable in the terms of physical and biological science (see Lowe); there will come a time when human understanding will be sufficient to cope with ‘the fear of freedom’ (that last paragraph of *The Greeks and the Irrational* again—1951, 254–5: see Parker). The rational, he thought, would win in the end, hard though it must have been to maintain such trust through the turbulent times he lived in.

The history of the naming of *Missing Persons* itself reveals absences and contradictions: missing titles, in fact. Dodds’s original title was ‘Cast a cold eye’, a quotation from the final lines of Yeats’s last poem, ‘Under Ben Bulbin’: ‘Cast a cold eye/On life, on death/Horseman, pass by!’⁷ This was abandoned when it was found that it had been used as the title of a novel by Mary McCarthy in 1952; a letter Dodds wrote in March 1976 to the OUP’s Academic Publisher, Dan Davin, refers to the abandonment of his original title.⁸ The OUP editorial files on the book, which date from the previous month, carry Dodds’s second choice of title: *Patterns in a Patchwork Life*.⁹ This resonates with several passages in the text of his memoir, in which his life is described a patchwork, and unifying elements as threads which run through it.¹⁰ In September of that year, however, the author publicity form Dodds filled in bore yet another title, *Missing Persons*—catchier and more intriguing than its predecessor—and it was under that title that the book was published in the following year.¹¹ The change is reflected in the book’s final paragraph, in which Dodds first refers to the patchwork of his life, and then

⁷ The stanza is carved on the headstone of Yeats’s grave, and was subsequently used for the autobiography of the poet’s son Michael B. Yeats (Yeats 1998). Dodds’s original title was reflected in his stylistic plans: as he told Davin in the letter cited above, he intended the style of his memoir to be ‘cool and simple’.

⁸ Dodds to Dan Davin, 2 March 1976. OUP archives, PBE4 1004962 (publicity file).

⁹ OUP archives, OP708/4962 (editorial file).

¹⁰ The two ‘threads’ are his fascination with the paranormal (*MP* 97) and the ‘daemon’ who often inspired crucial decisions (*MP* 195). In his Envoi his life is seen as a patchwork lacking music and children (*MP* 193).

¹¹ The new title first appeared in the author publicity form of 17 September 1976: OUP archives, OP708/4962.

in his final sentence dismisses ‘my little company of incompatible ghosts, each of whom have inhabited in his own time and place my body and my namee, but who now have no abode save in my memory and no status save that of “missing persons”’ (*MP* 195). He also seems to have changed the book’s epigraphs to fit its changing titles. In the letter to Davin of March 1976, he mentioned that he had had added ‘a new and more appropriate epigraph’. As published, the book carried two epigraphs. The first comes from the novelist John Cowper Powys’s autobiography: ‘The persons we have been are lost rather than fulfilled in what we become’.¹² The second, ‘Each half lives a hundred different lives’, is taken from Matthew Arnold’s ‘The Scholar-Gypsy’, about an Oxford scholar who abandons the search for conventional success to wander the countryside around the city. Arnold contrasts the scholar-gypsy’s existence to the life he left behind:

O life unlike to ours!
 Who fluctuate idly without term or scope,
 Of whom each strives, nor knows for what he strives,
 And each half lives a hundred different lives;
 Who wait like thee, but not, like thee, in hope.¹³

In his end was his beginning; but in the text of his memoir, he has nothing else to say about the multiplicity of selves referred to in his epigraphs and in his final sentences. Instead, we have an elegantly crafted chronological narrative which combines revelation with reticence. There is a certain tension between the centrifugal tendency of ‘incompatible ghosts’ and ‘missing persons’, on the one hand, and the ‘daemon’ whom Dodds describes as controlling much of his life by making decisions for him at crucial moments.

Missing Persons has been described as ‘surely the most charming and the richest memoir of any British or Irish Classicist surviving’.¹⁴ It was welcomed by its reviewers, though from different perspectives. In the *Observer*, Gilbert Murray’s grandson Philip Toynbee wrote with inside

¹² J.C. Powys, *Autobiography*, 1934, 150.

¹³ This quotation makes it clearer than Dodds’s briefer extract does that ‘half’ is to be taken with ‘lives’, not with ‘each’. Dodds’s notion of multiple selves is reminiscent of his contemporary T.S. Eliot, whom V.S. Pritchett called ‘a company of characters inside one suit’ (Ackroyd 1984, 188; cf. 117–19).

¹⁴ This is the opinion of an anonymous reader of this volume for Oxford University Press. A survey of the twenty or so other such memoirs supports this opinion; *The Strings are False*, the memoir of Dodds’s pupil, colleague, friend and fellow-Irishman Louis MacNeice (MacNeice 1965) perhaps comes closest to challenging *MP*.

knowledge of Dodds's difficult return to Oxford but said little of his scholarship. In the *Times Literary Supplement*, the dismissal of Dodds's classical work by the distinguished Irish historian F.S.L Lyons provoked a rebuttal in the following issue (see Murray). The Oxford philosopher Stuart Hampshire dwelt on the fascination with the paranormal of a man who was himself 'alarmingly sane' (Hampshire 1978). The Canadian classicist Harold Edinger compared MP illuminatingly with G. Wilson Knight's biography of his brother W.F. Jackson Knight, a contemporary of Dodds and similarly, though less rationally, engaged with the psychic world.¹⁵

In looking for the person who was, or might have been, E.R. Dodds, we might begin by listing his names. He is usually referred to in this way, using initials rather than his first name. The same is true of other scholars and literary figures (one thinks of A.E. Housman, G.K. Chesterton, D.S. Robertson, even J.R. Hartley); but in Dodds's case, it derives from his dislike for his first name, Eric.¹⁶ When he matriculated at University College, Oxford, in 1912 he presumably felt constrained yet reluctant to use his given name, and rebelliously signed himself 'Erik', and it was as 'Erik Robertson Dodds' that he was announced as the winner of the Craven scholarship in 1913 and the Ireland prize in the following year.¹⁷ It was presumably Dodds's use of this fierce, almost Viking version of his name in correspondence with friends that led Samuel Beckett to refer to him as 'Mr Erik Dodds' in his article on 'Recent Irish poetry' in *The Bookman* (Beckett 1934). In his correspondence with his friend Thomas McGreevy, Dodds signed himself 'E.R. Dodds' or 'E.R.D.', but in a letter of 1922 to McGreevy, his mother referred to him consistently as 'Erik'.¹⁸ As for his second name, Robertson, its origins are a mystery: the name was probably revived from an earlier generation, but evidence is lacking, and Dodds himself does not mention it. Perhaps it was felt that a long name was needed to balance the brevity of 'Eric' and 'Dodds'; and he was, after all, the son of Robert Dodds. Once launched as an academic, Dodds was able to avoid naming problems by

¹⁵ Edinger 1979. For other reviews, see Toynbee 1977; Jones 1978; Shiel 1978; Levi 1979; of the 2000 reprint, Todd 2000, 2001.

¹⁶ See Padel's chapter. The 1901 Census of Ireland lists Dodds, but the final letters of his second name are squashed into the relevant box, and the online transcript records him as 'Eric Roberta Dodds': <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/search/>

¹⁷ *The University of Oxford. First Supplement to the Historical Register of 1900*, Oxford 1921, 114, 117.

¹⁸ A.F. Dodds to McGreevy, 31 Dec. 1922. Trinity College Dublin, Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, McGreevy papers, Ms 8112/49. McGreevy himself became a missing person: he is nowhere mentioned in *MP*. He was like Dodds a nominal pluralist, changing the spelling of his surname to 'MacGreevy' in 1941.

becoming plain 'Dodds', a form of address which became universal except when nervous or remote correspondents added his professorial title.¹⁹ Within his marriage to Annie Powell, Dodds became 'Mister', often shortened to 'Mit', to her 'Bet', and in his old age it was as 'Mit' that he preferred to be known to Ruth Padel's family (see Padel).

One way of placing Dodds is to compare him with his predecessor in the Oxford Greek chair, his teacher Gilbert Murray, who in effect chose Dodds as his successor, and his protégé Kenneth Dover, the man he wanted to succeed him in the chair.²⁰ All three men combined a conventional virtuosity in Greek and Latin composition with wider interests. The power and breadth of Murray's commitment to the theatre and to international politics are well known; Dodds's commitment to trade unionism and to educational reconstruction in Germany much less so (the latter is explored by Phillips in this volume). Dover achieved fame and notoriety beyond the field of classical scholarship through his publications on homosexuality and the frank revelations in his memoirs, but ventured beyond professional scholarship less than Dodds did, and much less than Murray.²¹ All three men wrote autobiographies, though Murray's remained unfinished (Murray 1960, Dover 1994). All three were interested in human irrationality: Murray and Dodds devoted a lot of effort to research into the paranormal, while Dodds and Dover were early attracted to psychoanalysis (see Lowe).

In comparing Dodds with Murray, we should not overlook the interaction between them. After Dodds caught Murray's eye in 1917, the older man will have seen him as a candidate to carry on his own vision of Classics to later generations. Hence his invitations to Dodds to give lectures in the 'Seven against Greats' courses of the 1920s and 1930s (see Stray). They were both outsiders, Murray having been born in Australia and coming to Britain only at the age of 12; but Murray's 1889 marriage to Lady Mary Howard, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle, plunged him into the upper reaches of English society. Dodds had no such entrée, nor would he, as a lifelong Republican, have wanted it.

¹⁹ Cf. Housman's remark to Charon in Tom Stoppard's *The Invention of Love* (1997): 'Alfred Housman is my name. My friends call me Housman. My enemies call me Professor Housman.'

²⁰ Murray recommended Dodds in 1936; Dodds recommended Dover in 1960, who was offered the Regius chair, but to Dodds's chagrin refused it.

²¹ In a review of Kenneth Dover's *Marginal Comment* (Beard 1995), Mary Beard contrasted Dover's life in an exclusively academic environment with Dodds's range of acquaintances, and suggested that 'the growing professionalism of Classics has removed it decisively from its place in the wider, non-university, intellectual culture of Britain'.

To compare Dodds with Dover: both men were outsiders, Dover because of what he saw as a physical deformity (a funnel chest). Both looked at their subject with a fresh eye, something referred to in the title of Dover's memoir (and in the title initially chosen by Dodds). Both saw the Oxford classical course as in need of radical reform; indeed Dover refused to succeed Dodds in the Regius chair of Greek in 1960 because he thought it impossible to carry out the reforms Dodds had proposed (which were in fact carried out a decade later). Both wrote memoirs which ranged well beyond the cautious limits of earlier generations.²² Their similarities and differences can be seen by comparing their treatment of sexual experience. In his account of a 'trial pre-honeymoon' in a tiny Austrian inn with an Irish fiancée during a short-lived engagement, Dodds recalled that during bad weather, 'love-making apart, there was nothing to do except talk' (*MP* 81)—something which the late-Victorian Murray would never have dreamed of mentioning. Earlier in the book, Dodds recalled his discovering he had an erection when he saw a woman passing while he was urinating into a hedge. At the time (he was in his early teens) he suspected elephantiasis (*MP* 10), but the point is one about innocence rather than experience and the joke is on him. In his own memoir, *Marginal Comment*, Dover referred to masturbating while admiring a splendid rural view in Italy (Dover 1994: 114); one cannot imagine Dodds including such an account.²³ The progression from Murray to Dodds to Dover is in part a function of wider shifts in attitudes over the twentieth century, in part a matter of individual personalities. Dodds himself recognized the interaction of these different levels in calling his life a 'patchwork', and acknowledging that he shared this condition 'with a myriad of my contemporaries across whose life-histories two great wars run like geological faults' (*MP* 192–3; cf. 179).

At several points in his life, Dodds had to make important decisions, and represents them as being made by a force he could not control—he called it his daemon (*MP* 194–5), picking up the name used by Plato's Socrates for his guardian spirit.²⁴ It was perhaps the daemon which prevented the adolescent Dodds from holding out his hand to be caned when his

²² Dover's memoir, like Dodds, changed titles during its gestation: Dover had thought of calling it *Roads Without Fences* (Dover 1994, vii).

²³ This was one of the aspects of Dover's book which led to its being rejected by Oxford University Press. Relevant correspondence is held in the Dover papers, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

²⁴ This is another link between Dodds's scholarly and personal outlook. There is much talk of daemons and the daemonic in *The Greeks and the Irrational*, and the idea recurs in Dodds's *Epiphany*, an early poem: 'In omnibuses, trains, and trams | It is the practice of the wise | To sit

headmaster demanded it (*MP* 10), and that made him speak so frankly of his political opinions as a young man that a job offer was withdrawn (*MP* 71). When in 1936 he was offered the Oxford Greek chair, he hesitated to exchange a happy and settled existence in Birmingham for ‘an uncertain future in an unknown and unloved Oxford. Yet the offer was a challenge, and to decline a challenge ran counter to my unspoken code’ (*MP* 125: the ‘code’ was perhaps a transmuted form of the ‘daemon’). In the 1940s, Dodds became reconciled to England and to Oxford (*MP* 159, 169); and in the following decade, he was known for his ‘diffidently expressed wisdom’ (Dover 1994: 82–3). Dodds’s journey from youthful stropiness to the serenity of his last years (see Murray) constitutes one of several threads that hold together a life course he himself saw as a thing of shreds and tatters.

This book traces through some of those threads. In the first section, a general survey (Stray) looks at the way in which his experiences in Ireland, Reading, and Birmingham brought wider perspectives to his later work in Oxford. The next three chapters (Walker, Dillon, McDonald) deal with his involvement with Irish and English literature; they are followed by studies of his work on the paranormal (Lowe) and on educational reconstruction in Germany (Phillips). The second section is devoted to Dodds’s work on classical literature and religion (Rutherford, Scullion, Parker, Gagné, Sheppard, Morgan). The third and final section is made up of recollections of Dodds by those who knew him well (Ganly, Murray, Padel, Russell). A bibliography of Dodds’s publications is included; this has been made as comprehensive as possible, and is designed to replace the listings given in Todd 1998b, 2005.²⁵

And Dodds’s scholarly legacy? The studies in this book will explore how far his distinctive arguments and ideas can still command assent. Some do, many do not. Yet his influence goes far beyond those: it is the whole approach—the combination of interests, the fascination with how people thought, the relation to the here and now as well as to the ancient world—that has done so much to shape the subject. It is for similar reasons that *The Greeks and the Irrational* despite its flaws remains a classic, and has

in corners very still. | So shall they meet behind the eyes | Of someone of their fellow shams | The unspeakable daemon of the will’ (1929, 20).

²⁵ The editors wish to acknowledge the pioneering publications of Robert B. Todd on Dodds’s life and work (Todd 1998–2008).

been read by many more non-classical readers than that other great mid-twentieth-century work, Ronald Syme's *The Roman Revolution* (Syme 1939). Many of the issues Dodds raised remain as fascinating to the modern reader as they ever were, especially in a world where a new irrationalism threatens. *The Ambivalences of Rationality: Ancient and Modern Cross-Cultural Explorations* is the title of a work by Geoffrey Lloyd (2018); it could have served just as well for much of Dodds's work. Many of his ideas for the future of the subject also seem as apposite today as they did over fifty years ago when he delivered his presidential address to the Classical Association in 1964, or indeed nearly a hundred years ago in an essay from 1920 (Stray, p. 27): take, for instance, his thoughtful remarks in 1964 on the value of teaching Classics in translation coupled with the necessity for universities to teach the languages from scratch (*MP* 173–7). In 1977, Dodds entitled that chapter of *MP* 'A dying industry?', and despite the question mark in that title he felt that the implied prophecy was 'well on the road to fulfilment' (p. 172). In 1920, he had been even more gloomy: 'only a few isolated classical scholars will probably be found a century from now'. If in 2018 a new compilation could still be echoing many of the same concerns but doing so under the upbeat title *Forward with Classics*,²⁶ no small part of the credit is due to Dodds himself.

²⁶ Holmes-Henderson, Hunt, and Musié 2018.

2

An Irishman Abroad

Christopher Stray

Eric Robertson Dodds was born in the north of Ireland in 1893. His father died when Eric was seven, and he was brought up by his mother, a school-teacher who taught first in Bangor and later in Dublin. He went to school in Dublin, and then at Campbell College in Belfast, whence he was expelled by the headmaster for insolence. He gained a scholarship to University College, Oxford in 1912 a Craven scholarship in 1913, and in 1914 a first in Moderations, the first part of the classical honours course, and the prestigious Ireland scholarship.¹ Then war intervened; as an Irish national, Dodds was exempt from British military service, but he spent several weeks working as an orderly in a hospital in Serbia.² Wartime Oxford must have been an uncanny place—in 1914, undergraduate numbers dropped from 3,097 to 369. Dodds's future Reading colleague John Mabbott, who reached St John's College from Edinburgh in 1918 to read Greats (the second part of the classical course), remembered that all the other Greats pupils of his tutor Hugh Last were older than Last himself: they had read for Mods before 1914, while Last had graduated during the war. Mabbott recalled that all the other undergraduates at Oxford were 'unfit, Indians or conscientious objectors', and found among the ex-servicemen 'a marked intolerance of non-combatants, though of course conscientious objectors were the prime targets' (Mabbott 1986, 42). This must have been an uncomfortable environment for anyone with Dodds's religious and political views. He had

¹ This had nothing to do with Ireland, but was named for John Ireland, Dean of Westminster, who had founded it in 1825.

² See *MP* 46–52, 'Interlude in Serbia'. This is based in part on his diary for 6–29 October 1915, in which he described his first week there as 'the strangest week I ever had'. The diary is now in the University of Leeds Library, Special Collections, Liddle/WW1/SAL/020. In the staff list for the British Eastern Auxiliary Hospital he appears as 'E.A. Dodds, orderly': National Archives, ADM/171/133/577. En route to Serbia he met a Welsh nurse with whom he had his first affair (*MP* 46–7), and with whom he kept in touch until her death in Australia in 1960. Her last letter to him, written just before her death, ended, 'Dear dear Eric, what a wonderful man you must have become'. Gwendoline Strong to Dodds, 12 January 1960. Dodds Papers, box 6.

already crossed swords with the Dublin-born master of his college, R.W. Macan, over his atheism (*MP* 44–5). Macan himself had been something of a heretic in his youth (Curthoys 2012, 271), but though he was the first lay master of the college since the sixteenth century, he took part in religious services. He would in any case, as a Unionist, not have approved of Dodds's nationalist politics (Darwall-Smith 2008, 424–5). In 1916, Dodds's expressed support for the Easter Rising led to his being told to leave Oxford, though he was not actually sent down.³ He was allowed back in 1917 to sit Greats, and gained a first, then returned to Ireland, where he taught briefly at Kilkenny College and at Dublin High School (*MP* 69–70).

In 1919, Dodds was appointed a lecturer in Classics at University College, Reading, and five years later moved to Birmingham as professor of Greek. If one compares the three foci of his non-Oxonian adult life—Reading, Birmingham, and Dublin—it is clear that they formed a continuum. Reading was close to Oxford in more than just a geographical way, having begun life as an extension college set up by Christ Church in 1892; it became a fully-fledged university in 1926. It had strong commercial links with agriculture and with local industry, including Huntley and Palmer's biscuit factory—hence joking references to the Reading DB (doctor of biscuits) degree. Dodds's professor at Reading was Percy Ure, a gentle and supportive head of department whom Dodds described as a 'non-careerist'; appointed to his chair in 1911, Ure stayed there until his retirement in 1941. Dodds's account of his appointment shows that the college was run by an inner cabinet of three Oxford men, led by the professor of philosophy, the classicist William de Burgh, who were willing to take chances on risky candidates if they were guaranteed from Oxford. In Dodds's case, Gilbert Murray's support was probably the deciding factor in his appointment (*MP* 72). One of his colleagues was the philosophy lecturer John Mabbott, whom he found very congenial. In his *ODNB* article on Mabbott, Donald Russell wrote that 'he had a strain of anti-authoritarianism... he had a gleeful sort of sympathy for the rebellious and the troublesome, so long as their rebelliousness was of a kind he approved.' In his memoirs, Mabbott referred to Dodds as one of the 'fascinating people' he encountered at Reading, remarking that W.M. Childs, the college principal, was keen 'to

³ The informality of his rustication was probably intended to avoid embarrassment, since Dodds was a rare academic star in this period of the college's history. (My thanks to Robin Darwall-Smith for discussion of this point.)

appoint the most brilliant scholars available, no matter how odd, radical, unconventional, bizarre or wild they might be' (Mabbott 1986, 51).

The University of Birmingham had begun life in 1880 as the Mason Science College, founded by Josiah Mason, owner of the largest pen-nib factory in the world, who wanted his new institution to avoid Classics and religion. Birmingham offered Dodds a larger field of operation than at Reading, and one more detached from Oxford. Mason College had expanded into the humanities after Josiah Mason's death in 1881, evading his own preferences, and in 1900 became a fully-fledged university. The role of academics, as opposed to that of local bigwigs, expanded in the 1890s, in part because of a campaign led by Edward Sonnenschein, the professor of Classics.⁴ Sonnenschein, an Oxford man whose interests included Plautus and comparative grammar, was appointed in 1883 and retired in 1918.⁵ A chair of Latin was established, to which J.O. Thomson was appointed, but a Greek chair was set up only in 1924, when Dodds was the first incumbent. There was need as well as scope for change in 1924, and Dodds remarks in his autobiographical memoir *Missing Persons* that 'The Classics at Birmingham stood in some need of enlivening' (MP 88). He goes on to tell a story of Sonnenschein asking a colleague he was walking with what he thought of God. Not getting an immediate answer, Sonnenschein explained that he was not sure whether to classify 'God' as a common or as a proper noun. But as well as the need, there was also the possibility of change. In Birmingham between the wars, a departmental head had considerable autonomy. That was one reason why another outsider, the Marxist Germanist Roy Pascal, took a chair there in 1939 in preference to staying in what he regarded as a dull department in Cambridge controlled by the Board of Modern Languages.⁶ Here too Dodds could take chances on appointments, as in the case of Louis MacNeice, an Ulsterman like himself, appointed before he had taken his finals at Oxford. The atmosphere of the Arts faculty in this period is caught in an obituary of Ronald Willetts, who was hired in 1946 by Dodds's successor George Thomson:

It is difficult at this distance to appreciate the artistic and intellectual ferment of the Faculty of Arts at Birmingham in the 1930s. Louis

⁴ The campaign is, surprisingly, not mentioned in Whyte 2015, which emphasizes the genuinely new ethos these institutions created.

⁵ For Sonnenschein, see *ODNB*, and on his campaign for parallel grammars, Stray 2004.

⁶ See Subiotto 1981, 450–1. In *ODNB*, M. Swales refers to the 'hum and buzz' of the department Pascal built up. He was president of the AUT in 1944–5, and a member of the AUT delegation to Germany chaired by Dodds (see Phillips).

MacNeice, Henry Reed, W.H. Auden, Walter Allen and the other members of the 'Birmingham Group' were around and very active; Sargent Florence's sumptuous house was open to all with something to contribute to the discussions.⁷

Philip Sargent Florence was the professor of economics; the MacNeices lived in the coach house of his grand residence. The 'Birmingham Group' was identified by an American literary critic as a literary set with a shared interest in realistic depictions of working-class life, and after this was publicized, those listed as members began to hold regular meetings. Some of them were published by the Woolfs' Hogarth Press and had links with the Bloomsbury set.⁸ MacNeice's impressions of Birmingham can be found in his 1933 poem named for the city, in which he declares that in the mock half-timbered suburban houses, men pursued the Platonic forms with wire-less and Cairn terriers. In his long poem *Autumn Journal*, he wrote that:

Sun shines easy, sun shines gay
 On bug-house, warehouse, brewery, market,
 On the chocolate factory and the B.S.A.,
 On the Greek town hall and Josiah Mason.⁹
 ...

Eight years back about this time
 I came to live in this hazy city
 To work in a building caked with grime
 Teaching the classics to Midland students;
 Virgil, Livy, the usual round,
 Principal parts and the lost digamma;
 And to hear the prison-like lecture room resound
 To Homer in a Dudley accent.

Autumn Journal (1939), 33.

In his autobiography, MacNeice wrote that 'the professor of Greek, E.R. Dodds, made me feel rather ashamed... He combined a razor-keen

⁷ Nicholls 2011. Both Thomson and Willets were Marxists. For a similar account of Birmingham University in the 1960s, see Herrin 2007, 6.

⁸ This curious connection between these two very different ambiances is discussed in Feigl 2007. The 'Group' makes an interesting comparison with the 'Cambridge Ritualists', another set of people whose interactions have often been reified into 'groupness' (Gold 2003, 189–210).

⁹ The chocolate factory was Cadbury's plant at Bournville; the BSA was the Birmingham Small Arms company. The marble statue of the founder, Josiah Mason, stood in front of the university.

rationalism with an unusual humaneness... Scholarship for Dodds was a living and humane activity... Wilamowitz's edition of the *Heracles* was in Dodds's eyes a high work of human genius, an education, an inspiration, a resounding defeat for barbarism.¹⁰ Dodds's own memories of the environment in which he taught can be glimpsed in his introductory remarks to a lecture he gave on returning there in 1954: '[It is] just thirty years since I gave my first lecture in this building. It was my place of work for twelve happy years, and I still feel it intimate as my own skin.'¹¹

Some of Dodds's views on Birmingham can be glimpsed in his correspondence with Eduard Fraenkel, Corpus professor of Latin at Oxford, in the summer of 1936, after Dodds's Oxford appointment had been announced. They were discussing whether the German academic refugees Kurt von Fritz and Friedrich Solmsen, both then in Oxford, could be considered as possible successors to Dodds—who had, incidentally, founded a local branch of the refugee support body the Academic Assistance Council in the previous year. The Vice-Chancellor of Birmingham, Sir Charles Grant Robertson, indicated his willingness to consider foreign candidates: Dodds told Fraenkel, 'I asked [Robertson] whether it was the slightest use for me to encourage any non-British candidate to stand, and he replied—to my surprise and pleasure—that in his personal view we should appoint the best man, whatever his nationality; adding that other universities need not be ashamed to follow an example set by Oxford.'¹² Dodds added that the faculty at Birmingham were divided on the issue, some being strongly against appointing foreigners. He went on to say that

what is really needed, in a place like Birmingham, is that the appointment should go to a true humanist – by which I mean a man who can (a) make Greek literature a living and interesting study, not merely a linguistic gymnasium, and (b) represent a humanistic point of view beyond the limits of his own subject, in the general councils of the University... The great need of the English provinces is for vital personalities able to prevent them from relapsing into a self-satisfied provincial torpor.¹³

¹⁰ MacNeice 1965, 136–7. In an essay on Fraenkel's *Agamemnon* (Stray 2015, 52), I mistakenly referred Dodds's remark to Fraenkel's edition rather than to Wilamowitz's.

¹¹ 'Homer as oral poetry', 11 June 1954, p. 1. Dodds Papers, box 13.

¹² The reference was to Fraenkel's appointment to the Corpus chair of Latin in December 1934.

¹³ Dodds to Fraenkel, 31 July 1936. Fraenkel papers, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Three months earlier, when Gilbert Murray was canvassing opinion on Maurice Bowra, J.D. Denniston, and Dodds as his potential successors in the Regius chair of Greek at Oxford, the recently retired dean of the faculty of arts at Birmingham, Ernest de Sélincourt, had told him that ‘Dodds is . . . a very good lecturer and a most stimulating teacher . . . though Latin is a far bigger subject, it is he, and not the Latin professor, who speaks for Classics in the Faculty, the Senate, and the larger world’.¹⁴ Dodds, then, was living up to his own recommendation: the ideal he had proposed was in effect a description of himself.

Dodds also continued to be active in the Association of University Teachers, and while at Birmingham was elected to its council. And as we have seen, he was active in trying to secure jobs for refugee scholars. Dodds’s commitment to his profession was maintained throughout his career. The AUT was founded in 1919, the year when Dodds was appointed at Reading. He joined the Association soon after he arrived, and became a committed member there and later at Birmingham. The AUT had its origins in the redbrick universities, and the Oxford branch, though mooted from 1921, was not established until 1939, with the Warden of All Souls, William Adams, as president and Dodds as vice-president.¹⁵ It was Dodds’s approach to the Control Commission in Germany that prompted the AUT delegation’s visit there in 1947, which he led (*MP* 90–1; see Phillips). While at Birmingham, Dodds had been appointed as the university’s representative on the Warwickshire Education Committee, and at Oxford he served as governor of two local schools; he thus had experience of the education system as a whole. In the 1940s, his experience was to broaden still further when he became heavily involved in the planning of German educational reconstruction.

Centre and left

Dodds was a declared socialist, and thus belonged to a tiny minority among the classical scholars of his generation. His position can be seen in his interaction with two of the very few other classical scholars of his time

¹⁴ De Sélincourt to Murray, 28 April 1946. MSS Gilbert Murray, Bodleian Library, 76/230.

¹⁵ The Cambridge branch had been founded in 1935 by Roy Pascal. Pascal to R.D. Laurie, 5 June 1935, AUT archive, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, MS. 237/3/186. In 1947–8, Oxford, with over 800 staff, had 103 AUT members; Cambridge, with over 700 staff, had only eighteen (Perkin 1969, 143).

who could be called politically left of centre, both of whom also had Irish connections.¹⁶ Dodds's near-contemporary Benjamin Farrington (1891–1974) was born in Ireland, though in Cork rather than Ulster, and studied at University College Cork and then at Trinity College Dublin (Benferhat 2004). He and Dodds met in Dublin while Dodds was on his enforced absence from Oxford; Dodds remembered him as 'a gifted and charming man whose career as a scholar was even more bedevilled by politics than my own'.¹⁷ Like Dodds, Farrington was a supporter of Sinn Féin. After a brief time in Belfast, he taught in Cape Town from 1922 to 1934, moving from a junior post in Greek to a chair of Latin. In Cape Town he proselytized for Sinn Féin and proposed the foundation of an Irish World Organization; he also joined the intellectual salon run by Solomon Schechter's daughter Ruth, whom he later married (Hirson 2001, 122–53, Atkinson 2010). After a brief period in Bristol, Farrington was appointed to the chair of Classics in University College Swansea in 1936; he remained there until his retirement twenty years later. His Swansea inaugural, on the history of ancient slavery, was reprinted in his *Head and Hand in Ancient Greece: Four Studies in the Social Relations of Thought* (Farrington 1947). In 1944, he told Dodds he was concerned that their friendship was 'in great disrepair': 'You thought my politics a danger to this country. I thought the same of you.' Farrington's concern to mend fences led him, after beginning 'Dear Dodds', to sign himself 'Ben'.¹⁸ Farrington's letters to Dodds reveal him as a hard-line supporter of Communism, for whom Stalin was 'the greatest political brain in the world', and who rejected Dodds's suggestion that Stalin and Hitler were both 'imperialist bullies'.¹⁹ In 1946, however, challenged on competing loyalties, he told Dodds, 'Yes, I do unreservedly subscribe to the principle that the University comes before the Party and that it would be wrong to use one's influence to "pack" the University with Party men.'²⁰ Farrington was a pioneer in the study of Greek science, but his Marxism often encumbered his scholarship, and his letters to Dodds show a

¹⁶ For a survey of left-wing British classicists in the inter-war period, see Stead and Hall 2016.

¹⁷ *MP* 68. In the mid-1930s, when Dodds joined the Labour Party, Farrington joined the Communist Party.

¹⁸ Farrington to Dodds, 4 August 1944. Dodds Papers, Box 3. Later letters begin, 'Dear Eric', making Farrington the only person whose surviving letters use this form of address except for Dodds's aunt. (It should be remembered that 'Dear Dodds' was itself less formal than 'Dear Sir' or 'Dear Mr/Professor Dodds'.)

¹⁹ Farrington to Dodds, 6 and 15 September 1945. Dodds Papers, Box 3.

²⁰ Farrington to Dodds, 4 March 1946. Dodds Papers, Box 3. Farrington resigned from the Communist Party after the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956.

relationship under considerable strain from their divergent political beliefs (Lloyd 1976, Atkinson 2016).

George Thomson (1903–87) was born in London, but his mother came, like Dodds, from Ulster.²¹ He took Irish lessons while at school, and in the 1920s visited the Blasket Islands off south-west Ireland, which he came to see as an example of a pre-capitalist society. After graduating from Cambridge, he went to Trinity College Dublin on a scholarship, before being appointed as a lecturer (later professor) at University College Galway to teach Greek through the medium of Irish. Thomson joined the Communist Party in 1935 and served on its executive committee (after the Sino-Soviet split of 1960 he took the Chinese route, visiting the country and writing pamphlets for the China Policy Study group). He returned to Cambridge in 1934, to a fellowship at King's College, and married Katharine Stewart. Her mother Jessie Stewart, née Crum, had been a pupil of Jane Harrison, whose biography she wrote; Thomson thus had in a sense a family connection to 'Cambridge Ritualism'.²² In 1937 he succeeded Dodds in the Greek chair at Birmingham, remaining there until retirement in 1970. Thomson developed a Marxist analysis of Greek civilization in his commentary on the *Oresteia* (1938), later expanded in *Aeschylus and Athens* (1941) and *The Prehistoric Aegean* (1954). In 1938, Dodds wrote to him challenging his view of prehistoric Greece as a matrilineal society, and Thomson defended it, claiming that the arguments of Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and Lewis Henry Morgan should be preferred to those of contemporary writers, since 'They wrote at a time when their class was a progressive force, against reaction, not fighting for it, as it is now'.²³ As with Farrington, Dodds found himself challenging a political orthodoxy which nevertheless itself challenged conventional emphases he was himself opposed to. Thomson tended to take up extreme positions and then refuse to budge from them; this tendency can also be seen in his correspondence with Francis Cornford about Plato in 1941.²⁴

It may seem surprising that Dodds had apparently no contact with Francis Cornford, with whose notion of the 'unwritten philosophy' he would surely have been in sympathy, and who described himself in one of

²¹ For Thomson, see *ODNB*, and O Lúing 1996.

²² Stewart 1959. For Jessie Stewart, see Stray 1995.

²³ Thomson to Dodds, 30 December 1938. Dodds Papers, Box 3.

²⁴ The Cornford-Thomson correspondence is in Thomson's papers at the Library of Birmingham, Ms 2672. My thanks to Thomson's daughter Meg Alexiou and to Christos Alexiou for enabling access to this material.

his letters to Thomson as a ‘democratic socialist’.²⁵ Cornford’s 1942 attack on the views expressed in Farrington’s *Science and Politics in the Ancient World* (1939) and Thomson’s *Aeschylus and Athens* (1938) showed that his position in relation to Marxism was similar to Dodds’s.²⁶ The final footnote in *The Greeks and the Irrational* invoked Cornford’s notion as a support for the leading idea of his own book (Dodds 1951a, 269, n. 108). But Dodds never reviewed anything Cornford published, though he enthusiastically supported W.K.C. Guthrie’s plan to bring out Cornford’s last, unfinished book *Principium Sapientiae*.²⁷ It may be that Cornford’s lack of an Irish connection is relevant; and of course he taught in Cambridge, which was in many ways a separate world from Oxford.²⁸

Oxford

Dodds’s reputation as a scholar was growing, and in 1930 he was offered the chair of Greek at Manchester, which he rejected.²⁹ In 1936, however, though with much hesitation, he accepted appointment by the Crown to the Regius chair of Greek at Oxford. For a century or more, Oxbridge scholars had been recruited to found or maintain Classics departments in newer universities in Scotland, the provinces, and the colonies. In a way, 1936 marked a turning point, the small beginnings of a reverse flow, with the appointment of Dodds to the Oxford chair, and that of W.B. Anderson of Manchester to succeed A.E. Housman in the chair of Latin at Cambridge.³⁰ Dodds’s appointment will have confirmed the sense of a reverse flow in Oxford, following Fraenkel’s appointment two years earlier.

The obvious division of Dodds’s adult career into its Oxonian and pre-Oxonian periods should not prevent us from noticing that his return to Oxford in 1936 had been preceded by earlier visits. The best-known visit

²⁵ Cornford to Thomson, 4 July 1941: Thomson papers. The two men may have met in Cambridge in 1929, when Dodds gave the J.H. Gray lectures, or in 1936, when he addressed the B (ancient philosophy) Club on ‘Hellenism in philosophy’ on 30 October (cf. n. 33 below).

²⁶ Cornford 1950: originally a paper given to the Classical Association in 1942.

²⁷ ‘I am strongly of opinion that it ought to be published as soon as possible’: Dodds, quoted in W.K.C. Guthrie’s preface to Cornford 1952, vii. Dodds also supplied a supportive footnote at p. 249.

²⁸ There had been classical links between the two places in the late nineteenth century, but in the twentieth, Hugh Lloyd-Jones’s migration from Oxford to Cambridge in 1948 was perhaps the earliest of a series of such moves.

²⁹ W. Moberly to Dodds, 16 December 1930. Dodds Papers, box 2.

³⁰ The world of the civic universities has been very well surveyed in Whyte 2015.

took place in November 1927, when he read a paper to the Oxford Philological Society on the *Parmenides* and the Neoplatonic conception of the One. His host led him to a room 'in which sat two persons in attitudes of deep depression', then took him back to the senior common room, poured him another port, and vanished, presumably to ring for reinforcements. Dodds eventually addressed an audience of six or eight.³¹ Less well-known is his lecture on the origins of European puritanism, given at All Souls in 1930, which was later recycled in *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Of more interest here, though, are his visits to give lectures in the Mods and Greats 'circuses': sets of preliminary lectures designed to introduce and provide contexts for the courses themselves. The Greats series, which took place in the Ashmolean Museum on Saturday mornings, had been started by Gilbert Murray soon after he became Regius professor in 1908. Officially entitled 'lectures preparatory to the Greats course', they were popularly known as the 'Seven against Greats'.³² They were in effect a pragmatic alternative to the unsuccessful attempts by Percy Gardner, Lincoln professor of classical archaeology from 1887 to 1925, to have his subject included in Greats. Among the most striking must have been Arnold Toynbee's 'The tragedy of Greece', given in 1920, which took off from the experience of the First World War to sketch a large-scale analysis of the history of civilization, which adumbrated the themes of his multi-volume *Study of History* (1936–61). A parallel series for Mods was set up in 1935 by Gilbert Highet, then briefly at St John's before migrating to the USA to teach at Columbia. In June 1932, Dodds was invited by Murray to contribute to the Greats circus, and spoke on Greek religion. In May 1936, he returned at Murray's request to give a lecture on 'Hellenism in philosophy'. Murray's invitation came after he had suggested to Dodds (in the autumn of 1935) that he might succeed Murray in the chair of Greek, and was presumably designed in part to give Dodds a chance to show what he could do.³³ The lecture is a bold and confident performance; it opens up large vistas of thought, and ends by commending Aristotle as a better guide to life than Kant. The lecture was given on 9 May 1936; on the previous day, Maurice Bowra had delivered a paper on Pindar's eleventh Pythian ode to a meeting of the Oxford Philological Society chaired by Murray. Murray and Fraenkel were in the audience at both events.

³¹ *MP* 92. The paper was later published (Dodds 1928). Cf. Sheppard, 175–6.

³² Three of Murray's lectures were included in his *Greek Studies* (1946).

³³ Dodds Papers, Box 27. The lecture was also given that year to the B (ancient philosophy) Club in Cambridge.

The Regius chair of Greek

'Mid swallowtails and dragonflies
 The gilded Bowra flits, and dies.
 Long years unnoticed creeps the Dodds
 With centipedes and gastropods.³⁴

Behind Dodds's appointment to the Regius chair, as he found out afterwards, was a murky story of intrigue (Wilson 1987, 326–9). The chair was then a royal appointment, and so effectively in the gift of the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, who asked Murray for advice in April 1936. At this point, then, Murray was considering whom to recommend to Baldwin as his own successor. When he met Baldwin on 28 April, Murray told him that the choice lay between the learned but dull J.D. Denniston and the stimulating but unsound Maurice Bowra, unless new information emerged about Dodds. It did a few days later, in the form of responses to enquiries from Murray; one was from de Sélincourt, quoted above, the other from Grant Robertson.³⁵ On 2 June, Murray told Baldwin that the case for Dodds was now 'almost irresistibly strong'; he had received an enthusiastic reference from A.D. Nock of Harvard; and after hearing Dodds's lecture on Hellenism and philosophy, Fraenkel had told him, 'I would like to sit under that man for a year.'³⁶

When Dodds's appointment as Regius professor of Greek was announced, Eduard Fraenkel sent Dodds a welcoming letter; in his reply, Dodds pointed out that they were both foreigners ('for I am an Irishman'), and declared that he looked forward to their learning together about 'this most English seat of learning'.³⁷ Fraenkel's election to the Corpus chair of Latin in 1934 had prompted a chauvinistic complaint by the *Sunday Times* columnist 'Atticus' at the appointment of a foreigner, though it was crushingly answered by A.E. Housman.³⁸ In 1934, 'Atticus' was John Buchan, who soon afterwards left Britain on his appointment as Governor-General of Canada; the role of chauvinist ranter against Dodds's appointment passed to

³⁴ A skit by Hugh Trevor-Roper, c.1940: Davenport-Hines 2012, 25.

³⁵ De Sélincourt to Murray, MSS Gilbert Murray, Bodleian Library, 76/230; Grant Robertson to Murray, *ibid.* 76/245–6, both of 30 April 1936.

³⁶ Murray to Baldwin, 2 June 1936. MSS Gilbert Murray, Bodleian Library, 77/138–40.

³⁷ Dodds to Fraenkel, 25 June 1936. Fraenkel papers, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, A.II.3.63.

³⁸ A.E. Housman, *Sunday Times*, 23 December 1934 = Burnett 2007: II.456–7; Randolph Churchill, *Daily Mail*, 27 June 1936, 9.

Randolph Churchill, already notorious for his rudeness.³⁹ Churchill wrote an article in the *Daily Mail* headed ‘Storm over Pacifist Oxford Professor’, which also attacked Dodds for his socialism and his focus on post-classical authors. Bowra and his friends seem to have planned what one of them, Isaiah Berlin, called ‘a desperate last-minute action’ (Berlin 2005, 177). Berlin declared that there was ‘genuine dismay’ at Dodds’s appointment:

Mostly for the wrong reasons, such as that he was a conscientious objector or a Sinn Feiner or the like. The real objection is that he is interested in late and mystical Greek writers, is a queer ideologue as a character, and does not care for style and form. Which are qualities in a man which secretly (from Maurice at least) attract me for instance, but are obviously unsuitable in a Professor of Greek: the only chance of that language resides in its formal properties and not in what they said. . . . We were all divided into Bowristas and Dennistonites so this is a gratuitous insult.

(Berlin 2005, 178)

The letter is typical of Berlin in its perception and enjoyment of layers of knowledge and secrecy, but atypical in its bizarre characterization of Greek scholarship.⁴⁰ After meeting Dodds, Berlin commented that ‘Dodds seems quite nice and respectable but very gray on gray, self-consciously provincial and lustreless. Like Mr Eliot he believes in bleaching subjects’ (Berlin 2005, 206). We might guess that the diffident Dodds reacted against the colourful, boisterous, and talkative internationalism of both Berlin and Bowra. At this point, Gilbert Murray’s grandson Philip Toynbee was an undergraduate at Christ Church, to which the Greek chair was attached. He noticed the way in which Dodds was received in the college, and later wrote, ‘I have never known such boorishness, sycophancy and parochialism in any body of supposedly civilized men’ (Toynbee 1977). Denys Page, then a Student of Christ Church, reportedly refused to speak to Dodds for years; on the day on which the appointment was announced, he sent Murray a postcard declaring that ‘there is no more justice in the world’, a claim supported by a quotation from a fragment of Euripides. There was also resistance to Dodds outside Christ Church, and some tutors, among them Gilbert Highet of St John’s College, forbade their pupils to attend his lectures. Maurice Bowra’s anti-Dodds campaign was conducted in typical Bowra style: ‘Dodds was unwise

³⁹ After Churchill’s death, Michael Foot claimed that his redeeming feature was that he was equally nasty to nobles and commoners.

⁴⁰ Dodds had in fact published articles on Euripides and on Plutarch: Dodds 1925a, 1929a, 1933b.

enough to publish the proverbial slim volume of his own verse, and Bowra, much cast down, did not spare him. He used to quote from the slim volume at parties' (Annan 1999, 142).⁴¹ This may help to explain why Dodds's *Thirty-Two Poems* (Dodds 1929b) is missing from *Missing Persons*, where his poetry is hardly mentioned.⁴² Friend as he was of several professional poets, he had in the preface to his 'slim volume' discussed the nature of his own poetry, which he called 'unprofessional':

...the self left over from [the unprofessional poet's] daily life is but a scanty residue; and only within the bounds of that self's experience is he a poet at all. Accordingly his moments of original... apprehension will be few and difficult... (Dodds 1929b, 10)

Stages and changes

The point Berlin made about Dodds's interests brings us to the question of the relationship between his work and his institutional locations over different stages of his career. The supporting letter to Murray from Dodds's Vice-Chancellor at Birmingham, Sir Charles Grant Robertson, emphasized that 'Dodds' Neoplatonism is his own side-show'.⁴³ The 'side-show' was on display from the start of his period at Birmingham: his inaugural lecture there was entitled 'St Augustine as sinner' (*MP* 89), and his edition of Proclus' *Elements of Theology* appeared in 1933.⁴⁴ But if we look at his major publications, the move to the mainstream is very clear. Dodds's term of office as Regius professor began at the beginning of Michaelmas term, which in 1936 began on 1 October. On 4 October he wrote to Kenneth Sisam, assistant secretary of OUP, expressing an interest in producing an edition of one of Euripides' plays. Informal discussions with Denniston were followed by a bout of correspondence with Sisam in December, during which Dodds offered a sketch of the kind of edition he thought of producing.

⁴¹ Isaiah Berlin went one further in relation to Bowra, reading extracts from his 'not-very-good books' to others, claiming they came from their own works and provoking horrified reactions (Berlin 2011, 146).

⁴² On p. 59 he reports that Yeats liked his poems more than Dodds himself; on p. 80 he prints a light-hearted poem he wrote for his wife Bet early on in their relationship.

⁴³ Robertson to Murray, 30 April 1936: Bodleian Library, MSS Gilbert Murray Papers, 6/245-6. A side-show, of course, to the mainstream classical curriculum at Birmingham, as it would have been at Oxford, and with 'his own' underlining how idiosyncratic/enterprising this work was seen to be.

⁴⁴ The lecture was later published: Dodds 1927-8.

Both Sisam and Cyril Bailey, the Press's classical Delegate and with Maurice Bowra and T.F. (Tommy) Higham one of the three-man 'Euripides committee', thought it was exactly what they wanted.⁴⁵ They needed a winner for the Euripides series, after the fiasco of Maurice Platnauer's *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Platnauer's first proof had been sent to the printer earlier in the term by Sisam, who mistakenly thought it had been approved by the committee; there ensued a hasty and embarrassed scramble to mitigate its defects.

Two points in Dodds's letters to Sisam are worth picking out. First, his statement that

What I think is most needed at present . . . is a commentary which would invite the schoolboy's or undergraduate's attention to salient points of literary technique or dramatic construction, indicate briefly where necessary the relevant context of poetic or social or religious tradition, and thus help him to form for himself some conception of the play as a play and not simply as a piece of Greek.

This statement surely owes a lot to Dodds's experience of teaching undergraduates at Reading and at Birmingham. It embodies what he wanted to do, but also what he had found was needed. He had been dealing with students whose previous training in Latin and Greek fell short of what Oxford tutors could expect. Dodds had few very talented pupils: the Midlands schools which still had classical sixth forms sent their better pupils to Oxbridge, and in his last year at Birmingham, he had only one finalist for classical honours (*MP* 89, 125).

Textual analysis came second, but was taken seriously: in his letter to Sisam, Dodds went on to specify the inclusion of help with tricky passages, syntactic peculiarities, major textual cruces, and metre. All these were to be as brief and un-technical as possible. As he prepared the edition, however, he found that there were things he wanted to include that went beyond this brief. This explains his decision to mark off text-critical content in the commentary in square brackets, but it also shows his awareness of the variation in knowledge of different sections of the book's potential market. The editions were planned to appeal to sixth-formers and undergraduates,

⁴⁵ Dodds's letters are reproduced in Henderson 2007, 143–75. In the letter of 7 December 1936 (pp. 158–9) he wrote that his first choice would have been *Hippolytus*, but he learned that the play had been assigned to Alan Ker, mods tutor at Brasenose College. Ker abandoned his edition in 1947 and it was passed to W. Spencer Barrett of Keble College, whose edition outgrew the series format and was published separately in 1964.

but Dodds realized that neither category was homogeneous.⁴⁶ The play eventually selected was the *Bacchae*, and Dodds's edition, which appeared in 1944, became famous for its combination of technical scholarship and interpretative insight.⁴⁷

The second point I want to pick out in the letter is Dodds's reference to a proposal that he should collaborate with Paul Henry on a critical text of Plotinus. Dodds explained that he might in any case not want to proceed on that front, but his eventual decision to go for Euripides rather than Plotinus certainly represents a choice of the classical mainstream rather than the marginal territory of Neoplatonism.⁴⁸ In the following year, he deflected a request from the Loeb Classical Library for a translation of Henry's edition of the *Enneads* by recommending a younger scholar, A.H. Armstrong, for the task.⁴⁹ However, Dodds did agree, as late as 1947, to supervise a Somerville undergraduate, Mary Scrutton (later Midgley), for DPhil research on the psychology of Plotinus. This project was never completed: Scrutton found the relevant texts very difficult, and her reluctance to bother Dodds was matched by his own shyness:

... Dodds himself, though benevolent, was not a good supervisor because he was shy and remote. In fact, he was an example of the kind of academic who is a first-rate lecturer—perfectly at ease on a platform—but not approachable socially. He was not someone you could easily approach if you got lost, as I constantly did, in some tangle about secondary authorities. (Midgley 2005, 158)

Another student who Dodds supervised for the DPhil degree, also in 1947, was Donald Russell, who, like Scrutton, took on more than he could manage and did not complete the doctorate: '... I was obstinate, and so harnessed myself to a job beyond my powers' (Russell, p. 282). In insisting on studying Plutarch's dialogue on the *daimonion* of Socrates, Russell was, in

⁴⁶ At a later stage, some of Dodds's suggestions for layout and cueing were rejected by Sisam, who told him that they would either not be effective, or would involve so much work for printers busy with government commissions that they would delay publication indefinitely: Sisam to Dodds, 26 Nov. 1943. Dodds Papers, 3.6.

⁴⁷ See Scullion's chapter, and Oakley 2016.

⁴⁸ Plotinus was included in Robert Hutchins' and Mortimer Adler's Great Books Program, but in a television interview with Dick Cavett in 1978, Adler declared that the Plotinus was one of two books that should not have been included, the other being *Tristram Shandy*. For the Great Books Program, see Beam 2008.

⁴⁹ In the light of the point I have been making about institutional and curricular marginality, it is worth noting that in the next generation, Armstrong, A.C. Lloyd, and Henry Blumenthal, every one a student of Neoplatonism, all taught at the University of Liverpool.

Doddsian fashion, following his own *daimon*.⁵⁰ The Dodds we glimpse in these reminiscences can be compared with Eduard Fraenkel, who had only two postgraduate students (both after his retirement): Christopher Lowe in the 1950s and Peter Brown in the 1960s.⁵¹ Brown received references and suggestions almost every day; Lowe kept his distance, fearing Fraenkel's criticism of anything he thought mediocre.⁵² We might say that Fraenkel's problem lay in his being overbearing; Dodds, by contrast, was plainly *underbearing*.⁵³

It is worth noting that the exchange with Kenneth Sisam about Euripides editions appears to have been initiated by Dodds himself, rather than by Sisam or Cyril Bailey.⁵⁴ Dodds did run classes on Neoplatonism during his time as Regius professor, but the only major work he published on post-classical material came out after he retired. His lecture courses included series on Homer and on the *Oresteia*, the former leading to his chapter on Homer in the 1954 volume *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (Dodds 1954a). His early plans for *The Greeks and the Irrational* had included discussion of Augustine, but in his 1949 Sather lectures and in the book itself, the material drawn on is mostly from the classical period (Todd 1998a). In a way, we might see the book as representing the permeation of the classical by something wilder, since 'the study of human irrationality... had without any planning on my part gradually come into focus as the dominant centre of my life's interests' (MP 180). Indeed, from this point of view Dodds's proposal of the *Bacchae*, though admittedly from a list curtailed by previously commissioned plays, can also be seen to evidence a concern for the wildness within the classical. (It is interesting, in this context, that his first choice had been the *Hippolytus*.)

Here is perhaps the place to mention Dodds's love of gardening, an activity which involves the taming or training of wildness. In Birmingham

⁵⁰ Dodds had three other postgraduate students. At Birmingham, when advanced students were rare (MC 90), he taught B.S. Page and R.E. Litt; in Oxford, H.D. Saffrey from 1954. All three went on to publish on Neoplatonic subjects. At undergraduate level, Dodds supervised Martin West for a Greats special subject on Homer.

⁵¹ Lowe completed his BLitt thesis; Brown's DPhil was never finished.

⁵² My thanks to Peter Brown and Christopher Lowe for recalling their experiences of Fraenkelian supervision.

⁵³ We need not look to personal factors to explain the very small number of supervisees. The population of postgraduate students at Oxford grew very slowly between the wars; in the late 1930s only about twenty gained DPhils (Currie 1994, 126), though the 'happy few' of this period had by the 1970s become about a quarter of the entire student body (Barber 1994, 480).

⁵⁴ It is thus misleading to state, as Hankey does, that he accepted an invitation from OUP: Hankey 2007, 507.



Fig. 2.1 Photo of Dodds at the site of Troy, holding a garden fork (1960). Taken by Susan Mary Riley Claggett and reproduced by kind permission of Kathleen Williams.

he had had a remarkable garden which contained a lily pool and a vegetable garden, and ended with ‘a small lake, perhaps a hundred yards long, with a boat and boat-house’ (*MP* 112).⁵⁵ The Birmingham chapter of Dodds’s memoir is entitled ‘A paradise and two poets’ (Auden and MacNeice); the next chapter, telling of his move to Oxford, ‘Paradise lost’. He once remarked to his colleague Donald Russell that there were two jobs in Oxford he was interested in: the Regius chair and the post of head gardener at St John’s College (Russell 1981, 363). In a photograph taken at Troy in 1960, he is seen holding a small garden fork—perhaps hinting at excavation, but certainly apt given his long-standing interest in gardening (fig. 2.1). For the

⁵⁵ The photograph in *MP* (opposite p. 55) shows the pool, not the lake.

first ten years in Oxford, the Doddses lived on the High Street, but after the Second World War this became too noisy for them, and in 1946 they moved out to the village of Old Marston, to a house which had a garden: paradise regained. Describing how he welcomed the invitation to give the 1949 Sather lectures in Berkeley, Dodds lists the topics he had been thinking about—dreams, trance, magic, and so on—and adds, ‘... I was in danger of becoming pot-bound like a plant that has no more room for its roots’ (*MP* 180). The other contact with nature shared by the Doddses was with dogs—a substitute, as he said, for the children they could not have (*MP* 114).

Dodds’s turn to the classical mainstream did not result in complacency about it; indeed, it could be argued that it led to a closer focus on the inadequacies in the way it was taught in Oxford. Since his undergraduate days, Dodds had had an ambivalent relationship with the conventional views of Classics and standards of scholarly excellence. In 1920, he had published in a short-lived Irish periodical a brief paper, ‘The rediscovery of the Classics’, in which he denounced the doctrine of the educational sufficiency of the Classics: ‘It was part of the grand conspiracy of humbug which arrogated the title of humanity to a single department of human knowledge. The inspiration of the Renaissance was institutionalized; the letter overcame the spirit; and now “it is our business either to rediscover the classics or to scrap them”.’⁵⁶ He went on to suggest how the teaching of the subject needed to change. Returning to Oxford sixteen years later, with his Reading and Birmingham experience under his belt, and also his involvement in Murray’s Greats circuses, Dodds must have been privately critical of the Oxford curriculum. His hostile reception and then the war will doubtless have deflected any reformist plans he had, but the war gave Oxford a good shake-up, and most of the colleges began to look for candidates from smaller grammar schools who would previously have gone to local universities.⁵⁷ ‘To this renewed Oxford,’ he wrote (*MP* 169), ‘I returned with renewed hopes and considerably more confidence than I had felt in 1936.’ In 1944, more settled and accepted in Oxford, he began to formulate plans for reform. Dodds’s ability to take a long view had already been shown in a Greats Circus lecture in October 1939, just after the outbreak of war, entitled

⁵⁶ Dodds 1920b; cf. Grafton and Jardine 1986.

⁵⁷ The introduction of state studentships in the wake of the 1944 Education Act will have made this easier.

‘The War, the University, and the Classics’. The young Kenneth Dover, then a Balliol undergraduate, was impressed by the lecture:

As might have been expected, he was of an inspiring sanity; most of his remarks were addressed to those, mostly women, who will be up all during the War, but his general point, on the need for people with some sort of education in what is going to be a rather bad post-war world, applied to everybody. It influenced me, at any rate, to go on to take the full classics course if I can.⁵⁸

Curricular reform

To students, [Dodds] and his friend Eduard Fraenkel seemed academic princes, as powerful as they were committed and eloquent. In fact . . . he was in a weak position . . . Greats, in my time, meant five terms of heady literature—heroic, democratic and imperial—followed by seven terms of ‘rationalism’. People like Dodds and Fraenkel were not involved in the seven terms—they were left behind, with poetry and religion.

D.A.N. Jones⁵⁹

In July 1944, during a fortnight’s holiday in Cumberland, Dodds drew up a plan for what he called ‘a reorganisation of the classical school’. He sent this to Eduard Fraenkel, explaining that he intended not to present it to the Faculty of Literae Humaniores (Classics plus Philosophy), but to circulate it privately to see if it attracted support. He asked Fraenkel to comment, and to show it to their colleagues Eric Barber, Theodore Wade-Gery, and Donald Mackinnon. This initiative seems not to have led anywhere, but in 1953 Kenneth Dover and Gordon Williams, supported by Fraenkel, Dodds, and Spencer Barrett, drafted a reformed Greats syllabus which

⁵⁸ Dover to his parents, 19 Oct. 1939, Dover family papers. Quoted by permission of Catherine Brown.

⁵⁹ From his review of *MP, The Listener* 99, 19 January 1978, 90. The literary journalist David Arthur Nicholas Jones (1931–2002) was an undergraduate at Balliol from 1949 to 1953. The first five terms constituted Honour Moderations (Mods). A glimpse of Dodds’s Mods teaching is given by Denis Healey in his autobiography, where he reports that he did not enjoy Mods much except for Dodds’s class on translation, in which on one occasion Dodds brought MacNeice to talk to his pupils (Healey 1990, 27).

included literature as an optional alternative to history and philosophy. Dover recalled later that

Fraenkel's support was the kiss of death, because so many of the older members of the Subfaculty (notably Maurice Bowra) resented any criticisms that came from him, and huddling together to protect themselves against interference from professors was second nature to Mods tutors . . . , so that no one took any notice of the diffidently expressed wisdom of Dodds. (Dover 1994, 82–3)

In 1954, a limited reform was agreed on: a few candidates would be allowed to pursue linguistic and literary topics within the framework of Greats. Putting this into practice, however, proved to be impossible, as every detailed proposal was vetoed by one or other of the three relevant Subfaculties (Classical Languages and Literature, Ancient History, and Philosophy). Looking back on this in 1956 in an article in the *Oxford Magazine*, Dodds made no attempt to be diplomatic:

. . . on at least two occasions committees of the Board, containing members of all three Subfaculties, succeeded in presenting unanimous reports, and agreement seemed near. But something resembling a 'cold war' . . . had . . . developed, with the result that each proposal was met with a veto from the majority in one or the other of the Subfaculties, which the Board did not choose to override. (Dodds 1956a)

A century earlier, Dodds pointed out, the classical curriculum had been reorganized to promote the study of first poets and orators, and then historians and philosophers. Among the consequences, as he noted, was a split between Mods and Greats interests (Dodds 1956a). The study of modern philosophy had then been officially 'admitted but not required', but as he put it later in *Missing Persons*, 'cuckoos had laid strange eggs in the traditional nest' (*MP* 178, 177). This was made the worse by the fact that for some people, in Donald Russell's words, 'the subspecies Mods don was an inferior breed, not up to handling the more mature minds and capable only of donnish games and a kind of sophisticated proof-reading. That was offensive, and bred much ill-will.'⁶⁰ Twenty years later, in his autobiography, Dodds was even less diplomatic than in 1956, remembering that the modern

⁶⁰ Russell 2007, 237. In his *PBA* obituary of Dodds, Russell had explicitly avoided mention of what he called 'the parochial affairs of the Oxford faculty': Russell 1981, 367.

philosophers had ‘clung tenaciously to their squatters’ rights’, and that Greats in the 1950s had been ‘on the way to becoming in effect a bizarre combination of two wholly unrelated subjects, epigraphically based history and modern logic’.⁶¹ In 1992, looking back on his own education, Hugh Trevor-Roper denounced the narrow linguistic training he had had at school, but added that ‘in Oxford . . . it has been overtaken. I think E.R. Dodds deserves much of the credit’.⁶²

Among the consequences of the long impasse of the 1950s was Kenneth Dover’s decision to refuse the offer of the Regius chair when Dodds retired in 1960. In his autobiography, Dover explained that his chief academic reason for refusing the chair was his dissatisfaction with the structure of Classics at Oxford and his view that reform was unlikely in the near future.⁶³ He had given a fuller explanation in his reply to a letter from Dodds imploring him to reconsider, explaining that five years away from Oxford had made him see it in a fresh light, and that the dominant position of Oxford in the British classical world was bad both for Classics and for Oxford.⁶⁴ There was a certain irony in this: not only was Dover’s analysis just what Dodds might have offered himself earlier on, but Dodds the former outsider was now asking the self-exiled Dover to return to what had eventually become home for Dodds. This episode goes unmentioned in *Missing Persons*, but Dodds was not merely responding to rumour; he had been consulted by Harold Macmillan’s appointments secretary and had given his opinion of the three men being considered for the chair (W.S. Barrett, Dover, and Hugh Lloyd-Jones).⁶⁵ His letter has not survived, but the response from 10 Downing Street indicates that he stressed the

⁶¹ MP 177–8. It may be worth noting that in the 1950s, Dodds was working on his edition of the *Gorgias*, a dialogue in which the tension between rhetoric and philosophy was a central feature: see Rutherford.

⁶² He added that he thought *The Greeks and the Irrational* an excellent book, and so forgave Dodds ‘all his personal disagreeableness’. Trevor-Roper to J. Shiel, 21 January 1992, in Davenport-Hines and Sisman 2014, 382. The editors comment (*ibid.*) that Trevor-Roper found Dodds ‘tense and austere’. Trevor-Roper was an undergraduate at Christ Church 1932–6; he returned as a Student (fellow) in 1946.

⁶³ Dover 1994, 90–1. In his letter of refusal to Harold Macmillan, Dover had explained that Oxford was unique in not including Classics, as usually defined, in its final honours school, and that his experience of attempted reform in 1953–5 had been very discouraging. Dover to Macmillan, 7 March 1860, Dover family papers.

⁶⁴ Dover to Dodds, 24 March 1960. Dodds Papers, box 6.

⁶⁵ A letter of thanks from the secretary, David Stephens, 2 February 1960, survives in the Dodds Papers, box 6.

importance of taking more than technical scholarship into account.⁶⁶ It seems probable that he came down in favour of Dover—who himself, in refusing the chair, urged Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the day, to appoint Barrett.⁶⁷

Home and away

The portrait of Dodds reproduced on the cover and as the frontispiece of this volume, painted toward the end of his life, shows an ethereal figure resembling a spiritualized hobbit. The photograph taken by Walter Stoneman in February 1945, by contrast, reveals a man of power (fig. 2.2). This is the man who was asked more than once to chair committees and lead

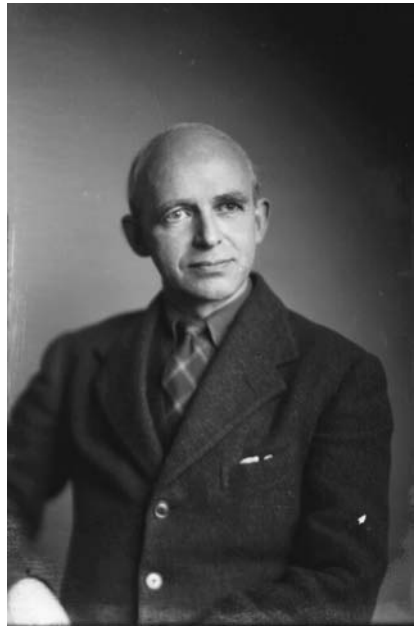


Fig. 2.2 Eric Robertson Dodds by Walter Stoneman, February 1945. Given by Walter Stoneman, 1951. NPG × 20540.

© National Portrait Gallery, London.

⁶⁶ The survival rate of such documents after weeding is apparently 3–5 per cent. Information from Steven Cable, The National Archives.

⁶⁷ Dover's account does not mention his interchange with Dodds, who is a missing person in the index to *Marginal Comment*, though he is referred to on pp. 39–40, 82, 83, and 91.

investigations, who spoke for Classics at Birmingham, and who rose at some speed both through the academic hierarchy and through the ranks of the AUT. One of the consequences of this, especially in the 1940s, was that Dodds spent long periods of time away from his wife. For much of 1941–2, he was in London on war work. A trip to China touring universities with Joseph Needham took a year in 1942–3 (*MP* 145–59). Several months in 1945 were spent evaluating oriental studies departments in the US for the Rockefeller Foundation, to whom he sent a hard-hitting confidential report. In the winter of 1946/7, he led an AUT deputation to inspect German universities (see Phillips), and the autumn of 1949 was spent in Berkeley, where he gave the Sather lectures which became *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Bet stayed at home for all these periods. ‘The heaviest share of the price’ for his China trip, Dodds recalled, ‘was paid by my wife in loneliness and anxiety... In the end she was without even animal companionship: her two faithful old dogs died in my absence, and so did the much loved parrot William, whom she had possessed ever since I first knew her.’⁶⁸ In 1944, when Dodds was asked to become education adviser to the British Control Commission in Germany, a post which offered ‘in the guise of civic duty a vast if temporary measure of personal power’, he turned it down: ‘My marriage was falling into disrepair through my neglect, and my first duty was to mend it’ (*MP* 163). In a letter from Vancouver in 1945, he told her that ‘I really have no one at all except my dear, and I have left her alone for the best part of 3 years now... in Oxford which she doesn’t like while I gadded about the world with strangers.’⁶⁹

What kind of marriage was it? Both parties wanted children, but, after two miscarriages and the threat of pre-eclampsia, they had to abandon their hopes. They turned to animals instead, and Bet began breeding Sealyham terriers; ‘these little creatures... did all that a dog could to fill the gap in our lives’ (*MP* 114). Dodds’s absences gave rise to correspondence which provides glimpses of his relationship with Bet. Some of her letters include notes from their dog Ned, written in a clumsy canine hand and beginning ‘Dere Marster’. One note reassures Dodds that ‘you nede hav no ankzieti about Our Mum as I never leaves here and gives

⁶⁸ *MP* 161; a photograph of Bet and William appears opposite p. 55.

⁶⁹ Dodds to Bet, 13 June 1945. Dodds Papers, Box 3.

her lots of luv'.⁷⁰ When he was away lecturing on a Mediterranean cruise in 1960, Bet reported that 'Me and Ned retired to your shady silent study (where we now reside, and think of sleeping on the mat)'; during an absence in 1957, Bet began a letter, 'Dear Thing, It is hard for us to be separated, but then it is hard for us to be together.'⁷¹ Hugh Lloyd-Jones's reference to their relationship in his obituary of Dodds is perhaps apposite: 'Despite the not entirely easy temperaments of both partners, the marriage was wholly happy' (Lloyd-Jones 1980, 79). Bet, however, had other burdens to bear than her childlessness: when they married in 1923, she was a university lecturer in English, and her book on the poetry of the Romantics was very well received.⁷² When they moved to Birmingham in 1924, she joined the English department there, though she seems to have published little except for a few reviews; a planned book on the servant in English literature never appeared. She was, however, largely responsible for the appearance of their friend Wystan Auden's *Oxford Book of Light Verse* (1938), which he handed over to her incomplete and full of errors (Carpenter 2010, 232). The move to Oxford in 1936 involved the loss of her job and for the next ten years, for both of them, of a garden. The early 1970s were clouded for the Doddses by Bet's descent into dementia, to which Dodds referred in his autobiography with understandable brevity: 'my wife's last illness – which I do not propose to describe' (*MP* 194). To his friend Margaret Gardiner, he wrote that

My wife has lost her memory, is threatened with the loss of her eyesight, and has frequent falls, so that she can never be left alone in the house. A nurse comes in the mornings and evenings to get her bathed and dressed, but for the rest of the day she is dependent on me.⁷³

In 1985, Kenneth Dover commented on Dodds's reticence in the memoir, 'particularly about the suffering and sorrow which his wife's increasing insanity must have inflicted on him in his years of retirement'.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ned to Dodds, 28 August 1960. Dodds Papers, Box 9.

⁷¹ Bet to Dodds, 18 August 1957. Dodds Papers, Box 9. She also addressed him as 'Ming' or 'Mister', and usually signed as 'Bett', while Dodds often signed his letters 'Mit', short for 'Mister' (see Padel's section in 'Memories', this volume).

⁷² Powell 1926. A US reprint appeared in 1962.

⁷³ Dodds to Gardiner, 30 Dec. 1972: British Library, Add MS 71607.11.

⁷⁴ Dover to T. Brown, 15 Jan. 1995. Dover papers, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Conclusion

To understand what Dodds did in Oxford, we need to know what he brought to it from the wider world to a university whose twentieth-century history consists in part in its changing relationship with that world. One way to look at this is to compare him with his teacher Gilbert Murray, who like him combined profound knowledge of Greek with an awareness of areas beyond language, and beyond the classical world. Dodds's wider interests were perhaps not as wide-ranging as Murray's, but his linguistic scholarship was more rigorous, and moreover integrated with his literary interests in a way that Murray's was not. Murray had produced texts of Euripides and Aeschylus, as well as translations of their plays and books about them; Dodds brought out editions of Euripides and Plato in which linguistic, literary, and cultural analysis combined to great effect. Both men lived through the massive social, political, and cultural changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when old certainties dissolved and stability gave way to change and relativity.⁷⁵ Both men were outsiders, though in different ways, Murray coming from Australia, Dodds from Ireland, though Murray married into the English aristocracy, while Dodds did not. Both men combined rationalism with a fascination with the irrational; both were long-term explorers of paranormal phenomena (see Lowe, and for Murray, Lowe 2007).

One could also compare with Dodds his colleague in Oxford for seventeen years, Eduard Fraenkel, whose impact on Oxford scholarship was at least as great as Dodds's, though in a different way, and who as a German Jew was even more of an outsider. After retirement Dodds remained a recognizable figure in Oxford; Richard Jenkyns remembers seeing him in the street, 'a leprechaun in an old-fashioned broad-brimmed hat of faintly bohemian flavour, looking like a miniaturised survival from the Dublin of Yeats and Gogarty' (pers. comm.). In the same period, Eduard Fraenkel was also to be seen, another miniaturized survival, in this case from the Berlin of Wilamowitz, and with a beret rather than a bohemian hat. What both men brought to Oxford was the stimulus of ideas and traditions foreign to a local culture of scholarship whose very success had made it complacent.

⁷⁵ For responses within classical scholarship, see Stray 1998, 202–70, and more generally Gerson 2004, which includes discussions of the work of Murray and of F.M. Cornford.

Dodds's retirement in 1960 marked the end of a period in which professionalized classical scholarship engaged with a wider world of politics and culture. His successors in the Oxford Greek chair have all been Oxford men, though very varied in their interests and attainments; it seems unlikely that the combination of talent, interests, and circumstance that produced Dodds's career will recur.

3

The Battle for the Irrational

Greek Religion 1920–50

Renaud Gagné

For Albert Henrichs

Introduction

The deep fascination that Greek religion has continued to exert on modern scholarship is a distinctive facet of the classical mirage.¹ The special roles ascribed to Greek rationality as an antecedent, a model and a foil made the religious experience of Hellenism an inexhaustible source of interest. Was the famed Greek rationality an essential part of Greek religion, or did it emerge in opposition to it? Are the bizarre, often shocking rites and stories of the ancient gods to be separated from the serene and lofty heights of ‘the Greek miracle’ and its exemplarity? In what way was that strangely familiar religious heritage related to Christianity? Where does evolution fit in this narrative of origins? The involved debates of many generations incessantly returned to these questions across the centuries and used them to negotiate further significance for the uncanny familiarity of Hellenism. The period that concerns us here (1920–50), animated by an unprecedented crisis of confidence in the value of Western civilization and the legacy of Europe, invested a great deal of effort in the answers that could be sought from the celebrated old sources. As the former certainties were battered from all sides, the revered voices from the past often resonated with the intensity of a battle call for renewal. Greek religion, one of the most contested domains in the

¹ The research for this chapter has benefited from the generous support of the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study (SCAS) in Uppsala, the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond and the Leverhulme Trust. I would like to thank Pierre Bonnechere, Jan Bremmer, Paul Cartledge, Giovanni Casadio, Jaś Elsner, Simon Goldhill, Miguel Herrero, Andrej Petrovic, Renate Schlesiener, Alessandro Stavru, Guy Stroumsa, Hannah Willey, and the three editors of this volume for their comments and criticism.

reception of ancient culture, was to be solicited again and again to help imagine a new future.

If we are to understand something of the forces that shaped the history of Greek religion between the aftermaths of the two world wars, we cannot limit our views to the genealogical vicissitudes of *ordentliche Philologie* and its critics, teleologies that lead to a dominant school, lazy generalizations about Catholics and Protestants, or the anecdotal treasures of the individual scholar in the network of his or her contexts. Tectonic shifts at work in and out of the academic disciplines loom large in this story, and it is crucial to take their contours into account. E.R. Dodds's work actively sought to reflect the major transformations of its time. While Robert Parker focuses more specifically on the direct engagement of Dodds with contemporary scholarship on Greek religion in this volume, I am concerned with contextualizing Dodds's work within the broader debates of objects and methods in the field, and look more generally at some of the key currents that animated and divided the study of Greek religion across countries and languages in those years.

There is no room here for a comprehensive review of the significant developments that marked the historiography of Greek religion between 1920 and 1950. Different countries and languages sustained different traditions, and within each country the rise of new currents of thought, distinctive forms of institutional inertia, and clashes of individual approaches produced unique configurations. Any unified narrative will lose track of the specificities of different regions, and any study that limits itself to a region will fail to pick up the enmeshed threads of the big picture. Some of the contemporary figures that made the field passed each other like ships in the night, but most were involved in a dense web of relations with each other. The wide diffusion of prestigious journals and publishers, encyclopaedias, regular reviews, conferences, letters, references and visits all reinforced the links that bridged institutions and major European languages of research. The networks that make scholarly communities were particularly dense in this case.² We only have the space to hint at those networks here, but we should not forget their constant work.

The usual stories told about the historiography of Greek religion in this period depict a passing of the torch. Walter Burkert's representative and influential view, most clearly summarized in the initial pages of

² Cf. the case of social sciences at Harvard c.1950 analysed by Isaac 2012.

Greek Religion, insists on the gradual refinement of approaches to understanding the ties that bind myth and ritual. The philological rigour of *Altertumswissenschaft*, allied with the continued explorations of folklorists, offers the backbone of progress in that view.³ And the development of British social anthropology is cast as the prime agent of paradigm shift, with late Victorian armchair ethnography fruitfully extended to Greece by the ‘Cambridge ritualists’ and their contemporaries, and the work of the post-Malinowski field anthropologists viewed as a potent source of further scientific renewal. For the members and heirs of the Centre Gernet, on the other hand, the genealogy that really matters in this period is the one that leads from the approaches of Durkheim and Mauss to those of Lévi-Strauss in the study of Greek religion: the research that laid the fundamental groundwork for the sociological investigation of *polis*-religion and the initial developments of what would eventually become the structural (and post-structural) analysis of Greek myth and polytheism.⁴ Both views make strong claims to trace the determinant meeting of classics and anthropology that they complete, both are careful to construct foils and adversaries, and both positions have been heavily contested by decades of substantial criticism.

Histories of scholarship tend to reinforce accepted wisdom and dominant practice. They generally repeat the well-known exploits of the usual suspects, organized in a litany of incremental steps towards higher ground. Or the point is to create neat schematic divisions: we used to do that, now we do this. People look for confirmation bias in their historiography, organized in neat Kuhnian paradigm shifts. Scholarly memory is highly selective. Now that the systems once defended by grand narratives no longer stand on their own as triumphant research programmes, different sets of roles are attached to intellectual genealogy by a discipline that has lost faith in clear evolutions and continues to look for answers in alternative pasts. A messy landscape of alternative ‘futures past’ is cracked wide open.⁵ The period 1920–50 saw a similar crisis of confidence in the great scholarly edifices of the previous generations, one that started with the breakdown of Humboldtian neo-humanism and the positivistic philology embodied by the towering presence

³ Burkert 1985, 1–4. More extensively, Burkert 1980 and 2002. Konaris 2016 richly develops that narrative, with a strict focus on the gods; cf. Versnel 1990a and Bremmer 2010a.

⁴ See, for instance, Vernant 1968, Di Donato 1983; cf. Vernant 1974a (on myth). *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* was, of course, published in 1949.

⁵ On ‘futures past’, see Koselleck 1985.

of Wilamowitz.⁶ Some believe that we have never really left the field of ruins produced by the collapse of the neohumanist colossus. Independently of such a view, renewed attention to what paths were explored and what solutions were envisaged in those days of anxious searches for relevance opens a world of forgotten riches. The deep doubts of our own post-secular time resonate strongly with the questions of those troubled years.⁷ The dead ends and holdouts of later narratives look different when perspective is less governed by destination. No moment of scholarship is merely an antechamber. The three decades after the end of the First World War generated rich and varied new approaches to the study of Greek religion, often highly polemical in their differences, and the stakes of those debates cannot be reduced to a prelude of what was to follow now that we no longer quite know where we are headed.

This chapter is concerned with conflicts of scholarship. At the heart of the fundamental disagreements that were reshaping the field in the thirty years that we are considering is the growing role given to ‘the Irrational’ in the study of Greek culture and religion. A veritable fascination set in for alternatives to reason in the study *and practice* of classical philology. An interest in the inner psychological dimensions of ancient cult and, more strikingly, in unconventional methods of interpretation and intuitive scholarship that emphasized inner participation in the thought and experience of the old rites and symbols swept over the domains of classical philology and the newly assertive *Religionswissenschaft*, and the reactions that countered these claims with further empirical collections of material and refined restatements of the historical-critical methods were themselves significantly marked by the radical developments. The study of Greek religion, so thoroughly intertwined with the special status of Greek reason and the roles it has continued to play in Western views of itself, was to be profoundly affected by these developments of intellectual culture. In a period that was intensely aware of standing at the threshold of different epochs and ideals of humanism, a crossroad of possible and divergent futures, the battle for the

⁶ Marchand 2003a, pp. 312–30 provides a lively portrait of that moment. For 1920s and 1930s anxiety about the classical tradition in England, see e.g. Budelmann and Haubold 2001, p. 13. For the larger cultural context, see Blom 2015.

⁷ See Bollack 1993, Henrichs 1995a; cf. Dumézil 1950, p. 242: ‘Et l’expérience montre que c’est presque toujours en revenant à de tels monuments du passé et en les méditant—erreurs comprises—et non pas en poussant linéairement, scolairement, dans les voies faciles mais vite exténuées des maîtres immédiats, que de jeunes savants bien doués découvrent des points de vue nouveaux et féconds.’ For the notion of post-secularism, see e.g. Habermas 2008.

Irrational was right at the heart of the conflicts that redefined the meanings of Greece for the brave new world ahead.

From well before our period, ‘the Irrational’, *das Irrationale* and their cognates had long pointed to what is absurd and illogical, to a lack of sense, the opposite of reason.⁸ Negative depictions of religion and superstition figure prominently in that regard.⁹ A more technical referent, yet by far the most distinctive usage of the term at the beginning of the twentieth century, is the fundamental mathematical notion of the irrational number.¹⁰ Reflecting the Greek *alogon*, the mathematical irrational represents a whole world of meaning that lies beyond the representational power of integers.¹¹ Inexpressible through the dominion of the *arithmos*, the *alogon* belongs to the different realm of magnitude, the *megethos*, within which its infinite extensions are to be found. A challenge to conventional understandings of number and form, the mathematical irrational is an invitation to think the ineffable and apprehend the presence of incommensurables. A positive object of knowledge at the heart of arithmetic and geometry, the irrational number can be seen as the standard emblem for another type of reason beyond conventional reason.¹² The role of the Greeks in developing the special kind of understanding that gives access to this mathematical dimension was a celebrated achievement. When G. Junge wrote ‘Wann haben die Griechen das Irrationale entdeckt?’ in 1907, it was clear to his readers that ‘the Irrational’ in question was the mathematical referent, and the Greek discovery the foundation for all further steps in that direction.

The subjective irrational of emotions and alternatives to reason had a long modern history of praise and valuation, particularly noteworthy from Pascal to Kierkegaard and the Symbolists.¹³ But a powerful and more widespread enthusiasm for the more obscure sides of the mind was to emerge at the close of the Great War. The notorious Surrealist Manifesto of 1924 is but one of the many expressions of this surging interest in the cognitive possibilities of unreason. More strikingly, what becomes more common at this time is the metaphorical understanding of subjective irrationality through the objective reality of irrational numbers. The irrational mode of knowing is enmeshed with the irrational nature of the object of knowledge in this view.

⁸ On reactions to Plato already, see, for instance, Delattre 2004; cf. the current understandings of *Irrationalität* in Asmuth and Neuffer 2015.

⁹ See Gekle 1993. ¹⁰ Niven 1956.

¹¹ For the Greek mathematical *alogon*, see e.g. Lloyd 2004 and Fritz 2004.

¹² See e.g. Ladrière 1950, Gasperoni 2015, Binkelman 2015.

¹³ Clair 2011, Pireddu 2006.

Paul Valéry, in his 1919 discussion of the spirit of the Renaissance, could thus celebrate ‘tous ces états à demi impossibles, qui introduisent, dirait-on, des valeurs approchées, des solutions irrationnelles ou transcendantes dans l'équation de la connaissance’.¹⁴ As Dodds wrote in 1945:

Future historians will, I believe, recognise in this preoccupation with the surd element [the Irrational] the governing impulse of our time, the *δαίμων* or *Zeitgeist* which in different guises has haunted minds such as Nietzsche, Bergson, Heidegger in philosophy; Jung in psychology; Sorel, Pareto, Spengler in political theory; Yeats, Lawrence, Joyce, Kafka, Sartre in literature; Picasso and the surrealists in painting.¹⁵

Religion is the key domain of reference for this growing concern with the perception of irrational reality.¹⁶ Nowhere is this clearer than in Rudolf Otto's seminal 1917 *Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*.¹⁷ The ‘wholly other’ constituted by the numinous is a distinctive realm of reality with its own logic. The *sensus numinis* is the particular subjective disposition that allows access to the power of the sacred, both for the believer and for the scholar who studies religion.¹⁸ The *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* can only be truly apprehended through experience.¹⁹ Without vital intuition, there can be no access to the numinous. This was no mere return to romantic symbolism, but a claim to a new form of scientific knowledge. If religion was to be studied properly, the Irrational was now to be understood on its own terms, as an object of research that requires specific tools. The elusive otherness of the divine and the sacred demanded an alternative to the demonstrable certitudes and the clinical taxonomies of positivism.

The Greeks and the Irrational had to be reconfigured a thousand times before *The Greeks and the Irrational* could be written. This chapter seeks to evoke something of the vibrant intellectual environment in which these reconfigurations took place. It will sketch a big-picture view of a moment

¹⁴ Valéry 1919b.

¹⁵ Dodds 1945a, p. 16. Cf. Rosteutscher 1947, who follows the development of a classicizing, Dionysiac *Irrationalismus* at the heart of German culture since the time of Hölderlin.

¹⁶ See e.g. Flasche 1991; Kippenberg 1997, 95–7.

¹⁷ On Otto, see e.g. Gooch 2000; Krech 2002, p. 62–5; Lauster et al. 2013; cf. Dodds 1951a, 63, n. 112. For Otto's current recuperation by the ‘Cognitive Science of Religion’ (CSR), see Alles 2014.

¹⁸ See Otto 1932, Wach 1931; cf. Flasche 1982. On the historiography of ‘the sacred’, see Borgeaud 2016 [1994], 19–46.

¹⁹ Various papers in Otto 1923; cf. Stavru 2002, Slenczka 2013.

of scholarship on Greek religion from that particular angle. ‘The Irrational’ is a notoriously problematic term of analysis. Whose Irrational? The usage of that term in this study is subordinated to the perspectives of the scholars and writers under review. I do not use ‘the Irrational’ myself as a term for my own analysis. With that said, I will refrain from adding scare quotes whenever the Irrational is mentioned. A broad range of psychological and social phenomena was embraced by that term and its equivalents: everything that was framed by opposition to the realm of Reason. A space of negative definition, its very indeterminacy increased the charge and the anxiety of the questions it provokes: what, then, is Reason? Where does the dichotomy rational-irrational fit in the relativity of plural rationalities? How rational is *our* ‘Reason’? And from whose perspective? Dodds described the Irrational in 1945 as ‘that surd element in human experience, both in our experience of ourselves and in our experience of the world about us, which has exercised so powerful—and, as some of us think, so perilous—a fascination on the philosophers, artists, and men of letters of our day’.²⁰ With that expansive view of the Irrational as a running thread, the following pages look at how the historiography of Greek religion renewed itself between 1920 and 1950. A first section is concerned with the great changes that saw the Belle Époque study of ancient religion thoroughly transformed after the Great War. The second section focuses on the stakes of some of the fundamental disagreements that set influential scholars of the Interwar years against each other. Situating the rationality of Greek religion remained a highly polemical and charged way to reflect on the crisis of European culture after the death of God and the cataclysm of mechanical warfare. The battle for the Greek Irrational was a search for the new foundations of modernity.

The Belle Époque history of religions

Scholarship on ancient religion was undergoing a profound transformation at the beginning of our period, one that set the tone for much of what was to come later. To assess the significance of that shift, we have to start by

²⁰ Dodds 1945a, p. 16; cf. Schenker 2006. On page 1 of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Dodds further identifies the opposite of what is *rational* as ‘the awareness of mystery and the ability to penetrate to the deeper, less conscious levels of human experience’. I suspect Dodds’s concept of ‘the irrational’ owes as much to Proclus’ *alogon* (for which see e.g. Lernould 2012) as to Plato. For the genesis of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, see Todd 1998a.

considering what it was reacting to.²¹ In line with the upheavals of fervent *laïcité* in the France of the Third Republic, the *Kulturkampf* of Bismarck's Germany and the muted secularism of Victorian Great Britain, the previous two generations had established the institutional foundations of non-confessional religious studies in higher education.²² The first academic chairs of 'religious science' were set up in the 1870s: Geneva in 1873, Leiden and Amsterdam in 1877, and Paris (Collège de France) in 1879.²³ The *Revue de l'histoire des religions* was also founded in Paris in 1879 and the famed 'Ve Section (Sciences religieuses)' of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) was opened there in 1886.²⁴ Durkheim's *Année Sociologique*, with its important section on religious sociology, was founded in 1898.²⁵ Marcel Mauss, one of the leading lights of the Ve Section and the holder of its chair of 'Histoire des religions des peuples non civilisés' since 1901, taught a whole generation and was to become one of the founding fathers of French ethnology.²⁶

In Oxford and Cambridge, the comparative study of ancient religion, heir of a long tradition, had become a dominant presence of intellectual life, from the massive output of Max Müller to the fundamental insights of Robertson Smith, the exhaustive compilations of Frazer and the many enthusiastic followers of the myth-and-ritual persuasion.²⁷ The development of late Victorian anthropology into a discipline of its own remained thoroughly

²¹ For the larger picture, see still Sharpe 1986; see also Stausberg 2007 and Alles 2008.

²² Cf. McLeod 2000, 108–17; cf. Molendijk 2005, 1–22.

²³ See e.g. Rudolph 1962, 20–2; Sharpe 1986, p. 121; Platvoet 1998; Molendijk 2005, pp. 71–9; Borgeaud 2016 [2006], 131–41; in the USA, the first chair—the Frothingham Professorship of the History of Religions—was created at Harvard in 1904 (Turner 2011, p. 58). See Jordan 1905, 581–3.

²⁴ Cabanel 1994; Borgeaud 2016 [1986], 11–15; on the influence of Durkheim's circle in the 5^e Section, see Brooks III 2002.

²⁵ Fournier 2007, pp. 329–63. See Honigsheim 1995 for its influence on the study of religion.

²⁶ See e.g. Strenski 2003. Other leading scholars of the Ve Section, contemporary and later, include Henri Hubert, Marcel Granet, Sylvain Lévi, Robert Herz, Louis Massignon, Henri-Charles Puech, Paul Alphandéry, and Alfred Loisy (see Baubérot 2002). There was nothing quite like this concentration of comparative talent and collaboration in the field anywhere else in the world. The position of *Directeur d'études* in the history of the religions of Greece and Rome at the Ve Section was first held by André Berthelot (1886–1903), followed by Jules Toutain (1903–34), who, among all his other work, was also the French translator of Frazer's *The Golden Bough*. The post was vacant from 1934 to 1943, when Henri Jeanmaire and André-Jean Festugière respectively took hold of the chairs of 'religion grecque ancienne' and 'religions hellénistiques et de la fin du paganisme'. Georges Dumézil obtained his position of 'directeur d'études de mythologie comparée' at the Ve Section in 1935. The latter plays no part in *The Greeks and the Irrational*. For Dodds, knowledge about the Indo-Europeans still comes essentially from the Chadwicks (Chadwick and Chadwick 1932–40).

²⁷ Jones 1984; Kitawaga and Strong 1985. On the 'Cambridge School', see e.g. the various papers in Calder III 1991.

intertwined with this comparative research on ancient religion, together with the new sociological study of religion, whose territory was being traced by Durkheim and Weber.²⁸ Although institutionally marginal, the folklore approach of van Gennep was to produce fundamental results.²⁹ In Göttingen and elsewhere, the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* was revolutionizing Biblical exegesis with its detailed demonstrations of historically situated hermeneutics.³⁰ The first edition of the great encyclopaedia *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (RGG) was published between 1909 and 1913.³¹ In Bonn, the *Religionswissenschaftliche Schule* of Usener and his disciples, most notably Dieterich, was pioneering the further imbrication of ethnology, philology and folklore.³² The foundation of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* in 1898 was a landmark event.³³ Rohde had achieved an inspired synthesis of methodologies and sources in his ground-breaking *Psyche* (1890–4), where experimentations with the animism of Tylor are intertwined with the finest level of philological skill.³⁴ After the opposition of von Harnack was finally overcome, the first German *Lehrstuhl* of *Religionswissenschaft* was founded in 1910 in Berlin.³⁵ Thoroughly international, the new and confident *fin-de-siècle* study of religion organized great regular

²⁸ Krech 2002, pp. 28–37. For the notion of rationality in Weber, see Neugebauer 2015. On Weber and Usener, see Kalinowski 2011. Valéry (1934, p. 9) describes the charm of the analogies and contrasts of Frazerian comparison as a motif that appears ‘comme sur une frise intellectuelle où paraîtraient captifs de l’art et de la connaissance, des spécimens de toutes les races humaines’.

²⁹ The standout contribution is the 1909 *Les rites de passage*. Long before the reappropriations of Victor Turner and Angelo Brelich, Henri Jeanmaire was the first to make systematic usage of van Gennep’s *rites de passage* in the 1930s. H.J. Rose, in his 1939 *JHS* (59, p. 298) review of *Couroi et courètes*, characteristically fails to realize the significance of that important work; cf. Dodds 1951a [1940], 280, n. 36 [162, n. 37]. See further Jeanmaire 1951.

³⁰ Simon 1975, Koester 1986, Lüdemann and Schröder 1987; Krech 2002, 147–8. For the evolution of contemporary perception, it can be interesting to compare Rade 1913 and Eissfeldt 1930.

³¹ Konrad 2006, 179–346; cf. Dodds 1951a, 276.

³² Momigliano 1982; Sassi 1982; Schlesier 1994, 193–241; Bremmer 2011; cf. Clemen 1935. On the immense impact of Usener, see Bremmer 1990, Wessels 2003, and the essays in Espagne and Rabault-Feurhahn 2011.

³³ Dürkop 2013, p. 1. It is a notable fact that the journal was founded in the same year as the *Année Sociologique*.

³⁴ *Psyche* achieved a level of fame and influence across the decades that even the *Greeks and the Irrational* would not surpass in its time. See e.g. Dodds 1951a, pp. 7, 65, 68, 86, n. 29, 87, n. 41, 88, n. 45, 139, 150, 161, n. 32. The Italian translation of 1914–16, the English translation of 1925 and French translation of 1928 reaffirmed its continued presence and relevance throughout our period. Rohde’s masterpiece is directly woven into the Dionysiac dream of Thomas Mann’s 1912 *Death in Venice* (see Sanchiño Martínez 2011, 520–1, 529). The Californian punk band ‘The Mr. T Experience’ explicitly mentions Dodds and *The Greeks and the Irrational* in their 1988 song *The History of the Concept of the Soul*; different homages for different periods.

³⁵ See Krech 2002, 123 n. 3.

conferences that encouraged contact and exchange across languages and borders. The triumphal *Premier Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions* of 1900 in Paris, embedded in the great Exposition Universelle, was to be followed by further affirmations of clout and relevance, with meetings in Basel in 1904; Oxford in 1908; and Leiden in 1912.³⁶

The Belle Époque history of religions mostly channelled a liberal ethos of rationalist progress. That moment in the consolidation of religious studies as a professional academic discipline was marked by a generalized faith in the ability of reason to classify the stages of religious development. Similarities across periods and peoples had to be identified and categorized. While the vertical axes of evolution or degeneration dominated reflection on the topic, the horizontal axis of diffusion also had great currency. In German scholarship, for instance, there was a strong tension between the evolutionist approach of Adolf Bastian and the diffusionist views of Richard Andree and Friedrich Ratzel.³⁷ Common objects of research included the recurrent patterns of 'primitive' myth and ritual; the strange practices of magic and superstition; the trajectories leading to monotheism or away from it; the juxtapositions of cult and polytheism; the impact of natural cycles on religious ideas and behaviour; the imbrications of kingship, kinship and cosmos; or the projections of social organization. Some currents of scholarship were seeking to further demarcate and undermine the power of religion more generally, while others were more interested in buttressing confessional positions. A sustained commentary on modernity and progress through contrast, the history of religions practised in those times cultivated the frisson of bizarre difference and the exotic foil. The evaluation of contemporary Christianity remained the fundamental reference of everything else, if ever more indirectly as time went by.³⁸ While the historical setting of early Christianity largely dominated the first two international meetings of history of religions, that was no longer the case in the 1908 Oxford international Congress, which was organized under the honorary presidency of 'the Nestor of Anthropology', E.B. Tylor.³⁹

Lewis Farnell, who had just been appointed the first Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion at Oxford, was a driving force of that meeting. The recognition that the specific objects pursued by the history of religions needed more epistemological reflection led to the constitution of a

³⁶ Molendijk 2010.

³⁷ See Fischer, Bolz, and Kamel 2007.

³⁸ See e.g. Bloch 1905.

³⁹ Allen 1908; cf. Alphandéry 1908.

lively new section on methodology at the Oxford Congress.⁴⁰ The distinctive nature of historical research into religious ideas, forms, and social organization was discussed there in papers that marked contrasts and convergences with history, philosophy, sociology, psychology, and biology. Beyond the further collection and understanding of philological and archaeological documents, and the continued refinement of research able to combine the two, a common set of questions and themes was found across the peoples, 'races', and civilizations studied in the other sections of the Congress. This was helped by the fact that many of the same speakers participated in different sections. Causal misunderstandings and social projections were recognized across the board of religious ideas. The primitive and the archaic were explored in their many forms through comparative juxtaposition, and the trajectories of exchange and evolution plotted onto the old oppositions of East and West, Aryan and Semite, and natural and civilized belief.⁴¹ Origins and survivals were the recurrent explanations of the oddity that characterized so much of the high and developed religions of the ancient world. Modern Western reason is the foil for much of that comparative scholarship.⁴²

At the heart of that Congress was the classical world, given its own individual section. Interventions on Greece included contributions and responses by A.B. Cook, F. Cumont, Arthur Evans, L.R. Farnell, J.G. Frazer, Jane Harrison, and Gilbert Murray, among others.⁴³ The central role that Greek philosophy had played for centuries in comparative studies of religion was now to be largely replaced by cult. In his presidential address, Salomon Reinach paints a landscape of rapidly changing systems.⁴⁴ Euhemerism, ancestor worship, and solar myths have all had their day, and 'the so-called anthropological school' that now holds sway over the young generation will eventually lose ground in turn. Animism and totemism are already seriously contested and the benefits of cultural comparison are confronted to renewed claims of irreducible cultural specificity. The later work of Dieterich is identified as an example of the view that Greece falls outside the regular grid of evolution; a sophisticated, cutting-edge

⁴⁰ Allen 1908, 365–449.

⁴¹ See especially Allen 1908, 21–102, 232–326; cf. Olender 1989 for the previous generations. The only pages that had been cut in J.G. Frazer's copy, which is now in the Haddon Library (Cambridge), are the section on the 'Religions of the lower culture' (note the singular) and the section on the 'Religions of the Greeks and Romans'. Frazer's own contribution (Frazer 1908) has notes in Frazer's hand that show him adding further references and bibliography.

⁴² See Krech 2000.

⁴³ Allen 1908, 117–98.

⁴⁴ Reinach 1908.

reimagination of the old ‘miracle grec’. Orphism is being eclipsed as the key that opens all doors, and astrology has returned to greater prominence than at any time since Dupuis’ long-discredited *Origine de tous les cultes* (1795).⁴⁵ Against the idea of a succession of advances leading to clear progress, the portrait that emerges from this short text is one of superimposition and coexistence: different moments and systems of scholarship adding something of lasting value to the ongoing discussion. The situation is compared to the state of historical linguistics before the revolution of the *Junggrammatiker* in the 1880s, when the accumulation of evidence based on analogy gave way to the observation of regular patterns in the distribution of differences.⁴⁶ Further aggregation and refinement of evidence will continue, argues Reinach, and new systems will add new insights, but the future watershed change that will give sure scientific footing to the study of ancient religion is the goal that really matters, and that still lies ahead. These are days of feverish activity and great promise, in other words, and the foundations are being laid for the imminent leap forward.

What Reinach is essentially doing in this address at the heart of English academia is warning against the certitudes of the British anthropological school in the study of Greek religion. His own version of a systematic anthropological science of ancient religion was to be given a detailed airing just the next year (1909) in *Orpheus: Histoire générale des religions*, where he proposes to read ancient cults, duly compared and classified, through the common lenses of taboos, animism, fetishism, totemism, and magic.⁴⁷ In *Orpheus*, a book that was to have as much visibility and influence in its time as it is now comprehensively forgotten, Reinach makes a case for understanding the remains of European religion as vestiges of primordial emotional and instinctive illusions:

Les religions d’Europe ont devant elles un avenir indéfini et qu’on peut être certain qu’il en restera toujours quelque chose, parce qu’il y aura toujours du mystère dans le monde, parce que la science n’aura jamais accompli toute sa tâche, parce que les hommes apporteront toujours dans la vie les illusions de l’animisme ancestral, tour à tour exaltées par la douleur qui cherche une consolation, par le sentiment de notre faiblesse, par l’admiration émue des magnificences ou des terreurs de la nature. Mais les religions elles-mêmes tendent à se laïciser comme les sciences auxquelles elles ont

⁴⁵ Reinach 1908, 119.

⁴⁶ Reinach 1908, 118.

⁴⁷ See Schlesier 2008.

donné naissance et... un courant invincible vers la laïcisation entraîne la pensée humaine tout entière.⁴⁸

The goal of the general history of religions is to explain and categorize this field of vestigial oddities on the way to common secular reason.

Such broad-brush reductions were not without their opponents. Alfred Loisy, to take one example, still freshly defrocked and excommunicated and newly appointed to the Chair of the History of Religions at the Collège de France, vigorously opposed the unbridled usage of analogy championed by Reinach to teach the pupils of the Third Republic how to circumscribe religious illusion. In a series of texts quickly written in reaction to *Orpheus*, republished together in *À propos d'histoire des religions*, the champion of Biblical Modernism attacks his rival's fetishization of origins.⁴⁹ The overly abstract categories of sociology and anthropology were not adequate for producing positive knowledge of the concrete evidence. For Loisy, also wedded to 'the comparative method' but remaining firmly grounded in the specificities of historical philology, and committed to the intense scrutiny of religion in a progressively more secular world, what the burgeoning new science of religion needed was the development of tools that allowed the appraisal of specific exchanges and developments. This quickly went far beyond the remit of German Higher Criticism and the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. As he argued particularly clearly in 1914 with his *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien*, the early history of Christianity is the one development that looms over all others, and the place of Hellenism in shaping its distinctive character is identified as the key question, one that cannot be reduced to accusations of deviation and attempts to recover putatively pure beginnings.⁵⁰ The scientific, historical assessment of Greek religion is a core concern of general importance for modern secular society. While in Paris the Dominicans of the *Revue Biblique* (notably Lagrange, followed by Festugière) opposed Loisy in earnest, people like Ernesto Buonaiuti were arguing a similar case in Rome itself.⁵¹

Less circumspect than Reinach in his triumphalism, Gilbert Murray could famously write in 1907 that 'it is a bold statement, yet on reflection we are prepared to maintain it, that one of the greatest practical advances made by

⁴⁸ Reinach 1909, 123. ⁴⁹ Loisy 1911.

⁵⁰ Roesli 2013; sent to the publisher in 1914, *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien* was only published in 1919.

⁵¹ Klein 1977; for Lagrange's engagement with the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* more generally in the heady days of victory over Germany, see Lagrange 1918.

the human race in the last fifteen or twenty years has been in our improved understanding of ancient and especially of Greek religion'.⁵² It is no surprise to see Greece singled out in this way. The study of Greek cult is recognized as a privileged path into nothing less than 'the meaning of Religion' itself. As a link between 'primitive' and 'high' religion, and one of the founts of both Christianity and science, Greek cult is an essential object of enquiry in the continuing advance towards reason and positive knowledge. In *Four Stages of Ancient Greek Religion* (1912), one of the most influential books on the topic ever written, Murray lays out his vision of a Greek civilization completely imbricated with the vestigial forces of myth and ritual.⁵³ The stages that lead from the ascent out of primitivism to the long decline into superstition frame a tale of continuities, reinventions, and deep legacies. The later addition of a chapter on philosophy (Murray 1925) simply completes the picture offered by the original book, without modifying it in any significant way. The story of that religious evolution is a key to the meaning of the fundamental forms of Greek culture and its Western heritage. Origins are the prime explanatory factors. The veneer of civilization hides a source of survivals that motivated as many recurrent patterns then as it does now. Greece is a red-hot paradigm.

The success of the *Four Stages* can be better underlined by setting it side-by-side with the abbé Habert's substantial and now rightly forgotten *La religion de la Grèce antique*, published in Paris in 1910. Like Murray, Father Habert tries to identify the four stages that punctuate the development of Greek religion. The investigation is fully *au fait* with the most recent developments of religious anthropology and sociology as well as philological research.⁵⁴ The stages of his analysis (naturism, anthropomorphism, purgation, syncretism) embody different facets of the absence of monotheism and moments of failure in the quest for God. A sympathetic curiosity about the oddities of ancient error punctuates every page of this popularizing book. The goal is to counter the notion that the exemplarity of Greek culture has any value for the study of true religion. The Greeks have lost all traces of the primitive Revelation. Their religion reflected the phenomena of Nature, without ever fulfilling the deep aspirations of men. Christianity was a clean break and a radical transformation. The charming superstitions of

⁵² Parker 2007, 81; cf. Toutain 1910. See Kippenberg 1997, 143–62.

⁵³ See Fowler 1991.

⁵⁴ See, for instance, n. 2, p. 46, where Habert engages with Hubert and Mauss' ideas about totemism.

the Greek race, in other words, have little to contribute to the violent debates of the day concerning education and *laïcité*.

Much sharper and eminently more scholarly than Habert, but just as polemical in their opposition to the triumphal claims of the anthropological school, are the twin books of Farnell: *Greece and Babylon* (1911) and *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion* (1912).⁵⁵ Following on the monumental *Cults of the Greek States* (1896–1909), the comparative impulse of this later work is generally subordinated to establishing contrasts and specificities or typological patterns. In opposition to Murray, Farnell privileges the historico-critical classifications inspired by the German philology and archaeology he knew so well, and he has little patience for generalizing the importance of primitive survivals and symbolism. The rituals he studies are less interesting for what they mean for the individual, than for what they do in society, in the *polis*. What both Murray and Farnell have in common, and what characterizes so much of Belle Époque scholarship on Greek religion, is faith in the belief that the proper application of the comparative method would be leading to an imminent scientific breakthrough. The quest for a regular, mechanical method was changing religion into a province of positive science. At the heart of this process, the fascinating oddity of Greek cult had to be sanitized and given its proper place in the museum of evolution, one that had exemplary value. Scholarship on Greek religion was a cornerstone of this whole moment in the history of religions.⁵⁶ Understanding Greek religion was a necessary foundation for the disenchantment of the world.

All of these modes of scholarship were to be pursued many decades later and there was to be no shortage in creative continuity after the War. Arthur Bernard Cook furthered the orthodox programme of myth and ritual in his interminable study of Zeus (Cook 1914–40).⁵⁷ Jane Ellen Harrison gave ever-greater prominence to the insights of Durkheim and Bergson in her later work.⁵⁸ Gilbert Murray persisted on his path of research, and his

⁵⁵ See Konaris 2016, 209–37.

⁵⁶ Note, for instance, the fact that the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* was edited by Hellenists from its foundation in 1898 to its demise in 1943. The foundation of the *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* in 1999 by Jan Assmann, Fritz Graf, Tonio Hölscher, Ludwig Koenen, and Jon Scheid—all specialists in the ancient Mediterranean world—was conceived as an homage to the old journal.

⁵⁷ Schwabl 1991; cf. Dodds 1951a, 70.

⁵⁸ See Schlesier 1991; 1994, 135, 158, 160; 189; cf. Nilsson 1941, 11. The performative eccentricity of Harrison accentuated the exoticism of her research. For Harrison and ‘the Irrational’, see Robinson 2006. It is often noticed that Dodds makes little reference to Harrison in *The Greeks and the Irrational* (e.g. 122, n. 5; see n. 195 below).

writing had a continuous and great impact on the work of others, notably the 1936 *The Hero* by Lord Raglan.⁵⁹ Francis Cornford continued his work on the religious origins of Greek reason.⁶⁰ Herbert J. Rose, an indefatigable writer of reviews on works about Greek religion in this period, took on the role of champion of safe common sense, and the same could be said of Keith Guthrie.⁶¹ Charles Picard disputed the arbiter's throne of the field in France with André-Jean Festugière and pushed for greater integration of archaeology in religious history.⁶² Karl Meuli continued the application of *Völkerkunde* and folklore research to the problems of philology, with extensive essays on shamanism and sacrifice, and championed the rediscovery of Bachofen.⁶³ Georges Dumézil moved from an orthodox Frazerian position to a more productive take on ideology (largely inspired by Mauss and Granet) in his comparative studies of Indo-European myths and institutions.⁶⁴ Frazer himself continued to command a great deal of influence on religious scholarship and modernist literature (and not only in English).⁶⁵ A fascinating combination of both can be found in Paul Valéry's introduction to the 1934 French translation of *The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion*.⁶⁶ Louis Robert's long reign of terror began then, and he spearheaded the ever-growing contribution of epigraphy to research on Greek religion.⁶⁷ Historico-critical philology remained the pillar of professional authorized scholarship, with Martin P. Nilsson one of the commanding figures in the field, although one who also mastered the old Tylorian anthropological approach.⁶⁸ Racialized theories on the 'mongrelization' of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods remained particularly popular themes.⁶⁹ Deep antisemitism continued to colour many of the debates about identity, tradition, and *Reinheit* that were conducted through scholarship on Greek religion and the Hellenization of Christianity.⁷⁰ A fascination with astrology, Neoplatonism and the decline of Hellenism can be noticed after the War, but that also continued many old patterns of

⁵⁹ Cf. Smertenko and Belknap 1935. ⁶⁰ See e.g. Cornford 1923, 1952.

⁶¹ Note Rose 1925, 1929, 1948; Guthrie 1935, 1950. ⁶² Picard 1930–2, 1948.

⁶³ See Graf 1992, especially the article by Henrichs. On the context for the 1948 reedition of *Das Mutterrecht*, see Zinser 1991; cf. Dodds 1951a, 88, n. 43, 140, 157, n. 6, 158, n. 8, 160, n. 30, 164, n. 47, 168, n. 75–6.

⁶⁴ See still Littleton 1973. ⁶⁵ Beard 1992.

⁶⁶ Valéry 1934, p. 8: 'Quoique chargé et pénétré d'une prodigieuse érudition, et comme tissu de faits, ce livre est d'un grand artiste.'

⁶⁷ See e.g. *Hellenica* vols. I–IX (1940–50). ⁶⁸ See n. 193.

⁶⁹ See e.g. Bissing 1921, Nilsson 1921, 1939 with Bengtsson 2014. Cf. Strenski 1987.

⁷⁰ See e.g. the essays in Cancik and Puschner 2004; Arvidsson 2006, pp. 149–238 (see especially p. 223–32: 'Myth, Order, and Irrationalism').

research already long in place, notably in the work of Reitzenstein.⁷¹ Like Nilsson, Franz Cumont was a pillar of continuity over half a century.⁷² One of the most creative minds in the field in the Belle Époque period and exceptionally active throughout our decades up to the posthumous publication of *Lux Perpetua* in 1949, he was with Joseph Bidez one of the leading lights of that vast enterprise of rediscovery of Imperial and Late Antique Hellenism, within which the research of Nock, Festugière, and their contemporary Dodds's early and highly formative work on Late Antique religion and theology has to be situated.⁷³

The last edition of Chantepie de la Saussaye's important and influential *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, an old-school comparative overview of ancient religions, with the chapter on Greece written by Nilsson, came out in 1925.⁷⁴ Otto Weinreich took over (1916–39) the publication of the famous *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, which had been founded by Dieterich and Wünsch in 1902.⁷⁵ Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, begun in 1908, was completed in 1927. The second edition of the great encyclopaedia *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* was published between 1927 and 1931.⁷⁶ The *Ausführliche Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, largely finished before Roscher's death in 1923, was finally completed in 1937 with Konrat Ziegler at the helm. The overwhelming majority of the second *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, begun in 1890, was in fact written

⁷¹ See e.g. Boll 1918; cf. Dodds 1951a, n. 132.

⁷² His posthumous influence lasted even longer. It will, for instance, take Richard Gordon's crucial 1975 article to break the long dominance of Cumont's views on Roman Mithraism. For the web of correspondence that united Cumont to the major scholars of the time, see Bonnet 1997, 2005, Bongard-Levine et al. 2007; Elsner 2016. Bonnet and Van Haepelen's introduction to the new *Bibliotheca Cumontiana* edition of *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, first published in 1906, gives an excellent overview of the significance of that work; cf. also the introductions to the new editions of *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* by Balty and Balty and *Lux Perpetua* by Rochette and Motte (with Bonnet et al. 2010); cf. Dodds 1951a, 83, n. 11, 127, n. 52, 158, n. 8, 258, n. 29, 263, n. 67, 268, n. 102, 291, 300, 304, 306. In 1951, 266, n. 85, Dodds compares Cumont's *Lux Perpetua* to Rohde's *Psyche*. Cumont was just slightly older than Nilsson.

⁷³ It is probably fair to say that Neoplatonism decisively nourished Dodds's view of ancient Greek religion. Dodds's uncharacteristic triple trajectory in his career—from Proclus to Plato/ from Homer to Plato/ from Plato to Proclus—is a fact that would warrant closer scrutiny. As one of the deep and enduring inspirations of both Peter Brown (a reverse inspiration in that case?) and Henri Dominique Saffrey, among so many others, Dodds is a major precursor of the current Golden Age of research into Late Antiquity, and not only as the author of *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*. See Hankey 2007; Todd 2008.

⁷⁴ See Molendijk 2005, 113–17.

⁷⁵ Schlesier 1994, 335. On Weinreich, see Wessels 2011.

⁷⁶ See Konrad 2006, 347–423.

between 1920 and 1950, with innumerable entries of interest to the study of Greek religion, and a clear tendency to express the now safe, conservative scholarly positions of earlier decades.⁷⁷

The interwar years

If continuity should not be downplayed, a profound shift in the centre of gravity of religious scholarship can be observed after the First World War. The previous dominance of evolutionary comparative approaches gave way to a more restricted focus on the relative specificities of individual cultures and the logic that structures their difference. Culture, now relative and horizontal, rather than absolute and vertical, demanded different forms of comparison.⁷⁸ Comparative religion, that is, did remain as popular as ever. But whereas the individual culture tended to be mined for its contribution to the general comparative picture, comparison was now mostly to be a tool for making sense of the individual culture. The search for the internal coherence of each system, and the rules that govern particular configurations, became a fundamental parameter of analysis. This was particularly true in the developments of post-war anthropology, now more fully independent as a discipline and beginning to assert an ever more pronounced theoretical and methodological ascendancy over related fields. While identifying the vertical stages of the evolutionary ladder through analogy eventually lost some of its appeal, people continued to pursue the horizontal parallels of different cultural units set side-by-side.⁷⁹ In the US, the Culture and Personality 'movement' centred on the work of Boas and his disciples pioneered studies into how the individual mind and affect are shaped by the scripted imprint of the cultural landscape.⁸⁰ The triumphant functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, and the many successors of Durkheim and Mauss replaced the old order of evolution

⁷⁷ Most of the Germanophone specialists in the field contributed something to the *RE*. As Dodds and Chadwick write in their 1963 *JRS* obituary, Arthur Darby Nock, while a student at Trinity College (Cambridge), was famous for being 'the greatest living authority on Pauly-Wissowa'.

⁷⁸ See e.g. Pye 1991.

⁷⁹ For the resulting plurality of rationalities, see Wagner 2015.

⁸⁰ Hofstede and Mcrae 2004. After Lévy-Bruhl, the work of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead is the foremost anthropological influence on Dodds's work; see e.g. 1951a, 26, n. 106, 54, n. 34, 279, n. 11, 282, n. 51, 310, n. 118; cf. Cairns 1993, pp. 27–47. Kluckhohn would single out Dodds's book as an example of fruitful interaction between Classics and Anthropology (Kluckhohn 1961).

and diffusion with rigorously differentiated investigations of social structure and the concrete uses of collective representation.⁸¹ It is telling that Mauss was institutionally a historian of religions before the War, while he came to be identified as an ethnologist after it.⁸² The foundation of the *Institut d'Ethnologie* in 1925 by Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl, and Rivet marked a key moment in the ethnological bifurcation away from History in France. Yet the frontiers remained creatively porous and fertile, long before the great successes of the *Annales* School; in the study of Greek religion, the Hellenists Gustave Glotz, Louis Gernet, and Henri Jeanmaire, among others, original collaborators of Durkheim and Mauss, never ceased to interact with the heirs of the *Année Sociologique*.⁸³

In Germany and Austria, the *Kulturkreise* school stood out for its radical take on the translation of cultural difference.⁸⁴ Less familiar today, it was a prominent agent of innovation in the years after the war. Still wedded to the old diffusionist tropes, it continued to study exchange and survival, but its great appeal was the claim to offer direct access to the meaning of foreign forms and ideas and to open roads into culture from the far reaches of time. Its centres of operation were Cologne and Vienna, with Fritz Graebner and Wilhelm Schmidt.⁸⁵ For the maverick but highly influential ethnologist Leo Frobenius, the scholar confronted with the strange worlds of distant and ancient cultural groups needs to attune his mind to those different forms of thought and literally be possessed by them: a form of intuitive, rapturous cognition.⁸⁶ Carl Gustav Jung and Martin Heidegger were to use the notion of *Ergriffenheit* (ontic seizure) to great effect in the 1930s.⁸⁷ Oswald Spengler and Ezra Pound prominently adapted the notion of *paideuma* to their own radically conservative views of organic culture.⁸⁸ While Frobenius had achieved fame and developed a wide readership outside the regular channels of academia in the years before the war, notably through the sponsorship of the Kaiser, the interwar years saw him institutionally consecrated. The foundation and directorship of the *Institut für Kulturmorphologie* in 1920

⁸¹ Evans-Pritchard is another anthropologist with a strong direct influence on Dodds. See, for instance, 1951a, 24 (n. 90); 52, n. 10. On p. 25 (n. 94), Dodds quotes Robert Lowie's anthropology of artistic religious forms at length. Lowie was most probably in the audience for the Sather Lectures at Berkeley.

⁸² Fournier 1994, 186–99, 521–6.

⁸³ See Di Donato 1987; cf. Picard 1948, 33–4. For Dodds on Glotz, see e.g. 1951, 34; 40; 57, n. 69; 60, n. 96; n. 99.

⁸⁴ Petermann 2004, 583–93; Georget, Ivanoff, Kuba 2016.

⁸⁵ Hahn 2014, 160–3.

⁸⁶ See e.g. Sylvain 1996; Marchand 2003c.

⁸⁷ Wasserstrom 1999, 121.

⁸⁸ Wallace 2010, 60–1; cf. Dodds 1951a, 269.

(Munich and then Frankfurt), the conferral of an honorary Professorship in 1932 at Frankfurt and the election as the head of the *Völkerkundemuseum* in 1934 marked the official recognition he had achieved by the end of his life.⁸⁹

In *Paideuma: Umriss einer Kultur- und Seelenlehre*, Frobenius traces the contours of a theory of organic cultural evolution.⁹⁰ The Greek term is used to conceive alternatives to the classical tradition. Every culture goes through stages of development, from childhood to maturity to age, and to each stage corresponds a fundamental moment: *Ergriffenheit* (ontic seizure), the initial impulse; *Ausdruck* (expression), when this initial impulse is given its full mature shape; and *Anwendung* (practice), when the mechanistic and technical imperatives finally take over in the triumph of disenchantment.⁹¹ The *paideuma* of each culture is the stable core that governs everything else, and the essence of the culture is predicated on the retention of that continuity radiating from the primordial insight. The soul of a culture is a distinctive and organic ontological unit. The overwhelming vision of reality that marks the emergence of a culture in its original environment, the ontic epiphany of *Ergriffenheit*, is the fundamental vision that gives the culture its distinctive forms, the imprint of its development, and the condition of its engagements with other cultures. The *Ergriffenheit* of the primordial moment is a force that must be accessed directly for the soul and the forms of culture to manifest their authentic life.⁹² Far beyond worldview and belief, *Ergriffenheit* insists on the emotional reality of total vital experience. For a *paideuma* to become visible and meaningful across cultural boundaries, it is necessary for the observer to have a direct share in this ontic seizure and to participate in its version of the world through intuition. Religion is the kernel of every *paideuma* and any valid cultural understanding. Art is both its fundamental expression and a most privileged point of entry for the observer who knows how to read the *Gestalten*.⁹³

A good example of this school's direct impact on the study of Greek religion is Károly Kerényi's 1936 essay 'Ergriffenheit und Wissenschaft'. The text was written for a presentation at Frobenius' *Institut für*

⁸⁹ Frobenius collaborated extensively with classical philologists in Frankfurt, another generally neglected crossroads of classics and anthropology: see Schlesier 1994, 217. For Walter F. Otto on Frobenius, see Otto 1931, especially p. 216, where Frobenius is praised as 'einer der bedeutendsten Forscher in einer Zeit, die sich in der Philosophie vom Materialismus und Rationalismus abgewandt hat'; cf. Leege 2016, 104–9.

⁹⁰ Frobenius 1922.

⁹¹ Cf. Bauschulte 2007, 178–212; Streck 2016.

⁹² See e.g. Heinrichs 1998, 96.

⁹³ Husemann 2016.

Kulturmorphologie in Frankfurt. Published in *Apollon: Studien über Antike Religion und Humanität* (1937), it exemplifies the ‘existenzielle Philologie’ of the author in the days when he was still bound to Walter F. Otto and Frobenius and before he fully committed himself to Jung’s archetypes.⁹⁴ The text starts with a consideration of the artistic experience of alternative reality embedded in the African rock-drawings collected by Frobenius; it reads like an inverted mirror image of the British Museum anecdote at the beginning of *The Greeks and the Irrational*. In that essay, Kerényi emphasizes the shared experience of the religious person and the scholar of religion, who are both seized by the truth of a primordial vision in their experience of the god’s meaning. In ‘Antike Religion und Religionspsychologie’, the opening essay of *Apollon*, Kerényi insists on the importance of recognizing one’s own situatedness when studying ancient religions—the necessity for the scholar to identify his place and the boundaries of his particular *Kulturmorphologie* before attempting cultural translation. The staid Nordic Nilsson is cast as the learned scholar whose superficial knowledge remains on the outside of the *klingende Welt*, the antithesis of the new paradigm that has been taking shape in Frankfurt and that now allows access to the deep interior religious life of antiquity.⁹⁵ That deep interior religious life of antiquity can only be truly ascertained by communion with a deep interior religious life here and now: *Erlebnis*. The complete intuitive fusion of the religious scholar with the *Realitätsgefühl* of his object of study is the condition for proper, *tief* understanding, for the aesthetic attunement needed to grasp the profound symbol of divinity.⁹⁶ In the 1940 *La religione antica nelle sue linee fondamentali*, Kerényi expanded this programme into a full set of new prolegomena to the study of ancient religion.⁹⁷

Like *Paideuma*, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl’s *La mentalité primitive* was also published in 1922, and it built on previous radically original work from the beginning of the century. But, apart from channelling a very different political and cultural ethos, its take on alternative rationality remained much more positivistic. Lévy-Bruhl’s further research, most notably *Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive* (1931), never shed its old evolutionary baggage, even if he came to firmly condemn his previous use of the term ‘primitive’ at the end of his life. Lévy-Bruhl had long sought philosophical

⁹⁴ Kerényi’s earlier book on the novel (1927) was more directly indebted to Boll and Rohde (see Henrichs 2006).

⁹⁵ Kerényi 1937b, 1, 20–1.

⁹⁶ See Magris 2006 and Trembl 2006; cf. Meuli 1943, 48–51.

⁹⁷ See the 1942 review by Festugière in *L’Antiquité Classique*.

ways out of the sociological reductionism of Comte and Durkheim, and his insights into the patterns of the prelogical mentality and mystical participation were to open novel paths into the possibilities of meaning beyond the principle of non-contradiction.⁹⁸ Here was a mode of interpretation that offered an alternative to the prevalent understandings of exotic symbolic systems based on error, allegory, or social projection. At the crossroads of philosophy, psychology, sociology and ethnology, his work on the culturally situated inconsistencies of (non-Western) religious thought offered a powerful template for reading meaning across *modes de pensée* and *principes d'action*. For Lévy-Bruhl, the fundamental difference between the West and the premises of other mentalities is conceived in terms of the transition out of prelogical thought achieved in Greece.⁹⁹ The universally significant turning point is Classical Greece, and the determinant factor is the long legacy of the Greek logical tradition. The networks of participations that constitute the categories of individual cultures are highly variable, but they all follow the same principles. Following great amounts of criticism and without hesitating to mark their distance from such a take on primitive mentality, anthropologists like Evans-Pritchard never ceased to acknowledge their debt to this drawing of the curtains to reveal the different logic of alternative rationalities.¹⁰⁰

Even more successful in its continuation of pioneering research paradigms of the Belle Époque, and very much of its time in seeking to understand the deep forces beyond logic on their own terms, the research of the many schools of psychology and psychoanalysis into the irrational forces of the individual and the collective mind continued to transform scholarship profoundly in the history of religions.¹⁰¹ Wilhelm Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* was the foil for much of this later work.¹⁰² William James had assaulted the positivistic certitudes of contemporary secularism and opened immense vistas into the vital, fecund irrationalities of religious experience.¹⁰³ Freud's writing informed generations of reflection on the deep and contradictory impulses that link childhood and/or neurosis to primitive religion (and its

⁹⁸ See Keck 2007; Lévy-Bruhl is probably the ethnologist whose work had the greatest impact on Dodds. See e.g. Dodds 1951a, viii, 40, 51, n. 8, 53, n. 27, 54, n. 33, 94, n. 82, 121, n. 1, 122, n. 5, 123, n. 23, 129, n. 73, 157, n. 6.

⁹⁹ See e.g. Deprez 2010, 217–47.

¹⁰⁰ Evans-Pritchard 1933; cf. Prandi 2006; Casadio 2008.

¹⁰¹ See Krech 2002, 70–9, 130–4.

¹⁰² Wundt 1900–20; see e.g. R. Otto 1932. Wundt, it is worth remembering, was one of the teachers of Durkheim.

¹⁰³ James 1902; cf. Goblet d'Alviella 1908, 373–5; Dodds 1951a, 1.

modern heirs).¹⁰⁴ Otto Rank insisted on the key role of separation anxiety in religious experience.¹⁰⁵ C.G. Jung spent a good part of his life interpreting the history of religions through depth psychology, and promoting the archetypes of the collective unconscious as keys for further scholarship.¹⁰⁶ The yearly Eranos meetings organized at Ascona from 1933 on provided a prestigious, highly visible forum for comparative exchanges between historians of religion and (mostly Jungian) psychoanalysts, where Hellenists, most notably Károly Kerényi, were generally well represented, and where the irrational forces of Eastern and Western mysticism were compared, explored, and actively cultivated.¹⁰⁷ Parapsychology generated high academic interest, particularly in England and the United States, and scholars attempted to apply its results to the historical record.¹⁰⁸ Historical psychology and ethnopsychiatry, probably most creatively in the work of Abram Kardiner and Ignace Meyerson, actively pursued the cognitive and emotional foundations of apparently bizarre religious belief and practice.¹⁰⁹ In Germany, the heavily religion-centred *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie* was founded in 1925 by Richard Thurnwald, and the *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie* was founded in 1928.¹¹⁰ Much closer to Freud, Oskar Pfister published *Religionswissenschaft und Psychoanalyse* in 1927. Fantasies, subconscious drives, childhood patterns of cognition, dreams, and madness were the bread and butter of this research. Far from being isolated from research on ancient religion, these developments cultivated regular contacts with historians of religions and philologists, who were well aware of their potential significance for their own work. Otto Weinreich's 1933 *Menekrates, Zeus und Salmoneus. Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur*

¹⁰⁴ *Die Traumdeutung* (1900) and *Totem und Tabu* (1913) are the works that stand out in that regard. See Bauschulte 2007, 272–309. Cf. Dodds 1951a, 42, 49, 59, 106, 114, 116, 119–20, 123, n. 23, 129, n. 67, 133, n. 106, 134, n. 112, 151–3, 213, 218.

¹⁰⁵ Rank 1922. ¹⁰⁶ See Aziz 1990; cf. Dodds 1951a, 121, n. 4, 125, n. 37.

¹⁰⁷ See von Reibnitz 2006, Stausberg 2008b, 313–14, Hakl 2013. Walter F. Otto notably attended the 1939 meeting, which discussed 'Die Symbolik der Wiedergeburt in der religiösen Vorstellung der Zeiten und Völker'.

¹⁰⁸ The profound involvement of figures like Andrew Lang and Gilbert Murray in the august *Society for Psychical Research* is notable in this regard (for the early days of the S.P.R., see Cerullo 1982), and a key antecedent for Dodds's later involvement (see e.g. Dodds 1951a, 91, n. 61, 130, n. 82, 309, nn. 116 and 118, 310, n. 120; 123); for Dodds's explicit rejection of occultism, and his insistence on its opposition to the 'modern discipline of psychical research', see e.g. 1951, 265, n. 76. Cf. Lowe's chapter in this volume.

¹⁰⁹ Kardiner 1945, Parrot 1996; cf. Dodds 1951a, 37, 94, n. 75, 260, n. 38. Georges Devereux' landmark *Reality and Dream: Psychotherapy of a Plains Indian* was published in 1951, the same year as *The Greeks and the Irrational*.

¹¹⁰ Melk-Koch 1989.

Psychopathologie des Gottmenschentums in Antike und Neuzeit is a case in point.¹¹¹ Marie Delcourt pioneered psychoanalytic research into Greek religion in numerous studies.¹¹² Friedrich Pfister's 1930 *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer*, to take another example, offers a detailed and highly critical review of relevant contemporary psychoanalytic research.¹¹³

Pfister's book is conceived as a cutting-edge overview of approaches to the contemporary study of Greek and Roman religion, and an exhortation for the fundamental role of comparative religion in showing the way forward. This extensive review of scholarship from (nominally) 1918 to 1930 is a tremendous window into the historiographical developments that followed the War. Solidly anchored in philological research, it makes a powerful case for a necessary convergence of forces within the realm of *Religionswissenschaft*. *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer* sounds a clarion call for the new state of play in the postbellum history of religions. While the Belle Époque history of religions had essentially defined itself in opposition to theology, carving out an epistemological space with tools from philology, history, sociology, anthropology, psychology and philosophy, the new *Religionswissenschaft* made a claim for independence from other fields, with the whole of religion as its own distinctive remit. It was now claiming full disciplinary status.¹¹⁴ The institutional refoundation of the field was to be consecrated after the Second World War with the creation of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR) in 1950 and the journal *Numen*.¹¹⁵ International congresses were thereafter to be organized every four (and then five) years, and they have continued regularly to this day. Just like the first *Congrès* of Paris in 1900, the newly authorized moment of professional scholarship inaugurated in 1950 with the foundation of the IAHR signalled the confirmation of a different era.¹¹⁶ It is during the interwar years, between the Belle Époque moment of the first *Congrès*

¹¹¹ See Dodds 1951a, 66, 112, 83, n. 9; cf. Clemen 1928 and Heiler 1920.

¹¹² See e.g. Delcourt 1938, 1944.

¹¹³ Pfister 1930, 43–9; cf. Dodds 1951a, 25, n. 97, 37, 44, 59, n. 87, 94–5, n. 84, 97, n. 98, 195, n. 3. Nilsson will identify Dodds's *The Greeks and the Irrational* as a book that is 'für den psychologischen Hintergrund und zwar besonders den der archaischen Zeit einschlägig' in the last edition of the *GGR* (vol. 1, p. 66).

¹¹⁴ See Hjelde 1998, Krech 2002, 84–160.

¹¹⁵ The 1950 congress that consecrated the foundation of the IAHR was emphatically conceived as the 7th international congress for the history of religions (Bleeker et al. 1951). On the foundation of the IAHR and its development, see now Jensen and Geertz 2016. The original name was the International Association for the Study of the History of Religions before its change by Pettazzoni in 1955.

¹¹⁶ See Stausberg 2008b, 308–9.

International d'Histoire des Religions and that new beginning of the IAHR, a period of great effervescence and soul-searching experimentation, that the historical study of religions fully invested in attempting to define its disciplinary boundaries.

The upheavals of the time were reflected in the upheavals of the standard institutions that had come to represent the centre of the discipline. The *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* had to be rescued by Nilsson in 1923 and buttressed by the Swedes throughout the decade to prevent complete collapse.¹¹⁷ The two irregular *Congrès* that took place during this period, at Lund in 1929 and Brussels in 1935, illustrate the raw energy and overwhelming disorganization that characterized those years. The 1929 Lund meeting, where Nathan Söderblom was the President of Honour and Martin P. Nilsson was one of the main organizers and a member of the new international committee, together with Franz Boas, Franz Cumont, Robert H. Lowie, Raffaele Pettazzoni, Jules Toutain, and Thaddeus Zieliński (among others), was designed as a real show of strength.¹¹⁸ This was the first *Congrès* since the disruption of the War (there should have been meetings in 1916, 1920, 1924, and 1928). The last international committee had been elected in 1912 and most of its members were in fact now dead. An assertiveness and attempt at renewal informed the whole event. Anthropology was still represented, but indirectly, and only as an outside observer; contrary to 1908, the separation between the two disciplines had by then been mostly completed.

What was a methodological afterthought in 1908, an epilogue at the end of the congress, had become a focused introduction to the state of play in the first two sessions in 1929, with papers by Wach, Bertholet, Pettazzoni, Nilsson, van der Leeuw, and others. Those introductory papers sought to draw the specific lines of a sovereign discipline in its investigations of belief about the soul. The list of contributors to the section on classical religions is particularly tantalizing: it includes Weinreich, Eitrem, Zieliński, Nock (still at Cambridge), Dodds (still in Birmingham), Bickel, Cornford, Rose, Deubner, Blinkenberg, Persson, Cumont, Latte, and Sinclair. Among the participants were Nilsson himself, Mauss, van der Leeuw, Pettazzoni, and Radermacher. A veritable symphony of minds in the field, the session is dominated by interest in the 'irrational' elements of the soul in the classical world. Dodds's paper, 'Religion and Magic in the Last Age of Greek

¹¹⁷ Dürkop 2013.

¹¹⁸ *Actes* 1930.

Philosophy', a product of the research that prepared *Proclus: The Elements of Theology*, is fully at home in that environment, and it stands out for the boldness of its experimental recourse to contemporary mediumistic trance in its investigation of theurgy.¹¹⁹

It would be perverse to find fault with the quality of the contributions presented at such a dazzling meeting. But the 1929 *Congrès* did not lead to the desired renewal of the international organization that had generated such bright hopes for the field in the Belle Époque years. The catastrophic events of the time would catch up with the plans of this scholarly community and the rising tension and insecurity prevented further institutional regularity. The once hopeful international association, like the League of Nations, was doomed to failure. No other meeting was organized before the much smaller affair of Brussels in 1935, and that was to be the last *Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions* before the foundation of the IAHR in 1950.¹²⁰ Starting in 1933, the annual Eranos meetings attempted their own marginal effort to advance *Religionswissenschaft* around the insights of Rudolf Otto and the methods of C.G. Jung and the dark realms of 'the Irrational', but they never sought to occupy the centre of the field.¹²¹ The official 1935 *Congrès* in Brussels was essentially a celebration in honour of Franz Cumont, and it offered little of the ecumenical fervour that still marked the 1929 meeting.¹²² Germans and Italians were mostly absent this time.¹²³ Still, Classicists largely dominated the proceedings, even more than previously, with contributions from A. Aymard, J. Bayet, E. Bickermann, J. Bidez, P. Chantraine, É. Des Places, L. Gernet ('Dolon le Loup'), H. Jeanmaire, V. Magnien, M.P. Nilsson, J. Toutain, and O. Weinreich, among others. Research on ancient Greek religion remained at the forefront of this aristocracy of religious scholarship until the very last.¹²⁴

Notwithstanding the lack of any leading institutional steer and outside of any stable framework, the search for a breakthrough in the demarcation of

¹¹⁹ Dodds 1930b. The material of that paper was retooled as the 1947 *JRS* article 'Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism', which was republished (with minor revisions) as the last appendix of *The Greeks and the Irrational*. See Cambiano 1991.

¹²⁰ Cf. Pettazzoni 1940, with Bianchi 1979.

¹²¹ See Barone, Riedl, Tischel 2004.

¹²² *Mélanges* 1936; cf. Dodds 1951a, 61, n. 103, 300, n. 2, 311, n. 125. For Cumont's explicit condemnation of totalitarian states, notably in the 1935 *Congrès*, see Bonnet 2001 and 2014 and Elsner 2016.

¹²³ See Dürkop 2013, pp. 208, 242; cf., more generally, Heinrich 2002.

¹²⁴ Cf. Krech 2002, 97–101.

ancient religious studies still was to be vigorously pursued in the interbellum years. Despite the fragmentation of all those efforts, a certain convergence of developments can be observed. More and more recognized as a discipline in its own right throughout European and American universities, the historical study of religions continued to mark its territory. Joachim Wach's important 1924 *Religionswissenschaft: Prolegomena zu ihrer wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlegung* proposed to establish the epistemological foundations of the discipline as a unified integration of approaches able to combine the complementary study of inner experience, of outer practice, and of social organization.¹²⁵ After fleeing Leipzig in 1935, Wach was to move on to Brown and then Chicago to teach the history of religions. Raffaele Pettazzoni, the great polymath scholar of ancient religions and the author of *La religione nella Grecia antica fino ad Alessandro* (1921), reaffirmed the centrality of the commitment to the specificities of history and the cultural differences of traditions.¹²⁶ First holder of the chair of the History of Religions at the royal university of Rome from 1923 on and founder of the *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* in 1925, he fought the Catholic Church to establish his field at the heart of the scholarly world of Italy and laid to rest the old ghost of primitive monotheism still desperately defended by Father Schmidt.¹²⁷

First effective president of the IAHR from 1950 to 1959 and founder and editor-in-chief of *Numen*, Pettazzoni insisted on the crucial role of initiation and rites of passage in structuring the distinctive realm of religious experience throughout his long career.¹²⁸ His investigations of the liminal power of ritual and mystical symbolism were not entirely uninteresting to the Fascist regime in the 1920s and 1930s.¹²⁹ There and elsewhere, the disciplinary evolution of *Religionswissenschaft* was, inevitably, fully intertwined with

¹²⁵ On the foundational significance of Wach's work, see Flasche 1978 and Rudolph 2008.

¹²⁶ One of the characteristics of his historical approach was its ability to incorporate the insights of phenomenology. Philippe Borgeaud (2016 [1999], 60) calls him a 'phénoménologue à temps partiel'.

¹²⁷ See Gandini 1998, 1999. Ernesto Buonaiuti was made Professor of the History of Christianity 1915; see Guerri 2001. On the other side of the fence, Henry Pinard de la Boullaye, author of the dense and still remarkably useful *L'étude comparée des religions* (1922–5), was the Professor of the History of Religions at the Gregorian University in Rome in those years and a keen interlocutor. *L'étude comparée des religions* stems from a seminar on Greek religion given by the Jesuit scholar. It would be a mistake to continue reducing the Catholic scholarship of those years to simple reaction.

¹²⁸ Mihelcic 2003, Casadio 2013, 201–71. For the links between the School of Rome and German *Religionswissenschaft*, see Dörr and Mohr 2002.

¹²⁹ See Gandini 2001, Stausberg 2008a.

the upheavals of a world in profound crisis.¹³⁰ The School of Rome that Pettazzoni nurtured became one of the leading lights in the history of religions, and his four main pupils and protégés (apart from Mircea Eliade), Angelo Brelich (student of Kerényi and Alföldi), Dario Sabbatucci, Ugo Bianchi, and Ernesto de Martino, also went on to produce influential scholarship in the study of Greek religion, one of their central objects of interest.¹³¹ Textual hermeneutics remained the centrepiece of that historical study of religions, but close interaction with archaeology and visual culture were also highly prized.

In German Protestant theology, this is the fundamental period of transition from von Harnack to Bultmann.¹³² The Irrational was a core concern of the interwar study of religion, with Rudolf Otto's 1917 *Das Heilige* a pioneering point of reference.¹³³ That book captures an intellectual shift of momentous proportions in its identification of the ineffable numinous as the main object of the brave new discipline. For Dodds in 1945, 'the irrational' is still nothing less than 'the governing principle of our time'.¹³⁴ It would probably not be an exaggeration to call this the moment of 'the Irrational turn'. The hopeful scientism of earlier days now often gave way to an awed fascination for the power of the *mysterium tremendum* and the great variety of human responses to it. The odd customs and ideas that Belle Époque scholarship had so often identified as naive error and explained through evolution were now being absorbed into the much larger category of incommensurable cultural difference. In the new history of religions, the irreducible otherness of the Irrational was to be further confined to the special realm of the 'sacred'. Profoundly indebted to Romantic theology and the challenges posed by Nietzsche, this insistence on the uncanny experience of divine power favoured interpretive insight over positivistic objectivity. It demanded the deep personal engagement of the scholar with his object of study.

Key vitalist currents of thought came into serious contact with the experimentations of the new *Religionswissenschaft*. *Lebensphilosophie*, anthroposophy, *Kulturkritik*, nationalist mysticism, *völkisch* activism and

¹³⁰ The long correspondence between Pettazzoni and Eliade provides a fascinating commentary; see Spineto 1994 with Ciurtin 2008. For the equally rich correspondence between Pettazzoni and Rose, see Accorinti 2014, with the preface of Giovanni Casadio (pp. ix–xv).

¹³¹ See Piccaluga 1979, Sacco 2006. On Ugo Bianchi and the School of Rome, see Casadio 2002, Stausberg 2009, 266–7; on the influence of Kerényi in Italy, see Spineto 2006.

¹³² See e.g. Nüssel 2002, Bauschulte 2007, 213–40.

¹³³ Flasche 1991; Benavides 2008.

¹³⁴ Dodds 1945a, 16.

spiritual renewal: many of the highly active forces that gravitated around the study of religion—especially in Weimar Germany, but not only there—pushed for a scholarship that was fully engaged with the crisis of the age.¹³⁵ Bergson's *élan vital* was given a terrifying new urgency.¹³⁶ The spiritual decline of the West had to be turned back with a return to the raw forces of authentic Life.¹³⁷ Tradition and racial purity were elevated as mystic ideals, with the Jews often identified as their common enemy.¹³⁸ The interrelation of culture and aggression at both the level of the individual mind and the social conditioning of institutions like the ritual *Männerbund* were actively pursued in research.¹³⁹ Fighting the degenerate modernity of the technical age and cultivating the life-affirming promises of spirit and soul involved recurrent recourses to the religious insights of ancient customs and teaching.¹⁴⁰ Poets like Stefan George expressed a great amount of interest in the lessons of the old gods and the higher reality of their beauty.¹⁴¹ The radical antimodernist aesthetics of the *George-Kreis* mined the cruel heights of Olympus for inspiration.¹⁴² The uncompromising loftiness of Greek religion had a key role to play in the education of the 'Secret Germany'. The symbolic theology of Neoplatonism was an object of potent fascination in this light.¹⁴³ There was new interest in the implications of 'Der Kampf um Creuzers Symbolik' and the contested rationalist watershed represented by Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* (1829) a hundred years earlier.¹⁴⁴

The esoteric literary and scholarly movements that proliferated in the salons and meeting-halls of those years had a great impact on the study of religion. Formerly marginal figures like the Munich 'Cosmic' Ludwig Klages or the anthroposophist Rudolf Steiner, for instance, received much greater attention from the students of religion after the war.¹⁴⁵ The renewal of

¹³⁵ Sedgwick 2004, Krech 2002, 259–85. Cf. Kriek 1934 or Hippler 1937 for that development in the Third Reich.

¹³⁶ Wunsch 2015.

¹³⁷ See still the classic study of Stern 1961; cf. Caruso 1979.

¹³⁸ The mad Hyperborean fantasies of ideologues like Guénon, Wirth, and Evola (each of them different in their own way), and the immense interest they generated, distinctively belong to this period; cf. Grottanelli 2002.

¹³⁹ See e.g. Sigerist 1931 (especially Wach), with Horney 1960; Höfler 1934; Wikander 1938; cf. Timus 2008. Very much of its own time, the post-war fascination with violence and the sacred exemplified by the work of Girard and Burkert also has profound roots in those earlier developments.

¹⁴⁰ Harrington 1996.

¹⁴¹ Landmann 1955, Arbogast 1998a. More generally: van Laak 2015.

¹⁴² Lacchin 2006. For the *George-Kreis*, see Baumann 2000, Norton 2002, 395–746.

¹⁴³ See Brecht 1929. ¹⁴⁴ Howald 1926.

¹⁴⁵ Zander 2007, 1290–4; cf. Faber 1994, Leege 2016, 35–43.

paganism continued to excite passion as a key to Western civilization.¹⁴⁶ Neo-pagans were even more active, and the search for spiritual regeneration through the cultivation of ancient religious practice was given an unprecedented prominence.¹⁴⁷ University figures like Jakob Wilhelm Hauer or Walther Wüst and fringe scholarly ideologues like Herman Wirth or Friedrich Cornelius were efficiently active in the development and advocacy of racialized Aryan pagan religiosity, before and into the Third Reich.¹⁴⁸ The NSDAP, needless to say, did not have a monopoly on those ideas. The sacralization of power was actively cultivated by many factions at all levels of thought and action.¹⁴⁹ The commonly expressed idea that interwar *Religionswissenschaft* was a factor in the growth of fascist worldviews across Europe is probably exaggerated, but not entirely false.¹⁵⁰ The dominance of conservative and extreme right elements of society in so many of the most radical innovations of the discipline during this period is, in any case, a notable feature of contemporary developments.¹⁵¹ The heavy-handed ideological instrumentalization of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* by its editors the Hellenists Friedrich Pfister and Otto Weinreich (1936–8) is a case in point.¹⁵² Nilsson, it must be said, was not just an innocent bystander.¹⁵³ *Religionswissenschaft* is a field that emerged from the Second World War highly compromised by its many enthusiasms for fascist spiritual renewal, one of the reasons for its subsequent generalized retreat from history.

At the heart of the new *Religionswissenschaft* of this period, phenomenology emerged as the driving force of change and the new hope for a breakthrough in understanding religious experience.¹⁵⁴ The term

¹⁴⁶ See e.g. Warburg 1932. Warburg, of course, was a student of Usener (see e.g. Schlesier 1994, 218–21).

¹⁴⁷ See Cancik 1982, Faber and Schlesier 1986, Faber 1986.

¹⁴⁸ Flasche 1993. On Wüst, see Junginger 2008c; on Hauer, Alles 2002, Kubota 2005; for Cornelius on Greek religion, see Cornelius 1942, 123–73.

¹⁴⁹ See e.g. Gentile 1993; in Germany, Carl Schmitt is a prominent example of this current (see Faber 2001).

¹⁵⁰ See Junginger 2008b.

¹⁵¹ The examples of Eliade and Dumézil have brought much attention to this issue in recent years, ever since Momigliano's 1983 and Carlo Ginzburg's 1985 pieces; cf. Lincoln 1998. See e.g. Turcanu 2003, Dana 2012 and Éribon 1993. The case against Dumézil tends to be overplayed in my opinion.

¹⁵² Dürkop 2013, 214–50. See the two programmatic articles of Pfister 1939a and 1939b.

¹⁵³ See Svenbro 2007, 263–309.

¹⁵⁴ See e.g. Kippenberg 1991 and Wiebe 1991; Kippenberg 1997, 244–58; Krech 2002, 65–70. For the continued dominance of phenomenology after the Second World War, see e.g. Stausberg 2009, 265.

phenomenology has in fact little to do with Husserl and his school when applied to the history of religions.¹⁵⁵ The earlier phenomenological insights of Tiele and Chantepie de la Saussaye were guided into new directions by a number of scholars who, profoundly influenced by Rudolf Otto, quickly transformed the field.¹⁵⁶ Gerardus van der Leeuw, Professor of the History of Religions at Groningen since 1918 and elected first President of the IAHR in 1950 shortly before his death, became the most prominent defender of the new method; Geo Widengren was another crucial actor in that methodological revolution, together with Károly Kerényi and Mircea Eliade, to name some of those who are still (nominally) read today.¹⁵⁷ One central tenet of that movement is that the deep psychological manifestations of religion, historically situated in the essence of individual cultures and their symbols, could only be understood from within, through *verstehen*, as opposed to the sterile causal laws of *erklären*.¹⁵⁸ The objectifications of divine power and their revelations in the subjective experience of the soul involve the scholar in a hermeneutics of intuitive decipherment of the sacred. The same basic patterns of religious thought and behaviour can be uncovered across cultures and periods and translated into common categories. Greece, as a privileged point of access into the early historical transition from archaic to high religion and a window into Christianity, is constantly solicited as a paradigm in this research.¹⁵⁹ An attempt to answer the spiritual confusion of the day undergirds much of the efforts of the phenomenologists.

Understanding Greek religion, in some quarters, became a cornerstone in the necessary re-enchantment of the world, following the mechanical butchery in the trenches. The sense of crisis and possibility that characterizes the relevant historiography of our period channelled broad and deep contemporary developments. Any attempt to look at those years' scholarship on Greek religion in isolation will miss the driving forces at play. The appeal of Greek religion was still far from being confined to the narrow disciplinary boundaries of academia that would later define it, and the mirage of Greek reason was revisited again and again as European intellectuals struggled to think a new future after the war. The intensity of the engagement with the

¹⁵⁵ See e.g. Waardenburg 1991, 44.

¹⁵⁶ Molendijk 2004, 2005, 1–3; 117–21; cf. Schröter 2013.

¹⁵⁷ Kehnscherper 1998; for crucial distinctions between different schools of religious phenomenology, see Tuckett 2016.

¹⁵⁸ See e.g. van der Leeuw 1933, 658–9; for the antecedents of that *Verstehen*, see Wach 1926–33.

¹⁵⁹ See e.g. Bremmer 1991; Antes 2016.

classical world reflects the high stakes of the struggles involved in rewriting origins and models.

Nilsson and Wilamowitz

That urgency was particularly manifest in the onslaught on the heritage of Wilamowitz at the end of the scholar's long reign, before and after his retirement from the chair of Greek Philology at the University of Berlin in 1921.¹⁶⁰ Identified as the enemy of everything that Nietzsche now stood for, a position that had had different implications in 1872 than it now had in the 1920s—that is, once Nietzsche had achieved quasi-sainthood amongst large swathes of the intelligentsia and had been anointed as the prophet of vitalism and *Lebensphilosophie*—Wilamowitz served as a target to channel the animosity of the age against the educational structure of the previous generation.¹⁶¹ George's indictment was categorical: 'Was bleibt von dem ganzen Wilamops? Vielleicht der Schmutz, den er auf Nietzsches Rockschößen abgeladen hat.'¹⁶² The violence of the attacks against the great Prussian scholar was aimed at uprooting the academic culture he had come to represent. The aesthetic philistinism of the erudite technician was portrayed as a spiritual wasteland. What had been the peripheral aesthetic judgement of an aristocratic coterie now became a common trope.¹⁶³ The scientific renunciation, the detailed objective precision and the sterile technical asceticism of traditional classical humanism no longer commanded the same admiration they once had. The Neo-Humanism that Wilamowitz had championed all his life was seen as an anachronism and an inadequate answer to the social and cultural crisis of the age. Worse, it was even recognized by some as an agent of national corruption, one of the symptoms of defeat. Some advocated a partial retreat from the classical canon, and the *Gymnasium* reforms of the early Weimar Republic made significant changes in that direction.¹⁶⁴ But what many more sought instead was a different, more encompassing and life-affirming kind of encounter with the ancient texts.

¹⁶⁰ Marchand 2003a, 312–19; cf. Ringer 1969, 288, Solmsen 1979.

¹⁶¹ See Cancik 1989, Braungart 1997, 12–14, 47–9, Krech 2002, 293–311, Lacchin, 2006, 72–88.

¹⁶² See Schwindt 2000; cf. Goldsmith 1985.

¹⁶³ For the early attacks, see e.g. Hildebrandt 1910.

¹⁶⁴ Ringer 1969, 200–52; Kraul 1984, 127–56; Marchand 2003a, 314.

Werner Jaeger, the prodigal pupil, came to embody that yearning for renewal in the public significance of philology and a return to the primacy of *Bildung* over the mass of specialized research.¹⁶⁵ The educational value of classics was to be modernized and continue to provide the privileged blueprint for the national *paideia*. Appointed to the Chair of Greek Philology at the University of Berlin in 1921 as the successor to Wilamowitz, a position he was to keep until his exile to the US in 1936, Jaeger was at the very summit of the *Altertumswissenschaft* pyramid. He was the most prominent figure in the movement for the spiritual transformation of the discipline as a guide in troubled and hopeful times. In the early days of his new Berlin position, Jaeger underlined the fact that this was a changing of the guard, that a long era of scholarship had ended and a new one was beginning.¹⁶⁶ The Third Humanism he energetically advocated on the national stage with his friend and collaborator Eduard Spranger was to play a leading role in the fight against barbarism and spiritual degenerescence and inspire the cultivation of a rich inner space against the standardized mechanization of mass culture and commerce.¹⁶⁷ A noble, totalizing education of the spirit through the knowledge of Greece was needed. Western history is the long unfolding of the *hellenozentrischer Kulturkreis* and the acquisition of *paideia* is the condition for a free and integral participation of the individual mind in the vast spirit of its society, a key instrument in the struggle for national renewal.¹⁶⁸ Long before the takeover of the Nazi regime, which he never fully supported, although support it he did, and which he eventually had to leave behind in 1936, a *Dritter Humanismus* for the *Drittes Reich* was the battle-cry of this conservative institutionalization of *Kulturkritik*.¹⁶⁹ At the heart of that programme is the notion that the specific nature of Western reason is culturally embedded in the long history of Humanism—that is, receptions of Greece—and that a full deployment of its immense reach requires a lived familiarity with the tradition.¹⁷⁰ Classical education opens the path to authentic life. Greek religion is an integral part of that radical vision, both as a key to the origin and development of

¹⁶⁵ See Elsner 2013, 138–45.

¹⁶⁶ Jaeger 1921, 1924; see Hölscher 1995, 74–6.

¹⁶⁷ Stiewe 2011, 135–206; cf. Dodds 1951a, 26, n. 107.

¹⁶⁸ Jaeger 1977, 23; cf. Jaeger 1932.

¹⁶⁹ See Stiewe 2011.

¹⁷⁰ Jaeger 1934. *Paideia* is referred to regularly in Dodds 1951a. But *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Jaeger's 1936 Gifford Lectures, is the work of Jaeger that had the greatest direct impact on *The Greeks and the Irrational*; cf. 1951, 146.

Christianity, and as the original canvass of Philosophy. Understanding Greek religion is, ultimately, a necessary act of self-knowing.

Wilamowitz's 31 December 1921 letter to Martin P. Nilsson contains an admonition to the Swedish historian of religion: 'Wer an einen Gott nicht glauben kann, wird ihn nie verstehen.'¹⁷¹ Ten years later, the direct encounter with Greek divinity is exactly what he was to offer in his last, most extensive and unfinished work. *Der Glaube der Hellenen* proposes a holistic vision of religious Hellenism, from its origins to the end of antiquity.¹⁷² The authoritative declarations of the author are written with his characteristic precision and eye for the telling detail, with apparently minor problems given their major due and bold solutions offered at every turn. A pyrotechnic display of strong conjectures is orchestrated with sure hand and confidence. Aphorisms punctuate the text and give it a certain hieratic quality. This work was conceived as a monument to the continuing superiority and relevance of *Alttertumswissenschaft*. Neither a nostalgic swansong nor a rearguard action, it attempts to demonstrate the productive analytical power and the necessity of proper philology. The anthropological approach of the past decades is dismissed out of hand. A fundamental principle of the work is the cultural independence of authentic Greek thought: what matters is *echthellenisch*. Aegean substrates are of minor importance, and eastern influence is either shown to be negligible when early or late and degenerate. Typology is a red herring. While Pfister (a student of Dieterich), echoing Max Müller, maintained in 1930 that 'Wer nur eine Religion kennt, kennt keine' (Pfister 1930, p. 52), Wilamowitz famously pronounced in his 1931 book that 'Über andere Völker habe ich kein Urteil; die Griechen kenne ich'.¹⁷³ The old battles against Usener are clearly as relevant in 1931 as they were at the beginning of the century.¹⁷⁴

Another fundamental principle of the work is its uncompromising respect for the immense variety of historical developments. What matter are the movements of change within Hellenism. Each important moment develops aspects of the gods or religious feeling and allows another facet of the Hellenic spirit to manifest itself; even if the essence, the core, always remains the same. The tribulations of the *Urhellene* remain the foundation of all that was to follow. Far from being superfluous erudition or yet another

¹⁷¹ Calder III and Bierl 1994, 166.

¹⁷² Henrichs 1985 will long remain the essential study on that work.

¹⁷³ Wilamowitz 1931, 288.

¹⁷⁴ Wessels 2003, 71–5; cf. Leege 2011, 240–1.

variation on the venerable insights of Karl Otfried Müller about original tribal movements, the investigation of the various migrations into Greece found in Chapter Two is an essential part of the story told by *Der Glaube der Hellenen*.¹⁷⁵ It was, at the time, a tour-de-force of analytical synthesis, and it functions as an illustration of the precise, almost divinatory force of proper philology. Similarly, the long agony of Hellenism in the Hellenistic and Imperial ages is not just another sad tale of decline and corruption from the East for Wilamowitz, even if it is partly that, but fertile ground for further developments of high Hellenism, which are pursued by the scholar with acumen and sympathy. At the heart of the book, the great currents of religious thought that criss-cross through the Archaic and Classical periods—Heracles and the idea of the hero, the Mysteries of Eleusis, Delphic predication, the Dionysiac spirit—are traced in space and time and assessed in their most illuminating expressions. The great diversity of Hellenism is reflected at every turn of the analysis, but the common ground is never out of sight. Mysticism is downplayed and presented as an obstacle that was first overcome before it returned in force after the classical age. Orphism is dismissed as a fantasy of modern scholarship, and Plato acquitted of any influence.¹⁷⁶ Magic, superstition and popular belief are of little interest to the author.

The dominant principle of the book is the primacy of concepts and beliefs over acts. Cult and institutions have next to no part to play in this picture.¹⁷⁷ The *Glaube* that is being pursued is the immediacy of the encounter with the *kreitton* of divinity.¹⁷⁸ The Olympian gods are the undisputed prime object of the study. ‘Die Götter sind da’ is the objective reality of belief that is to be described and analysed by historical examination and intuitive dialogue with

¹⁷⁵ Wilamowitz 1931, 46–88.

¹⁷⁶ Wilamowitz 1932, 246–58.

¹⁷⁷ Pitting Wilamowitz against Wilamowitz, Otto Kern proposes a popular survey of Greek religion, with an emphasis on the development in *Kultus* of every individual god in his three volume *Die Religion der Griechen* (1926–38). The books are conceived as a tribute to the enduring value of Wilamowitz’s method, beyond the very unwilamowitzian *Der Glaube der Hellenen*. The work is highly derivative and limited in insight (see e.g. the methodological epilogue, ‘Von Aristoteles zu Wilamowitz’, pp. 280–319, where twenty-eight out of thirty-nine pages are devoted to the students of Usener), and probably most notable for its total ignorance of non-German scholarship; cf. Dodds 1951a, 203, n. 83. For the resonance of *Kultus* in the field at the time, see Pfister 1922; cf. Bonnet 2007. On the larger ideological and theological charge involved in the concept of *Kultus* by the authors of this time, see Lehmkuhler 1996, most notably pp. 17–52. Cf. Bredholdt 2009, Rüpke 2011, Fornaro 2011.

¹⁷⁸ For the contemporary understanding of *Glaube* in scholarship, compare Troeltsch 1910 with Schmidt 1928.

the profound messages of the texts.¹⁷⁹ The depths of religious emotion and the experience of the ancient believer are conveyed magisterially and with certitude, as if from actual direct observation. A hermeneutics of authoritative interpretation identifies the fundamental concepts put forward by each text: the belief of the author. Nuances and variation inform the dialogue between great minds, where connotations and reference are determinant. What we are made to see is a tradition that explores its own boundaries. The blunt instruments of anthropology have no purchase on this expression of ancient religious sentiment, which only the philologist can truly access, using his own tried and tested critical tools. Banality has no place in these lofty heights of noble literary thought, only the individual genius faced with the power of the god—and the exact discernment of the exalted scholar. Homer is a key witness to earlier times, but he is first and foremost the antecedent against which all subsequent writers are to be assessed.¹⁸⁰ The individual authors that matter are evaluated and given a place in the pantheon of high culture. The ‘Offenbarung des Göttlichen’ pursued by the work is a direct encounter with the beliefs of great minds. Plato is the pinnacle of this long history in the development of Greek religious sentiment.

Nilsson answered Wilamowitz’s letter of December 1921 with the recognition that ‘Es geht mir wohl das innere Verständnis für gewisse Seiten der Religion ab, und vielleicht die höchsten. Ich versuche sie zu erfassen, das kann ich aber nur durch Überlegung, diskursives Denken tun, und wer sie nicht instinktiv erfassen und mitfühlen kann, hat nicht das rechte, innere Verständnis’ (January 1922).¹⁸¹ His own monument of scholarship, the *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, was first published in two volumes in 1941 and 1950, and he worked to the end of his life on refining and updating his *magnum opus*, both volumes of which were twice reedited posthumously. Based on the short 1921 Swedish *Den grekiska religionens historia*, which is what Nilsson and Wilamowitz are discussing in the epistolary exchange mentioned above, the German *Handbuch* sought to arrange all available knowledge on ancient Greek religion chronologically and thematically.¹⁸² It defined the field for decades to come, and has never been

¹⁷⁹ Wilamowitz 1931, 18–21; cf. Dodds 1951a, 131, n. 84. For the tantalizing possibility that Wilamowitz’s 1931 ‘Die Götter sind da’ is an ironic commentary on Otto’s ‘Die Götter sind’ (1929, 231), see n. 202. Otto certainly took it that way, and he responded in kind (1933, 13, 17–18); see Henrichs 1985, 293–4; 1990, 118–20, 139–41; Cancik 1986, 116; Hölscher 1995, 83–4; Leege 2008, 137–40.

¹⁸⁰ Wilamowitz 1931, 317–78.

¹⁸¹ Calder III and Bierl 1994, 167.

¹⁸² An English translation of the 1921 book was published with a preface by J.G. Frazer.

replaced. Like Wilamowitz, Nilsson pursues the history of Greek *Glaube* in his great work, but the belief he analyses is in no way limited to high culture, and he never fails to show how even the high authors reflect the popular ideas of their time.¹⁸³ Nilsson is essentially a Tylorian in his view of belief. It would take Burkert for functionalism to take over fully. Contrary to Gruppe and so many other predecessors and contemporaries, myth is sidestepped as an aesthetic domain of little religious value. It is *Kult* that is to be the main key to belief. The *Geschichte* classifies every possible piece of evidence and assigns it its proper place. The chronological organization of the two volumes traces a trajectory of development and change that never fails to present its course and solutions as the measured elucidation of the problem at hand. The masterpiece of Nilsson is not a secondary synthesis of scholarship, but the product of a constant and direct engagement with the sources. The enormous amount of data is handled with assurance and clear critical judgement. The consolidation of knowledge achieved by Nilsson in this work is an achievement of staggering proportions. The previous *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* on Greek religion, the 1906 *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* of Otto Gruppe, a colossal and rather bloodless compilation of evidence, was to be comprehensively replaced and forgotten.¹⁸⁴

Nilsson's range as a scholar was phenomenal, if always focused on Greek religion, and he wrote on all aspects of research in the field over the course of his long career. Methodologically aware, although always meticulously careful and fairly conservative in practice, and infallibly proficient in the most technical aspects of philology and archaeology, he was a master of synthesis and long-distance connections. A recurring concern in his work is the search for the enduring survival of primitive religious forms over long periods of time. The lasting imprint of the land and its rhythms is inscribed in the thought and practice of meaningful religion, something that can only be truly understood by experience, and the deep sympathy of the scholar with the world of the Swedish peasant and the work of the family farm is constantly invoked to forge analogies and justify an intuition. Comparative insights are essential to the operation.¹⁸⁵ The old concepts and methodologies of Mannhardt, Wilhelminian *Völkerkunde* and Victorian anthropology, refined to respect the documents and relieved of their more outlandish claims, are the key tools of the author. The solid commonsensical faith of

¹⁸³ See e.g. Nilsson 1940; 1948.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Dodds 1951a, 277.

¹⁸⁵ E.g. 1911, 1920.

men who work the earth is never far from the surface. The popular and the implicit are the foundations of the religious experience that supports everything else. What comes after, both in terms of explicit symbolism, higher religious thought and later refinement, lofty or superstitious, is built on this stable core. Ritual is the most productive object of scholarship on religion and the fundamental anchor of belief and myth. Religion is 'Man's protest against the meaninglessness of events', and the piety that it demands follows simple imbricated patterns.¹⁸⁶ The individual, the family, and the city all have their own domain, and the scholar cannot ignore one to the detriment of the others. Religion is a totalizing whole, and it is fully embedded in society and history. The organization of religious time and space with meaningful points of seasonal and cultic reference is a web of criss-crossing attempts to produce and stabilize meaning. The Greeks allow us to see in great detail a gradual evolution from primitive culture to high religion. At the heart of the Nilssonian project is the old fascination with Man's encounter with the awful power of Nature.

Kult und Glaube have a precise history and periodization plays a major role in Nilsson's writing. The most original contribution of Nilsson was his insistence on the continuities of Aegean religion.¹⁸⁷ Charting a middle course between the excesses of an Evans or a Picard and the dismissals of a Wilamowitz, Nilsson spent an immense amount of effort assessing the Minoan and Mycenaean material. He recurrently tried to show the highly significant amount of continuity and survival in cult and myth that can be traced from the non-Indo-European Bronze Age to historical times, despite the many disruptions that have to be acknowledged. At the other end of the spectrum, Hellenistic and Imperial mysticism, syncretism, ruler-cult, and the growing importance of individual religion in contrast to the declining role of the *polis* are interpreted against the model of the Archaic and Classical periods.¹⁸⁸ The continuity and survivals that matter, in other words, are the ones that shed light on those central centuries before Alexander. The Archaic and Classical times, where the gods are firmly set in place, festivals regulate the seasons, sanctuaries and oracles operate in full, and religious movements ebb and flow without great disruption, are the

¹⁸⁶ Nilsson 1954.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Nilsson 1960a.

¹⁸⁸ The initial plan for the *Handbuch* was, first, for Otto Weinreich to write the second volume, and then Arthur Darby Nock. The fact that, when both proved impossible (although Nock did fully revise the manuscript), Nilsson was able to write this sum of knowledge late in life in an area far from his main field of expertise is a testimony to the man's astounding industry.

entelechy of Greek religion. A beautiful ordering of the world already in its Homeric representation, and one that led the Greeks out of primitive magic and toward rationality, but one whose distant, superficial spiritual values never fully answered the yearnings of heart and soul. Its long demise is what prepared the way for the radically different inner vision of universal Christian salvation. At the end of the day, a highly familiar and fairly traditional representation of Greek religious history is what Nilsson sought to confirm and defend in his work, with unparalleled productivity and mastery of the sources and scholarship.

Many polemics punctuate this life in research, which we do not have the time or space to cover here. Two are particularly relevant for our history of scholarship. A critical assessment of scholarship is to be found in the letters that Nilsson wrote to Arthur Darby Nock in 1949 and 1951 to discuss the present state of play in the history of religions.¹⁸⁹ In the second letter, which stands out for its conciliatory tone, Nilsson lists some of the lasting advances made by research in the field in his lifetime, such as the recognition of the importance of primitive cult for understanding the origins of Greek religion, or the absence of systematic theology in Greek religious culture. He sees in the demise of the successive theories that have dominated the last decades—those that insisted on natural mythology, primitive monotheism, animism and taboo, myth and ritual—the inevitable reckoning of the evidence, but recognizes that all of these theories have added facets to our understanding of early religion. Evans, Usener, Rohde, and Harrison are singled out for the unsupported boldness of their claims, and the enduring nature of their contribution. The study of late antique religion has been put on a new footing by Usener, Cumont, and Reitzenstein, who opened the way for all those who were to come after.¹⁹⁰ The collection of evidence has been considerably enriched. No recent work has made an impact on its age as transformative as Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, but many have significantly moved us forward.¹⁹¹ It is a notable fact that almost all the scholars recognized for the 'positive gains' they have made are essentially figures of the Belle Époque years. Still, the overall assessment of the letter is largely positive.

It is in the first, much longer text, the 'Letter to Professor Arthur D. Nock on some fundamental concepts in the science of religion', that Nilsson signals his alarm about and opposition to recent developments. Making an

¹⁸⁹ Nock, it can be interesting to note, kept in his Harvard study a portrait of Nilsson wreathed in fronds (Stewart et al. 1964).

¹⁹⁰ Nilsson 1951a, 146 = 223. ¹⁹¹ Nilsson 1951a, 148 = 224.

ardent plea for the continuing value of evolution as a paradigm of analysis in the history of religions, Nilsson argues that recognizing stages of culture is imperative for the proper study of ancient religion.¹⁹² Understanding the nature of primitive culture and the traces of its survival in later times is crucial for making sense of change and transformation. Nilsson has no interest in opening a dialogue with contemporary anthropology on this topic. He acknowledges that he has only the faintest idea about Malinowski's work (this in 1949 . . .) and Kluckhohn's direct warning about the notion of the 'primitive' is left unheeded.¹⁹³ His anthropology is, proudly, half a century old. What matters is the course now taken in *his* field, *Religionswissenschaft*. The concepts that have been used by his peers to analyse belief are assessed and all found wanting. All have been cut down to size in due time. The leitmotiv of this review is the idea that all generalizing approaches fail, even when they make some lasting contribution, and that the primacy of the particular document, precisely situated in historical time, can never be sacrificed to the illusory claims of the system. *Le dernier cri* is tomorrow's old news. Those who are now, like his Uppsala rival Geo Widengren, trying to promote the theory of the High God, should realize that the house of cards they are building will not last.¹⁹⁴ Phenomenology, the last item on the list and the real target of the letter, is the worst offender, nothing less than a complete negation of history. Evolution—or rather, evolutionism!—cannot be denied. Defending evolution, for Nilsson, is a validation of the ultimate triumph of Christianity. As he writes at the end of the letter, 'there is a difference between the Baiaame of the Australians, the Zeus of the Greeks, and Jahwe in the later Jewish religion.' The position of Zeus between the primitive Baiaame and Jahwe is no coincidence.

Nilsson and Otto

The other polemic, more significant in many ways, if not unrelated, is the opposition of Nilsson to the approach of Walter F. Otto, his exact

¹⁹² Cf. Nowak 1987.

¹⁹³ Nilsson 1949, 79 = 353. The letter is written two years after Cumont has died, when Nilsson has become one of the last intellectual witnesses of his generation—ironically, a vestige himself. In 1951a, p. 26–7 (n. 110), Dodds opposes Nilsson's Victorian intellectualism to the more socially grounded insights of recent anthropology; cf. Dodds 1951a, 45, 59–60, n. 92, 63, n. 111, 121, n. 3, 122, n. 5.

¹⁹⁴ Nilsson 1949, 102–7 = 377–82.

contemporary, and in many ways his nemesis.¹⁹⁵ The iconoclastic Otto was the prime representative of the new intuitive, existential history of Greek religion that generated such an immense amount of enthusiasm in German scholarship in the 1920s and 1930s, and he came to exemplify everything that Nilsson fought against in his work. The Ottonian instrumentalization of myth is one of the foils against which Nilsson's prioritizing of *Kult* is conceived. In the opening of the first letter to Nock, Nilsson cannot resist a sideswipe at Otto, who is accused of being the paradigmatic anti-evolutionist.¹⁹⁶ In the *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, Otto is taken to task for his theological systematization of Homeric religion and his idealizations of Demeter and Dionysus.¹⁹⁷ More importantly, at the beginning of the *Schlusswort* of the first volume, Nilsson presents the 'stark hervortretende neue Orientierung', that is, the work of Otto and his school, with its insistence on 'die sogennanten inneren und bleibenden Werte der griechischen Religion', as the antithesis of his own approach, and a dangerous illusion.¹⁹⁸ Theology through myth, in stark contrast to the meaning it had in antiquity, is a modern imposition on the messy record of ancient *Glaube* and offers no purchase on the old beliefs. It is in that light that Ernst Peterich, the author of the 1938 *Die Theologie der Hellenen*, is dismissed as a fantasist.¹⁹⁹ In his 1929 review of Otto's *Die Götter Griechenlands*, Nilsson rails against the mystic mirage of the book. In his 1935 review of *Dionysos*, Nilsson presents his nemesis as an ecstatic visionary waging holy war on serious religious scholarship. His view of divine essence as fully formed at the moment of *Urschöpfung* is nothing less than a total negation of change in time, the primal sin of historical scholarship. The conclusion of the review is meant to be damning: 'Dieses Buch ist nicht Wissenschaft, wie ich Wissenschaft begreife und begreifen muss, sondern Prophetentum.'²⁰⁰ Otto would probably have agreed with part of that sentence.

Scholarship as prophecy was indeed what Otto proposed in his mature work. And it was meant to provoke exactly the kind of response it received from Nilsson. The criticism he levelled at the dominant traditions of scholarship was harsh and uncompromising. No other philologist better

¹⁹⁵ See Leege 2016, 230–4. Dodds sided emphatically with the camp of Nilsson and Nock. Neither Otto nor Kerényi are cited in *The Greeks and the Irrational*. As he writes at the beginning of his 1944 commentary to the *Bacchae*: 'Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* and W.F. Otto's *Dionysos* are interesting but should be used with caution' (1944, pp. ix–x, n. 1); see Henrichs 1984, 237, n. 88.

¹⁹⁶ Nilsson 1949, 72–3 = 346–7.

¹⁹⁷ Nilsson 1941, 10–11, 349, 498, n. 4, 532, n. 1.

¹⁹⁸ Nilsson 1941, 794.

¹⁹⁹ Nilsson 1941, 59.

²⁰⁰ Nilsson 1935a, 181.

embodies the restless radicalism of the age in its quest for a new, more immediate encounter with the spirit of the ancient world.²⁰¹ The vitalist urge to total experience sought answers in the presence of the old gods. Something singularly more overwhelming than the Third Humanism is pursued in Otto's work, the flagship of 'existenzielle Humanismus', which offered a form of aesthetic communion with a higher aspect of existence. Greek reason is not a mere precursor in this view, nor an antithesis of the Irrational, but a superior mode of being in the world. Like Wilamowitz, Otto is after an 'Offenbarung des Göttlichen'. But the battle-cry of Wilamowitz, 'die Götter sind da', rings hollow for that pursuit. For Otto, 'die Götter sind', out of time and out of place, an ontological alternative to Wilamowitz's dictum.²⁰² The proximity of the divine is not mediated by the great minds of the ancient authors; it is an objective reality. Unveiling that reality is the task of the existential philologist. The theophanies of the ancient believer and the modern student have to be intertwined through the shared vision of *Ergriffenheit*.²⁰³ This was read at the time as nothing less than an alternative to Christian transcendence. The contrast with Christianity, confronted most directly in the 1923 *Der Geist der Antike und die christliche Welt* and the 1926 *Die altgriechische Gottesidee*, was never fully resolved.²⁰⁴

Born in 1874 like Nilsson, a student of Bücheler (and briefly, of Usener) in Bonn, Otto quickly established himself as a successful Latinist, a learned historian of religion and, finally, much later in his career, a formidable Hellenist.²⁰⁵ Named to a chair in Basel in 1913, he moved to Frankfurt as *Ordinarius* in 1914 and stayed there until 1934, when he relocated to Königsberg to replace Paul Maas. He remained in Königsberg until 1944. A friend and/or collaborator of Karl Reinhardt, Franz Altheim, Leo Frobenius, Karoly Kerényi, and Martin Heidegger, he cultivated an active

²⁰¹ See e.g. Kerényi 1937a, 21–3. Otto's 1933 *Radiovortrag*, interestingly, sought a wider audience.

²⁰² Cancik 1984, p. 76; Henrichs 1985, 293–4, 2011, 107; Bremmer 2010b, 8–10; Leege 2016, 136. The opposition 'Die Götter sind' vs. 'Die Götter sind da' captures one of the most fundamental disagreements of scholarship of that time in the field.

²⁰³ Stavru 2004, 315–16. Nilsson, ironically, refers to artistic *Ergriffenheit* in a positively Frobenian way in his contribution to the Brussels *Congrès* (1936, p. 372): 'Man könnte noch auf den Wandel in der Kunst hinweisen, da nunmehr der Kunstwille nicht mehr von religiöser Ergriffenheit geleitet wird, sondern in den Götterbildern nur Vorwürfe seines Schaffens sieht; man vergleiche z.B. Pheidias und Praxiteles.' Maybe that is why it was not reproduced in the *Opuscula Selecta*.

²⁰⁴ See Stavru 2012.

²⁰⁵ On Otto more generally, see Stavru 2005; cf. Wessels 2003, 185–218, Kerényi 1988, 200–63.

circle of fellow militant humanists in Frankfurt. When people referred to the 'Frankfurter Schule' in the 1930s, *that* is what they meant.²⁰⁶ Otto was a devoted follower of Nietzsche and was on the board of the *Stiftung Nietzsche-Archiv Weimar* from 1935 to the end of the war.²⁰⁷ An activist, anti-establishment conservative, in contact with the *George-Kreis*, Otto saw his work as a contribution towards the necessary spiritual renewal of Europe.²⁰⁸ His attempt to launch a new periodical, together with Karl Reinhardt and Ernesto Grassi, for the defence of the classical tradition under the *Neuordnung Europas*, the *Geistige Überlieferung*, where Heidegger also published, was badly received by the Nazi authorities and the periodical was shut down after two issues (1940 and 1942).²⁰⁹ Otto continued to produce major work throughout the 1940s and 1950s, including the notable *Theophania*, first published in 1956. He exerted a profound influence on many scholars and students. Kerényi quickly became the most creative successor of this approach to Greek religion, even if he was in time to turn away from Otto.²¹⁰

In his 1929 *magnum opus*, *Die Götter Griechenlands: Das Bild des Göttlichen im Spiegel des griechischen Geistes*, Otto seeks to reveal the true nature of the Greek gods to his readers.²¹¹ The poetic framework of Schiller's poetry is followed as a guide to the essential spirit of Greek divinity. Close to Frobenius' vision of primordial origins, and channelling the whole German Romantic and Idealist traditions of mythical truth, with Nietzsche a constant reference and inspiration, Otto shows how the coherent, fully formed divine system can be seen to appear in its full splendour in Homer already, and how later expressions of divinity in Greek literature all tap the same enduring source.²¹² The primary vision that informs the original manifestation of the god is a permanent reality. The gods *are*. Their existence is absolute. In that view, divinities are not products of history, culture, or society, but the

²⁰⁶ Schlesier 1994, 215–18; Stavru 2011, 194–5; Leege 2016, 69–114; cf. e.g. Momigliano 1940. The new monograph series *Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike*, founded in 1932, was to be the main vehicle of the group. Otto's *Dionysos* was published in that series. It was another Frankfurt colleague of Otto, Erich Fromm, who was to exert a decisive influence on Dodds in *The Greeks and the Irrational*; see e.g. 1951a, 267, nn. 96–7.

²⁰⁷ Leege 2016, 208–15. For the flourishing presence of Nietzsche in the classical scholarship of the time, see Cancik 1995.

²⁰⁸ See Cancik 1984 and 1986.

²⁰⁹ Fariás 1989, 260–8, Stavru 2013; cf. Losemann 1998. For the more general context, see Losemann 1977.

²¹⁰ See Graf 2006, 77. As Graf notes, Carl Koch, one of the teachers of Walter Burkert, was himself a pupil of Otto.

²¹¹ See Cancik 1984, Stavru 2004.

²¹² Cf. the question about 'real religion' in Homer at the beginning of *The Greeks and the Irrational* (p. 2).

ontological configuration that shapes history, culture, and society. The immanent structure of nature they embody is a complete and perfect whole, where everything has its proper place. A total defamiliarization from the modern Christian filters of the world is necessary for the life-affirming communion with that experience of Olympian proximity. Existential philology, like poetry, can open paths through the ontological plurality of cultures. Otto has been cast as a precursor by many movements and scholars, and most notably an inspiration for the structuralist study of ancient polytheisms.²¹³ It is now probably a matter of time before his work is seen as an antecedent of the contemporary ontological turn in anthropology.

The other book from Otto that (some) classicists still read is the 1933 *Dionysos*.²¹⁴ There, Otto opens polemically with a double attack on scholars of Greek religion: on the ethnologists and the followers of *Völkerpsychologie*, on the one hand, and on the philologists who limit themselves to the old historico-critical method.²¹⁵ The error of both approaches is to privilege change and evolution and reduce the essence of the god to a series of contingent historical developments. The imprint of the social and the historical has no effect on the essence of the god. That is why, decades before the decipherment of Linear B, Otto so energetically refused the prevalent view that Dionysus was a late intruder in the Greek pantheon.²¹⁶ The stories of his arrival have nothing to do with an event; they are manifestations of his essence as the epiphanic god, of the vision of his perpetual arrival. More importantly, cult cannot legitimately be privileged as a source of information. Myth and cult have to be studied together as traces of the divine. For Otto, religion is not a matter of function, but the all-encompassing revelation of an ontological structure that informs all thought and action, and that owes nothing to any thought or action. There is no space for collective representations in this view. A god is a self-contained, independent entity, a world in itself, with its own domain of reality in dialogue with that of other gods. The book-length study of Dionysos, with its imbricated

²¹³ See e.g. Marcel Detienne's fascinating foreword to the French translation of *Die Götter Griechenlands*. Van der Leeuw identifies Walter F. Otto as one of the founders of phenomenology in the posthumous edition of *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1956, 797, n. 2).

²¹⁴ On Otto's *Dionysos*, see McGinty 1978; Henrichs 1984; Cancik 1986; Schlesier 1994, pp. 215–18, Baeumer 2007, 364–9, Bremmer 2013, and, now, the inspiring and wide-ranging study of Leege 2016, which I was only able to see after this chapter was written.

²¹⁵ Leege 2016, 123–64.

²¹⁶ See Versnel 1990b, 165, n. 256; Stavru 2011, 203–4.

opposites and inspired evocation of the deity, is designed to demonstrate that point.²¹⁷ As maddening as it was to Nilsson, and as it surely still is to many who read it today, Otto's book probably remains the single most influential study written on Dionysus since Nietzsche.

Three flashpoints

Innumerable conflicts marked the study of Greek religion in the decades after the First World War, with little consensus in sight, and the doubts, boldness and experimentation in methodology that characterize this period are matched only by the urgency of the ideological programmes that were pursued through scholarship. A profound sense of concrete significance continued to be inscribed in the study of Greek religion. Three flashpoints can be quickly singled out to close this chapter. The first is the ancient question of Christianity's debt to Greek religion. I will only mention two titles from the gargantuan literature that was produced on the topic in those decades, between whose extremes every conceivable position was occupied. On the one side is Arthur Darby Nock's long seminal 1928 article, 'Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background', which attacked Harnack and Loisy and denied any value to the idea that 'the mystery cults' of Hellenism contributed anything significant to the development of Christianity.²¹⁸ The purely Jewish roots of Christianity are squarely affirmed. More than a renewal of the old apologetic tradition, which it also is in some ways, Nock's work reflects a certain view of religious essentialism prevalent at the time.²¹⁹ The analysis is methodical and detailed, conducted with calm critical mastery and no rhetorical flourish. That article came, in time, as close as anything to embody the *communis opinio* against which further scholarship was measured.²²⁰

²¹⁷ See Legee 2016, 189–93.

²¹⁸ Smith 1990, 64–77; Auffarth 2006; Bremmer 2014, 147–51. For Nock's crucial role in redefining ancient mysteries, see Casadio 2009.

²¹⁹ See now Bremmer 2016a; cf. Price's (2010) rather harsh portrait.

²²⁰ Nock became the Frothingham Professor of the History of Religions at Harvard in 1930. His first major work in 1926 (when he was 23) was an edition of Sallustius' *On the Gods and the Universe*, which answers the challenge made in the last chapter of Gilbert Murray's *Five Stages of Greek Religion*. His later four-volume edition of the Hermetic Corpus for Budé (1945–54), published together with Festugière, was one of the great monuments of scholarship of the time. In his 1933 *Conversion*, Nock reinvents the old argument that the only real Greek antecedent of Christianity is philosophy. In their 1963 *JRS* obituary for Nock, Dodds and Chadwick write that 'Religion to him meant feeling – a refusal to admit meaninglessness and helplessness and a like

On the other side is Thaddeus Zieliński's 1921 *Religia starożytnej Grecji*, translated into English for Oxford University Press as *The Religion of Ancient Greece* (1926) and into French for the Belles Lettres as *La religion de la Grèce antique* (Paris)—a rare level of diffusion for such scholarship in those days.²²¹ The author continued to revise this work until his death in 1944.²²² Zieliński was one of the most productive and respected classical scholars of the age (one of the few to still have a 'law' to his name), and this book was probably one of his most read pieces of research.²²³ The author proclaims that a new age of scholarship and renewed spirituality is within grasp with the recent advances in our understanding of Greek religion. Rohde and Wilamowitz have shown the way in recognizing the unique spiritual worth of Hellenism.²²⁴ Gruppe is singled out as the example of the diligent classificatory scholar whose atheism prevents any real understanding of the organic essence of Greek religion. Religious feeling is not only the 'the kernel of religion', but it is also the foundation of the intuitive empathy necessary for successful religious scholarship, and understanding 'the idea beneath the rite'.²²⁵ Greek religion was the first religion to recognize the revelation of God in Beauty, in Goodness, and in Truth. It acknowledged the presence of God in Nature and consecrated the sanctity of Work and Society. It is the fundamental and necessary framework for the development of genuine Christianity. Greek religion *is* the real Old Testament. The early Judaization of Christianity, and the modern re-Judaization that is Protestantism, can only be countered by the rediscovery of Christianity's true Hellenic source.²²⁶ Neohumanism leads directly to that

feeling and a like refusal to admit that man has the power to solve his own problems'. The *Harvard Theological Review* became a leading forum for the study of ancient Greek religion under Nock's long stewardship (1930–63); for an example of Nock's imperious arbitration of the field, see e.g. his devastating review of Cumont's 1942 *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Nock 1946, with Balty and Balty 2015, I–lvi).

²²¹ Originally written in Russian, it was translated into Polish itself—and fully revised—in 1921; on Zieliński more generally, see Zaborowski 2010; cf. Dodds 1951a, 157, n. 7.

²²² Gillmeister 2013; for the larger context of Zieliński's scholarship, see Grzymala-Moszczyńska and Hoffmann 1998.

²²³ See e.g. Picard 1948, who writes: 'Les travaux de Th. Zielinski, en Pologne, n'ont pas seulement répandu sur une infinité de questions des lumières hardies, séduisantes; l'auteur a développé concernant la religion grecque en général, des points de vue très personnels, inspirés d'une généreuse sympathie pour le paganisme.' The Lutheran Nilsson is more severe (1941, 59): 'Die Zusammenhang dieser Arbeit mit katholisierenden Tendenzen kann nicht gelegnet werden.' I am not sure a Lagrange or a Festugière would have recognized *katholisierende Tendenzen* in Zieliński's ideas.

²²⁴ Zieliński 1921, 5.

²²⁵ Zieliński 1921, 13, 44–5, 131–4.

²²⁶ Zieliński 1921, 222–3.

reawakening. The study of Greek religion is to play a leading role in the imminent regeneration and de-Judaization of the Christian world. This book is, among many things, an important witness to the deep and open antisemitism that marked so much scholarship on Greek religion in those years. Three years after its publication in French and English, Zieliński was elected as a member of the governing board of the *Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions* in Lund, where Nock and Dodds were also present.²²⁷

Orphism is another flashpoint of some consequence for the scholarship of the day, and for the question of Hellenism's contribution to Christianity. As Nilsson wrote in 1935: 'Orphism is more famous and more debated than any other phenomenon of Greek religion.'²²⁸ Those years saw the groundbreaking publication of Kern's 1922 *Orphicorum fragmenta*, preceded by his *Orpheus: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* in 1920, and the study of Orphism moved to a new phase in its long history, following the fundamental contributions of Rohde, Harrison or Reinach: one that focused less on origins and more on Christianity. It would be a mistake to imagine that Wilamowitz's famous remark in *Der Glaube der Hellenen* that 'Die Modernen reden so entsetzlich viel von Orphikern' discouraged further work on the topic.²²⁹ On the contrary, the question of Orphism's nature and influence remained a beacon of controversy, and many scholars continued to project elaborate scenarios of a distinctive and uniquely important spiritual trajectory on to the traces left by the 'Orphic' fragments.²³⁰ Many were reacting to the extreme claims of Vittorio Macchioro and Robert Eisler.²³¹ The most radical 'Panorphist' of the age, Macchioro—in a series of publications throughout the 1920s, fully recast in the second, massive edition of *Zagreus* published in 1930—argued for the existence of an Orphic Church, with priests and a clear body of doctrine, that profoundly influenced Greek and Roman antiquity, and set the stage for the mythical and theological elaboration of Pauline Christianity.²³² Orphism, in that view, is the key to the origins of Christianity.

Among the reactions to Macchioro, André Boulanger's *Orphée. Rapports de l'Orphisme et du Christianisme* (1925) stands out for the clarity of its rebuttal. Direct influence on Christianity is denied, but Orphism is indeed portrayed as a mystical movement rooted in the Archaic period, and it is

²²⁷ *Actes* 1930, 4. ²²⁸ Nilsson 1935b, 181.

²²⁹ Wilamowitz 1932, 199. ²³⁰ See Graf and Johnston 2013, 58–61.

²³¹ Eisler 1921. ²³² Macchioro 1930a and 1930b. Cf. Lannoy 2012.

shown to have been ‘comme une préparation du Christianisme’²³³—another restatement of the old trope of the *praeparatio evangelica*, in other words. Father Lagrange was to refine and expand those views greatly in his 1937 *Les Mystères: L’Orphisme*, which is part of an exhaustive, monumental introduction to the New Testament, where he argues that the affinities between Orphism and Early Christianity are indeed real, but superficial and insignificant.²³⁴ Still, the fact that an entire volume is dedicated to Orphism in what was probably the most prominent authorized Catholic introduction to the New Testament written in the interwar period is indicative of the charge attached to that scholarship in those years.²³⁵ In the 1935 *Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement*, Keith Guthrie recentred the focus on Greece and philosophy. Guthrie carefully traces the contours of a movement that comes into light around 600 BCE as an early effort at theological synthesis, and that had a real but circumscribed impact on early Greek thought, and most notably Plato. He accepts, with little resistance, the idea of a direct influence on St. Paul.²³⁶

Martin Nilsson’s magisterial 1935 article, ‘Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements’, predictably doesn’t, and it goes much further in terms of circumscribing the location of Orphism to the Archaic period, even if it disagrees with the minimalism of Wilamowitz. Nilsson argued for Orphism as ‘one of the many currents of mystic and cathartic ideas emerging in the Archaic age’.²³⁷ That is, the many Archaic notions of purification, metempsychosis, retributive justice, afterlife punishment, and other such ideas are not reflections of Orphism, but, together with Orphism, they all reflect the religious developments of the age. Orphism is a phenomenon that belongs squarely to one moment: the later Archaic period. Its place in historical evolution is the factor that matters. There is no sacred book or uniform doctrine, no separate religion. If any Orphic originality is to be recognized, it is this: ‘The greatness of Orphism lies in having combined all this into a system, and in the incontestable originality which made the individual in his relationship to guilt and retribution the centre of its teaching.’²³⁸ The history of Archaic guilt is to be found in that material. Further along the way, the comprehensive and relentless, brilliantly hyper-critical deconstruction of all scholarship on Orphism found in Ivan

²³³ Boulanger 1925, 170.

²³⁴ Cf. Edmonds 2013, 58–9.

²³⁵ See more generally Laplanche 2006.

²³⁶ Guthrie 1935, 267–9.

²³⁷ Nilsson 1935b, 185; cf. Dodds 1951a, 171, n. 95, 176, nn. 127, 129.

²³⁸ Nilsson 1935b, 230.

Linforth's 1941 *The Arts of Orpheus* shattered the many houses of cards that had been built over the years, and it had lasting impact on further attempts to put the pieces back together. Enough, at least, for Dodds wisely to stay away in his 1951 masterpiece, although he made considerable use of the immense amount of literature devoted to Orphism in previous decades.²³⁹ His portrait of the Archaic period, in particular, is written on the extensive ruins of Orphic scholarship.

A final flashpoint to mention in this quick survey is the question of personal vs social religion. The new crisis of the mind, for Paul Valéry, was first and foremost a matter of one's place before the group, it involved 'the thinking individual in a struggle between personal life and life in society'.²⁴⁰ The special value of Greek reason, he argued, is the measure of what hope there is for Europe in the struggle for peace. This resonates with the programmes of research of the interbellum years, and scholarship on Greek religion reflected the anguished interrogations of the day about the space of free will in the face of mechanization, mass culture's increasing sway and the all-embracing ideological control demanded by totalitarian regimes.²⁴¹ Should the study of Greek religion insist on the personal experience of the individual and the inner life of the free agent in his choices across high and low culture? Or should it emphasize regular social structures, groups and family, collective representations, and the evolution of the *polis*? This tension informs much of the work produced in those years, and both positions were defended with great energy. A systematically argued example of the second is the work of Louis Gernet. The most significant contribution to the field to come from the militant Left, Gernet's research placed the study of religious action and thought in the context of the overarching legal and political frameworks that organized life in the city. He showed how the cult of the gods and their myths reflected the changing order of society. Representations, not beliefs, are the proper objects of study.²⁴²

The ground-breaking 1917 *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique en Grèce ancienne* set the stage for the programme of study that Gernet was to pursue all his life. In the first two thirds of the 1932 *Le génie grec dans la religion* (the last third is written by Boulanger), Gernet describes the relevant institutions and social praxis that define the religious system of the *polis*. Origins are deemphasized, and the category of the primitive is

²³⁹ Dodds 1951a, 147, 168, n. 79, 170, n. 88. ²⁴⁰ Valéry 1919a, 1000.

²⁴¹ See e.g. Trevisi 1979. ²⁴² Cf. Dodds 1951a, 53, n. 29, 56, n. 48.

definitively abandoned. The apparent strangeness of ancient Greek religion is a structure with a logic of its own that is perfectly coherent and intelligible. There, at the heart of the so-called Greek miracle, what is rational or irrational is shown to lie in the eye of the beholder. Gernet never let anyone forget that Fustel de Coulanges' *La cité antique* was one of the foundations of the French sociological school, and he collaborated with the other heirs of Durkheim throughout the decades that followed the end of the First World War.²⁴³ After a lifetime of teaching Greek in Algiers, he was called in 1948 to the EPHE to direct research on the 'Anthropologie historique de la Grèce antique', and he directed the flagship *Année Sociologique* itself from 1949 to 1961.²⁴⁴ History and anthropology are fully intertwined in this programme. For the many who followed this centrally recognized agenda, Greek religion was always embedded.

Piety, for Gernet, is defined by its absence, and it embodies the proper position of the individual in a social system. Other approaches turned away from public cult and focused instead on the inner life of the individual, and the piety they emphasize is to be found in the realm of personal religion: private belief, intimate choice, and the different levels of religiosity that coexist in the city. Bruno Snell published his magisterial *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* in 1946.²⁴⁵ Although civic religion was clearly the dominant concern of scholarship, Greek *Religiosität* and the study of religious sentiment and individual religious emotions generated widespread interest from different quarters in those years.²⁴⁶ No work captures this better than Father Festugière's *Personal Religion Among the Greeks*, the set of Sather Lectures that was to follow close on the heels of *The Greeks and the Irrational* in 1952, and the culmination of decades of previous work on the topic, all anticipated in the 1932 *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile* (with a preface by Father Lagrange). The Dominican André-Jean Festugière, a friend and close collaborator of Nock and Dodds and an eminent historian of later Greek religion and philosophy, was a colleague of Gernet at the EPHE.²⁴⁷ In

²⁴³ Di Donato 1983. ²⁴⁴ See Di Donato 1982.

²⁴⁵ Snell's book exerted a decisive influence on Dodds. See e.g. 1951a, 15, 22, n. 47, 24, n. 90, 25, n. 95, 51, n. 2, 197, n. 28.

²⁴⁶ See e.g. Pfeiffer 1929, Nestle 1930–4, Nilsson 1936, 1960b.

²⁴⁷ He becomes Directeur d'études at the EPHE in 1943 (n. 26); see Marichal 1982. The chalcenic Festugière published more than seventy books and hundreds of articles. He was, among many other high honours, made Foreign Member of the German *Ordre pour le Mérite* in 1963. His impact on *The Greeks and the Irrational* is massive; see e.g. Dodds 1951a, 124, n. 29, 127, n. 53, 147–8, 168, n. 79, 169, n. 84, 176, n. 127, 198, n. 35, 225, n. 6, 226, n. 9, 227, n. 23, 229, n. 33, n. 45, 232, n. 67, 233, n. 72, 234, n. 82, 240, 249, 251, 257, n. 20, n. 25, 259, n. 29, 260, n. 45,

Personal Religion among the Greeks, he follows the manifestations of popular and reflective piety from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity through a series of brisk sketches.

The book, dedicated to Werner Jaeger and the hope of a new humanist *paideia* in America, invites the reader to respect the genuine spiritual aspirations of Greek religion, to recognize the authenticity of its ability to foster the sentiment of proximity to the divine and answer man's thirst for the absolute. A teleology is followed from the 'gentle and naïve faith' of the Archaic period to the universal triumph of the Cosmic God.²⁴⁸ Tragedy already prefigures Hellenistic mysticism in its deep theological explorations.²⁴⁹ Quoting Dodds's commentary on the *Bacchae*, Festugière insists on Euripides' ability to communicate 'the inward feeling of unity with the *θίασος* and through it with the god'.²⁵⁰ But it is Plato who is the leading figure of this narrative, and the long unfolding of the Platonic tradition its primary material. A subtext of the book is that the historical situation of Christianity in the religious culture of late Hellenism fulfilled the deep yearnings of the time, without there being any need to invoke influence or derivation. The profound affinity between the ancient pagan record and the Christian tradition offers rich material for meditation on the value of all true religion, and it opens a vertiginous window into the ancient solutions of the problems now misconstrued by Existentialism.²⁵¹ The ancient efforts of the Greek inner self towards the contemplation of God show that the outward forms of Greek religion conceal a world of extraordinary vitality, just like the classical statues mentioned by Dodds in the delicious British Museum anecdote at the beginning of *The Greeks and the Irrational*.²⁵² The paths to the *alogen* of divine ineffability reveal an awe-inspiring level of emotion and reality that cannot be conveyed by mere reason. The organic evolution of Hellenic religious culture directly engages the reader in a voyage of introspection. There and elsewhere, in the sociological research of the atheist Gernet just as in the historical spiritual exercises of Father Festugière, the Greek experience of the Irrational is efficiently made to question the reasons of today.

261, n. 49, nn. 53–4, 262, n. 56, n. 64, 263, n. 67, 264, n. 71, nn. 74–5, 266, nn. 85–6, 267, n. 89, 304, n. 49, 306, n. 80.

²⁴⁸ Festugière 1954, vii.

²⁵¹ Festugière 1954, 114.

²⁴⁹ Festugière 1954, 10.

²⁵² Dodds 1951a, 1–2.

²⁵⁰ Festugière 1954, 26.

Conclusion

At a time when so many possible worlds lay within reach, the battle for the Irrational was a battle for the course of culture. Dodds, like Valéry, knew that civilizations die, and that knowledge informed his characteristic bird's-eye-view of scholarship. At the end of his 1929 article, 'Euripides the Irrationalist', the blueprint for so much of his later work, Dodds eloquently traces the contours of 'systematic irrationalism' (p. 103), the disease that would eventually kill Greek culture, and that also gave it some of its most sublime aesthetic monuments. Euripides is identified as its main figure at the heart of the Classical Enlightenment, and the great prophet of its savagely beautiful destructiveness. The concluding section sets up a larger context for the study:

But I need hardly remind you that at the present time its [rationalism's] supremacy is threatened from a great variety of quarters: by pragmatists and behaviourists, by theosophists and by spiritualists, by Dr. Jung and by Dr. Freud. That is perhaps one reason why Euripides, who seemed so poor a creature to Schlegel and to Jowett, whom Swinburne could describe as a scenic sophist and a mutilated monkey, is for our generation one of the most sympathetic figures in the whole of ancient literature.²⁵³

Our generation is now attuned to the deep resonance of 'the surd element'. It is also directly threatened by the imminence of the conflagration it can unleash on a world out of joint. Dodds casts himself simultaneously as the exegete of irrationalism, and a warner about the immense danger of its charms. The Greek Irrational is, very emphatically, a cautionary paradigm for today. Read before the Classical Association in 1929, as the fragile post-war order was starting to unravel, the text asks its audience to think about its own moment through the example of Greece. Addressing himself, this time, to the audience of America's triumphant new order, Dodds was to renew his diagnosis twenty years later in California, standing on the ruins of Europe, and looking to the dire prospect of an uncertain future. But the Irrational he presents there is much more intrinsically intertwined with its opposite.

²⁵³ Dodds 1929a, 104.

4

The Rational Irrationalist

Dodds and the Paranormal

N.J. Lowe

I am the body of your thoughts. I have grown from day to day since you were a child. I am getting taller and taller, now that your thoughts are so full and round. You dream more than ever, and you always lived in your dreams. Soon the dream will be reality.

What do you mean?

I mean I am a dim form made of a part of you which is called imagination. The outward things are sharp and hard for you, and I keep you alive; the time is near when I shall be body and soul both.¹

This startling conversation with an entity channelled by the formidable planchette medium Hester Dowden in Dublin in October 1917 was Dodds's first published foray into the world of psychic investigation, and his first documented mission for the Society for Psychical Research, of which he was an active member for sixty-five years. It came at a crossroads moment in his professional life: 'Had there been any prospect in 1918 of making even a modest livelihood by psychical research', he confessed in 1962, 'I should probably have embraced it. But there was none. I became a professional Greek scholar, with psychical research as a sparetime occupation.'² This dual avocation, whose strands Dodds learned early to segregate despite an essential unity of personal mission and intellectual project, would be a determinative influence on Dodds's scholarly life and habit over seven

¹ Barrett 1918–19, 247. In another session with Dodds, a dream came through the planchette to describe how it had awakened Dowden 'with a terrible fright and sat on your bed and laughed till I cried', and then 'proceeded to describe her thoughts as things coming one by one into the room like little fantastic beings' (ibid.). On Dowden, see *MP* 103–4 and Bentley 1951.

² 'Experimental research at the universities and in the Society' (1962), 248; cf. *MP* 70.

decades, and would decisively shape his view of the relationship between the ancient world and his own.

Though marginalized in modern histories of psychic studies, Dodds's long and active association with the SPR, including five decades as one of the Society's senior decision-makers, made him a central figure in the history of twentieth-century paranormal research in Britain, and one of the most thoughtful and hard-nosed embedded observers of its journey from the Victorian parlour to eventual extinction in the laboratory environment he had spent his adult life advocating. Parts of that story have been well told by Cambiano and Todd,³ but Dodds's adventures in the paranormal have never been systematically chronicled, despite their significance both in his own life and thought and in the intellectual and institutional history of the field.⁴ His published writings alone on psychic phenomena, though concentrated in four short bursts (1919–20, 1931–6, 1962, 1971–3), still exceed 85,000 words, with a still larger volume of surviving research notes, correspondence, and unpublished papers; and the story they tell is far more closely entwined with Dodds's intellectual life as a classical scholar and historian of ancient thought than he allowed to be apparent in his writings.

Dodds was the youngest member, the last survivor, and the most prominent voice of a pre-WWI generation of classical scholars who formed the backbone of the SPR in the second generation of its existence and determined its course during its period of greatest influence and activity.⁵ Unlike the Verrall family and Gilbert Murray, however, Dodds was not a practitioner but an observer: he claimed no paranormal powers of his own, except insofar as he believed some measure of psychic ability universal to human consciousness.⁶ His role and significance were rather in continuing the sceptical tradition established in the SPR's first generation by Edmund

³ Cambiano 1991, 3–26; Todd 1998a, 191–2, supplemented by 2005; see also Todd 1998b and 2001 with 2004.

⁴ Dodds's voluminous papers on psychic matters are separately housed as part of the SPR collection in the University Library, Cambridge (MS SPR/67). Diligent sorting and annotation by Dodds and the SPR has left the papers in good order and well catalogued at a basic level of description, but significant further information about the dates, constitution, and interrelationships of many items emerges on closer examination, and the archive as a whole repays much fuller study than is possible to give more than a taste of here.

⁵ Dodds's nearest peer was his colleague of fifty years W.H. ('Willy') Salter (1880–1970), a pupil of A.W. Verrall who joined the SPR in 1916 following his marriage to Verrall's daughter Helen de Gaudrion Verrall (who published as Mrs W.H. Salter), and remained a mainstay of the Society until his death; see Roy 2008, 433–56, and for the Newnham background Gloyn 2016.

⁶ On the involvement of Verrall and Murray in psychic research, see Lowe 2005, 2007.

Gurney and Frank Podmore, and in helping to drive the professionalization of psychic research from its amateur origins to the imposition of the scientific controls which would turn out to lead to the historical decline of the subject as a credible object of empirical research. Yet though Dodds was scrupulous in keeping his paranormal interests formally segregated from his academic life and writings, they intersect with many aspects of his own career and thought: his personal and professional life, including his literary and scholarly relationships; his specific interests in the irrational, the unconscious, and the anthropology of belief; his particular engagement with Neoplatonism and theurgy, and with texts, authors, and philosophico-religious movements on the fringes of canon and reason; and his lifelong driving conception of the history of ancient thought as a temporary victory over the irrationalism which he saw as resurgent in his own time, and in which his own battle for an empirical, scientized approach to paranormal studies seemed a severely undermanned front line.⁷

Dodds's career in psychic research had three distinct phases, before, during, and after his tenure of the Oxford chair. In Dublin, and subsequently in Reading and Birmingham, he was an active field researcher, attending séances, observing mediums, and conducting and reporting on experiments in remote communication. This extensive hands-on involvement was suspended on his appointment to the Regius chair in 1936, but he remained an active member of the SPR Council throughout his tenure, continuing to attend meetings and to write, speak, and occasionally to investigate in the field; and on his retirement in 1960 he immediately accepted a three-year term as SPR President, which initiated a twelve-year phase of sustained and summative engagement with strands of paranormal research extending back to his schooldays, including a pivotal unreported role in the fate of the SPR's most famous twentieth-century project. Dodds's own account of his psychic career in *Missing Persons* limits itself to the first of these phases, presenting a chronologically disordered and relaxedly dateless selection of anecdotal adventures from his youthful fieldwork with such psychic celebrities as Dowden and the colourful literary automatist and professed spy Geraldine Cummins in Dublin, the notorious Schneider brothers in Munich, and the celebrated medium Gladys Osborne Leonard in London. But more

⁷ Of Dodds's use of Aelius Aristides, Peregrinus, and St Perpetua in Chapter 2 of *Pagan and Christian*, Lloyd-Jones wrote: 'It is a little as if the author of a study of the intellectual climate of Victorian England were to devote a corresponding proportion of his limited space to the spiritual biographies of John Ruskin, Lewis Carroll, and Helena Petrovna-Blavatsky' (1985, 179, somewhat missing the point).

significant for Dodds's own intellectual history, as well as for that of psychic studies in Britain, were his theoretical and scholarly writings in the field, and his largely undocumented activity behind the scenes in the management and intellectual helmsmanship of the SPR.

Dodds's own paranormal beliefs, though quizzically held, solidified early and remained consistent over his long career in the field. Telepathy was real, an innate part of human development, and a default explanation for other forms of clairvoyance and mediumship. On the other hand, disembodied intelligences, including demons, ghosts, and spirit guides, were a delusion—but a delusion often produced by genuine, if more mundane, paranormal abilities of thought transference and remote sensing, as well as by operations of the unconscious mind which had remained opaque until the researches of Freud. The ancient world offered evidence for the universality of some psychic phenomena and for the cultural constructedness of others, and could in its turn be illuminated, given proper critical controls, by the application to ancient materials of modern attempts at scientific evaluation of the paranormal. The critical scepticism appropriate in the student of ancient religion was a useful model for the stance to be taken by the psychic researcher; but careless thinking in these matters constituted a destructive surrender to irrationalism whose impact could be seen not only in later antiquity but also in the twentieth-century west, with some tendencies in psychic research standing evidence of such a surrender. These views, which carried Dodds through his long journey from the era of William James to that of Russell Targ and Uri Geller, were reflected not only in Dodds's own scholarship but also in the conversation at the top of psychic studies in Britain, as it sought to move beyond the amateurism and occultist links which had given Dodds entry to the field in the first place and allowed him to rise to its institutional leadership.

Histories of paranormal studies conventionally write its year zero in the 1882 foundation of the Society for Psychical Research by an alliance of Victorian spiritualists with a steering group of classicists, philosophers, and scientists associated with Trinity College, Cambridge and led by Henry Sidgwick, Edmund Gurney, and Frederic Myers.⁸ But by 1912, the founders were dead, and the SPR managed by a close-knit group of their surviving intimates who shifted the Society's principal focus from telepathy

⁸ Gault 1968; Cerullo 1982; Haynes 1982; Brandon 1983; Williams 1984; Oppenheim 1985; Epperson 1997; Thurschwell 2001, 12–36; Luckhurst 2002; Blum 2006; Hamilton 2009; Kripal 2010, 36–91; McCorrstine 2010, 103–217. The following generation has been much less well documented and analysed, but see Cerullo 1982, 109–74; Hazelgrove 2000; Roy 2008; Hamilton 2017.

to communication with the dead, and (to the dismay of supporters outside the inner circle) particularly with friends and family members among the Society's own deceased founders, sometimes through their own experiments in automatic writing and with a considerable element of marking of their own homework.⁹ This was the age of the Cross-Correspondences, a densely documented corpus of cryptic communications via automatists and mediums which were argued to demonstrate the *prima facie* existence of disembodied spirits, and with whose thorny secrets and afterlife Dodds would half a century later find himself fatefully if frustratingly entangled. At the time, however, these affairs were a distraction from his own back-to-basics view of the Society's aims and mission, more closely in line with what he saw as its original concerns: the establishment of a foundational understanding of the existence and workings of telepathy, to which all other varieties of paranormal manifestation should be considered epiphenomenal. The SPR's early agenda had included multiple topics which would, in due course, pass from the paranormal fringes to the mainstream of psychology—mesmerism, hallucination, dream psychology, parasomnias, dissociative identities, the unconscious mind—and Dodds spent his life in the confidence that telepathy would later or sooner follow hypnosis, his other early fringe-psychological preoccupation, across the line to scientific respectability and the controls of the laboratory.

In his retirement, Dodds rehearsed and polished a narrative of his own induction into these debates which was first set out in his 1962 Presidential address to the SPR and afterwards variously recycled and rewritten, first in an unpublished paper 'Some Thoughts on Telepathy and the Unconscious Mind' delivered to the Cambridge branch of the SPR on 17 November 1971, and ultimately in *Missing Persons*, which closely follows these earlier drafts. Here is the 1971 version:

It all started, as they say, 'accidentally', (though I suspect that in this area of choice there are no true accidents). Sixty years ago I was a schoolboy and I had to speak in a school debate on spiritualism, so I trotted round to the local library to se [sic] what I could find on this unknown topic. What I found was Frederic Myers' book, *Human Personality and its Survival*.¹⁰

⁹ 'The psychological interest of this material is very great; but whether for the S.P.R. it was altogether good to be dominated by a group of elderly and closely linked persons whose immediate interests were in communications from their own deceased intimate friends might be doubted' (Gauld 1968, 338).

¹⁰ The actual title was *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, apparently a late change by the publishers to Myers' own less tendentious title *Human Personality in the Light of*

I read it. It did not persuade me that there was any truth in spiritualism, but I was fascinated by Myers' concept of the 'subliminal self', and his evidence for telepathy provoked my curiosity. I proceeded to experiment in card-guessing, with an ordinary pack of playing-cards and a schoolfellow [W.D. Semple] as percipient. I found the record recently¹¹ among some old papers. We had beginners' luck...¹²

Five or six decades on from the events, Dodds may have retrojected a more vivid recognition of his later beliefs than these early explorations supported at the time. Nevertheless, the 1971 text reveals a key detail omitted when this passage was reused as the basis for the *MP* version: that the 'address on telepathy' to the Campbell College Literary Society was not a free-standing talk but a contribution to a school debate on spiritualism, in which Dodds evidently set out the current sceptical view associated especially with the late SPR veteran and Fabian Society founder Frank Podmore, who had argued that paranormal phenomena attributed to discarnate spirits could be far more economically explained as manifestations of a telepathic faculty.¹³ From the start, then, Dodds's engagement with psychic studies was shaped by the tension between spiritualists and telepathists in the founding generation; and Myers' posthumously published attempt at a reconciliatory *summa parapsychologica* (which in the 1962 version of this narrative Dodds has himself later awarded as a prize) was not only the key text in

Recent Research (Kelly 2007, 96 n. 30); the case for survival, as the young Dodds grasped, was an uncomfortable bolt-on to an otherwise sober attempt to argue for the supraliminal conscious self as an exposed prominence of a much deeper system of unconscious layers of thought and perception, and though it may have boosted sales in its day it would in time push Myers' often strikingly prescient model of the relation between conscious and unconscious mind to the margins of intellectual history. Nevertheless, Myers' view of psychic research as a legitimate part of the emerging science of psychology was continued by his friend William James (whose *Varieties of Religious Experience* Dodds first read in 1913–14; on James's engagement with the paranormal see especially Blum 2006 and Knapp 2017. 'In its own odd way, Myers' work may turn out to be one of the key documents in modern European intellectual history, just as Myers himself may be a much more pivotal figure than he is now acknowledged to be' (Cerullo 1982, 101). Kelly et al. 2007 offers an unembarrassedly sympathetic appraisal of Myers' project and argument, as well as a valuable account of *Human Personality* in its intellectual-historical context (47–116).

¹¹ Actually in 1962 ('Experimental research', 247). The notes are not extant among the Bodleian or SPR papers.

¹² Dodds SPR papers (Cambridge University Library, MS SPR/67) 7.11, 1–2; the remainder of the paragraph is reproduced with trivial alterations at *MP* 98.

¹³ On Podmore, see especially Hall 1980, 200–6. If the references to Podmore and Andrew Lang (*MP* l.c.) were taken from Myers, the teenage Dodds must have used the 1903 edition rather than the 1906 abridgement by Myers' son which displaced it in reprints.

Dodds's formation as a psychic investigator but the trigger for his wider interest in the unconscious—not least for its early report of the work of Freud, of whom Myers had been the first champion in English.¹⁴

No less significant, however, was Dodds's early epistemological commitment to experiment and autopsy. From the beginning, Dodds saw meticulous controlled experimentation as the instrument of advancement in psychic studies' intellectual credibility as much as its access to truth, and his recourse to statistically robust experiments of his own on this first encounter with the field not only displayed an early epistemological predisposition to scientism but imprinted a lasting conviction which was strong enough to survive the regression to the mean that he would gloss over, following J.B. Rhine, as 'what we have since learned to call a "decline effect"' (*MP* 98, from 1962 and 1971 texts). In the 1962 version (somewhat watered down in the 1971/*MP* text), he tellingly notes that 'the success of this first attempt made a lasting impression on me: what we have experienced ourselves, however trivial, somehow means more to us psychologically than any secondhand knowledge of other men's experience, however important and well-documented'. He would not be the first or the last paranormal investigator to be caught in this heuristic trap.

With these notions in my head I went up to Oxford in 1912. There were at that time three senior members of the university who took a serious interest in psychical research. One of them was Gilbert Murray; but although I got to know Murray fairly well as an undergraduate, I don't recall that he ever talked to me about psychical research, and it was only later that I learned of his remarkable experiments. The other two were William McDougall and F.C.S. Schiller. I was advised against attending the lectures of either of these men. McDougall lectured on psychology, a newfangled extra-curricular subject which ought to be taught, if at all, only by philosophers trained on Aristotle. As for Schiller, he was indeed a philosopher, but the wrong sort of philosopher: he taught heresy, and it was rumoured that in consequence even his ablest pupils never got more than a Second.¹⁵ However, I was a self-willed young man; I habitually disregarded the advice of my seniors, and in this instance benefited greatly

¹⁴ In 1897: Thurschwell 2001, 19 with n. 21 (observing that James Strachey was one of many who first encountered Freud through Myers); cf. Wilson 2013, 111–19. Cerullo calls this era 'The age of Myers' (1982, 103).

¹⁵ Schiller, born in Germany but educated in England, was tutorial fellow of Corpus Christi College from 1897 to 1926. He held to a pragmatism influenced by William James, and rejected the idealism which was dominant in Oxford in this period.

by doing so. Presently I and a few friends started a tiny society for psychical research, over which Schiller consented to preside.¹⁶ Apart from Schiller, we had no outside guidance, and our proceedings were in consequence desultory. I remember spending a lot of time investigating an eccentric local Pole who suffered from rather uninteresting hallucinations.¹⁷ We also dabbled in hypnotism, crystal-gazing and automatic writing; one or two of us even got hold of some Indian hemp in the hope that it would facilitate telepathy (which it didn't). But very soon the outbreak of war diverted our thought to quite other matters and the society died a natural death.¹⁸

In Oxford, Dodds was comparatively insulated from the developments, with which he was predisposed to have little sympathy, at the top of the SPR, as its Cambridge-nucleated leadership shifted the centre of their interests from powers of the mind to evidence of spirits. He was particularly unimpressed by Oliver Lodge's 1916 bestseller *Raymond, or Life and Death*, in which the knighted physicist, whose etheric model was shortly to be discredited, claimed to detect evidence of the post-mortem survival of his youngest son, killed by a shell at Hooge the previous year, in a series of communications through Leonora Piper, Gladys Leonard, and others, beginning with a Horatian riddle credited to the spirit of Frederic Myers¹⁹ and referred by the spirit of the former sceptic A.W. Verrall to his widow for decrypting. Dodds was having none of this: 'The appearance at the present stage of such a book as Lodge's *Raymond*,' he would write in 1919, 'appealing to sentiment in the guise of reason and throwing the mantle of a distinguished name over imbecile hariolations about spook dogs and psychic cigars, can only be regarded as a misfortune to psychical research and a danger to the uninstructed public.'²⁰

¹⁶ This seems to have been in early 1914; a letter of 9 March survives (SPR/67.2.54) from the philosopher and amateur paranormalist Henry Sturt responding to Dodds's invitation: 'I will help in a Psych. Research Society: but the career of the last one in Oxford (about 6 years ago) was not encouraging.' Sturt's move to St Andrews appears to have curtailed his involvement.

¹⁷ This sentence and part of the next are recycled at *MP* 99 with the notable omission of the hemp (of which Dodds circumspectly implies he was a partaker, if not indeed a prime instigator).

¹⁸ 'Experimental research', 248. Schiller, whose paranormal interests extended at least as far back as his membership in student days of SPR precursor the Oxford Phasmatological Society, succeeded Henri Bergson as chair of the SPR in 1914 (William James had held the post before Bergson, in 1894–5); some of the story is told by Porrovecchio 2009 and 2011.

¹⁹ Like other early SPR celebrities, Myers would emerge *post mortem* as a prolific communicator and afterlife trip advisor—initially to earthly intimates, but in time to the wider mediumistic community.

²⁰ 'The evidence for survival', 646. Curly the spirit dog is described at *Raymond* 203, while the cigar episode was the product of a request from a recently deceased smoker, recounted by

Back in Dublin, Dodds's connections with AE's literary circle, and particularly his friendship with Hester Dowden's son-in-law Lennox Robinson, not only exposed him to a range of occult enthusiasms but brought him into sittings with local mediums of interest to researchers in London, though Barrett's second-hand report of the Dowden sittings is the only contemporary record.²¹ This was also the period of Dodds's first encounters with Geraldine Cummins, then at the start of her long mediumistic career which would cross Dodds's path again in a significant way in the 1960s (*MP* 103–6). Dodds's earliest psychic notebooks are reversed and repurposed school notebooks from his Dublin years, which he took with him to Reading and continued to populate to 1922.²² An exercise book from the High School records SPR notes and 'hypnotic experiments with Mrs Birdwood', as well as serving as a holder for clippings and loose leaves from a separate notebook not preserved; while a Latin notebook, containing lectures on Latin literature and annotated translations from Bradley, was reused for notes on published accounts of seances and references to psychic phenomena in antiquity—the latter the beginnings of the career-long enterprise in information-gathering for what would ultimately, through fifty years of iterations, become 'Supernormal Phenomena in Classical Antiquity'.

Dodds's first publication on psychic phenomena, and his first prose to see print, was the quartet of 1919 articles for *The Irish Statesman* under the title 'The renaissance of occultism',²³ which comprised a striking opening manifesto on the contemporary resurgence of irrationalism followed by three position papers on Dodds's target fields of telepathy, hypnosis, and *post mortem* survival. Todd (1998a) has noted how the first article in particular presents an early and impassioned version of the argument that had been

Raymond via Leonard's spirit intermediary Feda: 'There are laboratories over here, and they manufacture all sorts of things in them. Not like you do, out of solid matter, but out of essences, and ethers, and gases. It's not the same as on the earth plane, but they were able to manufacture what looked like a cigar' (197). Also available on the spirit menu were etheric whisky sodas (*ibid.* 198).

²¹ Dodds is probably the 'Mr. D.' in Dowden's 1919 memoir *Voices from the Void: Six Years' Experience in Automatic Communications* (London: Rider, 1919, published under her pre-divorce name of Hester Travers Smith), who transcribes at least one planchette session for the record and on another occasion establishes contact with Dowden in London while himself in a hypnagogic state in Dublin; compare the transcript of Dowden's sitting in n. 1, which Barrett records as having been made by 'a Mr. Dodds' but passed to him by Dowden herself.

²² The Latin notebook includes a mnemonic for scazons: 'The town in which the College stands is call'd Reading'.

²³ Subsequent articles varied the title and orthography.

taking shape as early as 1914, and which would later be most famously articulated in the final chapter of *The Greeks and the Irrational* about what would there be called the 'return of the irrational': that the intellectual and spiritual history of the ancient world constituted a rise towards an Aristotelian and Hellenistic enlightenment, followed by a retreat back into superstition and anti-rationalism which was mirrored in the world after the Great War by a retreat from scientific reason into spiritualist flim-flam. But it is in the three follow-up articles that Dodds first commits to the specific views which he would spend a large part of the next sixty years seeking to firm up with hard evidence. 'The Implications of Telepathy', in common with Dodds's later writings on the subject, took the phenomenon as effectively proven ('We are assured of one fact, and of only one fact, about telepathy—that it occasionally happens', 407), but went on to spend most of its length contemplating the considerable difficulties with both material and immaterial hypotheses of the faculty's operation, in a way that anticipated the following century's principal knock-down arguments:

If with the late Sir William Crookes we suppose telepathy to be propagated by ether-waves, of even smaller amplitude and greater frequency than those which carry the X-rays, then physical science is presumably on the verge of one more of those dazzling if spiritually unprofitable discoveries which made the nineteenth century an age of material miracles. If, on the other hand, an incarnate mind be capable, even once in its life-time, of shattering the physiological dykes to achieve a moment of immediate contact with some kindred intelligence, is not the whole structure of our materialistic philosophy thereby undermined?²⁴

'What is Hypnotism?' responded with similarly measured scepticism to the growing consensus that hypnosis was reducible to the power of suggestion, and to the phenomenon's role in the contemporary debate about the nature of the unconscious:

If ordinary command could keep the drunkard from his bottle, or cure the neurotic of his *idée fixe*, there would be no drunkards or neurotics. If hypnotism brings no new factor into play, how is it that the man who has struggled for years, with violent tension of the will, against some obsessing habit, and has been mastered by it in spite of all the counter-suggestions of religious conscience or worldly prudence, finds himself permanently freed

²⁴ 'The implications of telepathy', 407.

from his temptation after a few brief and entirely unemotional sittings with a skilled hypnotist?²⁵

He was also alert to the ways in which the Myers model of the unconscious mind was under pressure from the dramatic developments in continental psychology:

The tendency to idealize the subliminal has received a severe check from the psychoanalytic studies of Freud, Jung, and their followers. Fifty years ago Hartmann could write that 'there is within the innermost sanctuary of each of us a marvellous something of which we are unconscious, which dreams and prays while we labour to earn our daily bread.' Contrast the portrait of the subliminal drawn by a recent writer:— 'It is stupid, uncritical, extremely credulous, without morality, and its principal mental mechanism is that of the brute – association by contiguity.'²⁶ But however that may be, it appears probable that in the subliminal, whether treasure-house or lumber room, lies our likeliest key to the mystery of hypnotic suggestion and even to the secret springs of human conduct in general.²⁷

But the young Dodds's journalistic impishness found its fullest flight in 'The Evidence for Survival', which reverted to the opening article's warnings of the seductions of irrationality in a more openly satirical strain:

Spiritualism, only yesterday the craze of a few despised faddists, today one of the most flourishing of doctrinal heresies, already quite definitely threatens to become the orthodoxy of the day after to-morrow. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, in his remarkable new rôle of psychic hot-gospeller, is preaching throughout the length and breadth of England the glad tidings that there is no death. The Church Congress, earnestly debating the proper means of combatting Sir Arthur, has discovered in doing so some very interesting divergences of opinion among its own members.²⁸

Dodds also permitted himself a wry note on the current enthusiasm among the gentility for automatic writing and planchette mediumship as an alternative to direct manifestation:

²⁵ 'What is hypnotism?', 550.

²⁶ Theodule Ribot, in Münsterberg et al. 1910, 35; the translation from Hartmann's 1868 *Philosophie des Unbewußten* is taken from p. 106 of the same volume, which is evidently Dodds's source here. Dodds's citation, which is unattributed and slightly misquoted, is not Ribot's own position but rather his critical characterization of Boris Sidis' position in *The Psychology of Suggestion: A Research into the Subconscious Nature of Man and Society* (1898); see Heinze 1994, 167–9.

²⁷ 'What is hypnotism?', 551.

²⁸ 'The evidence for survival', 645.

In recent years, as though recognising the inadequacy of the traditional technique, our ghosts have tended to adopt less theatrical methods of asserting their identity. The old-fashioned personal interview between the living and the dead was an embarrassing affair for both parties, and the attitude of scientific detachment, so much to be desired on such occasions, proved very difficult to maintain. Today the best revenants employ, we are told, an amanuensis... There is good reason to believe that an automatist may in her conscious life be both honest and unimaginative, and yet in her sub-conscious activities develop not only a taste but a very considerable talent for fraudulent impersonation' (ibid.).

The *Irish Statesman* articles were addressed from the inside of the psychic tent to the general reader on the outside, and in them one can see Dodds refining his voice as scholar and essayist as he tries to season his instinctively austere scientism with genial *belles lettres* and a knack for wry extended metaphor. A step closer to scholarly publication came with Dodds's first research article: his 1920 piece 'The evidence for telepathy: An historical survey',²⁹ some pages of which would re-emerge fifty years later in the final version of 'Supernormal phenomena in the ancient world'. Though an SPR member since 1914 and an active researcher for the Society, Dodds chose not to publish in its journals until the 1930s, perhaps out of a lingering distrust of the SPR's preoccupation with areas of the paranormal for which he had little time or credence; the article appeared instead in the Schiller-aligned *Psychic Research Quarterly* (shortly to change its title to *Psyche*).

This first full presentation of Dodds's assessment of the evidence-based case for telepathy is a key document for both his core beliefs and his parapsychological method. Dodds reviews the state of evidence under the three heads of experimentally derived results, spontaneous or anecdotal cases, and (tellingly) 'phenomena provisionally referable to telepathy as an alternative to other supernormal faculties or agencies', arguing that the first category in particular offers sufficient evidence to counter the largely negative assessment of Coover's Stanford review.³⁰ He tabulates (134) success rates in ten experiments of particular seeming significance, from Richet's 1884 card-guessing results to Gilbert Murray's recently published parlour

²⁹ The original pencil draft survives, with substantial further post-publication notes, in the SPR papers (SPR/67 3.15).

³⁰ 'Mr John E. Coover, in the formidable monograph which embodies the results of the laboratory experiments set on foot in connection with the recent endowment for Psychical Research at the Leland Stanford Junior University, California, lays much stress - we think an undue stress - on the negative evidence' (136).

challenges, arguing that ‘To hold that the positive evidence, relatively scanty as it may be, is invalidated by the negative would be like arguing from the admitted inability of most human beings to move their ears, to a denial that any can, with consequent ascription of all alleged cases of ear-moving to fraud or mal-observation’ (137). From these he argues four observations:

- (1) Increase of distance between agent and percipient seems to be a factor inimical but not necessarily fatal to success... (2) Greater success is achieved with hypnotised persons than with percipients in the normal state... (3) The transferred knowledge usually presents itself to the percipient’s consciousness in a sensory form – in the majority of cases, visual... (4) The transferred impression does not necessarily emerge at once, but may remain seemingly latent for several hours and perhaps for much longer periods, just as a post-hypnotic suggestion remains latent until the moment appointed for its execution (138).

But he also weighs in on the Cross-Correspondences, on which he formulates the fundamental position on paranormal matters which would follow him through his life, observing that

the hypothesis of telepathy (and telepathy, too, of an otherwise rare or even unexampled type) has surprisingly become the recognised refuge of the cautious or sceptical critic. The moral which the writer is disposed to draw from the whole of that confused and hitherto indecisive controversy is that little progress is likely to be made with *Psychical Research* until the nature and limitations of the telepathic faculty have been determined with some degree of precision by means of further experimental study (149).

By the time this article appeared, Dodds was in post at Reading, and he would abstain from further public writing on psychic matters for a decade as he devoted himself instead to academic publication. Nevertheless, he joined the SPR Council in 1927 and his voice was beginning to be heard in the pages of the its publications: he contributed to the reported discussion of G.W. Lambert’s 1926 paper on ‘The Psychology of Plotinus and its Interest to the Student of *Psychical Research*’³¹ and in 1929 reviewed the *JSPR*’s Greek counterpart in its pages, noting ‘That science in Greece has not yet escaped from theological tutelage is indicated by the prominence given in this volume to a series of articles on the biological evidence for the existence

³¹ Report of discussion, *JSPR* Volume 23, 1926; published version with acknowledgement to Dodds, *PSPR* Volume 36, 1928.

of God, and also by the somewhat superfluous vehemence with which nineteenth-century materialism is elsewhere denounced'. The period was also a busy one for psychic fieldwork, as his 1962 summary indicates:

In the nineteen-twenties I still had time for a good deal of unsystematic experimentation, which aimed no higher than the satisfaction of my own curiosity: I tried telepathic experiments on a variety of people, with or without hypnosis, and I had many sittings with two interesting Irish sensitives, Miss Geraldine Cummins and the late Mrs Hester Dowden; I also took part in a disappointing series of sittings with the late Rudi Schneider. At a later date [1934] I was enabled by the kindness of the Rev. Drayton Thomas to arrange some experimental proxy sittings with Mrs Leonard, and I took a small part in the discussions about survival which were actively pursued in the thirties (we hear much less on that subject today).³²

These names are a roll-call of some of the most remarkable figures in the mediumship of the era, and *MP* 101–8 relates an illustrative selection of Dodds's adventures with each as well as a taste of his private views on their methods and integrity—though as we shall see, his portrait of the irrepressibly creative Geraldine Cummins pulled its punches somewhat in the published version, and the chronology is somewhat obfuscated. The sittings with Willi and Rudi Schneider took place in September 1928 at Albert von Schrenck-Notzing's famous psychic laboratory in Munich, after an original plan to investigate the medium Oskar S. was abandoned when Schrenck-Notzing exposed him as fraudulent shortly before the visit.³³

The Leonard explorations were more extensive. As Dodds explains at *MP* 106, 'proxy sittings' were an elaborate attempt to impose double-blind conditions on mediumistic experiments, under which the questioner and medium interacted only through an intermediary who was not apprised of the information sought. A 1934 attempt to verify communication with the deceased father of R.B. Graham was one such unsuccessful venture;³⁴ another concerned Stewart Clarke, whose caning had been the trigger event for Dodds's expulsion from Campbell College (*MP* 23). Clarke had drowned

³² 'Experimental research', 248–9.

³³ Dodds's original notes (referred to in *MP* 101) are SPR/67.2.128 (MS) and 129 (typescript). For Schrenck-Notzing, whose laboratory had two years earlier been observed by the SPR's arch-sceptic Eric Dingwall, see Wolfram 2009, 131–89. Dodds was incorrect in believing Rudi's ejaculations, of which he seems to have first learned in 1966, undocumented; Schrenck-Notzing had already noted this striking feature of Rudi's mediumship in his 1924 book on telekinesis.

³⁴ SPR/67 2.21–3.

off Salamis in May 1924 in a boating accident during a visit to the British School at Athens, only for his professed spirit to come through to Gladys Leonard nine years later and send Dodds on a fascinating if ultimately fruitless correspondence quest to verify information about the deceased through his living family and acquaintances, among them the colonial educationalist C.W.M. (afterwards Sir Christopher) Cox—who had known Clarke at New College, and was unimpressed by the information relayed by Dodds from Leonard’s Indian trance personality ‘Feda’: ‘If I may be frank, without giving offence, I found myself hoping very much that people whom one had known might not be condemned to the kind of existence at which these communications, if they were communications & so far as they contained any information at all, seemed to hint. Not least of the disadvantages would seem to be the liability to be forced to communicate, if at all, with their friends on earth through such channels as Feda, by whose vulgarity (not just in idiom) I was much struck!’³⁵

More impressive in Dodds’s estimation was the series of communications through Gladys Leonard from the father-in-law and first wife of W. Stanley Lewis, Professor of Geography at Exeter, summarized by Dodds and his proxy the Rev. C. Drayton Thomas in the SPR’s *Proceedings* for 1938 and recapitulated in simplified summary in *MP* 107–8; this famous case was still being cited in 2017 as one of the most compelling of its kind.³⁶ Though persuaded that Leonard’s communications included an irreducible core of non-coincidental hits, Dodds argued with some ingenuity that the telepathic hypothesis was sufficient to account for all if the different sitters, and their different knowledge of the facts of the spirits’ earthly lives, were taken into account, and that all the non-chance matches could be accounted for by the leakage of knowledge to the sensitive from the minds of the various sitters (who included Lewis and his second wife Emma, as well as Drayton Thomas himself). Nevertheless, Dodds remained sceptical of Feda’s authority, and in the 1935 *Proceedings* reported the results of a replicated experiment in word association in which he attempted to mimic the results of another set of Feda’s published responses, held to demonstrate contact with an American spirit, by the adoption of a fake Republican-voting persona, based on nothing more than his Cisatlantic absorption of popular conceptions of American history, culture, and politics. (To the cues ‘angry’, ‘justice’, and ‘wicked’, his persona’s stock response was ‘Roosevelt’.)

³⁵ SPR/67 2.17.

³⁶ Gauld 1982, 50–1, reworked in Gauld 2017; see also Hamilton 2012, 116.

Dodds had by now resumed publication on paranormal affairs, as his involvement with the SPR Council led to lectures to the Society, which in due course appeared in its journals. The first full version of ‘Supernormal Phenomena’ was delivered to the SPR in 1931 as ‘On the Evidence for Supernormal Occurrences in Classical Antiquity’ and published in the *Journal* the following year in an abridged form.³⁷ Dodds’s major publication on the paranormal in these years, however, was his 12,000-word provocation ‘Why I Do Not Believe in Survival’, delivered as a lecture to the SPR in 1933 and published in their *Proceedings* the following year. Fifty years later, Gauld was still able to point to this as ‘the most succinct, and the best informed, statement of the case against survival’ (1982, 109)—though Dodds, conscious of his audience and scrupulous in his agnosticism, deprecates that ambition: ‘This paper does not pretend to be a complete statement of the case against survival: it is merely a statement of my own reasons, not for regarding survival as impossible, but for thinking the hypothesis unproved (and in some at least of its forms definitely improbable), and in that sense disbelieving it.’ In a format that would become habitual in his later publications on paranormal matters, an agnostic assessment of the perplexities is followed by a series of denumerated observations, which seek to summarize Dodds’s understanding of the provisionally known state of the unknowable. Engaging sympathetically with the spiritualists and theists whose views he finds epistemologically uncongenial or absurd, he argues for the insufficiency of metaphysical and ethical, as opposed to empirical, lines of defence;

³⁷ The full text of this first version is preserved in the Dodds SPR papers, along with an extensively annotated offprint of the published abridgement. The history of this, the centrepiece of Dodds’s published canon on matters paranormal, is exceptionally long and complex. The 1973 text in *The Ancient Concept of Progress* is a lightly updated version of the 1971 version published in the SPR *Proceedings*, but most of the text was much older. Parts of the 1971 publication (pages 168–72 in the *ACP* version) were typeset from a marked-up copy of fifty-year-old printed pages from the 1920s ‘The Evidence for Telepathy’, while the earliest version had been delivered as a talk to the SPR in January 1932 and published as an abridged report in the *Journal* two months later, after which the first part was subsequently excerpted and expanded as ‘Telepathy and Clairvoyance in Classical Antiquity’ (written 1934, published 1936). In collating fifty years of drafts for the 1971 version, Dodds labelled the whole of this phase the A version; B was an unpublished 1953 version compiled as a schools talk, incorporating pages dating back to the 1930s, but intermittently updated as late as 1964; and C was a 1965 redraft for the Classical Association conference in Durham that year, marked by Dodds (MS) as ‘less complete on the whole than earlier versions, but has some additional refs. and addenda’. The folder SPR/67 3.3 comprises an offprint of the 1932 *JSPR* text and Dodds’s notes for the 1971 version and its 1973 addenda, as well as a topsheet cataloguing the A, B, and C versions. The B text is preserved separately as SPR/67 3.8, the C text as SPR/67 7.7, and the ‘Telepathy and clairvoyance’ MS as SPR/67 3.7. Also included is a thick file of working notes comprising a layer from the early 1960s onwards and a significantly earlier lower stratum (which subsumes a substantial folio of notes on magic statues).

for the 'telepathic hypothesis' (which in the event takes up two-thirds of the paper) as a simpler and sufficient explanation for the phenomena held to demonstrate survival; and for the comparative modernity of the concept of mediumistic communication and the stark silence of the historical evidence for any knock-down proof:

It is, I think, fair to say that the 'spirits' have so far failed to convey to us any distinctive impression of their present mode of life, their occupations, or their state of mind; and that they have never explained this failure. How comes it that these countless Columbuses, returning to us (if but for an hour) from the supreme voyage of discovery, describe the life beyond the tomb in terms that are equally applicable to life in Putney, or alternatively, are borrowed from cheap theosophical literature? Can the vivid literary talent of a Verrall or the philosophic insight of a Myers do no more than this? And why, in general, do the 'spirits' of intellectually gifted persons produce no evidence that they retain their gifts in the other world? No single valuable contribution to art or science has been made, so far as I know, by an artist or scientist liberated from the material body: on the contrary, to study spirit communications in bulk, and without *parti pris*, is to echo the cry of Flournoy – 'on ne sait s'il faut rire ou pleurer devant la trivialité, la niaiserie, l'incohérence de la plupart de leurs messages.' If there is an after-life, it would appear on the evidence so far available to be a life which kills all interest in intellectual pursuits, as living men understand them. This may be indeed the case; yet I cannot but think it surprising, as well as extremely unfortunate from an evidential point of view.³⁸

This brief but significant burst of publication³⁹ was suspended as Dodds's years in the Oxford chair pushed his parapsychological activities to the margins of his life, but he continued to participate in SPR business (including a leading role in Eileen Levitt's ultimately unsuccessful 1953 attempt to endow a readership in psychic research at Oxford⁴⁰) and occasionally in first-hand investigations. Though he did not publish on psychic affairs between 1936 (when he contributed his piece on telepathy to the Murray

³⁸ 'Why I do not believe in survival', 172.

³⁹ Unpublished talks from this period preserved among the SPR papers include further versions of 'Supernormal occurrences' and a number of sometimes overlapping pieces on 'Psychological parlour games' (apparently c. 1919), 'Ancient magic' (1924), 'Common sense in psychical research' (c. 1935), and a 1934 typescript that went through a series of title changes from 'Ancient occultism and modern spiritualism', to 'Psychical research in classical antiquity' and finally to 'Spiritualism in classical antiquity'.

⁴⁰ Correspondence between Dodds, Levitt, and (for the SPR) W.H. Salter: SPR/67 2.1–7.

Festschrift *Greek Poetry and Life*) and 1962, he continued to write, working intermittently on 'Supernormal Phenomena' and giving unpublished talks on psychic matters to schools and student societies. One such talk on 'The Present Position of Psychical Research', undated but marked by Dodds as delivered to the Grecians, offers a pensive summary of his view of the field's epistemological indeterminacy as a not-yet-science:

When I am asked to talk about Psychical Research, I always find myself in two difficulties: (a) that I do not know where to begin; (b) that I do not know where to leave off. Both difficulties are due to the peculiar status of psychical research as something which, in Platonic language, is always becoming knowledge but never is knowledge: for to know anything is to know its cause, and psychical research is concerned exclusively with phenomena whose aetiology is unknown. To be a psychical researcher is to wander in the debatable land that lies between simple ignorance and true scientific knowledge – a region of marsh lights and mirages, a region where anything may be true or alternatively nothing may be true, since it has not yet been reclaimed for reason. The psychical researcher cannot even tell you what it is that he studies; for if he knew that, his task would be completed, and he would hand over his discovery to one or other of the orthodox sciences. Nor can he arrange his material in accordance with any scientific principles of classification; he can note resemblances & differences, but he cannot tell which of these are significant and which merely accidental – so that, for example, he cannot tell you what real connection, if any, exists between physical & mental mediumship.

Psychical research is not a science; whoever says it is, blasphemes against a holy name. But I suggest that it is science in the making.⁴¹

Dodds's last years in the chair saw a discreet reversion to a more active role in psychic investigations. Having followed J.B. Rhine's experimental work at Duke University since the 1930s,⁴² in 1960 he accepted an invitation to join the Advisory Committee of the Psychical Research Foundation attached to Rhine's Parapsychology Laboratory. His annotations to the Foundation's subsequent newsletters show a pragmatic interest in the sources of funding

⁴¹ SPR/67 3.9. 'The Grecians' may refer to the classical sixth form at Christ's Hospital, which was so called. In the terminology of the field, 'mental mediumship' referred to the manifestation of paranormal phenomena as communications rather than physical effects such as telekinesis or the production of ectoplasm; for Dodds's efforts to revive this branch of study in the 1960s, see p. 111 on the Mental Mediumship Committee.

⁴² Horn 2009 is a solidly researched journalistic history of the Laboratory's work.

for parapsychological research in the US and UK, reflected in his SPR correspondence of the period, which would bear fruit two years later when Dodds successfully solicited a grant from the Foundation to fund the major research enterprise of his SPR Presidency: the indexing of the Cross-Correspondence scripts of fifty years earlier, hitherto a test ground for his telepathic model of mediumship, but which now came directly into his life in an unexpected and profoundly consequential way.

Dodds's fateful involvement with the matter of the Cross-Correspondences, probably the single strangest story in the SPR's history as well as the longest running, began in the autumn of 1960. The central figure in the complex saga had been Winifred Coombe Tennant, the energetic suffragist, political activist, and art patron whose second career as the medium known in her lifetime by the SPR's pseudonym 'Mrs Willett'⁴³ had been unmasked in their *Journal* upon her death in 1957.⁴⁴ As Dodds now saw, this opened the door at last to a full appraisal of the voluminous documentation, which ran to twenty-eight privately printed volumes and an unquantified mass of unedited material, the writings beginning in 1901, peaking in the second decade of the century, and continuing sporadically to the early 1930s.⁴⁵ It was known that the materials produced (primarily by the Verralls and Winifred) had been interpreted by the SPR's investigators as an elaborate set of interlocking communications from the departed spirits of the SPR's founders and their intimates with an aim of constructing an evidentially bullet-proof demonstration of their *post mortem* survival through recourse to parallel independent communication via

⁴³ Similarly Alice (Kipling) Fleming's mediumship, which was also studied by the SPR and involved in the Cross-Correspondences network, had been concealed under the pseudonym 'Mrs Holland'.

⁴⁴ Salter wrote to Dodds on 15 May 1961 (SPR/67 5.18) that the aim had been to forestall 'someone of the Dingwall mentality getting to hear a rumour of her death, and raising a stink, probably in the *Psychic News* ... E.J.D. had some years previously been trying to nose out her identity, the usual "Why are we not told?" gambit.'

⁴⁵ Salter's briefing letter to Dodds of November 1960 (SPR/67 5.2) outlines the work to that date: 'G.W. Balfour [classicist and philosopher; brother of Arthur Balfour, prime minister and philosopher, and brother-in-law of Henry Sidgwick] and [J.G.] Piddington [a long-term stalwart of the SPR, who changed his name from Smith to avoid confusion with other members], with enormous industry and at considerable expense to themselves, had all the scripts of the principal automatists privately printed with short comments and cross-references: there are nineteen volumes of these altogether, containing all the scripts of Mrs. Verrall, Mrs. Holland, my wife (H[elen] V[errall]), Mrs. Willett, Mrs. Stuart Wilson, and the short series produced by the "Macs" [the Mackinnon family from Aberdeen]. Mrs. Verrall edited four of these volumes, Balfour edited most of the Willett volumes, Alice Johnson the Holland scripts and Piddington the rest. Balfour and Piddington also had privately printed eight volumes of comments too elaborate to be incorporated in the other series.'

different mediumistic vehicles. Publication and analysis, however, had been inhibited during Winifred's lifetime by a perception of highly sensitive personal content. As Salter, the last survivor of the original inner circle, wrote to Dodds in November 1960:⁴⁶

The 'interpreting group', of whom Balfour and Piddington were the chief members, came to the conclusion that there were in the scripts allusions to a large number of personal matters... The "Palm Sunday" Case⁴⁷ elucidated some personal references which had previously not been divulged, but there are still others which Balfour and Piddington thought should not be made public. They were, in fact, so reticent about them that in the printed volumes they referred to many of the dramatis personae under pseudonyms: though the volumes were privately printed, they wished to keep even Maclehose's compositors in the dark!⁴⁸ With the lapse of time, Lady Balfour, the Coombe-Tennants and I see no reason why facts relevant to an understanding of the scripts should be concealed any longer from a responsible student. There is, in fact, a background to the printed and unprinted documents, without a knowledge of which a student would be at a loss to follow what either the automatists or the interpreters were driving at. Of persons still living probably Lady Balfour and I know this background better than anyone else.

With the assistance of Gerald Balfour's daughter-in-law Lady (Jean) Balfour, Salter then let Dodds in on the startling narrative that the Balfour group (Gerald, Eleanor Sidgwick, and their resident colleague Piddington) had extracted from the materials and which they had come to term the Plan: that the 1913 birth of Winifred's youngest son Augustus Henry, named in allusion to Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* and Henry Sidgwick, enacted a messianic prophecy of the birth of a new world order.⁴⁹ The Verrall group (Margaret, Helen, and Willy Salter) were more cautious, particularly over the personal specifics,⁵⁰ but there is no sign in the correspondence that Dodds was

⁴⁶ Salter, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ A celebrated forerunner of the cross-correspondences centred on Frederic Myers' lost love Annie Marshall, who had drowned herself in Ullswater in 1876.

⁴⁸ The firm of Robert MacLehose, founded in 1865, had been printers to the University of Glasgow since 1871.

⁴⁹ The poet referred in this eclogue to a child who would bring a golden age and rid the world of fear; some Christians took this as a reference to Jesus Christ (Mayor et al. 1907).

⁵⁰ 'M.V. never heard of "the Plan" till 1912, when most of her scripts had been written, & when told of it by J.G.P., resisted strongly. H.V. & I were told of it by G.W.B. in 1933, but did not learn the whole story till 1945, after his death' (Salter to Dodds in December 1963, SPR/67 5.45).

ever made aware of the more sensitive, and potentially sensational, secret concealed in the scripts, to which Salter and Jean Balfour were among the last living parties: that Henry had secretly been fathered by Gerald Balfour, in circumstances believed by the SPR inner circle to be part of a programme of what Winifred's diaries termed 'metetherial eugenics' devised from the other side by the spirits of Edmund Gurney and Francis Balfour (the brilliant biologist brother of Arthur and Gerald who perished in an Alpine accident in 1882).⁵¹

Dodds's initial proposal had been that the SPR, with the blessings of the Verrall, Coombe Tennant, and Balfour families, authorize (i) the indexing of the existing printed materials, and (ii) their analysis by Dodds himself as an informed but disinterested party. The indexing was duly completed by the Bodleian's William Clennell and three copies printed, but by this time two developments had greatly complicated the larger part of the task. One was the Coombe Tennant family's interest in a series of communications through Dodds's old psychic sparring partner Geraldine Cummins, which purported to emanate from the post-mortem personality of Winifred herself, and which her elder surviving son Alexander in particular was keen to see analysed and published. Dodds agreed to examine the material, which he did with devastating efficiency. Dodds's manuscript notes and handwritten summary survive, though not the final report—but some of its tenor can be gleaned from an unpublished fragment drafted but rejected for the more diplomatic account at *MP* 105–6.

In several later sittings 'Winifred' reproduces almost verbatim long passages from Gerald Balfour's psychological study of Mrs 'Willet' (*Proc. S.P.R.* xliii 1935): compare for example *Swan* pp. 73 f. with Balfour pp. 49 f. Yet Geraldine consistently denied having read Balfour's paper. This was not the first time that Geraldine's 'mixed grill' (as 'Winifred' called it) had included unconfessed pre-cooked ingredients. As the late Mr. Simeon Edmunds pointed out, the scripts published in her book *The Fate of Colonel Fawcett* reproduce almost word for word entire passages from

⁵¹ Roy 2008, Lord 2011, Hamilton 2017 (respectively aggregating the Balfour, Coombe Tennant, and SPR perspectives and sources); see also Lord 2007 (published before the secret was made public), Hamilton 2009, 292–301, Wilson 2012 and 2013. Though the Plan was outlined by Salter in his privately printed *Introduction to the Study of Scripts* (1948) and known to the Balfour family, Winifred's sons appear to have been kept in the dark on the paternity of Henry (who had a heroic war career but subsequently took monastic vows following his conversion to Catholicism). Winifred's vivid diaries of the affair were embargoed until 2006, though her surviving son Alex read them before his death in 2003.

an article by Fawcett himself published 26 years earlier, and do so without acknowledgements. Cryptomnesia? Conceivably. But some may be inclined to use a shorter and ~~har~~⁵²

At this point the typescript tactfully breaks off mid-word.

Alex's disappointment at the exposure of Geraldine's sources seems to have cooled his relationship with Dodds, and may have influenced his response to the second complication to Dodds's original ambitions for a reassessment of the Cross-Correspondence scripts. This concerned Henry Coombe Tennant and his role in the Plan. In the spring of 1961, Dodds sought the advice of C.D. Broad, who responded:

The so-called 'Plan' (which does seem to me pretty fantastic) is of special interest to me. The two young men who were 'tipped' for Alexander and for Augustus respectively, were Trinity undergraduates, and 'Augustus' was a pupil and a great friend of mine. I knew nothing about the identity of his very formidable mother, Mrs. Coombe Tennant, with Mrs. 'Willett', until after her death; and of course nothing of the high role for which he and his elder brother had been designed and generated on the astral plane. 'Alexander' was and is a very worthy person, of good average ability; but the suggestion that he would be either the founder or the precursor of a Golden Age would strike anyone who had to do with him here as exquisitely ludicrous. But 'Augustus' is another pair of shoes. He was both intellectually and in strength of character and practical ability one of the three most remarkable young men whom I have known intimately. I always said of him that in any crisis I would ask nothing better than to put myself under his order. And I said this simply on my knowledge of his personality, and long before I had any inkling of the 'Plan' and of the role assigned to him in it. I see no prospect, at this time of day, of his ever becoming a great Leader or Saviour of the race. But there is nothing absurd to me in the suggestion that he had most of the necessary qualifications for the part. It is in fact rather a puzzle and a disappointment to me that he has not played an outstanding role in politics or in administration of the highest kind... As you doubtless know, he has recently become a Roman Catholic. There is no reason why a R.C. should not pursue psychical

⁵² SPR/67 10 (unnumbered item). Dodds's objections notwithstanding, Geraldine's collected 'Winifred' scripts were edited by the SPR's more sympathetic Danish colleague Signe Toksvig and published as *Swan on a Black Sea: A Study in Automatic Writing* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966); it would become Geraldine's best-known book.

research, as, e.g., Father Thurston did; but I suppose he must rule out a priori the possibility of direct influence in human affairs of the surviving spirits of human beings.⁵³

Two weeks later, he added (16 May 1961):

I should think it most unlikely that Alexander & Henry C.-T. would permit their names to appear in print, during their lifetimes, in documents in which (as I understand) the latter is 'tipped' as a kind of Messiah, & the former as a kind of John the Baptist. Surely this would make them look ridiculous in the circles in which they respectively move.⁵⁴

It was Salter who a few days later dropped the bombshell:

I have just had a letter from Henry C-T which radically alters the position as to investigating the scripts. I know that last year he had become an R.C. which obviously increased the difficulty of publishing now, or at any reasonably near future, the 'Messianic' references to himself. He now tells me that he wishes, as soon as practicable, to become a priest, that he regards the references as 'dangerous nonsense' and would 'prefer not to be involved himself in the investigation of the material' while 'wishing all good luck to future investigators', hoping that another explanation of these references might be found.⁵⁵

Dodds's retirement from the Oxford chair in 1960 had marked an immediate return to an active role in the SPR and to publication in its journals, beginning with the acceptance of a long-delayed presidency (1961–3) of the Society, which would prove to be one of intensive hands-on activity. Among his enterprises during his presidency was an ambitious project via ATV Birmingham to use the medium of television for the largest mass experiment in ESP in Britain via the regional 'Midland Montage' programme with an audience of four million viewers. Dodds prepared a series of ten Zener cards, each sealed in a lightproof-tested envelope with Dodds's personal Chinese seal (a secret security measure not revealed to the production team), and sent to the producer to be displayed on air for viewers to guess. Unfortunately time constraints imposed by the broadcast vitiated the usefulness of the results thanks to a rushed presentation of the instructions and a low response rate (183 usable replies out of an estimated four million viewers), and the Society moved instead to a postal survey.

⁵³ SPR/67 5.11.

⁵⁴ SPR/67 5.16.

⁵⁵ SPR/67 5.17.

Less publicly visible, but more significant still for Dodds's role in the tillership of psychic research in Britain in what would prove to be its pivotal decade, was his establishment of a Mental Mediumship Committee to coordinate investigation into what Dodds himself, as a product of the WWI generation and veteran investigator of British and Irish mediums, considered the most potentially fruitful research area of the SPR's portfolio, the evaluation of trance mediumship—by the 1960s an industry in decline, as the spiritualist generation aged out. The papers of this committee attest a nostalgia among the Society's elder statesmen such as Dodds and Salter for the golden age of mediumship and its sustained observation in the era of Piper, Dowden, and Leonard, by now a fading interest of the SPR which Dodds—who felt there was much to be learned about the psychology of trance states as well as the possible clairvoyant talents of the performers—saw as a research opportunity even in the present decline of the mediumistic art.⁵⁶

This historical perspective on the state of the field informs Dodds's presidential address 'Experimental research at the universities and in the Society' (1962a), which presents a snapshot of the changing landscape of psychic studies at a time, a decade before the establishment of the Koestler Chair at Edinburgh, when the institutional structures of his twin lives in the academy and in paranormal research seemed on the verge of a long-awaited utopian convergence. But the future Dodds foresaw was one in which the identity of the field could seem on the verge of dissolution, as he predicted a gradual dispersal of the field of study into university departments. Existing definitions of psychic research, Dodds suggested,

do not define the field of a science; they describe a no-man's-land whose outer boundaries are completely indefinite and whose degree of internal unity is anybody's guess...when this no-man's-land is explored and mapped some of its alleged features will prove to be travellers' tales and the remainder will be parcelled out among existing sciences. What is at present called extra-sensory perception will be a part of normal psychology; psychokinesis, if there be such a thing, will be measured in the physics lab; ectoplasm, if still produced, will be analysed by organic chemists, and the means of its production will be studied by physiologists; the claims of dowisers, if they still make any, will be tested by geologists; poltergeists will be referred to the Department of Psychiatry, or

⁵⁶ Cf. *MP* 108.

alternatively to the Institute of Water Engineers. As for the Professor of Parapsychology, he will be left with a few parcels of territory which nobody else wants, since they have turned out to be totally barren.⁵⁷

In the same year Dodds published his assessment of a personal case of his acquaintance, when his wife's former pupil Margery Eady in Oxford and her brother in south Wales simultaneously experienced what they subsequently identified as a psychic intimation of their ailing mother's death at that moment in the form of an unprompted impulse to recite the *De profundis*.⁵⁸ This anecdotal case fitted especially well with Dodds's view of telepathy, which he notes was also Murray's, as an emotional rather than a content-based communication: 'what initially reached consciousness in each case was not a piece of information but a motor impulse accompanied by an appropriate feeling-tone', though Dodds held back from committing himself on whether the communication was from sibling to sibling or from dying mother to children, and it appears that, despite the Catholic frame within which the experience was defined, not even the siblings themselves proposed the action of an external supernatural agent.

Meanwhile, the affair of the Cross-Correspondences was rumbling on, with Dodds's and the SPR's position further weakened by the uncertain legal status of the ownership of the scripts, as well as the reluctance on all sides to allow potentially hostile parties such as Eric Dingwall⁵⁹ free access, and concern over the long-term custody and protection of the existing sets, for which the SPR and its premises were felt unsatisfactory. In 1963, Salter negotiated a compromise: copies were deposited in the Bodleian and at Cambridge in the library of Salter's alma mater Trinity, with the condition that they remain under embargo until 1995. To this the SPR unhappily assented over the protests of Dodds and, as predicted, Dingwall, but to no avail;⁶⁰ the scripts remained sealed, and it was another half-century before

⁵⁷ 'Experimental research', 250–1.

⁵⁸ 'Two concordant experiences coinciding with a death' (1962).

⁵⁹ A hard sceptic and resident thorn in the side of the SPR management, Dingwall had by now emerged as its most outspoken troublemaker; see Dingwall 1971 for his palinodic narrative of this relationship.

⁶⁰ The Coombe Tennant family would a few years later find themselves on the other side of this unusual issue in copyright law when Geraldine Cummins claimed copyright to her purportedly spirit-dictated narratives including those from 'Winifred'. In the letter to the *TLS* ('Spiritual Copyright', 13 December 1974, p. 1417) alluded to at *MP* 105 n. 9, James Munby would write of this case: 'The conclusion which the Defendant invites me to come to in this submission involves the expression of an opinion I am not prepared to make, that the authorship and copyright rest with some one already domiciled on the other side of the inevitable river.'

the independent investigation Dodds had sought was finally undertaken, sympathetically but meticulously, by Hamilton (2017, 159–277), using a searchable scan of the printed volumes to address the challenges of interreferentiality that Dodds had originally identified. Notwithstanding Hamilton's more moderated agnosticism on the survival hypothesis (frankly documented in the autobiographical Hamilton 2012), Dodds would have appreciated Hamilton's conclusions, which argue for an irreducible element of the anomalous once the usual counter-hypotheses of fraud, wishful thinking, confirmation bias, pattern-making, and unconscious but natural psychological behaviours have been duly factored in and out.

Dodds remained on the SPR Council until 1970, and stayed involved thereafter as an active Vice-President. He continued to speak on telepathy to tangent academic audiences, including an unidentified 1971 audience of psychoanalysts,⁶¹ and investigated occasional case reports at first hand; in 1971, he interviewed an elderly Oxford lady on her 1942 vision of her wounded husband.⁶² But his major parapsychological work of these years was a pair of articles for the SPR which presented the definitive publication of two research projects extending back to his first published article, and which had been entwined decades since. The work which attained its final form in the 1973 version of 'Supernormal Phenomena in Classical Antiquity' had had the longest genesis of any of Dodds's writings,⁶³ and stood as his final summation to the psychic community of what might be learned about the historical persistence of their objects of inquiry from a lifetime's aggregation of the ancient data on mediumistic phenomena; while 'Gilbert Murray's Last Experiments', his last major investigation for the SPR, was another return to the territory of his youth, in a systematic analysis and publication of his mentor Gilbert Murray's unpublished records among the Bodleian Murray papers of informal 'experiments' in guessing subjects agreed on by members of his family, which had been one of the ten strongest case histories nominated in his first published scholarly article, 'The Evidence for Telepathy' from 1921.⁶⁴ Unlike his veteran SPR colleague turned sceptic Dingwall, who wrote a fierce rebuttal of Dodds's paper for the 1972 *Journal*, Dodds himself remained convinced of the genuineness of Murray's powers despite the obvious and admitted flaws of the experimental design

⁶¹ The 1971 paper to the Cambridge SPR is a later revision of this text.

⁶² SPR/67 4.45–6. ⁶³ See above, n. 35.

⁶⁴ The definitive record of these experiments' publication and reception is an unpublished handlist of 54 items prepared by Fraser Nicol and Mostyn Gilbert in 1971–2, and preserved among Dodds's working notes for the article at SPR/67 8.3–5.

and controls by scientific standards, and argued both for Murray's integrity and for the statistical weight of the records now viewed as a complete body of data. When the case briefly featured in the *Spectator*, Dodds clipped and marked up factual errors in a pro-Dingwall column by the young Peter Ackroyd, who had consulted Dodds's article in the SPR archives and concluded that Murray was 'a bit of a fraud, an amateur and playful fraud'.⁶⁵ The tide was turning against Dodds's softer scepticism, with a more militant anti-irrationalism mobilizing from the US under the banner of what would in 1976 take shape as the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of the Claims of the Paranormal—who influentially reprinted Dingwall's 1971 SPR palinode in one of their early collections, from which it is still regularly cited.

It is easy to read Dodds's long engagement with the paranormal as a heroic narrative of disappointment, a persistence of scholarly discipline and dispassion in the face of lifelong frustration as the Jamesian agenda of his earliest fascination became an increasingly anachronistic survival from the Edwardian parlour. Though his conviction of the reality of telepathy had survived and even been fortified by the journey, he neither saw its hoped-for scientific vindication nor made peace with the null hypothesis; and his intellectual formation in the transient moment when the invention of psychology and the discovery of the unconscious opened up a *terra incognita* in which religion, science, and humanist scholarship seemed on the verge of an epochal epistemological convergence gave way to an idiosyncratic odyssey through the twentieth century as an increasingly isolated survivor of the SPR founders' project and its receding conceptual horizons. His attempts to revive the study of the Cross-Correspondences had succeeded only in deferring the inquiry for a further half-century, while his insistence in regarding telepathy as a proven fact had the effect of stiffening his scepticism of other paranormal claims, but at the price of what would now be reflexively diagnosed as a case study in the cognitive illusions of anchoring, apophenia, and confirmation bias; his resistance to disabuse may also have been prolonged by the fact that he was also, unlike Dingwall and other inquisitors on the SPR's sceptical wing, uninterested in stage magic and its replication of mediumistic techniques. Characteristically, Dodds himself was a critical observer of his own quest: 'Had my long hobby-horse ride,' he pondered at *MP* 109, 'which began in Edgar Allan Poe and ended in the

⁶⁵ Peter Ackroyd, 'Gilbert Murray: amateur or fraud?', *The Spectator*, 8 September 1973, 305–6; Dodds's copy, SPR/67 8.6.

consulting-rooms of mediums, been anything more than a time-wasting aberration, an outlet for my private hunger after the irrational?

Yet Dodds's involvement with paranormal research had been a far more productive strand of his intellectual life than was easy even for him to acknowledge, and not simply for bringing him into early contact with the work of Freud and Lévy-Bruhl. His own parapsychological project was instinctually a corrective one, which sought to tame the forces of contemporary irrationalism by pruning the paranormal ecosystem down to a few demonstrably productive shoots which would lend themselves to scientific cultivation; and his historical perspective on contemporary paranormal beliefs and practices enabled him to distinguish repeatedly between what appeared to be transhistorical phenomena and those that were culturally generated. The legacy of the SPR's foundational tension between spiritualists and telepathists would enable him to see far and deep into the changes in the conceptual landscape of the human which threatened to challenge the Enlightenment project; while the enormous number of mediumistic performances of all kinds which Dodds personally witnessed, over half a century of generational changes in practice and professional esteem, gave him a uniquely agent-focused perspective on ancient divinatory and theurgic practices, and on the devices of fraudulence and self-deception available to paranormal performers and their public in the ancient world as much as his own. Above all, his sustained attention to the shiftingly defined borderlands between the knowable and the preposterous over sixty years as an embedded observer had nurtured an intellectual fearlessness about the historical boundaries of mind and the stakes in the defence of reason, sustained by an unrivalled expertise in rational negotiation with the irrational.

5

The Greeks and the Irrational

Robert Parker

The Greeks and the Irrational is a book that lives, a book that every person seriously interested in ancient Greece must study, and one of such deftness and grace that it can be read and re-read with delight. I shall not then turn its gold to lead by attempting a summary. Instead, I shall begin by trying to set it in an intellectual context.¹

In the preface, Dodds warns that the book is not ‘a history of Greek religion or even of Greek religious ideas or feelings’ (vii). That is one reason why it is not easy to locate *Greeks and the Irrational* within the familiar story of how the study of Greek religion has developed. It does not fit readily into any recognizable current or trend, and doubtless that independence is part of its greatness. When Dodds wrote, the excitement of Cambridge ritualism lay in the past;² that of structuralism and Walter Burkert’s *Homo Necans* was still to come.³ Dodds was heir to the so-called Cambridge ritualists in the sense that their Greeks were not rationalists either, and in his work on Dionysus he was much influenced by Jane Harrison,⁴ but in *Greeks and the Irrational* he has largely moved on to a more psychologically inflected anthropology. The dominant figure at the time of publication was M.P. Nilsson, the first edition of the first volume of whose *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* had appeared in 1941; also in the fairly near background lies Wilamowitz’s *Der Glaube der Hellenen* of 1931–2. Nilsson is

¹ I am most grateful to the editors and Michael Konaris for their comments on this paper. For a rich account of broader currents in the study of ancient religion in (roughly) the first half of the twentieth century, see Renaud Gagné’s chapter in this volume.

² On which see e.g. Ackerman 1991.

³ By chance, I own Dodds’s copy of *Homo Necans*. To judge from its condition, strangely, he seems to have skipped the long Part I, with its ethological and Freudian prehistory of sacrifice, in favour of the detailed interpretations in parts II–V.

⁴ See Scullion. For the importance of J.G. Frazer to the young Dodds, see *MP* 19; in an unpublished lecture apparently of the 1960s delivered to the ‘Theoretical Immoralists’, entitled ‘Morality without Religion’ (Dodds papers supplementary), Dodds speaks of abandoning all belief in Christianity at age 17 and explaining it, under the influence of Frazer, as a ‘survival from a pre-scientific age’.

cited in the text more often than any other classical scholar (the only modern with more index entries is Freud), but only on specific points and sometimes to disagree; most notably, his view that the doctrine of reincarnation was a product of 'pure logic' is rejected.⁵ Wilamowitz comes second after Nilsson in citations, but again for particular results or for *obiter dicta*, not for a broader vision. Two prolific and original contemporaries are absent from *Greek and the Irrational*: Dodds cites neither the Jungian Karl Kerényi, despite the shared interest in psychoanalysis, nor the vigorous upholder of the 'reality' of the Greek gods, Walter F. Otto.⁶

The Cambridge ritualists and Nilsson directed attention to ritual as the most basic expression of religious feeling; ritual is not absent from Dodds, but ideas and literature are much more important for him than for them. As a result, writers of what used to be called *Geistesgeschichte*, history of the spirit, have some importance: Bruno Snell's *Entdeckung des Geistes*, later Englished as 'Discovery of the Mind', which had appeared in 1946, is quoted with approval in Ch. 1 (p. 15), and Dodds's argument in Ch. 2 avowedly owes much to a 'brilliant paper' (50 n. 2) by Kurt Latte on 'Schuld und Sünde in der griechischen Religion', 'Guilt and Sin in Greek Religion'. An unexpected index entry 'Liddell and Scott, mistakes in', is a reminder of Dodds's rooting in a philological tradition; it is not the kind of entry one looks for in a book by the most brilliant of the Cambridge ritualists, Jane Harrison. Among writers specifically on religion, one main influence is Gilbert Murray, to whom *Greeks and the Irrational* was dedicated, and specifically Murray's hugely popular *Five Stages of Greek Religion*; like *Greeks and the Irrational*, *Five Stages* originated (in its earlier form as *Four Stages*) as a lecture series delivered in the U.S.A. *Greeks and the Irrational* mutated, under the influence of the invitation to deliver the Sather lectures, from an earlier plan to write a longer work entitled *Studies in the Rise and Fall of Greco-Roman Rationalism*, which with its longer time-frame might have been even closer to Murray's *Five Stages*.⁷ Dodds shared with Murray a deep-seated rationalism, and, associated with it, a preoccupation with the problem of irrationality; he shared also the storytelling format, the shaping of a historical narrative in terms of progress and regress. Those debts become clearest in tandem when the theme of Murray's fourth stage, the

⁵ Dodds 1951a, 150; but for serious engagement with Nilsson, cf. pp. 13–15, and note the respectful 266 n. 84.

⁶ On Otto, see in brief Reinhardt 1960, 377–9, whose statement that Otto could find no successor was partially falsified by Lloyd-Jones 1971 (see the index under Otto's name).

⁷ See Todd 1998a.

'Failure of Nerve', the retreat from rationalism, re-emerges in Dodds's final chapter 'The Fear of Freedom'. The other book on Greek religion that was of central importance for Dodds was Erwin Rohde's *Psyche*.⁸ With its extensive treatment of the cult of Dionysus it was the main predecessor in the study of the irrational as understood by Dodds; it also underlies much of the treatment of reincarnation and soul-journeys in Ch. 4. *Psyche* is one of two books described as great in the text (p. 65); the other (p. 34) is Glotz's *La solidarité de la famille en Grèce* (1904), which powerfully influenced his conceptions of ancestral guilt and pollution. He was still finding inspiration in works first published in 1894 and 1904, respectively.

In the preface (viii) Dodds writes 'To my fellow-professionals I perhaps owe some defence of the use which I have made in several places of recent anthropological and psychological observations and theories'. As an undergraduate, Dodds had attended 'McDougall's lectures on psychology and Marett's on anthropology, neither of them "useful" but both of them for me seminal' (*MP* 39). The need for classicists to look outside the confines of their own discipline was one of Dodds's deepest convictions. He caused disquiet in Oxford by expressing it too forcefully in his inaugural lecture in 1936;⁹ Robert Todd quite recently rediscovered a popular piece in a short-lived Dublin periodical (the *Irish Statesman*) in which in 1920 the twenty-seven-year-old Dodds advocated it more pugnaciously still.¹⁰ Later in the preface, Dodds draws particular attention to 'the promising recent alliance between social anthropology and social psychology'. The book ends with a somewhat apocalyptic vision of history repeating itself: Greek rationalism succumbed to a flight from reason, modern society is in danger of doing the same. But Dodds holds out the hope that we, unlike the Greeks, can overcome irrationalism by understanding its deep roots in human nature.

⁸ Cf. Henrichs, 1984, 227–8, who stresses the influence of Nietzsche, much admired by the young Dodds, on Rohde.

⁹ Cf. *Missing Persons*, 127. Dodds was in consequence one of the exceptions allowed by Hugh Trevor-Roper when condemning the classical scholarship of the period; Trevor-Roper gave Dodds credit for things being better in Oxford, but not Cambridge, in 1992 (Davenport-Hines and Sisman 2014, 382).

¹⁰ 'The Rediscovery of the Classics', reproduced in Todd 1999. Dodds condemns the interest in grammar which, though once justified, was strangling the subject. 'The inspiration of the Renaissance went the way of all inspiration: it was institutionalised. Pious discipleship, which began by cherishing the letter for the sake of the spirit, ended by denying the spirit for the sake of the letter; and the subtle wind of the spirit, blowing where it listed, found itself other vehicles. After a century or two, we notice the loss. Having noticed it, it is plainly our business either to rediscover the classics or to scrap them... if the classics are to be saved there must also be a drastic reform of the programme of study in our schools and universities, directed to bringing it into closer relation with living thought and living interests.'

The ancients had no tools except myth or symbol to describe it, but ‘modern man, on the other hand, is beginning to acquire such an instrument’.¹¹ Dodds does not explain what this instrument is, but I take it to be precisely ‘the promising recent alliance between social anthropology and social psychology’ of which the preface speaks. What is this alliance?

A famous—one might say notorious—argument in *Greeks and the Irrational* is that the archaic Greek’s supposed anxieties and sense of guilt are a product of the tensions between fathers and sons created by the loosening of the old solidarity of the family which imposed absolute obedience. This is an argument that extends a psychological proposition about sons’ feelings for fathers to a proposition about society,¹² thus an instance of the bridge between social psychology and social anthropology. Dodds immediately stresses how provisional this conclusion is, and says that it could be supported only if ‘social psychology succeeds in establishing analogous developments in cultures more accessible to detailed study’. ‘Work on these lines is now being done’ he goes on, and says in the note ‘see especially Kardiner’s books, *The Individual and his Society* and *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*’;¹³ Kardiner is also cited several times elsewhere. Kardiner was a New Yorker who underwent psychoanalysis with Freud and on return to New York worked as a psychoanalyst, but also collaborated, through a long running seminar, with anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict and Ralph Linton. He broke with Freud in denying the existence of a general human nature and thus the universality of such psychological phenomena as the Oedipus complex.¹⁴ Instead, each society generates a distinctive ‘basic personality structure’ through its practices and institutions, particularly those relating to early child-rearing, family structures, and parental discipline; change in any society is always an interaction

¹¹ Todd 1998a, 673 n. 45 adduces two unpublished lectures by Dodds of the 1930s in which he similarly expresses optimism about the possible role of psychotherapy in overcoming dangerous instinctual drives.

¹² Cf. Gagné 2007, 33: ‘the work’s overarching metaphor, which sees the historical development of society on a par with the psychological development of the individual.’

¹³ Dodds 1951a: 48 with 63 n. 111; for other references to Kardiner, see 37, 94 n. 75, 260 n. 38. The source of Dodds’s interest in Kardiner may be identifiable. A letter of the anthropologist Meyer Fortes of 10.12.1947 (Dodds papers, Bodleian, box 3: pointed out to me by Chris Stray) is a reply to an enquiry by Dodds about the origin of Benedict’s shame-culture/guilt-culture distinction; Fortes replies that as far as he knows it is ‘her own or at least her clique’s. Its main origins are the attempts by her and her followers in the U.S.A. (M. Mead, Bateson, Gorer, etc.) to “psychologize” cultures. The stimulus comes from psychoanalysis, chiefly via Karen Horney.’ He adds that most British anthropologists working on psychology prefer the works of Kardiner; he names the two books cited by Dodds.

¹⁴ See e.g. Kardiner 1939, xxi, 410–1, 484.

between new factors and the 'basic personality structure' shared by most members of the society.¹⁵ The two long books of Kardiner cited by Dodds take the form, in their central parts, of pairs of chapters, one a description (contributed by an anthropologist, or based on such work) of a particular culture, the second an analysis by Kardiner of the data there presented to elicit the basic personality structure. His work is explicitly an attempt to improve on the theory of 'the *culture pattern*, which was descriptively correct but left the question of the source of the culture pattern unanswered'.¹⁶ The reference is obviously *inter alia* to Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*. When the distinction, so momentous for *The Greeks and the Irrational*, between shame-culture and guilt-culture is first introduced, the source cited is Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (26 n. 106).¹⁷ So Dodds too, like Kardiner, is trying to go beyond Benedict by providing an explanatory basis for cultural difference or, in Dodds's case, change within a single culture.

Another Freudian who tried to give psychology a more social and historical dimension was Erich Fromm; in exile from Germany Fromm taught at Columbia University in New York, with which Kardiner too was closely associated. Fromm's importance for Dodds has been more widely recognized,¹⁸ largely because the title of Dodds's Ch. 8, 'The Fear of Freedom', is also the title of the English edition of the translation of Fromm's book of 1941, *Die Furcht vor der Freiheit*.¹⁹ (As it happens, when Dodds finally cites the book in note 96 to that chapter, he gives it its American title *Escape from Freedom*, but that perhaps was just a concession to his American publisher.) Fromm argues that Lutheranism and Calvinism were middle-class responses to the new freedom, and new insecurities, created by the breakdown of the traditional structures of mediaeval society. He then moves to Fascism and Nazism, which are perhaps the real subjects of the

¹⁵ The issue is 'how different sets of institutions create different psychological constellations in individuals of different cultures' (Kardiner 1939, 197-8); his method is 'a technique for following transformations and changes in human affects and attitudes created by different types of social conditions' (*ibid.* 355).

¹⁶ Kardiner 1945, xv. For comments on Benedict and Mead, see too Kardiner 1939, viii-ix, 412-13.

¹⁷ For Dodds's interest in Benedict, see n. 13 above.

¹⁸ See e.g. Lloyd-Jones 1991, 192-3.

¹⁹ Like Kardiner, Fromm departs from Freud in seeing the social and the psychological as being mutually conditioning and thus variable; to illustrate the field of social psychology which studies the interaction he adduces (10 n. 3) 'the contributions of the sociologists J. Dollard, K. Mannheim and H.D. Lasswell, of the anthropologists R. Benedict, J. Hallowell, R. Linton [named as collaborator on the title page of both the books of Kardiner cited by Dodds], M. Mead, E. Sapir, and A. Kardiner's application of psycho-analytic concepts to anthropology.' Kardiner 1945 in turn often cites and discusses Fromm.

book, and the impulse to self-abasement before an authoritarian figure, whether god or tyrant, in a time of socio-economic insecurity. In Dodds what is feared by some Greeks is intellectual freedom (p. 246), whereas the feared freedom in Fromm is something much more social and economic; there is much more socio-economic analysis, and indeed Marxism, in Fromm than in Dodds. This relative indifference to the socio-economic is characteristic of Dodds,²⁰ and the debt to Fromm apart from the catchy slogan is of a rather general kind. Even from Kardiner, Dodds takes only the attempt to link the historical and the psychological; no doubt wisely, he does not attempt to elicit a 'basic Greek personality structure' in detail.

I turn to a different aspect of Dodds's relation to other disciplines. Peter Brown once quipped that,²¹ while Dodds was busy proving the Greeks to be irrational, Evans-Pritchard was busy proving the Azande to be rational. The reference is to Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* of 1937, widely held to mark a turning point in understanding the thought of so-called primitive peoples. Evans-Pritchard intended the book as an implicit refutation of the theories of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl on the subject of a supposed primitive or pre-logical mentality that tolerated contradiction—implicit, because Lévy-Bruhl was not mentioned except for a detail, but Evans-Pritchard pointed out to his pupil Julian Pitt-Rivers that Lévy-Bruhl was the target.²² Probably nobody now believes with Lévy-Bruhl that at different stages of social development human minds operate according to different logics; it is just that they have different data to work with. Dodds twice cites Evans-Pritchard's book,²³ but for details only; he repeatedly still cites Lévy-Bruhl, already with approval in the preface (viii). One might then turn against Dodds the charge he brings against other classicists, of being in thrall to out-of-date anthropology (ix). The accusation would not necessarily be just: Dodds never commits himself to belief in the reality of a pre-logical mentality; it is just that he often cites an author whose main tenet that was. One may also wonder about the extent to which, at the date when *Greeks and the Irrational* was conceived, the importance of Evans-Pritchard's contribution had been assimilated within anthropology itself. It would certainly have been interesting to read an engagement of Dodds with Evans-Pritchard's position on what constitutes logical or rational thought.

²⁰ Note Mangani 1980, 185–6 on 'il rapporto esile e superficiale di Dodds con la scuola sociologica francese', though Dodds cites Gernet 1917 at least twice (Dodds 1951a, 26 n. 105, 53 n. 29).

²¹ As reported to me by Robin Lane Fox.

²² See Pitt-Rivers 1971, xi.

²³ Dodds 1951a: 24 n. 90, 51 n. 10.

I know nothing of interaction between the two men; they were professors in the same university for a decade and a half, but in that university, unfortunately, professors of classics and of anthropology are unlikely to meet unless by special arrangement.²⁴

With that question of what rationality meant for Dodds we come to a central issue. Nobody can doubt how important the issue of the irrational was for him. Looking back in *Missing Persons* (p. 180), he described the 'dominant centre' of his scholarly work as 'the study of human irrationality in all its manifestations'. In his 1946 paper on 'Plato and the Irrational', he wrote in a footnote:

Future historians will, I believe, recognize in this preoccupation with the surd element the governing impulse of our time, the *δαίμων* or *Zeitgeist* which in different guises has haunted minds as various as Nietzsche, Bergson, Heidegger in philosophy; Jung in psychology; Sorel, Pareto, Spengler in political theory; Yeats, Lawrence, Joyce, Kafka, Sartre in literature; Picasso and the surrealists in painting.²⁵

A classic paper 'Euripides the Irrationalist' dates back to 1929,²⁶ and Robert Todd has taken the preoccupation back ten years earlier still by resuscitating another piece of early journalism in the *Irish Statesman* entitled 'The Renaissance of Occultism'. The opening is worth quoting not just for its relevance to our theme but also for the light that it sheds on Dodds's whole concept of what matters in history:

When the history of the early years of the twentieth century comes to be written, not in terms of wars and rumours of wars, international finance and the elaborate fate of empires, but as the more serious treatises of the future will for the most part be written, in terms of the prevailing postures of mind, the dominant thoughts and half-thoughts and implicit philosophies of life which by their sway over massed populations determine a cultural epoch: when such a book comes into being, there will almost certainly be found in it a chapter devoted to the Renaissance of Occultism. It will be a very long chapter. (Dodds 1919a).

²⁴ Dodds held his chair from 1936 to 1960, Evans-Pritchard 1946 to 1970. From the letter of Meyer Fortes of 1947 cited above (n. 13) it emerges that Dodds had recently sent a query to Evans-Pritchard, but had got no reply; Fortes explains that Evans-Pritchard was undergoing a difficult period in his private life. As an undergraduate thinking about going on to graduate work (in 1971 or 1972), I once met Dodds; I seem to remember that he expressed boredom with recent anthropology and its preoccupation with kinship structures.

²⁵ Reprinted in Dodds 1973a, 106 n. 2.

²⁶ Now Dodds 1973a, 78–91.

The claim about how ‘the more serious treatises of the future will for the most part be written’ shows an unexpected touch of youthful arrogance, but what concerns us here is that Dodds in 1919 sees the irrational bubbling up all around him. He goes on ask whether this is just a question of pendulum swings (a bout of rationalism evokes a bout of irrationalism: at this stage this is his diagnosis for the irrationalism of late antiquity), or of ‘pathological conditions, the nervous breakdown of a civilisation too highly strung’, ‘some atavistic plunge into the deep waters of the a-rational, the primitive welter from which European culture emerged, too hastily it would seem’,²⁷ or whether in fact there is something in occultism after all. Already here in 1919, the irrational is seen as something still with us and perhaps always with us, and that awareness, which still dominated *The Greeks and the Irrational*, is central to the power of the book; like everything Dodds wrote, it is about us as well as about them.²⁸

But what is this irrational? Momigliano in a brief review in *Rivista Storica Italiana*²⁹ hailed *The Greeks and the Irrational* on its appearance as a major work; he compares it, in a judgement that may now raise a smile, with Werner Jaeger’s *Paideia*, a book seldom opened these days. But he points out that Dodds never defines the irrational, and seems to bring together three different things in the category:

1/wild rituals and practices — shamanism, bacchism, the trance of the Pythia

2/‘experiences, of guilt and sin, grace and redemption, which, though presented in mythological forms, are closely connected with the reality of the moral life’³⁰

3/pseudo-scientific theories or methods such as astrology or incubation.

It is true that Dodds fails to define the irrational. He speaks of the book as a ‘study of the successive interpretations which Greek minds placed on one particular type of experience’ (vii), but does not define that experience. One

²⁷ The quotation goes on: ‘Thus “mediumship”, far from being the gateway to an undreamed-of future, appears as a trap-door suspended above the abyss of our half-bestial past.’

²⁸ This is explicit on p. viii. Gagné 2007, 16: Dodds’s irrational is ‘at once the vital forces of the primitive cultures at the antipodes of modernity, and the dark residual aspects of primitive passion still lurking in our own psyche.’

²⁹ Momigliano 1951. More specific reservations (about maenadism, shamanism, and pollution) were expressed by Temkin 1952.

³⁰ ‘esperienze, di colpa e peccato, grazia e redenzione, che, per quanto presentate in forme mitologiche, sono strettamente connesse con la realtà della vita morale’.

could perhaps sum up the dominant form of that particular experience as the 'invaded mind', the mind not securely under control of its owner: it can be possessed by *ate*, momentary folly, Ch. 1, or by madness, Ch. 3, or by dreams, Ch. 4, or can go wandering outside the body and from body to body, Ch. 5. All this relates in some way to Dodds's own lifelong interest in psychic research: Dodds did not reject all conceptions of the invaded mind as misguided, though he did always assume that any apparently paranormal phenomena could ultimately be explained by an expanded understanding of the normal.³¹ But phenomena such as the rise of incubation or of *defixiones*, binding curses, or astrology are something different: they are not Greek interpretations of their own mental experiences, but reactions to the external world or attempts to influence it. In relation to such practices, Dodds sometimes becomes judgemental, disapproving, rationalist.³² Something else again is that sense of helplessness before the world and guilt within the world that Dodds describes in Ch. 2 and relates to Oedipal guilt. Still more different is what is at issue when certain Greek thinkers are chided for excessive intellectualism, others praised for acknowledging the power of the emotions. In calling Euripides an irrationalist in his early article, Dodds was not accusing him of mistaken beliefs, rather giving him credit for holding true ones about the power of irrational forces in human life; conversely, in *Greeks and the Irrational* he faults some other Greeks (Protagoras, Socrates, the Stoics) for underestimating the power of the feelings.³³ Here the irrational is something which exists and which the deepest thinkers must recognize. The book opens memorably with a young man looking at the Parthenon marbles who complained to Dodds that 'it's all so terribly rational'. Dodds's reply proves to be a mixed one: while some Greeks (mostly intellectuals) were guilty as charged, others *did* understand the

³¹ In three short articles in 1919 on respectively telepathy, hypnotism and survival (Dodds 1919b-d) which followed the one already mentioned (Dodds 1919a), he tested the claims of occultism and concluded 'enough has been established to make it certain that psychical research must in any case take its place in the near future among the most significant departments of human inquiry'. More specifically, his verdicts were: telepathy, undeniable but maddeningly unexplained; hypnotism, undeniable but probably to do with the subliminal; survival, very dubious.

³² See e.g. 116, on the cult of Asclepius: 'we should not allow the modern reaction against rationalism to obscure the real debt that mankind owes to those early Greek physicians who laid down the principles of a rational therapy in the face of age-old superstitions like the one we have been considering'.

³³ See pp. 183–5, 239–40. In fact, the early article perhaps wavers between viewing Euripides as one who diagnoses irrationalism and one who endorses it: the passage quoted by Scullion on pp.130–1 has the poet endorsing it.

power of the irrational,³⁴ and many were not consistently rational in their behaviour and attitudes: they did not believe their minds to be fully under their own control, they were superstitious, and they were irrationally guilt-ridden and neurotic.

The wavering definition of the irrational is a criticism one can legitimately make of the book. Though, as one reads it, it is the opposite of incoherent, if one steps back one can wonder what exactly it is about. Many other criticisms have been made, as is perhaps inevitable with such an influential book.³⁵ Lloyd-Jones' *Justice of Zeus*, originating as Sather lectures like *The Greeks and the Irrational*, was an admiring and affectionate but extended critique; he later summed up many objections in an article on the application of psychoanalysis to the ancient world.³⁶ The distinction between shame-culture and guilt-culture bears great explanatory weight in the book: Dodds stresses (p. 28) that it is relative, not absolute, but a consensus has built up that shame and guilt are too closely intertwined to be differentiated even to the extent that Dodds requires; the complexity of the problem was shown with great subtlety in another set of Sather lectures, Bernard Williams' *Shame and Necessity*.³⁷ Belief in inherited guilt was a key element in the burden of guilt supposedly borne by Dodds's archaic Greek: Renaud Gagné in a brilliant treatment has shown that Dodds treated this supposed belief as something much more solid and dogmatic and general than in fact it was, and has pointed out that it becomes most intense in the tragedians who do not strictly belong at all to the archaic age which, according to Dodds, it characterized. 'The expansion of ancestral fault in the classical period,' Gagné writes, 'is one important example among many of the experimentations of the time with ideas, and, it goes without saying, not a tectonic shift in the grammar of Greek culture.'³⁸ Opinion differs as to whether Dodds was right to argue that fear of pollution intensified in the post-Homeric period; Lloyd-Jones denied it, as I have done, while Robin Osborne has recently gone back to Dodds, but nobody is still committed to Dodds's Freudian interpretation of the alleged phenomenon in terms of

³⁴ Todd 1998a, 674–6, sees this theme emerging in Dodds's thought under an impulsion from Murray in the 1930s; but this leaves the earlier paper on Euripides out of account.

³⁵ Dodds himself later backed off (Dodds 1965a, 39) from the argument of Ch. 4, 'Dream-Pattern and Culture-Pattern', that early Greek dream experience was of a different character from ours. But Harris 2009, 52–62 is cautiously sympathetic to Dodds's original position.

³⁶ Lloyd-Jones 1971, *passim*; Lloyd-Jones 1991, 187–93.

³⁷ Williams 1993, 75–102, 219–23.

³⁸ Gagné 2013, 470. Sewell-Rutter 2007 similarly treats the theme in relation to tragedy.

Oedipal guilt.³⁹ Dodds's explanation of the new beliefs about the fate of the soul that seem to have emerged in the sixth century through Greek contacts with Siberian shamanism is one of the most memorable arguments of the book; but until it can be shown that shamanism, a phenomenon first attested early in the seventeenth century, already existed more than two millennia earlier, and in regions where Greeks might have encountered it, Dodds's vision of Pythagoras (among others) as a Greek shaman cannot count as better than a charming but very distant possibility.⁴⁰ Perhaps more importantly, Dodds related the reception of such ideas to growing individualism: 'religious experience of the shamanistic type is individual, not collective; but it appealed to the growing individualism of an age for which the collective ecstasies of Dionysus were no longer wholly sufficient.'⁴¹ That antithesis seems to reverse an earlier claim that Dionysiac ecstasy was itself an expression of the new freedom created by the breakdown of family solidarity, but it also implies that the new ideas about the soul, if they arose from general social change, should have become very widespread: in fact the belief in reincarnation seems to have remained confined to a tiny minority.

Another striking argument is that of Ch. 6, 'Rationalism and Reaction in the Classical Age'. According to Dodds, Periclean Athens reached a new peak of rationality, which evoked a backlash and a retreat into superstition. Lloyd-Jones pointed out that Dodds had not shown and could not show that Pericles' fellow citizens had ever scaled the new peaks of rationality; Dover pointed out that much of the supposed evidence for trials and other persecution of philosophers and other intellectuals, a key expression for Dodds of the backlash, is very insecure.⁴² Lloyd-Jones also pointed out that evidence for *defixiones*, 'binding curses', one of Dodds's symptoms of fourth-century regression, now goes back into the fifth century. It has increased still further since then, particularly in Sicily, a place associated in the fifth century, like Athens, with democracy and rhetoric; one can now make a case for linking *defixiones* with democracy and democratic courts and see them as a by-product of progressive social change, not a reaction against it.⁴³ Something

³⁹ Lloyd-Jones 1971, Ch. 3; Parker 1983, 66–70, 130–43; Osborne 2011, 167–8.

⁴⁰ For criticism, see Bremmer 1983, 25–48; Bremmer 2002, 27–40, and now especially Bremmer 2016a, with abundant information on recent discussion. But Carlo Ginzburg still countenances shamanistic influences on the European Middle Ages: Ginzburg 1991, 207–25.

⁴¹ P. 142, contrast 76–7.

⁴² Lloyd-Jones 1971, 133, and 1991, 192; Dover 1975 (cf. Parker 1996, 207 n. 36). Harris 2009, 63 n. 211 writes, 'this wave of mass scepticism about the gods is a mirage'. Note however now the case of Sedley 2013 for the danger of explicit atheism in Athens.

⁴³ Lloyd-Jones 1971, 202 n. 31; Eidinow 2007.

similar can be urged about the relation of incubation in the cult of Asclepius, for Dodds another regressive practice, to Hippocratic medicine: arguably this new style of temple healing was a product of the new expectations created, but not satisfied, by the promises of Hippocratic doctors.⁴⁴

What remains of Dodds's supremely elegant construction, subjected to this battering ram of criticism? Undoubtedly, there remain many fine discussions of individual phenomena: to name a few that remain indispensable, there are the accounts of the Pythia's trance, of what we do and do not know about early Orphism, of Corybantic rituals. These and many other passages are accompanied by footnotes of deep learning and matchless economy. The book revived the anthropological approach to Greek culture without the excesses of the Cambridge ritualists; it cut across boundaries within the study of that culture, bringing together literature, philosophy, and religion within a single vision. Lloyd-Jones well spoke of the transformation of classical studies 'by the great movement' (begun by Nietzsche) 'that culminates, or seems to us to culminate, in *The Greeks and the Irrational* of E. R. Dodds'.⁴⁵ It showed, as in a different way his teacher Gilbert Murray had done, how a person intensely involved with the problems of the present could also be profoundly engaged with those of the Greeks. A towering figure in the study of Greek religion of the next generation, Walter Burkert, declared that it had influenced him more profoundly than any other book in the field.⁴⁶ But of the major and most ambitious arguments, the arguments that give the book its fascination, perhaps none survives. One might compare Rohde's *Psyche* as a book that retained its vitality long after its central arguments were rejected. These books seem to prove the paradox that a book can be great even if, in the long term, nobody believes its most exciting claims. Perhaps Dodds might have felt with Dr Johnson that 'Attack is the re-action; I never think I have hit hard, unless it rebounds'.⁴⁷ Such works haunt the imagination of subsequent generations of scholars; we find ourselves by engaging with them, and reacting against them.

⁴⁴ Wickkiser 2008, 8.

⁴⁵ Lloyd-Jones, 1982, 175.

⁴⁶ See Riedweg, 2015, 668 n. 7.

⁴⁷ More fully "His 'Taxation no Tyranny' being mentioned, he said, 'I think I have not been attacked enough for it. Attack is the re-action; I never think I have hit hard, unless it rebounds.' My thanks to Isaac Greenwood for the reference.

6

‘The road of excess’

Dodds and Greek Tragedy

Scott Scullion

Writing in 1936 to Stanley Baldwin to recommend that E.R. Dodds be appointed his own successor as Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, Gilbert Murray said of Dodds, ‘He has the power to create enthusiasm’,¹ an observation richly confirmed by the international reception of Dodds’s work. One example, from my own cultural sphere, can stand for many. Alice Munro, the great short-story writer of Huron County in the Canadian province of Ontario and 2013 Nobel laureate in Literature, included in her 2004 collection *Runaway* a sequence of three stories about a character called Juliet. In the first, ‘Chance’, Juliet’s tragic encounter with another passenger on a train is marked at both beginning and end by references to the book she is reading:

‘Good book you got there? What’s it about?’

She was not going to say that it was about ancient Greece and the considerable attachment that the Greeks had to the irrational. She would not be teaching Greek, but was supposed to be teaching a course called Greek Thought, so she was reading Dodds again to see what she could pick up. She said ‘I do want to read. I think I’ll go to the observation car.’

And she got up and walked away . . .

The second passage resonates with the wintry, indifferent landscape Juliet sees from the train, her glimpse of a wolf, and her thoughts of the fate (‘dreary, or tragic, or both’) of a young woman in a Russian novel:

Juliet was reading about maenadism. The rituals took place at night, in the middle of winter, Dodds said. The women went up to the top of Mount Parnassus, and when they were, at one time, cut off by a snowstorm,

¹ 2 June 1936: Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS Gilbert Murray 77/138–40.

a rescue party had to be sent. The would-be maenads were brought down with their clothes stiff as boards, having, in all their frenzy, accepted rescue. This seemed rather like contemporary behaviour to Juliet, it somehow cast a modern light on the celebrants' carrying-on. Would the students see it so? Not likely.²

Few works of classical scholarship have established themselves in general culture as firmly as this, and it is a passage far back in the book, p. 271 in 'Appendix I: Maenadism', that Munro draws upon and echoes. It is telling that Munro's Juliet does not merely take in Dodds's exposition, but reacts to it. It is Juliet who thinks of them as 'would-be' maenads because they have 'in all their frenzy, accepted rescue', Juliet who sees in this something contemporary, a vulnerability and self-awareness which she can find familiar, and which reduces their anthropological remoteness. That reaction has everything to do with Juliet and with Munro, but it has to do too with Dodds's passionate desire to understand his subjects, the involving vigour of his prose, and his bold exercise of creative intuition, all of which can spark a correspondingly passionate and intuitive response in his readers. That combination of qualities is very rare indeed, and Dodds's work has conveyed to a general public the fascination and importance of our studies with a compelling force for which the history of classical scholarship provides few parallels.

The quotation of Blake in my title comes from Dodds's account of his first experiences of drinking at Oxford: 'Had not William Blake told us that the road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom?' There are other references to Blake in Dodds's writings,³ and the phrase captures important aspects of his work: his fascination with excesses of mental and religious experience, his humane wisdom, and also a less happy side of Dodds's passionate engagement and intuition, which can lead him to treat evidence impatiently or to strain it. Confident of his broad vision, Dodds can sometimes force the evidence to fit it, and because his work remains so influential, we still need to approach it in an alert and critical rather than commemorative or hagiographical spirit. For most readers, as for Juliet in Munro's story, what makes Dodds's writing so exciting is its endless capacity to stimulate thought and feeling, and therefore to inspire an active response.

² Munro 2004, 56, 59; Russian novel and landscape, 54; wolf, 57.

³ *MP* 32, quoting William Blake, 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell', Plate 7, 'Proverbs of Hell' no. 3. Other references to Blake: Dodds 1973a, 143; *MP* 58.

'Euripides the Irrationalist' and other early papers

Dodds's first publication on tragedy was his 1925 paper 'The *ΑΙΔΩΣ* of Phaedra and the Meaning of the *Hippolytus*'. Dodds's study of Freud—whose *Das Ich and das Es* had only appeared in 1923—here helps him to open new perspectives on both Phaedra and Hippolytus. 'Each is the victim of his own and the other's submerged desires masquerading as morality', Dodds says, describing the play as 'in conception . . . a study of the effects of conflict and repression in the sphere of sex' (Dodds 1925a, 103–4). Dodds is clearly inspired by Freud, but produces a literary/psychological rather than doctrinaire psychoanalytical interpretation of the play (Dodds 1925a, 102);⁴ this is important pioneering work.

Dodds did not reprint the paper on Phaedra in his collected essays (Dodds 1973a), but did perpetuate his 1929 paper 'Euripides the Irrationalist'. If the paper on Phaedra is the debut of Dodds the psychologist, that on Euripides is stamped by the interest in philosophy that was central to his work. The rationalism he portrays Euripides as rejecting goes back, he says, to Socrates, and is 'the decisive contribution of the Greeks to human thought'. Mustering the passages in which Euripidean characters question or reject the notion that moral error is 'curable by an intellectual process' (Dodds 1929a, 97 = 1973a, 78), Dodds concludes that 'for Euripides the evil in human nature is thus indestructible and rooted in heredity . . . [and] the intellect is powerless to control it'; 'it is here' he says, 'that Euripides finds the essence of man's moral tragedy' (Dodds 1929a, 99 = 1973a, 82–3).

The first version of the big picture into which Dodds fits Euripides, which would be moderated in *The Greeks and the Irrational*, still startles:

Euripides remains for us the chief representative of fifth-century irrationalism; and herein, quite apart from his greatness as a dramatist, lies his importance for the history of Greek thought. The disease of which Greek culture eventually died is known by many names. To some it appears as a virulent form of scepticism; to others, as a virulent form of mysticism. Professor Murray has called it the Failure of Nerve. My own name for it is systematic irrationalism. [. . . .] To my mind, the case of Euripides proves that an acute attack of it was already threatening the Greek world in the fifth century, when the city state was still flourishing and intercourse with

⁴ By contrast e.g. with Rankin 1974: see Lloyd-Jones 1985, 159–60 (= 1971, 287), who discusses the influence of psychoanalysis on Dodds's work, but does not mention the early paper on Phaedra.

the East was still relatively restricted. He shows all the characteristic symptoms: the peculiar blend of a destructive scepticism with a no less destructive mysticism; the assertion that emotion, not reason, determines human conduct; despair of the state, resulting in quietism; despair of rational theology, resulting in a craving for religion of the orgiastic type.⁵

Dodds’s portrait of Euripides is highly distinctive. For A.W. Verrall, as Dodds points out (Dodds 1929a, 97 = 1973a, 78), Euripides was an anti-clerical, anti-mystical rationalist of nineteenth-century type, and many other scholars find a strong strain of scepticism concerning conventional theology in the plays. To some extent, this is also Dodds’s view: ‘That, in fact, Apollo and the Furies and the rest of the denizens of Olympus and Tartarus are for Euripides no more than dramatic fictions has been abundantly proved by Verrall and others: there is no need for me to labour the point’ (Dodds 1929a, 101 = 1973a, 86). Others see Euripides as reflecting contemporary scepticism through some of his characters but—as the grim fate of such characters demonstrates—accepting mainstream Greek beliefs about the gods.⁶ Dodds is singular in regarding the ‘craving for religion of the orgiastic type’ he detects in Euripides not as consonant with traditional religious beliefs but as a ‘destructive mysticism’ that is a reaction to and refuge from the failure of traditional belief to survive the scrutiny of his ‘destructive scepticism’.

Dodds bases his claims that Euripides rejects rationalism and is sceptical of traditional religion on a canvass of relevant passages, but is susceptible to the objection that he takes insufficient account of the context of the passages in the plays.⁷ Dodds does formulate a criterion for identification of the author’s view: ‘Where . . . [the speaker’s] opinions are conspicuously inappropriate to his personality or his dramatic situation—where the *διάνοια* breaks loose from the *μῦθος*—there we have especial reason to suspect the intervention of the author’ (Dodds 1929a, 98 = 1973a, 80). He does not, however, explicitly test the passages he cites against this criterion. This may seem crude by modern standards, but Dodds’s preoccupation with the poet’s personal opinions does not impair the value of his collection of sceptical or anti-rationalist passages. It is true that many of the characters who make

⁵ Dodds 1929a, 103–4 (= 1973a, 90); cf. Dodds 1951a, 185–8.

⁶ E.g. Lloyd-Jones 1971, 144–55; Lefkowitz 1989; Kovacs 1993 and in the introductions to the plays in his Loeb edition; Wildberg 2002.

⁷ See n. 6. Lloyd-Jones 1971 presumably has Dodds’s work in mind when he deplores the failure to contextualize statements by tragic characters.

such statements ultimately come to grief, but K.J. Dover vividly formulates the relevant principle in connection with the famous 'atheistic' fragment of Critias' *Sisyphus* (1988, 151):

Now, the legendary Sisyphos was a notorious villain, who could well be represented by a playwright as denying the existence of the gods, yet furnishing in the end unwilling refutation of his argument. If that is what happened in this play, the pious may have been content; and how wrong they would have been—for no one can really know if there ever was such a person as Sisyphos, let alone what fate he suffered, whereas a plausible explanation of the origin of religion, whatever its dramatic context and purpose, is there, for ever, implanted in people's minds, once it has been uttered.

In this sense too *nescit vox missa reverti*. Dodds does not interpret plays or scenes in 'Euripides the Irrationalist', but the paper retains value as a vigorous survey of anti-rationalist and sceptical ideas that Euripides put before his public.

Dodds's 1946 lecture 'The *Prometheus Vincitus* and the Progress of Scholarship' was first published among his collected papers in 1973. Dodds argues that *PV* is 'what the Russians would call an anti-God play' (1973a, 34), portraying Zeus 'in the most unfavourable light' (1973a, 33). 'For those,' he says, 'who still hold that the devout Aeschylus cannot have written such a play there is only one road out of the dilemma—by proving that the *P.V.* is not his work' (1973a, 34). Here Dodds has Wilhelm Schmid's *Untersuchungen zum gefesselten Prometheus* (1929) in his sights. He regards the difficulties of Schmid's theory as 'insuperable' on such grounds as his own view 'that Oceanus and Danaus, Io's madness and Cassandra's, the geographical lecture in the *Vinctus* and the geographical digressions in the *Supplices* and *Agamemnon*, are unmistakably creations of the same mind'. Dodds acknowledges, however, that 'Schmid did an important service to learning. He brought together a very substantial body of evidence tending to show that in metre, diction, style, and structure the *P.V.* stands apart from the rest of Aeschylus' work'. Dodds sees this 'unexpected profit from the human frailties of scholars' as an irony of the 'progress of scholarship', but he would soon be overtaken by progress himself: in the year Dodds published his paper, Mark Griffith obtained his Ph.D. at Cambridge with the thesis that would become his book *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1977) and persuade most of us that the play is not by Aeschylus. In the light of Griffith's arguments, Dodds's response to Schmid—dating the play as late as possible in the poet's life and suggesting that it was written for Syracuse

where Aeschylus ‘deemed it prudent to keep his diction simple and his choral odes short’ (1973a, 37)—seems very much a rearguard action. His closing discussion of the concept of a ‘progressive Zeus’ which faded along with belief in human progress during the Peloponnesian War is however still worth reading.

The *Bacchae* commentary

In the preface to his *Bacchae*, Dodds speaks of taking ‘an approach which seriously concerns itself with the play not only as a piece of Greek but as a work of art and at the same time (like all works of art) a social document’, but in his autobiography he says that ‘the overriding value of the work resided, if anywhere, in its contribution to the better understanding of one aspect of ancient religion’ (1977, 170). By any reckoning, Dodds’s is one of the greatest commentaries on a classical text published in the twentieth century, but there is a case to be made that his own sense of its value is back-to-front, his treatment of Dionysiac cult being its most ephemeral component, his linguistic and dramatic commentary its most impressive and lasting.

Stephen Oakley (2016) has recently praised with well-chosen examples the linguistic precision and illuminating exposition which distinguish the commentary. Dodds’s masterly exegesis of Euripides’ Greek and the soundness of his textual criticism are obvious to anyone who uses the book, but perhaps his most remarkable quality as a commentator is the psychological sophistication he brings to interpretation of dramatic characters. The penetrating but non-doctrinaire psychological insight of his paper on Phaedra produces still more remarkable results in the *Bacchae* commentary, and it is no exaggeration to describe Dodds’s application of psychology to the understanding of tragedy as among the most fruitful innovations of twentieth-century classical scholarship.

Nothing in previous study of the play approaches the acuteness with which Dodds relates the god’s traditional power to the poet’s distinctive characterization of Pentheus:

In the maddening of Pentheus, as in the maddening of Heracles . . . the poet shows us the supernatural attacking the victim’s personality at its weakest point—working upon and through nature, not against it. The god wins because he has an ally in the enemy’s camp: the persecutor is betrayed by what he would persecute—the Dionysiac longing in himself. From the first

that longing has been skillfully excited by the Stranger (475); the barriers of self-control have been weakened by what happened in the stable; Pentheus' rage at the Herdsman's narrative shows the breaking-point to be near—it is his last desperate self-assertion. The Stranger's question at 811 releases the flood. (Dodds 1960a, 172–3)

'Stop! Would you like to see them, huddled there on the mountain-side?' 'Yes! I would give uncounted gold to see that.' It is the answer, if not of a maniac, at least of a man whose reactions are ceasing to be normal: the question has touched a hidden spring in Pentheus' mind, and his self-mastery vanishes. (Dodds 1960a, 175 on 810–12⁸)

... a few minutes before [Pentheus] had fully intended to make bloodshed (796, 809). Now the lust to kill has vanished: it was only the substitute for a deeper, unacknowledged lust to pry into the women's doings, and it fades when he is able to rationalize the latter as a 'military reconnaissance'. Nowhere is Eur.'s knowledge of the human heart more subtly shown.

(Dodds 1960a, 176, on 821–38)

There are scholars who take a quite different view of Pentheus, but even they must sense the coherence and power of Dodds's interpretation of text, character, and situation.

The aspect of his work that Dodds valued most has by contrast worn less well. In his approach to matters Dionysiac, as Albert Henrichs has shown, Dodds was not only indebted to Friedrich Nietzsche and Erwin Rohde but very much under the influence of the 'Cambridge anthropologists' and of Jane Ellen Harrison in particular.⁹ In 1872, the same year as Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* appeared, Adolf Rapp published an article emphasizing the necessity of distinguishing cultic from mythic in the study of maenadism,¹⁰ but Dodds persistently ignored or collapsed this distinction rather than attending to it. Perhaps the most salient example is his treatment of *σπαραγμός* and *ἄμοφαγία*, the 'rending' and 'raw-eating' of Dionysiac myth. It is illuminating to revisit the full discussion in his article 'Maenadism in the *Bacchae*' of conclusions he would present more concisely in the commentary:¹¹

⁸ In the first edition, Dodds was less circumspect: 'It is the answer of a maniac' (Dodds 1944, 166).

⁹ Henrichs 1982, 143–6, 159–60 with 218–20 nn. 51–4, 222 n. 83, 227 n. 134; 1984a, 227–30. As Henrichs notes, while Harrison freely acknowledged her indebtedness to Nietzsche (1984a, 229 n. 62) Dodds not only underplayed his (*ibid.* 228–9) but obfuscated his clear debt to Harrison herself (*ibid.* 230 n. 67).

¹⁰ On Rapp 1872 cf. Henrichs 1978, 121.

¹¹ Dodds 1940a, 164; cf. Dodds 1960a, xvi–xvii (= 1944, xiv).

It remains to say something of the culminating act of the Dionysiac winter dance, which was also the culminating act of the Columbian and Moroccan dances mentioned above—the tearing to pieces, and swallowing raw, of an animal body, *σπαραγμός* and *ὠμοφαγία*. The gloating descriptions of this act in certain Christian fathers may well be discounted, and it is hard to know how much weight to attach to the anonymous evidence of scholiasts and lexicographers on the subject; but that it still had some place in the Greek orgiastic ritual in classical times is attested not only by the respectable authority of Plutarch [Def. orac., 14, 417C *ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς, ἐν αἷς ὠμοφαγαίαι καὶ διασπασμοί*], but by the regulations of the Dionysiac cult at Miletus in 276 B.C., where we read *μὴ ἐξείναι ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν μηθὲν πρότερον ἢ ἡ ἱέρεια ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐμβάλη* [translated below]. The phrase *ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν* has puzzled scholars. I do not think that it means ‘to throw a sacrificial animal into a pit’ (Wiegand, ad loc.) or ‘to throw a joint of beef into a sacred place’ (Hausoulter, R.E.G., 32. 266). A bloodier but more convincing picture is suggested by Ernest Thesiger’s account of an incident in Tangier in 1907: ‘A hill-tribe descends upon the town in a state of semi-starvation and drugged delirium. After the usual beating of tom-toms, screaming of the pipes and monotonous dancing, a sheep is thrown into the middle of the square, upon which all the devotees come to life and tear the animal limb from limb and eat it raw.’ The writer adds a story that ‘one year a Tangier Moor, who was watching the proceedings, got infected with the general frenzy of the crowd and threw his baby into the middle of them.’ Whether the last is true or not, the passage gives a clue to the meaning of *ἐμβαλεῖν*,¹² and also illustrates the possible dangers of unregulated *ὠμοφαγία*. The administration at Miletus was engaged in the ever-recurring task of putting Dionysus in a strait waistcoat.

Dodds treats the motif of rending and raw-eating reflected in *Bacchae* not only as a reliable record of originary cultic acts in the ‘dark backward and abysm of time’—rather than as a vision of the unfettered imagination, which is the only safe way to see it—but also as a guide to ritual behaviour in Euripides’ time and in the Hellenistic period to which the Milesian inscription belongs. Plutarch need attest no more than can be inferred about actual ritual—and had already been inferred in Dodds’s day, as he mentions—from the Milesian inscription, a decree of 276/5 BC

¹² Cf. Dodds 1960a, xvi–xvii n. 4 (= 1944, xiv n. 3): ‘*ἐμβαλεῖν* means, I think, “throw to the crowd of celebrants”.’

regulating the purchase of a priesthood of Dionysus (Sokolowski 1955, no. 48 = Jaccottet 2003, no. 150):

...].ν ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἰέρεια ἐπι[τελέσ]ῃ τὰ ἱερά ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ[εω]ς 1
 πάσης], μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν μηθεὶ πρότερον
 ἢ ἡ ἰέρεια ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐμβάλῃ· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ μηδὲ
 συν]αγαγεῖν τὸν θίασον μηθεὶ πρότερον τοῦ δημοσίου.

... whenever the priestess performs the sacrifices on behalf of the whole city, it is not allowed for anyone to throw in an *omophagion* [literally ‘bit of something to be eaten raw’, that is a ‘gobbet’ or piece of raw meat] before the priestess throws in on behalf of the city; nor is it allowed for anyone to convene a *thiasos* [‘cultic congregation’] before the public (*thiasos* is convened).

In cultic contexts, the verb ἐμβαλεῖν, ‘throw in’, means ‘deposit’, for example, offerings in lakes, money in offertory boxes, things into sacrificial baskets, possibly sacrifices into pits.¹³ The procedure regulated in the inscription, with both male and female *thiasoi* making offerings after the priestess of the ‘city *thiasos*’ throws in ‘on behalf of the city’, seems thoroughly ‘routinized’, and certainly cannot be referring to maenads in a state of ecstatic frenzy rending live animals and eating them raw. The only plausible conclusion is that the ὠμοφάγια are pieces of raw meat offered to the god by being thrown into a pit or container in his sanctuary; they were surely cut rather than rent from an animal, and any ‘raw-eating’ must have been notional consumption by the god, who was called ‘Raw-Eater’ on Lesbos (Ἰμύστας) and on Chios and Tenedos (Ἰμάδιος).¹⁴ Bernard Haussoullier (whom Dodds mentions) already spoke in 1919 of ‘priests and citizens, male and female, holding in their hand a piece of an animal (un quartier de bête) which they are to take it in turns to throw in’.¹⁵ Other scholars, including Wilamowitz and Nilsson, thought that raw-eating by the maenads might be involved, but this does not take proper account of the verb.¹⁶ Dodds goes far beyond the suggestions of earlier scholars with an anthropological ‘parallel’ that does take account of the verb, but in other respects seems wildly inappropriate to the ritual regulated in the inscription, whose restraint of any tendency to jump the queue is a long way from the ‘straitjacketing’ of such excesses of Dionysiac frenzy as Dodds has in mind.

¹³ See Henrichs 1978, 150 with n. 92.

¹⁴ See Henrichs 1978, 150–2. On the epithets, cited by Dodds 1960a, xix = 1944, xvii, see the fundamental corrective discussion of Henrichs 1981, 218–23.

¹⁵ Haussoullier 1919, 266.

¹⁶ Wilamowitz 1931–2, 2.372. n. 2; Nilsson 1941, 145 with n. 2.

It seems clear here and in other, similar cases that Dodds’s exegesis is driven by his intuitive sense of what the Greeks must have been feeling and doing and of the anthropological category to which it belongs, and that he therefore fails to register how skimpy his evidence is and how strained the construction he puts on it. His notion that the story of the baby in Tangier ‘gives a clue to the meaning of *ἐμβαλεῖν*’ is very forced, but he perhaps also saw it as support for his notion ‘that there once existed a more potent, because more dreadful, form of this sacrament, viz., the rending, and perhaps the eating, of God in the shape of man; and that the story of Pentheus is in part a reflection of that act’.¹⁷ None of this is based on anything like adequate evidence, and it continues to mislead those unaware that Dodds is operating largely on the basis of intuitive hunches.¹⁸

Even more clearly influenced by the Cambridge anthropologists is Dodds’s notion that raw-eating is a sacrament of communion, the ‘eating of God’. He argues that ‘we can hardly dissociate the rite from the widespread belief in what Frazer called “the homoeopathic effects of a flesh diet”¹⁹: if you tear something to pieces and eat it warm and bleeding, you add its vital powers to your own, for “the blood is the life” . . . We may regard the *ὠμοφαγία*, then, as a rite in which the god was in some sense present in his beast-vehicle and was in that shape torn and eaten by his people’ (1960a, xvii–xix = 1944, xv–xvi). As Henrichs has emphasized, however, there is simply no evidence for a notion of sacramental communion in Greek religion,²⁰ and Dodds neither attempts to muster evidence nor acknowledges that there is none but justifies his intuition entirely on the basis of Frazer’s claim that it was a widespread belief.

¹⁷ Dodds 1940a, 166, cf. 1960a, xviii–xix = 1944, xvi. The evidence Dodds cites for human sacrifice is all unreliable—see Henrichs 1981, esp. 208–26. His one piece of evidence for cannibalistic sacrifice, added in the second edition (1960a, xix), is a passage derived from Theophrastus (*ap. Porph. Abst.* 2.8) about an otherwise unknown people, the (perhaps Thracian) ‘Bassaroi’, and in the phrase Dodds quotes, *τῆ τῶν ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν βακχεία*, the word *βακχεία* is clearly used in its general metaphorical sense: Bouffartigue in Bouffartigue and Patillon 1979, 78 rightly translates ‘dans le délire des sacrifices humains’. Theophrastus’ explicit statement that the Bassaroi were emulating the Tauroi suggests that if he had any particular god in mind it was Artemis, but none of this is anything more than typical Greek fantasy about exotic peoples.

¹⁸ A single recent example, citing Dodds’s discussion, is Naiden 2013, 235 n. 14.

¹⁹ Dodds refers to ‘*Golden Bough*, v. ii, chap. 12’, but the phrase seems to be an adaptation of ‘Homoeopathic Magic of a Flesh Diet’, the title of chapter 12 in the second volume of *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, which is Part V of the third edition of *The Golden Bough*.

²⁰ Henrichs 1982, 159–60 with 234–6 nn. 207–20. Henrichs suggests convincingly that Dodds echoes—without acknowledging—Harrison’s theory of sacramental omophagy.

Dodds's predominant interest in ecstatic Dionysiac cult sometimes has a blinkering effect on his interpretation of the play as, in his own terms, 'a work of art' as opposed to 'a religious and social document'. Dionysus, for example, deals with Pentheus' reluctance to be seen dressed as a woman (828, 836, 843) by telling him to his face that he will lead him out of town along deserted streets (841), but once Pentheus exits, the god reveals his actual intention, which is to humiliate Pentheus in precisely the way he fears: by parading him through Thebes dressed as a woman (854–5). This all seems perfectly clear and comprehensible, but here is Dodds's note on 854–5, with comments interpolated in italics:

The Stranger's insistence on dressing up P. as a woman has to be motivated, since the king was quite willing to go *ἐμφανῶς* ['openly'] (818). But the motive assigned conflicts with the Stranger's promise at 841 [– *as though Dionysus were obliged not to deceive Pentheus, or to honour his promises, and as though the motive 'assigned' were not comprehensible and dramatically effective* –] and we do not learn that the King was in fact recognized and mocked by the citizens. [*This point is not subsequently referred to, because by the time the Messenger makes his speech it has ceased to be relevant: but it makes its effect here – Dionysus will break his promise of 841'*: *Winnington-Ingram 1948, 22 n. 1.*] We may guess that the disguise was a traditional feature of the story which Euripides had to accept and account for (Murray).²¹ Putting on the dress of the opposite sex is thought in many societies to be a strong magic, and is practised with a variety of magical purposes [reference to Frazer, *Golden Bough*] The specific ritual reason for the disguising of Pentheus is perhaps that the victim of the womanish god (453–9 n.) must wear the god's livery The victim, like the priest, is often invested with the dress of the god, because (in Crawley's words) the sacred vestment is 'a material link between his person and the supernatural'. (Dodds 1960a, 181)

This is Cambridge ritualism through and through. Dodds represents Euripides as obliged to adopt a ritual motif, but as not quite up to the job of doing

²¹ Depictions of the end of Pentheus on vases commonly show him armed and never show him dressed as a maenad, and there is a passing—and hence surely not innovative—reference to such a confrontation at Aesch. *Eum.* 25–6; the natural conclusion is that this was the dominant version. *Ba.* 50–2 raises the expectation of that outcome, and at 809 (cf. 784, 845) Pentheus calls for his weapons: this typical Euripidean *suggestio falsi* (Dodds 1960a, 69 on 52) is surely turning what was the normal version into a foil for the dressing-up, which is probably Euripides' own innovation. Cf. Dodds 1960a, xxxiv–xxxv; the counter-arguments of Séchan 1926, 102–6, 308–10 cited by Dodds at xxxv n. 2 are very strained indeed.

so with reasonable plausibility. One suspects there is at work here a subconscious wish to find a breach in the dramatic plausibility of the scene through which a ritualist explanation can make its way in. The dramatic situation is so clear—Dionysus as divine 'alpha male' humiliating his defeated challenger by 'feminizing' him—that Dodds must fail to get it only because his desire to read a religious document prevents him doing justice to the work of art and even (in this case) to the social document.

Dodds's use of the play as a (sometimes cryptic) religious document and as a prompt for the reconstruction of prehistoric religion can flatten the effect of *Bacchae* as a drama. It is easy to be impressed by Dodds's rhetorically effective rejection of engaged readings of the play that regard it as in some sense anti-Dionysiac, or as a serious and at least in part critical reflection on the cultural influence and value of Dionysiac myth (e.g. 1960a, xlv–xlvi), but R.P. Winnington-Ingram, who was writing about *Bacchae* in the same period as Dodds, makes a powerful case that Euripides is critical of the Dionysiac. One can agree or disagree with the whole or aspects of Winnington-Ingram's interpretation of the play, but it is certainly not a 'flat-footed' portrayal of a Euripides 'more interested in propaganda than in the dramatist's proper business'.²² Indeed, Winnington-Ingram interprets the drama as a drama more consistently and directly than Dodds does; he understands, for example, how the motif of Pentheus dressing up works dramatically as Dodds, under the centrifugal force of his speculative anthropology, does not.²³

Dodds's own sophistication as an interpreter also has its limits. "The 'moral' of the *Bacchae* is that we ignore at our peril the demand of the human spirit for Dionysiac experience' (1960a, xlv = 1944, xli) has an impressive ring to it, and is certainly subtler and less pejorative than his earlier notion of the poet's 'peculiar blend of a destructive scepticism with a no less destructive mysticism' (Dodds 1929a, 104 = 1973a, 90). The evidence from *Bacchae* he offered then for Euripides' 'craving for religion of the orgiastic type' (ibid.) was the 'deep religious feeling shown in the choruses' (1929a, 103 = 1973a, 88). 'That these songs', he said, 'are instinct with a personal emotion seems to me unmistakable' (ibid.). This is of course entirely subjective, and what Dodds intuitively attributes to personal emotion could as readily (and more prudently) be attributed to imaginative

²² Dodds 1960a, xlv–xlvi: this is not explicitly directed at Winnington-Ingram, but it characterizes as unsophisticated any interpretation not sharing Dodds's convictions that Dionysus is for Euripides an eternal cosmic power (Dodds 1929a, 102 = 1973a, 87) and that the play is about 'the demand of the human spirit for Dionysiac experience' (1960a, xlv).

²³ Winnington-Ingram 1948, 21–2 with 22 n. 1, 103–5.

power and poetic skill. In this respect, the commentary represents no advance, but is much more confidently and intensely subjective:

It is as if the renewed contact with nature in the wild country of Macedonia, and his re-imagining there of the old miracle story, had released some spring in the aged poet's mind, re-establishing a contact with hidden sources of power which he had lost in the self-conscious, over-intellectualized environment of late-fifth-century Athens, and enabling him to find an outlet for feelings which for years had been pressing on his consciousness without attaining to complete expression. We may guess that Euripides said to himself in Macedonia very much what Rilke said to himself at the beginning of his last period:

'Werk des Gesichts ist gethan:
 tue nun Herzwerk
 an den Bildern in dir, jenen gefangenen. Denn du
 überwältigtest sie; aber nun kennst du sie nicht'²⁴

The 'added dimension of emotion' proceeds from no intellectual conversation, but from the work of the heart—from vision directed inward upon images long imprisoned in the mind.

(Dodds 1960a, xlvii–xlviii = 1944, xlv)

Vivid and eloquent as this is, it of course tells us infinitely more about the creative imagination of Dodds than of Euripides. But it is equally true that the power of his imaginative vision transcends all the subjectivity and tendentiousness in Dodds's work. Despite everything that can be said in criticism of his *Bacchae*—whose continued influence is the reason it still needs saying—the book is a compelling masterpiece of classical scholarship. Its shortcomings all have to do with his approach to 'the Dionysiac', but of few books can it be said so truly that its defects are the obverse of outstanding merits, and there is an important sense in which its merits in this respect—rather like those of Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*—cannot be measured by the ordinary canons of scholarship. Even if Dodds always remained a 'Universal Question Mark',²⁵ an intense imaginative sympathy with and eloquence in expressing the Greeks' yearning, and the human yearning, for the 'hidden sources of power' beneath and beyond rationality enlivens every

²⁴ Rainer Maria Rilke, 'Wendung', lines 46–9: 'The work of seeing has been done: now put your heart to work on the images within you, those imprisoned images. For you captured them, but now you don't know them.'

²⁵ *MP* 103, 111 on his nickname among psychological researchers, earned by his 'persistent sceptical curiosity'.

page of both the *Bacchae* commentary and *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Dodds’s vision is fundamental to the reception of his work: its impact on readers, within and beyond the academy, is a cultural fact independent of the validity of his treatment of any particular work, phenomenon, or body of evidence. There can be few readers of Dodds, however wary and critical, who do not feel that he ‘enlarges their sensibility’. This arresting phrase was a favourite of Dodds, expressing what he regarded as ‘the proper concern of a poet’.²⁶ He attributes it to Samuel Johnson, but it is I think a misquotation of a passage in Johnson’s life of Congreve,²⁷ a nice misquotation, which transforms the original into a more profound observation about the power of great poetry—and of all great writing, including Dodds’s own.

‘Morals and Politics in the *Oresteia*’

Dodds’s 1960 article on the *Oresteia* is the oldest study reprinted in Michael Lloyd’s 2007 *Oxford Readings* volume on Aeschylus, another indication of the continuing influence of his work. ‘Dodds,’ says Lloyd, ‘gives a balanced account of the political message of the *Eumenides*, but his main contribution is to relate this message to the more universal moral concerns of the first two plays of the trilogy and thus to establish the coherence of Aeschylus’ overall conception.’ This well describes Dodds’s purpose, and the paper was a key early contribution in the successful attempt to achieve a more integrated view of the achievement of the *Oresteia* than is represented by the stark contrast between Aeschylus’ splendid poetry and his allegedly primitive thinking drawn by Denys Page in his and J.D. Denniston’s 1957 commentary on *Agamemnon* and, less rhetorically and rather more circumspectly, in Hugh Lloyd-Jones’s 1956 paper ‘Zeus in Aeschylus’.²⁸ Colin Macleod’s

²⁶ Dodds 1960a, xlvi: [Euripides] concern . . . is not to prove anything, but to enlarge our sensibility—which is, as Dr Johnson said, the proper concern of a poet’; cf. 1966b, 49 = 1973a, 77, quoted below.

²⁷ *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, ‘Congreve’, § 35 (Johnson 2006, 72 = Johnson 2010, 749): ‘He who reads those lines [of Congreve’s *The Mourning Bride*] enjoys for a moment the powers of a poet; he feels what he remembers to have felt before, but he feels it with great increase of sensibility; he recognizes a familiar image, but meets it again amplified and expanded, embellished with beauty, and enlarged with majesty’ (my emphasis).

²⁸ Denniston and Page 1957, xii–xvi, esp. xv–xvi; Lloyd-Jones 1956, e.g. the statement at 63 = 1990, 253 that the hymn to Zeus in the *Agamemnon* ‘seems to me to yield no evidence whatsoever in favour of “advanced conceptions”, let alone an “Aeschylean Zeus-religion”. On the contrary, it is set entirely within the primitive framework of the theology of the *Works and Days* of Hesiod.’

influential 1982 paper ‘Politics and the *Oresteia*’ was an explicit response to Dodds’s paper. Macleod argues that the political elements of *Eumenides*, including its most immediate references to contemporary Athenian politics, are fully unified, both dramatically and conceptually, with the story of Agamemnon, Clytemestra and Orestes. In this respect, Macleod is consciously going further along a trail blazed by Dodds, but he measures his progress partly by disagreement with Dodds. All the relevant issues are still very much alive, and placing Dodds’s contribution in the context of the developing debate is therefore of more than historical interest.

Dodds’s first intervention in the scholarly discussion of *Eumenides* was one of several ‘Notes on the *Oresteia*’ he published in 1953. Seven years later, he would advocate the necessity of a more synoptic view of the trilogy, but his brief note on *Eum.* 690–5 is an old-school contribution to debate on what he calls ‘the play’s political moral’ (1953, 19–20), that is the question whether Aeschylus was for or against the divestment of the aristocratic Areopagus Council of its general powers, and restriction of it to the role of homicide court, effected by Ephialtes in 462/1. Athena in founding the Areopagus says:

ἐν δὲ τῶι σέβας 690

ἀστῶν φόβος τε ξυγγενῆς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν
σχῆσει τό τ’ ἡμαρ καὶ κατ’ εὐφρόνην ὁμῶς,
αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ ἴπικαινούτων νόμους·
κακαῖς ἐπιρροαῖσι βορβόρωι θ’ ὕδωρ
λαμπρὸν μαίνων οὐποθ’ εὐρήσεις ποτόν. 695

On it (*viz* the Areopagus) the respect and inborn fear of the citizens will restrain wrong-doing by day and night alike, if they themselves do not make innovations in the laws; by polluting bright water with foul infusions of mud you will never find it drinkable.

It is clear from *Ath. Pol.* 26.2 that the third Athenian class, the *Zeugitae*, were admitted to the archonship shortly before the first member of that class held the office in 457/6. Dodds, noting that the Areopagus Council consisted of ex-archons and would therefore also be open henceforth to *Zeugitae*, suggests that, while the matter was still undecided, Aeschylus expressed in *Eum.* 693–5 his opposition to ‘this proposal to pollute with commoners the one really aristocratic body which was left in Athens’.²⁹ He allows that Aeschylus

²⁹ Dodds 1953a, 20. Dodds was unaware that his proposal, which might occur to anyone reading *Ath. Pol.* 25–6, had already been made by Cauer 1895, 353–5 shortly after the *Ath. Pol.* was published in 1891.

‘was at special pains to express his sympathy’ with the Argive alliance of 462 which was also, like reform of the Areopagus Council, the policy of the ‘democratic’ side in Athenian politics, and says that ‘it is not clear that he disapproved of the restriction of the Areopagus to judicial functions’. ‘But’, he goes on, ‘to tamper with the composition of the old Chamber – that was too much. Aeschylus was not by temperament a reactionary, but in his old age he had begun to feel that reform was in danger of moving too fast and too far; that is the common experience of elderly reformers’ (1953, 20).

In the following year, 1954, Felix Jacoby replied to Dodds’s paper: ‘I cannot bring myself to believe that the poet . . . would even in a comparison have likened the great middle class and main part of the citizen-body . . . to *κακαὶ ἐπιρροαί* and *βόρβορος* [“foul infusions” and “mud”]’.³⁰ This point would be endorsed by Macleod (1982, 128 n. 16), and must have struck many as fatal to Dodds’s suggestion, which has been accepted by very few scholars.³¹ The debate over the politics of the trilogy has otherwise been conducted, however inconclusively, by interpretation of a variety of relevant passages in the text, whereas Dodds introduces a cryptic, one-off political comment with no organic relationship to anything else in the play and little more to recommend it than his speculation about Aeschylus’ psychology.

K.J. Dover took up the debate in 1957, arguing that Aeschylus supported the reform of the Areopagus. He connected Athena’s warnings against innovations in the laws and *κακαὶ ἐπιρροαί* with the statement in the *Ath. Pol.* that Ephialtes had removed from the Areopagus *τὰ ἐπιθετα*, the ‘attached’ or ‘superimposed’ powers that it had acquired, so that Athena can be seen not only as chartering the Areopagus as a homicide court but as condemning prospectively its acquisition of the additional powers of which Ephialtes would divest it.³²

Dodds returned to the matter in his 1960 ‘Morals and Politics in the *Oresteia*’. The scope of his vision of the trilogy is here very much wider, and the terms in which he considers the question of the trilogy’s politics more circumspect and sophisticated, despite his continued adherence to his thesis about the *Zeugitae*. He does not, in that connection, repeat the biographical speculations of the 1953 note, but says rather that Aeschylus neither justifies nor grumbles about the recent reforms but offers ‘something more practical and less overtly partisan, a quiet word of warning for the future’ (1960b, 49).

³⁰ Jacoby 1954, 2.528 (where *βόρβορος* is misprinted as *βάρβαρος*).

³¹ So far as I have noticed, only by Rhodes 1981, 312 and Conacher 1987, 203.

³² Dover 1957, esp. 234 = 1987, 168–9; *Ath. Pol.* 25.2.

Of course we can hardly accept as either non-partisan or 'quiet' a characterization of the admission of the Athenian middle class to the archonship as an infusion of mud into the bright water of the upper classes, but one senses that Dodds is soft-peddalling his suggestion, or at any rate the terms in which he had earlier presented it. He puts more weight here on a new argument, directed against Dover's powerful point about the 'additional powers'. At *Eum.* 693, he claims, the notion of innovations made by 'the citizens themselves' must mean 'legislated by the Athenian Assembly', and as we have no evidence that the (probably pre-Solonian) 'additional powers' of the Areopagus were so acquired the interpretation of Dover therefore cannot stand. The obvious answer to this is that here as elsewhere Aeschylus is making Athena speak of the citizens in the most general way not only as sovereign in Athens (above and beyond particular institutions and procedures) but as equivalent to Athens. Her words are thus readily understood as a general injunction to the Athenian people to preserve the Areopagus in the form in which she has instituted it, as a homicide court—which of course entails restoring it to that form if it were changed.

Independently of one's reaction to the particular political point Dodds detects, however, the great achievement of his paper is its persuasive advocacy of the view that the 'politics' of the *Oresteia* are fully integrated with its 'morals'. Macleod's attempt to go beyond Dodds in this regard has been very influential, but it is possible to feel, as Dodds surely would have, that Macleod's insistent subordination of politics to 'artistry', his notion that Aeschylus 'is rather giving a certain significance to something contemporary than commenting on it for its own sake' (1982, 133, 132), arises from an anxiety about the engagement of art with immediate political realities which has no obvious justification in principle and can lead to arbitrarily prescriptive interpretation in practice. When, for example, Macleod says 'in those places in the *Eumenides* where topical allusions have been detected, there are rather—or at least also—links with the rest of the trilogy' (1982, 132), it is hard to see why one should share, or wish to share, his preference of 'rather' to Dodds's 'also'. A pointed connection with contemporary politics need no more diminish the *Oresteia*'s artistry than it does that of (say) Picasso's *Guernica*, and Dodds's approach may therefore seem more genuinely integrative than that of Macleod and other scholars worried that political art may be indistinguishable from propaganda.

The second, 'Morals' half of the *Oresteia* paper begins by laying out four 'presuppositions' of the principle that 'the doer shall suffer', *παθεῖν τὸν ἐργατῆρα*: that guilt is inherited, that it is infectious (not only as contagious

impurity but because punishment of an individual can involve a whole community in destruction), that the capacity of guilt to produce fresh guilt is projected as an evil spirit, and that behind all this is the purpose of Zeus.³³ On the first two points, Dodds's very firm assertions about ancestral guilt are further examples of over-confident anthropology. The matter has been much debated, and in the most recent study Renaud Gagné argues persuasively that 'the numerous parallel, and often discordant views presented throughout the play to explain or characterise the repeated misfortunes of family do not portray a clear, consistent picture. There is no analytically coherent ideology of inherited guilt or ancestral fault in the *Agamemnon*'.³⁴ In connection with evil spirits, however, Dodds splendidly formulates a fundamental methodological point: 'It is idle to ask whether Aeschylus believed in the objective existence of such beings: this is the sort of question which no dramatist can be made to answer, for it is the function of every dramatist to think in images. But their reality and causative activity is a presupposition of the story as Aeschylus unfolds it' (1960b, 55). In emphasizing that Zeus's purposes must be taken seriously, Dodds also makes excellent remarks on over-determination, stressing (against Page in particular) that Agamemnon is presented in the text of the play as making a genuine choice (1960b, 56–7). In the final, eloquent pages of the paper he suggests that there is a kind of progressive scheme of 'learning by suffering', *πάθει μάθος*, in the trilogy: Agamemnon learns nothing; Clytemestra achieves the insight that she has been the agent of an ancestral curse; Orestes 'has not merely suffered his situation, he has understood and in a sense mastered it'; and, as the culminating 'fourth and final term', the Athenians *σωφρονοῦντες ἐν χρόνῳ* (*Eum.* 1000) represent 'the destiny of a whole people' and 'a new age of understanding' (1960b, 59–62). There are links here with the progressive Zeus of Dodds's paper on the *Prometheus* and, even more clearly, with his remarks on the Aeschylean Prometheus as a symbol of human progress in his paper on 'The Ancient Concept of Progress'.³⁵ What Dodds says about *πάθει μάθος* in connection with Agamemnon and Clytemestra is open to doubt, but there

³³ Dodds 1960b, 55–6; also 57–8 and 60 on the role of evil spirits as regards Agamemnon and Clytemestra.

³⁴ Gagné 2013, 394–416; quotation at 406. Gagné 409 and 412–13 allows that notions of inherited guilt or ancestral fault play a very small role in *Choephoroi* and *Eumenides*, and it is still possible to argue that the most prominent use of the concepts in *Agamemnon*, by Clytemestra and Aegisthus, is cynically exculpatory.

³⁵ Dodds 1973a, 1–25, at 5–7.

is no doubting the importance of Dodds's paper, which not only opened a new era in the study of the *Oresteia* but arguably gets the morals and the politics into better balance than many subsequent studies.

'On Misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*'

By both ancient and modern reckoning, Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* is among the greatest of Greek tragedies, and what would perhaps be generally acknowledged as the most satisfying interpretation of it was given by Dodds in his 1966 article 'On Misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*', his final contribution to the study of Greek tragedy. Its negative title is prompted by the need to clear the ground for an adequate interpretation by rooting out misconceptions that were in Dodds's day, and alas remain, hardy perennials in school and university essays and examination scripts. The essay takes its origin in a question Dodds set on an Oxford Mods paper: 'In what sense, if in any, does the *Oedipus Rex* attempt to justify the ways of god to man?' (1966b, 37 = 1973a, 64). He sorts the answers to this question—all of them 'demonstrably false' (1966b, 38 = 1973a, 65)—into three general classes, which he discusses in turn. The first group argued that Oedipus got what he deserved as a man either simply bad or burdened with a fatal *ἀμαρτία* or 'tragic flaw' and therefore punished by the gods. The essence of Dodds's refutation of this general line is nothing new, but he rehearses the proper interpretation of Aristotle's term, as against the mistaken tradition that it means a moral flaw, with great vigour and clarity. He also states and vividly applies the literary-critical principles that if we are to understand that Oedipus is a bad man someone on the stage should tell us he is, though none does so, and that we cannot regard him as guilty of failing to act with sufficient caution because there is no hint in the text of the play that we should do so. Dodds reinforces this last point with the observation that the oracles given to Laius and to Oedipus himself were both unconditional.

A second group of Oxford students answered that the play is a 'tragedy of destiny' proving 'that man has no free will but is a puppet in the hands of the gods' (1966b, 37 = 1973a, 64), which Dodds disposes of as an anachronistic failure to recognize that for Greeks the notions of free will and of determination by the gods or fate can co-exist. Rather, Dodds stresses, we see Oedipus 'freely choosing, from the highest motives, a series of actions which lead to his own ruin', and 'what causes his ruin is his own strength

and courage, his loyalty to Thebes, and his loyalty to the truth’ (1966b, 43 = 1973a, 71).

A third group argued that Sophocles was “a pure artist” uninterested in justifying the gods, who are simply part of the machinery of the plot (1966b, 37 = 1973a, 64–5). Dodds expresses some sympathy with this group, but does not accept that the play ‘conveys *no* intelligible meaning’ and ‘venture[s] to assert two things about Sophocles’ opinions’: that he did not (always) believe ‘that the gods are in any human sense “just”’, but that ‘he did always believe that the gods exist and that man should revere them’ (1966b, 45–6 = 1973a, 74). To support this second proposition, Dodds offers only the ‘external evidence’ of the biographical tradition that Sophocles held priesthoods, and in particular that he received Asclepius in Athens and was heroized under the name ‘Dexion’ after his death, and a single piece of internal evidence, the notion (which goes back to Wilamowitz³⁶) that when the chorus ask ‘why should I dance?’, *τί δέ τί μὲ χορεύειν;* at *OT* 895 they are addressing the audience directly, not as elders of Thebes but as Athenian choristers, and that their question means “If Athens loses faith in religion, if the views of the Enlightenment prevail, what significance is there in tragic drama, which exists as part of the service of the gods?”’ (1966b, 46–7 = 1973a, 74–5). Both the evidence that Sophocles was heroized and Dodds’s interpretation of *OT* 895 have been contested,³⁷ and one feels again that his confidence in this conclusion is not justified by its thin evidentiary basis.

Finally, Dodds turns to his own interpretation of the play.

To me personally Oedipus is a kind of symbol of the human intelligence which cannot rest until it has solved all the riddles—even the last riddle, to which the answer is that human happiness is built on an illusion.... Whether this vision of man’s estate is true or false I do not know, but it ought to be comprehensible to a generation which relishes the plays of Samuel Beckett. I do not wish to describe it as a ‘message’. But I find in it an enlargement of sensibility, and that is all I ask of any dramatist.

(1966b, 48–9 = 1973a, 76–7)

For me and I should think for most scholars of tragedy, this is literary criticism of the highest order: whatever other persuasive interpretations

³⁶ Wilamowitz 1895, 148 = 1909, 357–8; see above all Henrichs 1995b, 65–71, with further references at 97–100 nn. 45–67.

³⁷ By Connolly 1998 and Scullion 2002, 118–21, respectively.

of the play may appear, one cannot imagine any of them invalidating what Dodds says here, which is eloquent and moving, and simply seems profoundly true. Here as elsewhere the enlargement of sensibility Dodds looks for from the tragedians is just what one gets from reading him.³⁸

³⁸ I am grateful to the editors for inviting me to contribute, and for very acute and helpful comments.

Dodds on Plato

The *Gorgias* Edition

R.B. Rutherford

The art of the commentator has recently been the subject of some discussion: several collections of essays address the history and methodology of a scholarly genre which has long been particularly associated with the study of Greek and Latin texts (indeed, it goes back to the commentaries written by ancient scholars, some of which survive in our scholia and elsewhere).¹ Despite the range of questions covered in these volumes, it is remarkable that no attention is paid either to Dodds on the *Gorgias* or to the more general problem of how to write a commentary on a philosophic work, and particularly a Platonic dialogue. That is not a topic I can explore in detail here, but it is obvious that a student of language and literary form needs to use or acquire other skills in order to engage fully with a work that is chiefly concerned with argumentation and ideas. Dodds's commentary on the *Gorgias* is the best we have on any Platonic work because he was so well equipped to straddle the division between linguistic and philosophic comment.² He was not only an outstanding Greek scholar but able and willing to explain and criticize the argument: moreover, he not only located that argument in the intellectual context of Plato's times, but showed its lasting relevance.

Dodds's edition of the *Gorgias* was the third commentary he published, and in some ways the most traditional. The edition of Proclus broke fresh ground and is recognized as a landmark contribution to the scholarly study

¹ On the nature of classical commentaries, see Most 1997 and Gibson and Kraus 2002; Kraus and Stray 2016. See further Assmann and Gladigow 1995. The last two collections do include essays on philosophic texts, but not on Plato. For the ancient origins of the commentary form, see Dickey 2007; more generally, Pfeiffer 1968, Turner 2014.

² For older editions of the dialogue used by Dodds, see esp. Thompson 1871 (the author also edited *Meno* and *Phaedrus*) and in German Cron-Deuschle, revised by Nestle (ed.5 1909). Dodds recognizably draws some of his parallels from the last of these.

of Neoplatonic philosophy; the edition of the *Bacchae* showed not only his philological and textual skills but his deep interest in the ways in which modern anthropological and psychological theory could be applied to ancient society and religious practice. In his work on the *Gorgias* he followed more closely a well-established channel of scholarship on a central author, study of whom had long been central to the syllabus of the Lit.Hum. course at Oxford.³ Yet the book contains much that is characteristic of Dodds's work, and in many passages we recognize his distinctive voice. This is particularly true where he is covering ground that borders on the concerns of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, published eight years earlier, and I shall comment on some of the parallels in due course.⁴

The obvious place to begin is with Dodds's own remarks in the preface, where he says that when lecturing on the dialogue during the Second World War, he was conscious that most of his undergraduate audience would soon be soldiers; and this brought home the 'relevance of this dialogue to the central issues, moral and political, of our own day'. In this passage, Dodds does not make explicit what issues he means. We might reasonably think in terms of the central importance of moral choice in life, the willingness to suffer wrong rather than to do it, the Socratic determination to follow virtue rather than self-interest even to the point of death. The contemporary relevance of rhetoric I shall discuss later. Yet in his autobiography, after quoting that comment from the preface, he put the emphasis elsewhere: his aim was 'to bring out both the resemblance and the difference between Plato's situation and that of the intellectual today' (*MP* 171). That claim stresses the work's relevance to Dodds himself and others like him, rather than the audience destined for a wartime army. The later formulation brings out the importance for Dodds of the figure of Plato, the man behind the text. Dodds would have had little time for the notion of the death of the author. In the introduction to the edition he praises Wilamowitz for insisting on the biographical approach to Plato's writings (not surprisingly, the account of Plato's own formation in the seventh letter is prominent in accounting for Plato's attitudes). And in the same passage the peculiar emotional power of the *Gorgias* is explained by the 'personal tones' that Dodds detects.⁵ The index to the edition includes the entry 'Plato, *Gorgias*, personal tones in'

³ See e.g. Ogilvie 1964, 98–104, 121–5, 131.

⁴ The other obvious point of connection is with the article on 'Plato and the Irrational' (Dodds 1945a = 1973a, 106–25), which itself overlaps in part with Dodds 1951a (in particular, 1951a, 210–16 closely parallels 1945a, 18–20 = 1973a, 110–16).

⁵ Dodds 1959a, 31 n. 2, referring to Wilamowitz's book on Plato.

(with six references). I think we can see pretty clearly that there are Doddsian personal tones as well, and sometimes these coincide.⁶

That Dodds delivered lectures in Oxford for a number of years on the dialogue is a matter of record. In his first year as professor he gave a course on the *Gorgias* and *Protagoras* (Trinity term 1937), and he often repeated this. This need not indicate a firm intention at this time to produce a text and commentary on the work. As he remarks in the autobiography, professors at Oxford do not necessarily lecture according to their own interests or whims: rather, he was expected to ‘act as a kind of universal longstop, filling personally any gaps in the lecture list which no tutor volunteered to cover’ (*MP* 127). Inspection of the *Examination Decrees* of Oxford, a volume of regulations published annually by the University, shows that the *Gorgias* had long been a staple of the first public examination (‘Classical Mods’). As early as 1900, it was one of the set texts for that formidable second-year hurdle. In Dodds’s own undergraduate days, one of the options under ‘Other authors’ studied for this examination was Plato, *Gorgias*, *Protagoras*, and *Phaedo*. When he returned to Oxford in 1936 to occupy the Regius chair, the same paper still existed, though the prescription had been reduced to *Gorgias* and *Protagoras*, with the *Gorgias* specified for more detailed study. A few years later (1940–1), with a change of structure, the *Phaedo* and *Gorgias* figured in a list of ‘authors specially offered’. In the mid-1950s, the *Gorgias* disappeared from the lists for a number of years and the *Theaetetus* made an unwonted appearance in the Mods course: the change was probably for the benefit of Winifred Hicken, tutor at Lady Margaret Hall, who had begun work on a text of that dialogue (this eventually appeared in the first volume of the new OCT in 1995). The *Gorgias* was reinstated in the Special Authors paper from 1961 onwards, no doubt to take advantage of the appearance of Dodds’s own edition.

It is worth emphasizing that none of this formed part of the philosophy component of the Literae Humaniores course. In Dodds’s time Mods was an examination in Greek and Latin languages and literature, with heavy stress on translation, composition into Greek and Latin, and textual criticism. The *Decrees* directed undergraduates to expect questions on the content, style,

⁶ An example is Dodds 1959a, 273, where Dodds is commenting on Callicles’ contempt for airy-fairy ethical discussion: ‘Plato must often have had to listen to such advice from friends and relatives who wished to dissuade him from wasting his time on philosophy. And in our own day a similar contempt for “intellectuals” is characteristic of the exponents of *Machtpolitik* on both sides of the Atlantic: as the modern proverb puts it, “Those who can, do; those who can’t, teach.”’

and literary history of the works studied. It was for their literary quality and interest that the dialogues were chosen: for decades the compilers of the Oxford syllabus rang the changes with *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *Protagoras*, and *Gorgias*, works which represented the most accessible aspects of Plato's thought while also having great historical and dramatic interest. In his lectures, Dodds would not have been expected to train undergraduates in philosophy, but to translate and comment on the dialogue with close attention to verbal detail and the problems of the text. On the other hand, content could hardly be ignored.

A feature which differentiates the volume under discussion from the commentary on the *Bacchae* is that in the case of Plato Dodds felt an obligation to re-edit the text.⁷ The introduction (esp. p. 42) explains his dismay on discovering how misleading—indeed, false—were the statements in Burnet's Oxford Classical Text regarding the F family of manuscripts.⁸ Remedying the situation involved an immense amount of work with little visible payoff—obviously a very frustrating outcome for Dodds. The manuscript facts are stated far more accurately, we can be sure, than in Burnet, but it cannot be claimed that the newly assembled data change the picture radically.⁹ In the text, *οὐκοῦν* is re-accented by Dodds himself in 462c8 (the same amendment was made by Denniston and accepted by Dodds at 459c3); and there are other tiny suggestions at 465a4, b3. A statement is turned into a question in the apparatus at 467d5. A few words are tentatively bracketed as glosses, and small insertions are made, often in the apparatus rather than the text.¹⁰ At 498a6 Dodds offers a suggestion *exempli gratia* to fill a lacuna already diagnosed by Hermann; at 503d2 he proposes a phrase to fill a lacuna diagnosed by Schanz; at 519b7 a tentative change of word order is confined to the apparatus. Of course, there are also a few suggestions by other scholars such as Theiler, Maas, and Robin, including one by Donald Russell. But the ultimate benefit to the text of the dialogue is small. Was it this experience that prompted Dodds to remark that 'Our texts are good

⁷ This was already his firm intention when he wrote to propose the new edition to the Press (30 January 1949). In that letter, he remarked that he had had this project in mind 'for some time', but does not justify the choice beyond the observation that the text formed part of the Mods syllabus, and that the existing commentaries were thin and out-of-date.

⁸ See already Dodds 1957c.

⁹ Hence it is rather surprising to find that Irwin 1979, 11 states that Dodds provides 'a better, though sometimes adventurous, text'.

¹⁰ Intrusive words bracketed: 483c9 (app.); 485e3 (app.); 486d7; 489c6 (app.); 496e7; 520c7. Small insertions: 465a4, b3, 489c6 (app.), 491a4; 493b2; 513e2, 517e2.

enough to live with?' (For obvious reasons this infuriated D.R. Shackleton Bailey, who commented, 'Well, that depends on your standard of living.')

¹¹

Turning to the commentary proper, one might sum up its quality by saying that Dodds is as happy discussing word-order as world-order, a pleasing juxtaposition of items in the index. The obvious merits of the work can be swiftly indicated. Among its virtues are the clarity of analysis of the *argument*; exact attention to language and idiom (note the valuable entries in the index s.vv. puns, personification, colloquialisms, proverbs); the strong control of historical, constitutional, prosopographical data on classical Athens. Under the last heading one might single out p. 241 on Archelaus of Macedon, p. 261 (Demos son of Ppyrilampes), 282 (Callicles' associates); p. 208 on state physicians at Athens. On pp. 356–7, a contemporary note is struck, as the author comments on the reference to pay for Athenian jurors ('the social consequences alleged by the critics whom Socrates quotes are much like those alleged by critics of the Welfare state...').¹²

Although at this date reception studies had not acquired a central place in the world of classical scholarship, Dodds shows a keen interest in the indirect tradition of the *Gorgias* as represented by later quotation and citation by ancient authors, and presents this material economically in an appendix (pp. 397–8). These later citations are utilized to show the place of the dialogue in the history of ideas (see pp. 62–6 of the introduction). The theme of the choice between opposing ways of life is central to the *Gorgias*: it already makes an appearance at 451d sqq. (p. 200). At a later point, the issue takes more precise form in Callicles' presentation of the conflict between rhetoric and philosophy, where he invokes the famous *agōn* of Euripides' *Antiope*, a play which dramatized the clash between the poet Amphion and his more practical brother Zethus.¹³ There are connections here with the

¹¹ I have not traced the location of Dodds's use of this precise phrase. The sentiments are those expressed in his lecture to the Classical Association in 1964 (Dodds 1964). Shackleton Bailey's comment occurs at *AJP* 97, 1976, 73 = *Selected Classical Papers* (1997), 329. It seems possible that he has paraphrased Dodds for the sake of his own riposte. For a fuller statement of Dodds's position on textual criticism and editorial work, see Dodds 1973a, 29–30.

¹² The allusion is to the system of state-funded social security established in Britain after the Second World War on the recommendations of the 1942 Beveridge Report. In recent times, successive Conservative governments have steadily eroded this system on ideological grounds closely paralleled in the United States.

¹³ Pp. 272–3. On the *Antiope*, see Eur. F 157–227; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004, 259–329; on its adaptation in the new context of the *Gorgias*, see further Rutherford 1995, 163, 166–8 and Nightingale 1995, ch.2 (who sees the imitation as part of a generic rivalry between Platonic dialogue and tragedy, an approach which would probably not have appealed to Dodds).

theme of political participation in Athens, polemically described by contemporaries in terms of *polypragmosyne* versus *apragmosyne* (busy-bodiness versus inertia), and Dodds duly provides the appropriate references to this debate (p. 276, citing Ehrenberg); investigation of the levels of participation in the democratic system and the role of 'the quiet Athenian' has continued to the present day.¹⁴ A different but equally interesting line of influence leads on to Cicero and Quintilian, both of whom were concerned to meet some at least of the challenges raised by the *Gorgias*. In the *de oratore*, Cicero took up the theme of the division between philosophy and rhetoric and explored the possibility of re-uniting them (esp. 3.52–90). Dodds glances at this tradition in citing *de or.*1.57 as a parallel to Callicles' complaint about philosophers mumbling together in a corner to no purpose (487d7, p. 275), but in general he does not explore the Latin tradition. There is reason to think that he found Cicero uncongenial (p. 164 below).

Occasionally space needed to be spent on some rather sterile debates, mostly about alleged connections between the dialogue and various lost works by important or indeed unimportant sophists. A case in point is the discussion of Polycrates' 'Indictment of Socrates' (pp. 28–9, cf. 271–2; 192 on Polus). Dodds's standard position is one of sensible scepticism ('All this seems to me to be mare's-nesting').

Some might be tempted to include under the heading of 'sterile debate' the unending controversy about the relation between the historical Socrates, the Socrates presented by Plato, and the thought of Plato himself.¹⁵ Inevitably, Dodds addresses this from time to time and his views are of course always worthy of consideration, but perhaps some of the weaker formulations in the book are related to this hopelessly speculative enquiry. At times the preoccupation may indeed be misleading. In one passage he takes the way Socrates apologizes for unusual indulgence in *makrologia* ('long-windedness') as 'perhaps an indication that Plato's Socrates is "breaking out of the historical mould" (Rudberg) and becoming a mouthpiece for Plato's passionately held positive convictions'.¹⁶ This is hardly adequate. Socrates' more sustained exposition expresses his intensifying involvement in the debate, the need to go deeper; the more extended speechifying is consistent with the *aims* of dialectic, though giving up the form *pro tem*.

¹⁴ Ehrenberg 1947; see further Collard on *Eur. Suppl.* 577; Carter 1986; Sinclair 1988; Hansen 1991, 130–2, 143–6, 266–8.

¹⁵ Around the same time Dodds had been reviewing Chroust's book on this subject: see the published version in Dodds 1959b.

¹⁶ P. 232, discussing 465e–6a.

Again, in his introductory discussion of the concluding myth, he suggests that the introduction of eschatological myths is partly intended 'to avoid making Socrates responsible for opinions which he did not in fact hold'. This seems arbitrary (did Socrates himself never admit speculation on the afterlife?), and even if true can hardly be the most important part of the explanation.¹⁷

In older commentaries, language is often treated in a rather arid way, with the commentator identifying unusual forms or rhetorical figures in the manner of a lepidopterist sticking pins in rare butterflies. But in the best commentaries and certainly in Dodds's, stylistic detail is deployed to illuminate tone, to bring out points of characterization, to highlight aspects of the themes and argument. One might cite pp. 340–1, commenting on the coarseness of Callicles' language (508d1, e7): the issue of well-mannered expression becomes an indication of presence or absence of moral seriousness. Sometimes his comments also suggest some of the commentator's own preferences or tastes. An example is the early comment on Polus's high-sounding verbiage (448c4–9). Here Polus's Gorgianic flourish indicates his role as a disciple of the great man, and perhaps hints at his vacuity as a thinker. Dodds cites parallels from other dialogues and remarks that 'These examples show that Plato...found such verbal tricks as distasteful as we do'.¹⁸ The comment is revealing, not least in the boldness of the deduction. I return to the question of Dodds's attitude to 'rhetoric' at the end of this essay.

Dodds is also alert to recurrent imagery. Examples include (a) the verbal banquet (p. 189, on the opening speeches), or (b) music and the harmony of the soul (p. 260). (c) A fine note on the touchstone metaphor at 486d is worth quoting in full. Socrates expresses delight at finding in Callicles a touchstone which he can use to test the truth of his own belief. Dodds's comment is exemplary (p. 280): 'The vain wish for a touchstone which should reveal the hidden truth about human character is traditional (Theognis 119ff., Eur. *Medea* 516ff.). Plato's language suggests that he had this idea in mind...but in representing the ideal interlocutor as a touchstone of *intellectual* truth he has given the old fancy a quite new twist.' Critics of commentaries often complain about notes which contain a bare list of

¹⁷ P. 373. More references in Dodds's index s.v. 'Socrates, the historical'; cf. Dodds 1951a, 198 at nn. 31–3.

¹⁸ P. 192. See further my remarks in the closing paragraphs below, and Russell's comment quoted there.

references introduced by an indiscriminating ‘cf.’, but here what could have been merely a scattering of parallels becomes a lucid illustration of the way in which Socrates takes up everyday phrases or literary commonplaces, and gives them a deeper significance.

Part of the commentator’s art is to enable the reader not only to grasp the point of a specific passage, but also to see that passage in its wider historical and intellectual context. Dodds does this on numerous occasions, as with the extended note dealing with the analogy between rhetoric and tragedy (501d–2d; pp. 320–5). Other notes steer a sure course through territory where even an expert commentator might well lose his way: for instance, on proportionate equality (508a6; p. 339)¹⁹; or pp. 297–8, 300, 373–6 on so-called Orphic ideas (where Dodds’s position, as in chapter 5 of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, remains one of well-judged sceptical caution).

Above all, this is a *sympathetic* commentary, one which tries to think with Plato and his characters, to show why they say what they do and why it matters. Many different notes could be cited, but I single out here a characteristic passage that well exemplifies this quality.

469c8–470c8. *Socrates illustrates his conception of power by the parable of the Lunatic with the Knife. Would it be reasonable to say that such a man exercised great power? ‘No,’ says Polus, ‘the police would get him.’ Polus is thus induced to agree that ‘doing what one thinks fit’ cannot be equated with the exercise of power unless the action is ‘profitable’ (ὠφέλιμον, 470a 10, or ἄμεινον, b2). But what does ‘profitable’ mean? Socrates affirms that an action is profitable when it is ‘right’ (δίκαιον, c2). Polus: ‘A child could disprove that.’ Socrates: ‘I should be grateful to that child.’*

Plato’s lunatic is a familiar figure today, though he has exchanged his knife for deadlier weapons. Conrad in *The Secret Agent* drew the portrait of such a man, who gratified his craving for power by always carrying a charge of dynamite on his person. Why should we deny that his power is real? Polus’ naïve answer evades the problem, and is in fact not always true: the police may fail, or (as in the field of international relations) there may be no police. It is certainly not Plato’s answer, as some nineteenth-century scholars mistakenly supposed; it merely serves to convince Polus that his previous assertion was wrong, even on his own crude assumptions. Plato’s reply would presumably be that the Man with the Knife cannot at his deepest level will pure destruction for its own sake; his action reflects, not his true personality, but a lunatic distortion of it, and since he does not do

¹⁹ The theme was later developed by David Harvey (1965 and 1966).

what he truly wills, he cannot be said to exercise power—on the contrary, like the *τυραννικὸς ἀνὴρ* of *Rep.* 573a–c, he is the slave of his mania.
(p. 239)

Some of the material in the notes that follow is tralatitician: for example, the references to Thucydides on the murder of Phrynichus (8.92.2) and to Xenophon on secreting a weapon under the arm (*Hell.* 2.3.23) are already in Cron–Deuschle–Nestle on this passage; but the introductory note here goes much further in thinking with Plato. We observe the readiness to use modern literature, the stress on the relevance of ancient world to the modern, the criticism of the character in the text which extends to condemnation of his morality, and the willingness to explore and extrapolate Plato's own position in a way that stresses the practical relevance of philosophic morality to human life. Elsewhere Dodds emphasizes that Plato is at odds with the (modern) 'fashionable' view that making value judgement is no part of a philosopher's business.²⁰

Dodds's sense of the relevance of the work to modern society is evident from his explicit statement in the preface, but he does not there go into any detail. What he meant is best seen by picking up on some of the references to modern writers on political and social theory and practice (some of these are still household names, but others are very unfamiliar today). The works cited (with their date of first publication, which Dodds did not always provide) include:

- M. Oakeshott, 'Political education' (lecture of 1951, often reprinted) (p. 33)
- G. Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics* (1908; 3rd edn 1920) (p. 209)
- Barbara Wootton, *Freedom under Planning* (1945) (p. 236)
- Isaiah Berlin, *Two concepts of liberty* (1958) (p. 236)
- K. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies* (1945) (p. 266)
- Bertrand Russell, *Human nature in ethics and politics* (1954) (p. 305, 337)
- Walter Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy* (1955) (p. 361)
- Wilfred Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (1916, 4th impr. 1919) (p. 364)
- Erich Fromm, *The Fear of Freedom* (1942). (p. 236)

Of these, the last is cited prominently in *The Greeks and the Irrational*—it gave Dodds the title for his final chapter, and has been singled out by Hugh Lloyd-Jones as crucial to an understanding of Dodds's thinking in

²⁰ Pp. 30–1. Todd 2002 takes this to be a sniping reference to A.J. Ayer and his followers.

that book.²¹ Dodds's claim in the final chapter that mankind is capable of making a crucial leap towards freedom through self-knowledge gained thanks to psychology is a proposition rooted in Fromm's neo-Freudian arguments. Other references to modern political and sociological thinkers can be added: Durkheim is one, Alexander Herzen another. The careful reader of the commentary will be in no doubt that Dodds, like Gilbert Murray, his mentor and predecessor, was deeply engaged in the life of his times, and saw it as his duty to show the connections that could be drawn between the classical texts and contemporary political and moral life, and also to informed intellectual thinking about these subjects.

What elements do these citations of modern thinkers have in common? Comparison of these and other passages makes clear that Dodds sees their relevance as lying in two areas in particular—crowd psychology and the figure of the tyrant, or in modern terms the dictator. These are clearly linked and come together especially at p. 4 n. 1. In the text here, Dodds is setting out the importance and the power of public rhetoric as mass communication. 'Its mastery was in a democracy the royal road to power.' The footnote, after citing Aristotle, says, 'What this meant, for good and evil, to the ancient community we have begun to learn since the invention of radio and television. Hitler held that "all the ordinary men and women who read the newspapers and listen to the wireless can be made to believe, and consequently to do, almost anything their rulers wish." Gorgias exhibits the same confidence (452de).' Elsewhere Dodds remarks on the large claims for rhetoric made in this period. Under the radical democracy, a skilled orator could exercise 'a disproportionate and dangerous influence. The observation was not new; Euripides, in particular, lays repeated stress on it (see my note on *Bacchae* 266–71)' (p. 209).

Thus far, the argument is easy to follow and the analogies suggestive (though no tyrant in antiquity had or dreamed of having the effect that Hitler exercised over his followers). But there are other lines of thought which are less easy to interpret or to accept. Dodds seems to have believed that there were firm analogies between Athenian society towards the end and in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian war, and the state of modern Europe after 1918. This line of thought is made particularly explicit at the start of the Appendix dealing with 'Socrates, Callicles and Nietzsche', which opens as follows:

²¹ Lloyd-Jones 1985, 170–1, 175–7 (= Lloyd-Jones 1990, 297–8, 302–3).

The *Gorgias* is the most ‘modern’ of Plato’s dialogues. The twin problems which it exposes—how to control the power of propaganda, how to re-establish moral standards in a world whose traditional standards have disintegrated—these are also the central problems of the twentieth century. (p. 387)

Elsewhere he draws a more specific parallel between the periods post-404 and post-1918, both being described as the end of an era. ‘We can see clearly now that 404 was the end of an age,’ writes Dodds, and adds in a footnote that it was perhaps less clear to contemporaries, noting ‘Compare the gradual and reluctant realization of the break in culture produced by the First World War’, a rather mysterious phrase even when considered in context. Some illumination is provided by his comments on his own experience of this period in *Missing Persons*, but the reader still needs to join the dots to some extent.²² Another text which offers helpful glossing is the published version of a lecture originally given by Dodds in 1937, entitled ‘The Sophistic Movement and the Failure of Greek Liberalism’, revised in the 1973 volume of essays *The Ancient Concept of Progress*.²³ What seems clear is that Dodds saw the parallel in terms of a society shaken to its roots, losing a sense of stability and a confidence in its values. The comment in the autobiography on the analogy between the intellectual’s position in the fourth century BC and the twentieth century would suggest that Dodds saw himself, or others like him, in a position like that of Plato. The parallel is not altogether obvious: how much does an Athenian aristocrat, founder of a philosophic school, have in common with an Oxford professor of Greek? Still, Dodds was himself strongly interested in philosophy and moral behaviour (and of course in psychology). Perhaps he did indeed feel a responsibility, as a teacher and a serious thinker, to provide some kind of guidance to younger men in ‘an age of anxiety’, to give them points of reference at least, even if not a moral compass.²⁴

²² Dodds 1951a, 34 with n. 1; *MP*, 38–9, 40–1.

²³ Dodds 1973a, 92–105. Particularly relevant is p. 93: ‘A generation which has come to manhood in a completely unstable world; which has witnessed in their nakedness class war and war between nations, and has grown accustomed to drastic theories and radical solutions; which has cut itself loose from traditional metaphysic, so that “idealist” has become a common term of abuse; which cares passionately about man’s relation to his society but hardly at all about his relation to the gods—a generation, in fact, to which the word “justice” means a great deal, the word “piety” very little—such a generation will look back on the fifth century, if not with clearer eyes than its grandparents, at least with very different eyes.’

²⁴ For helpful contextualization, see Stray 1998, 286–90, including quotation from Mac-Neice’s ‘Autumn Journal’, a poem richly expressive of disillusionment with older ways of studying the classics.

Robert Todd in a valuable article is partly concerned to criticize the analogy between the late fifth century and Dodds's own times, and hence to cast doubt on the implied parallel between Dodds's historical position and Plato's own.²⁵ Making use of unpublished material, he shows how much of the thinking which underlies both *The Greeks and the Irrational* and the related discussions of a fifth-century crisis was already taking shape in Dodds's mind in the 1930s and played a part in his lectures early in his tenure of the Regius Chair. But in his analysis he seems oddly preoccupied with the formation of Dodds's ideas and approach in the aftermath of the First World War and pays little or no attention to the fact that the book was published in 1959. The Second World War must surely be in the background as well, and the Nietzschean superman is far more relevant to Hitler. Todd does not quote the Hitler reference which I mentioned above. Dodds's citation of Popper's *Open Society* reminds us that in the eyes of liberal intellectuals Plato was implicated with propaganda and totalitarianism.²⁶

The appendix on Nietzsche reflects Dodds's awareness that Callicles is much the most effective opponent of Socrates in this work, and one of the most exciting interlocutors in the Platonic corpus. Dodds's discussion of the main characters in the dialogue makes clear that he is strongly attracted by the idea that there is something of Plato in Callicles, Socrates' most aggressive opponent.²⁷ A propos of Callicles' 'powerful and disturbing eloquence' he writes that 'One is tempted to believe that Callicles stands for something which Plato had it in him to become (and would perhaps have become, but for Socrates)' (p. 14, cf. 31). (The *perhaps* is noteworthy!) Again, on p. 267 he quotes the words of a French philosopher: 'Plato paints *himself* here as he might have been, as he feared to be.'²⁸ Here we see some of the dangers of the biographical approach. Dodds like others has been impressed by the forcefulness of Callicles' initial onslaught, for most readers the most memorable part of the dialogue (482c–6d); he seems to give less weight to the vexation and ineffectiveness of Callicles when subjected to Socrates' interrogation. Others have seen Callicles as a much less attractive figure, even a model of how one should not respond to the dialectical challenge.

²⁵ Todd 2002.

²⁶ Besides Popper, see Crossman 1937. For discussion of the issues, see Levinson 1953, Jarvie and Pralong 1999, and more recently Alan Ryan's introduction to the 2013 Princeton edition of Popper's book, pp. ix–xxi.

²⁷ On his own early interest in Nietzsche, see *MP* 19–20.

²⁸ Alain 1939, 17.

Rather than trying to diagnose ‘*l’anti-Platon chez Platon*’, we may be better seeing both Socrates and Callicles as essentially characters created by Plato in order to dramatize a powerful conflict of principle.²⁹

The biographical approach naturally encourages scholars to look closely at Plato’s development, not simply on the intellectual plane but in terms of social and political attitudes. The *Gorgias* is generally considered an early-middle work, on good grounds. But Dodds is concerned to place it ideologically in relation to the later works. At a key point in the debate, his comment broadens to include criticism of Plato’s later attitudes. He writes: ‘The statesman must have a “doctor’s mandate” . . . and must use it ruthlessly to restore the health of a sick society (such as that of Athens). We may see here the first indication of the authoritarian strain in Plato’s thinking which was to find fuller expression in the *Republic* and which grew on him with advancing years, culminating in the elaborate proposals of the *Laws* for “conditioning” the masses’” (Dodds p. 328).

This last reference is interesting because it seems to turn the criticism back at Plato. It is not just the unphilosophic rhetoricians or their ambitious disciples who may abuse the art of persuasion and mould the minds of the masses; the Guardians and their successors in the *Laws* will also be ‘conditioning’ the masses, and more systematically and thoroughly. But it is not just a case of Dodds endorsing the Plato of the *Gorgias* and criticizing the later Plato; even his reading of the *Gorgias* detects some seeds of potential perversion of the author’s intellectual gifts (*corruptio optimi pessima*).

Todd, in the article I have already mentioned, suggests that Dodds was in the end disappointed in what he had managed to achieve in the *Gorgias* edition, partly no doubt because of the immense expenditure of rather unproductive labour on the text, but partly because the form of the commentary obscured the real issues. In Todd’s own words, the edition is ‘a conventional treatment of this dialogue, aimed at audiences interested in close study of the text. Dodds himself regretted this outcome. He felt he had lost sight of an earlier goal, formulated at a time of political turmoil on the eve of World War II, of using the *Gorgias* to bring out “both the resemblance and the difference between Plato’s situation and that of the intellectual today”.’

²⁹ For criticisms of this presentation of Callicles as Plato’s mirror-universe double, see Rutherford 1995, 161, following Guthrie 1969 106–7, 1975, 296. More recently, Beversluis 2000 has examined Plato’s negatively characterized speakers, and Blondell 2002 has emphasized even more strongly the dramatic quality of Plato’s dialogues; the strengths and weaknesses of the latter approach are well brought out in R. Kraut’s review of Blondell (*BMCR* 2002.12.02).

Of course, all of us feel regrets about what our books could have been, should have been, but are not. But if Dodds did indeed feel such disillusionment, I suggest he was mistaken to do so. Had he written more in the manner of a tract for our times, it would perhaps have ended up looking rather too much like the closing pages of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, the chapter on the fear of freedom, which most readers now see as both dated and misconceived.³⁰ What Dodds did achieve is a book which opens up one of Plato's finest early dialogues on all levels, helps us appreciate its language, historical roots and intellectual context, and makes us realize the issues matter; he does this not by using second-hand social psychology but by the clarity and intelligence with which these issues are presented and the ways in which he brings the argument alive through illumination of the detail.

I want to conclude with some more general comments on two topics that go beyond the *Gorgias*: Dodds's view of Plato, and his attitude to rhetoric. This final section will be more speculative, but a broader perspective will, I hope, put this particular work of Dodds's in context.

It is of course impossible to have a simple view of Plato, because of the sheer range and diversity of his writings. His works can be categorized in various ways; the tetralogies in which they are ordered in modern editions represent one such arrangement, originating in ancient scholarship. In discussing Dodds's work on Plato, it will be more useful to distinguish Plato on the cosmos and Plato on society. His earliest publications, dating from the years in Birmingham, were concerned with the study of Neoplatonic thought, particularly the thought of Plotinus and Proclus. This involved close study of some of the most difficult of the dialogues, especially the *Parmenides*, which figured in one of his most influential early articles, and the *Timaeus*. Insofar as the more familiar dialogues of the early and middle period figured, it was mainly with regard to the soul's ascent and approach to divinity, as described by Diotima in the *Symposium*. These aspects of the Platonic legacy were also those of most interest to two men whose impact on Dodds in his early career was significant: the poet Yeats and Stephen Mackenna, the translator of Plotinus (*MP* 56–64). The features of Platonism that the Neoplatonists most valued are outlined by Dodds with incomparable lucidity in the introduction to his *Select passages illustrating Neoplatonism*, probably his least well-known work today. There he writes that Plotinus 'was a mystic without ceasing to be a rationalist; and in Plato he

³⁰ See Parker's comments in this volume.

found the supreme example of this rare but by no means self-contradictory temperament.³¹ His interest here is in the intellectual system created by later thinkers on the basis of the *Timaeus* and other works. The characteristic Doddsian note of approval for rational theorizing and disapproval of dogma, magic, or ritual can be found here, as later in his 1960 paper on Plotinus; but the aspect of Plato that concerned him at this stage in his work was the intellectual mystic, the philosopher of religion, not the social reformer.³²

The *Gorgias*, like the *Republic* and the *Laws*, shows a very different side to Plato and called forth a different response from Dodds. It is not just that he began work on it twenty years later and completed it only on the verge of retirement. Nor is the difference merely the result of the fact that he was here engaging directly with Plato rather than with his Neoplatonist heirs. When Dodds was writing about the *Gorgias* he had of necessity to deal with Plato as a critic of human politics and society, and he kept in view the author's development, foreshadowed in this work, into a reformer and a legislator who laid down the principles on which society must be based and the means by which morals and correct beliefs must be imposed upon mankind. Whereas Dodds was evidently fascinated by the Platonic vision of the divine and the ways in which it was enlarged and systematized by Proclus and others, he seems much more uneasy with the author's political and moral outlook. He deploys (more than once) the antithesis formulated by Arthur Koestler, that of 'the Yogi and the Commissar': the former represents a visionary believing in the moral and intellectual capacity of man to be converted to truth and virtue, while the latter accepts the impossibility of educating the vast majority of mankind, and consequently sees the necessity of compelling them to follow the right path and even forcing them to hold the right beliefs. ('The "Yogi" ... did not wholly vanish even now [sc. in Plato's later period], but he certainly retreated before the "Commissar" whose problem is the conditioning of human cattle.')³³ The *Gorgias* is an early enough work for the shadow of the later Plato to fall only lightly upon it, but I have suggested above that Dodds was particularly conscious of the dangers arising from a determination to shape society according to ideological principles, and acutely alert to what he saw as signs of things to come.

If we turn to consideration of Dodds's attitude to rhetoric, we should first address a well-known ambiguity, relevant both to the commentator and to

³¹ Dodds 1923b, 13–14. The whole passage deserves careful reading.

³² For a recent discussion of Dodds's view of the later Platonists, see Hankey 2007.

³³ Dodds 1951a, 216; 1945a, 20 = 1973a, 114.

the philosopher he studies: is 'rhetoric' to be understood as embracing the art of persuasion, including the art of reasoned exposition and argument, so that it can potentially include any form of human discourse? Or is it to be limited in scope, used in effect as a pejorative term, denoting a more dubious or even corrupt form of communication? Definition of rhetoric is of course one of the issues debated in the *Gorgias* itself. Plato makes Socrates draw analogies between cookery and rhetoric: both are forms of *kolakeia*, flattery or pandering to debased desires in a gullible audience (esp. 462e–6a). Politicians in Athens are like sweetmakers appealing to human greed and appetites. Later in the dialogue, Socrates imagines a superior form of statesman, one who will resemble a doctor, and who will impose order on the patient's body in order to restore it to health (503d sq.). The true statesman will give the people what they need, not what they fancy (517a–18c); he will combat the people's desires rather than pandering to them. We may comment that it is hard to see how the statesman can do so without using words, that is by persuasive rhetoric. Socrates would clearly reply that the true statesman will be using words backed up by knowledge and expertise; unlike the sweetmaker but like the doctor, he will be master of an art. But Socrates does not go so far as to say that the statesman will make use of a purified or superior rhetoric (though he goes further in that direction in the *Phaedrus*): the antagonism in the dialogue towards all the arts of rhetoric is too great to allow that concession to be made explicit.

It seems that this antagonism is one which Dodds himself shares. Introducing the topic in the early pages of his edition, he remarks that 'To the average modern Englishman "rhetoric" means a distastefully emotional or showy way of talking' (p. 4), and despite the qualifications which follow, one is left with the strong impression that this particular modern Irishman is not so different. Certainly his criticism of Gorgias's verbal magic does not alter that view: '[His extant writings] make the impression of a dazzling insincerity . . . They are the work of an indefatigable stylist . . . caring passionately about its form, but . . . very much less about its relationship to the truth' (p. 8). As Dodds admits by citing a passage from the *Phaedrus*, this is to accept Plato's own judgement. Despite the attractiveness of his own expository style, Dodds seems in general less than sympathetic to the arts of rhetoric. His grateful reference to the undergraduate lectures of A.B. Poynton on Cicero's speeches is suggestive: 'by translating and explaining a judicious selection of difficult "spot" passages he spared us the intolerable tedium of reading the orations themselves' (*MP* 28). If we are tempted to dismiss this as a Hellenist's prejudice, we may recall Robert Parker's

observation that ‘even in such a great book as Dodds (1951a) ... the orators are little regarded’—that is, Dodds failed to make use of their works to illuminate the subject of religion and belief in Athenian society.³⁴ Again, in commenting on Euripides, he remarks that a profound paradox such as ‘cleverness is not wisdom’ (*Ba.* 395) ‘should be distinguished from purely verbal witticisms of the kind represented by the Aristophanic ‘though not within he is within’.³⁵

Donald Russell, in his memoir of Dodds, comments that ‘he does seem to have had a horror of the frivolous and a suspicion of verbal point and sophistication ...’.³⁶ This point can be extended to his hostility to rhetoric in the sense of the arousal of irrational or emotional reactions in the listener. Rhetoric, even in the hands of a good man, is something of a loaded gun. Dodds’s attitude to Socrates in this dialogue might be judged ambivalent. In the introduction, there is perhaps a hint of criticism in the description of his heightened tone at the close: ‘the transformation is complete: he speaks in the ringing tones of the prophet and preacher summoning men to a new life ...’ (p. 17); but in the end, he lays more stress on the strength of Socrates’ commitment: ‘it is Callicles, not Socrates, who is truly in mortal peril. And the entreaty which follows is couched in a tone of the deepest moral earnestness’ (p. 384).

Earnestness, indeed, seems to be fundamental to Dodds’s taste and temper. As Russell remarks, he avoided writing about comedy or Hellenistic poetry; he was happier expounding the *Gorgias*, ‘where the message is impassioned and the humour destructive’, but less at ease with the ironies and shifting tones of the *Phaedrus*. One might add that in referring to the *Protagoras* he evidently endorsed the view that Socrates seriously upholds the doctrine which he presents towards the end of that dialogue, often referred to as the hedonic calculus.³⁷ That is, he did not accept the interpretation which sees Socrates as ironically spinning an argument which he does not endorse. Dodds preferred earnestness to irony.³⁸

³⁴ Parker 1997, 144 n. 5.

³⁵ Dodds 1944, 155 = 1960a, 121. Todd 2000, reviewing the reprint of Dodds’s autobiography, has remarked that its language is ‘simple and unrhethorical, and the tone unsentimental’. One might contrast the more flamboyant autobiographies of men like A.J. Ayer or A.J.P. Taylor.

³⁶ Russell 1981, 369.

³⁷ Dodds 1951a, 184–5, esp. at n. 32.

³⁸ Note also the often-quoted comment (on *Bacchae* 263) that ‘Chorus-leaders do not indulge in irony’ (Dodds 1960a, 102). Dodds is probably right on this point; it is much less certain that he is right on 804 in thinking that Dionysus is making a genuine offer to Pentheus at that point. Here too he prefers straightforwardness to devious game-playing.

Perhaps indeed these comments suggest a tendency in his work as a whole. Just as the *Gorgias* is seen as the vehicle of Plato's own opinions, deeply rooted in his biographical experience and disillusionment, so too the dramatists are seen as to some degree didactic writers.³⁹ For all his awareness that literary works are complex and do not 'prove' propositions,⁴⁰ he does sometimes slip into the assumption that poets are speaking to their audiences, communicating a 'message' of some sort. In the second stasimon of the *Oedipus Rex*, 'Sophocles took occasion to say to his fellow citizens something which he felt to be important.'⁴¹ Or again, after citing a well-known passage from the *Ajax*, he can say, 'So far as I can judge, on this matter Sophocles' deepest feelings did not change.'⁴² Similarly, Aeschylus offers 'an appeal to the radicals not to pursue a vindictive policy', and Euripides, even if not presenting a consistent picture, is at least presenting philosophic opinions through his characters: Dodds compares him with Shaw and Pirandello.⁴³ Fashions have changed nowadays: critics of all persuasions are determined to emphasize the gap not only between author and character but even between author and narrator. Even first-person assertions by the likes of Herodotus can be defused or distanced by the attribution of irony. In this climate the firmness of Dodds's convictions that his authors themselves held convictions which they were determined to communicate may serve as a provocation or even as a salutary challenge.⁴⁴ Perhaps in years to come the pendulum may swing once again; whether it does or not, Dodds's treatment of the *Gorgias* will continue to guide readers in forming their own judgements on Socrates, on his interlocutors, and on his creator.⁴⁵

³⁹ Dodds 1959a, 321, endorsing a remark by Ehrenberg.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Dodds 1973a, 74. ⁴¹ Dodds 1973a, 75.

⁴² Dodds 1973a, 77, on *Ajax* 124–6 and *OC* 607–15, 1211–49.

⁴³ Dodds 1973a, 51–2 (on *Eum.* 976–87); 79, 82 etc.

⁴⁴ The most important later contribution is Irwin 1979, a commentary on a close English translation of the text. While this work obviously engages less with linguistic and literary detail, it tackles the philosophic issues with greater determination than Dodds, and sometimes criticizes his treatment. For more recent work on the *Gorgias*, see e.g. Wardy 1996, Stauffer 2006, Erler and Brisson 2007, Tarnopolsky 2010.

⁴⁵ In this essay I draw on no personal knowledge of Dodds. He was still alive when I arrived as an undergraduate in Oxford in 1974, but long retired and reclusive. He was once pointed out to me when I was dining with friends at St Hugh's, on an evening when he was the guest of Dorothea Gray. *Vergilium vidi tantum*. I was however taught by scholars who knew and revered him, and his works, so rich and readable as well as learned, were inspiring to me as to many others.

I am grateful to Lindsay Judson and Donald Russell for comments on a draft of this essay, and also to the editors for their sound advice.

8

Dodds's Influence on Neoplatonic Studies

Anne Sheppard

Volume 93 of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, published in 1973, was a Festschrift for Dodds's eightieth birthday. It opens with two poems written in Dodds's honour: a set of stylish Greek elegiacs by Hugh Lloyd-Jones's and a poem in English by W.H. Auden entitled 'Nocturne'. Lloyd-Jones's listing in Greek verse of Dodds's achievements as a scholar begins with his work on Plotinus and Proclus:

οὗτος ὁ Πλωτίνιοιο βαθύφρονος, οὗτος ὁ Πρόκλου
δυσσεξέλικτ' αἰνίγματ' εἶ σαφηνίσας

(‘This is the man who well explained the riddles of deep-thinking Plotinus and of Proclus that are hard to unravel.’)

This may have surprised some of the readers of the Festschrift, who will have known of Dodds as the author of *The Greeks and the Irrational* and the editor of Euripides' *Bacchae* and Plato's *Gorgias*. Dodds's work on Neoplatonism is probably still less widely known than his other work but it has been fundamental to the development of Neoplatonic studies over the last one hundred years, as I hope to show in this chapter. It may be helpful to begin by outlining the state of Neoplatonic studies at the beginning of the twentieth century and contrasting it with the current position. When Dodds wrote to Gilbert Murray in December 1914 asking his advice about the possibility of taking a special subject in Greats on ‘the Gnostics or the neo-Platonists or both’,¹ there were no modern scholarly editions of either Plotinus or Proclus. The work of other important Neoplatonic figures such as Porphyry, Plotinus' pupil and editor, or Iamblichus, the key influence on Proclus and his school, was also little known and poorly understood.

¹ The text of this letter is reproduced in John Dillon's chapter, pp. 203–4. Cf. also Tom Walker's chapter, p. 214.

Plotinus himself was not taken seriously as a philosopher, being widely regarded as a mystic, and there was little awareness of different currents within Neoplatonism.²

Eduard Zeller's magisterial *History of Greek Philosophy*, first published in German in 1844–52, did include discussion of Plotinus and his successors and Thomas Whittaker had published a general study entitled *The Neo-Platonists: a study in the history of Hellenism* in 1901; the work came out in a second edition in 1918, with a supplement on the commentaries of Proclus. Dodds does not appear to have had any personal contact with Whittaker although *The Neo-Platonists* is mentioned in Dodds's *Select Passages illustrating Neoplatonism* and referred to several times in Dodds's edition of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*.³ In his autobiography, *Missing Persons*, Dodds describes how as an undergraduate he attended the class on Plotinus given by J.A. Stewart. (The only other student who stayed the course with 'an unexciting teacher' was a young American poet, who turned out to be none other than T.S. Eliot.⁴) There are also some interesting pages in *Missing Persons* about Stephen MacKenna, the eccentric Irishman who translated Plotinus into English and whom Dodds knew in Dublin.⁵

When he started serious scholarly work on Neoplatonism after his appointment as a lecturer in 1919 at what was then University College, Reading, Dodds consulted Dean Inge who had delivered his Gifford lectures on Plotinus at St Andrews in 1917–18.⁶ He also consulted A.E. Taylor who had read a paper on the philosophy of Proclus to the Aristotelian Society, the

² For a fuller treatment of this point, see Wallis 1995, 11–13 and 174–6.

³ For more on *Select Passages illustrating Neoplatonism*, see pp. 170–1; on the *Elements of Theology* edition, see pp. 174–7.

⁴ Dodds 1977, 40. It is interesting to compare Dodds's account of J.A. Stewart's class on Plotinus with the similar but more sympathetic account of Leon Roth quoted in G.R. Levy's introduction to the second edition of Stewart's well-known book, *The Myths of Plato*: '... the other class was on Plotinus and was a very different affair. It was held in J.A. Stewart's private house. There was no weighing of parallel passages and alternative readings, only a cameo-like head silhouetted against the window, and a voice speaking almost to itself about the eternal truths of the spiritual life as they were reflected, partially and inadequately, on the page before us... We started with four and then there were three, then two, then (alas) one. But *tres faciunt collegium*, and with Stewart talking I always felt we were not alone.' (Stewart 1960, 16–17) Roth was a couple of years younger than Dodds; according to T.E. Jessop's memoir of him in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* (Jessop 1963, 17) he went up to Oxford in 1915 but did not graduate until 1920, having interrupted his studies to serve in the army during the First World War. He later became the first Professor of Philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He is likely to have attended Stewart's class on Plotinus in 1919 or 1920.

⁵ See Dodds 1977, 62–4. For more about Dodds's relationship with MacKenna and the development of his interest in Plotinus, see John Dillon's chapter in this volume, pp. 202–9.

⁶ Inge's lectures were published in 1918 under the title *The Philosophy of Plotinus*. A second edition appeared in 1923 and a third edition in 1929.

leading Philosophy society in the UK, in July 1918, with Inge as respondent, and whose commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, published in 1928, makes considerable use of Proclus' commentary on that dialogue. Taylor's 1918 paper opens with a ringing statement of the philosophical importance of Neoplatonism:

We have seen in recent years a remarkable awakening of intelligent interest in the Neo-Platonist philosophy which our grandfathers and fathers were content to deride without understanding. We have learned that the Neo-Platonists were neither magicians nor emotionalist *schöne Seelen*, but systematic philosophers addressing themselves to the philosopher's task of understanding the world in which he lives as seriously as Aristotle or Descartes or Kant.⁷

However, the wording of Dodds's description in *Missing Persons* of his first visit to Taylor, 'an old man sitting by a fireless grate full of spent matches', suggests that despite this confident claim the study of Neoplatonism was still regarded as a minority interest in academic circles. A few lines earlier Dodds describes Neoplatonism as a 'then unexplored ocean'.⁸

It is tempting to speculate that Dodds's abiding interest in the elements in human experience that cannot easily be explained in rational terms was what drew him to the Neoplatonists.⁹ Yet in Plotinus and his successors, a readiness to acknowledge the power of the mystical and the irrational is joined with a capacity for hard-headed, analytical thinking. The challenge in understanding the Neoplatonists is to understand the remarkable way in which the mystical and the analytical are combined in their thought. In his scholarly work on Neoplatonism Dodds applied the rigorous methods of traditional classical scholarship to the elucidation of Neoplatonic texts and in his treatment of Plotinian mysticism he stressed that for Plotinus, as for Plato, any kind of spiritual experience of a transcendent world comes only after a great deal of study of mathematics and dialectic.¹⁰ One may wonder too whether the appeal of Neoplatonism to the young Dodds was not at least in part the appeal of the unfashionable and the little-studied; he would not be the first aspiring scholar to be attracted by working in a field where little

⁷ Taylor 1917–18, 600 (= Taylor 1934, 151).

⁸ Dodds 1977, 74–5.

⁹ Cf. the suggestion in Tom Walker's chapter, pp. 210–27, that Dodds's interest in Yeats, going back to 1911, contributed to 'his scholarly pursuit of the mystical in the Ancient world'.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 173 on the discussion of Plotinian mysticism in *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*.

work has been done. One hundred years on, things are very different: Neoplatonic texts are available in a range of critical editions and translations, commentaries are less common but are gradually appearing, and more scholarly articles and monographs appear year on year. The overall reasons for this upsurge of interest in Neoplatonism are too many, and too complex, to be discussed here. Nevertheless, if one considers the contributions made by individual scholars who have explored the ocean of Neoplatonism and lit the fire in A.E. Taylor's empty grate, one cannot but recognize the central importance of Dodds's work.

Lloyd-Jones's elegiacs described Dodds as 'explaining the riddles' of Plotinus and Proclus. He did so both by engaging in the traditional scholarly activities of editing, translating, and commenting on their texts and by writing in a more general way, for a wider audience, about their thought. However the significance of Dodds's work on Neoplatonism lies not only in his publications on Plotinus, Proclus, and other late antique thinkers but also in his network of contacts with European scholars in the field and in his influence on individuals who studied with him, or consulted him in his retirement, and went on to work on Neoplatonism themselves. That is why I have called this chapter 'Dodds's influence on Neoplatonic studies'. I shall start with the publications, dividing those, for convenience, into work on Plotinus and work on later Neoplatonism and then move on to the influence on pupils and others, including myself.

Plotinus

One of Dodds's first publications, in 1923, was the short book mentioned earlier, *Select Passages illustrating Neoplatonism*, a selection of passages largely drawn from Plotinus, in English translation. A companion volume containing the Greek text of the passages appeared the following year. While the great majority of the passages are from Plotinus, there are half-a-dozen from Proclus, three from Porphyry, one from Iamblichus' *On the Mysteries*, and one from Sallustius, *On the Gods and the World*.¹¹ It is clear from the

¹¹ Sallustius, whose short work offers a summary of Neoplatonic thought, was the Emperor Julian's praetorian prefect. Gilbert Murray had drawn attention to this text in his *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, published in 1912. The revised version of that book, published in 1925 as *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, acknowledges comments from Dodds 'on points connected with Plotinus and Sallustius': see Murray 1925, 5 and 219, n. 1. A.D. Nock published the first critical edition of Sallustius' text in 1926.

selection that already in the 1920s, Dodds had read widely in authors who were at that time very little known to English-speaking classicists.

Dodds published a number of papers on Plotinus during his career. Several of them consisted of detailed notes on the text of particular passages, at a time when there was no complete modern critical edition of the text. Henry and Schwyzer, the editors of the major critical edition of Plotinus published in three volumes between 1951 and 1973 and also of the *editio minor*, published as an Oxford Classical Text between 1964 and 1982, list three such papers, together with five reviews which contain comments on textual matters, in the bibliography of the final volume of the major edition, adding that Dodds also corresponded with them about the text: 'Ad textum nonnulla litteris nobiscum communicavit.'¹² That final volume is dedicated to a triumvirate of A.H. Armstrong, Dodds, and Dodds's pupil B.S. Page. Similarly, the first volume of the *editio minor* acknowledges assistance from Dodds in explaining difficult passages of *Ennead* 3.7 in correspondence.¹³

Despite these major achievements in establishing the text of Plotinus, to which Dodds contributed quite extensively, there are still many passages of Plotinus where both the text and the meaning remain puzzling. I offer just one example to illustrate the abiding importance of Dodds's work on the text. The last sentence of *Ennead* 1.8, Plotinus' fullest treatment of the problem of evil, reads as follows in the original version of A.H. Armstrong's Loeb translation:

But because of the power and nature of good, evil is not only evil; since it must necessarily appear, it is bound in a sort of beautiful fetters, as some prisoners are in chains of gold, and hidden by them so that though it exists it may not be seen by the gods, and men may be able not always to look at evil, but when they do look at it, may be in company with images of beauty to remind them.¹⁴

The words 'so that though it exists it may not be seen by the gods' render the Greek *ἵνα οὐδα μὴ ὀρῶτο τοῖς θεοῖς* found in the manuscripts. Editors have been puzzled by this clause, since the participle *οὐδα* adds nothing to the sense and has nothing to agree with, and various emendations have been suggested. Dodds proposed to read *ἴν' ἄμουσα* for *ἵνα οὐδα* in view of the 'aesthetico-moral context' of the passage and the use of *ἄμουσος* by Plato to describe things that are morally ugly; on this reading *ἄμουσα* would be a

¹² Henry and Schwyzer 1973, xxiii.

¹³ Henry and Schwyzer 1964, xvi.

¹⁴ Armstrong 1966, 317.

neuter plural.¹⁵ His conjecture was included in the addenda to the third volume of Henry and Schwyzer's *editio maior* and accepted by Armstrong when he came to revise the first volume of his Loeb edition so that the translation there reads 'so that it may not appear in its charmlessness to the gods'. The conjecture was also accepted by the Greek scholar Paulos Kalligas in his edition published in 1994. But the matter is not settled: Dominic O'Meara in his French translation of the treatise argues for reading ἵνα <παρ>οὔσα, with ἡ ἕλη, 'matter', as the implied subject of the feminine participle, and translates 'pour que, présente, la matière ne soit pas vue des dieux'; in the English translation of his commentary published in 2014 Kalligas accepts O'Meara's conjecture rather than Dodds's.¹⁶ Whether Dodds's conjecture is correct, or O'Meara's, or whether the correct reading remains to be discovered, this example indicates the type of issue with which editors and translators of Plotinus have to grapple and the kind of contribution made by Dodds in this area.

Perhaps the best known of Dodds's papers on Plotinus is 'Tradition and personal achievement in the philosophy of Plotinus', published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* in 1960 and reprinted in the collection entitled *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Dodds 1973a). In just seven pages this paper, originally delivered at the Third International Congress of Classical Studies in 1959, surveys Plotinus' distinctive contribution to philosophy while setting it in the context of his debt to earlier philosophical tradition. Dodds emphasizes that despite Plotinus' presentation of his work as an interpretation of Plato his own concerns are philosophical rather than historical and accordingly, rather than becoming enmeshed in describing the details of Plotinus' metaphysical system, he focuses on some of the key principles underlying that system and what he regards as Plotinus' particular contributions to thought. Successive sections of the paper therefore discuss the way in which *πρόοδος* ('Outgoing' or 'Procession') and *ἐπιστροφή* ('Return') function in Plotinus' system, the vividness of Plotinus' descriptions of the intelligible world, and, finally, Plotinus' contributions to the analysis of the self. When this paper was written, Dodds had been working on Plotinus for many years. As in so much of his writing, great learning is lightly worn. Discussion of Plotinus' view of the self is kept until the end and Plotinus' belief in the possibility of mystical union is the very last topic

¹⁵ See Dodds 1965, 420.

¹⁶ See Henry and Schwyzer 1973, 357; Armstrong 1989, 317; Kalligas 1994, 149; O'Meara 1999, 86 n. 90; Kalligas 2014, 241 and 660.

discussed. Dodds writes: 'I have kept to the last this doctrine of mystical union, though it is the first which every one associates with the name of Plotinus; for I thought it better to illustrate his originality from examples which may be less familiar to the non-specialist.' He recognizes that Plotinus' belief was based on personal experience, noting that 'if the experience... confirmed the system, it is also likely that the system in turn influenced the interpretation of the experience' and is keen to argue that Plotinus' mysticism is 'subjected... to the discipline of Hellenic rationalism'.¹⁷ These are not the words of a scholar unambiguously sympathetic to mysticism and the irrational; reading them now it is easy to see them as still betraying some of the assumptions about the Greeks being 'terribly rational',¹⁸ which, paradoxically, Dodds's own work had led the way in undermining. The ambivalence of Dodds's attitude to the irrational will be evident from many of the chapters in this volume. Nevertheless, where Plotinus is concerned, much of Dodds's achievement lies in elucidating his philosophical thought, both by his work on the text and by broader discussion of the kind found in 'Tradition and personal achievement'. I suspect that Dodds kept discussion of mystical union to the end of that paper not only for the reason he gives but also because he wanted to his readers to take Plotinus seriously as a philosopher.

The way in which the mystical and the analytical come together in Plotinus' thought is very well presented by Dodds in the pages on Plotinus in *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, the publication resulting from his Wiles Lectures in 1962–3. In particular, chapter III of that book offers an excellent discussion of Plotinian mysticism, emphasizing both the intellectualism of Plotinus' approach and its background in earlier Platonism. As in the paper on 'Tradition and Personal Achievement', Dodds notes drily that 'Plotinus would not have agreed with Aldous Huxley that "the habit of analytical thought is fatal to the intuitions of integral thinking"' and goes on to state firmly that for Plotinus 'mystical union is not a substitute for intellectual effort but its crown and goal'.¹⁹ One of the distinctive features of this book is the putting together of pagan and Christian thought, in a way that is still not done often enough. Dodds, by his own admission, lacked sympathy with the Church Fathers, and his treatment of them

¹⁷ Dodds 1960b, 6–7 (= Dodds 1973a, 137–8).

¹⁸ See the story about the young man looking at the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum with which *The Greeks and the Irrational* begins: Dodds 1951a, 1.

¹⁹ Dodds 1968, 87. Cf. also the final paragraph of Dodds 1960b, 7 (= Dodds 1973a, 138).

in the book is open to criticism.²⁰ In describing Plotinus' mysticism as 'distinctively Hellenic',²¹ he seems to repeat the defence of pagan Greek thought as ultimately rational which we have already seen in 'Tradition and Personal Achievement'. Yet at the same time, he sets this intellectual, Platonist form of mysticism in a wider context, comparing Plotinus' interpretation of his experience with that of the Indian mystics and including some important remarks on Gregory of Nyssa's debt to Plotinus. What I have called 'the ambivalence of Dodds's attitude to the irrational' is manifested in this discussion of Plotinus' mysticism as a creative tension which gave him a deep and sympathetic understanding of his subject.

Later Neoplatonism

Important as is Dodds's work on Plotinus, his influence has arguably been even greater on the growing body of work since the 1960s on later, post-Plotinian Neoplatonism. Dodds's edition of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*, first published in 1933 but reissued in a second edition in 1963, was the first modern critical edition, with English translation and commentary, of this work in which Proclus set out the fundamental propositions of his metaphysics and presented arguments for them in a clear and logical manner. Proclus was writing towards the end of a long tradition, influenced not only by Plotinus but also, crucially, by Iamblichus, much of whose work is lost, or known only through references in later commentators on Plato and Aristotle, including Proclus' own voluminous commentaries on Plato. Dodds's commentary on the *Elements of Theology* relates Proclus' text to the preceding Greek philosophical tradition, to Proclus' other works, and to the work of some of the Neoplatonists who succeeded him such as Damascius and Olympiodorus, with an extraordinary degree of learning, especially given the lack of modern editions of many Neoplatonist texts at the time at which he was writing. Overall the edition combines all the textual critical skills of the classical scholar with Dodds's grasp of the complex philosophical background to Proclus' work. The introduction includes not only discussion of the character and purpose of the *Elements of Theology*, its place in Proclus' work, and Proclus' relation to his predecessors but also a

²⁰ For further discussion of *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, see Morgan's chapter in this volume, especially p. 185 on Dodds and the Church Fathers.

²¹ Dodds 1968, 86.

survey of the influence of Proclus with glimpses of the important influence of Proclus' work within the Arabic tradition and in the medieval West as well as mention of translations into Syriac, Georgian, and Armenian. The edition remains a key work of reference for anyone working on Proclus.

The *Elements of Theology* is a work of systematization by a philosopher who spent his life teaching and commenting on the texts of the Platonist tradition. Although Dodds devoted a great deal of time and energy to producing his edition, he sometimes gives the impression of not liking Proclus very much. His description of the fifth century AD, the time at which Proclus was writing, as 'the last age of Graeco-Roman decadence' reflects the scholarly prejudices of Dodds's own time,²² while his important discussion of the divine henads with which Proclus identified the traditional Greek gods concludes with a memorable sentence contrasting the dry, academic approach of the philosopher Proclus with the immediacy of Homeric poetry: 'That Homer's Olympians, the most vividly conceived anthropomorphic beings in all literature, should have ended their career on the dusty shelves of this museum of metaphysical abstractions is one of time's strangest ironies.'²³

At the very beginning of his commentary on the *Elements* Dodds mentions that the ultimate source of the Neoplatonic view that pure unity is the underlying determinant of the universe is the 'first hypothesis' of Plato's *Parmenides*, 137Cff.²⁴ In a footnote he refers to the article he published in *Classical Quarterly* 1928 on this topic, entitled 'The *Parmenides* of Plato and the origin of the Neoplatonic One'. This is the article whose origins are modestly and entertainingly described in *Missing Persons* as follows:

Early in my career as a professor [at Birmingham] I was invited to read a paper to the Oxford Philological Society. Gratified, but also extremely alarmed, I felt I must present something worthy of the occasion. After spending an industrious month in the British Museum I produced a new theory about the origin of the neo-Platonic concept of the One.²⁵

Dodds goes on to describe how the initial audience for the paper of 'two persons in attitudes of deep depression' increased to six or eight after the Chairman had disappeared for a while, presumably to 'telephone for reinforcements'. There

²² See Dodds 1963, ix, and cf. Morgan's remarks on p. 185 of this volume about Dodds's acceptance of a Gibbonian 'decline and fall' narrative of the Roman Empire.

²³ Dodds, 1963, 260.

²⁴ Dodds 1963, 188.

²⁵ Dodds 1977, 92.

were apparently no questions after the talk, and Dodds remarks that ‘There are no omnivorous audiences, even in Oxford’. The next paragraph of *Missing Persons* begins with the question ‘Are learned lectures worthwhile?’ What Dodds does *not* say—and could well have said by the time he was writing his autobiography—is that this paper transformed scholarly understanding of the Neoplatonist doctrine of the One. I mention it now, rather than in the previous section of this chapter, on Plotinus, because the paper has been particularly influential in leading subsequent scholars to realize that disputes among Plotinus’ successors about the details of the Neoplatonic metaphysical system were regularly expressed as disputes over the interpretation of the hypotheses of Plato’s *Parmenides*. Those disputes are recounted in Proclus’ commentary on the *Parmenides* and reveal clearly how for the later Neoplatonists, exegesis of Plato went hand in hand with the elaboration of their own philosophical views. Dodds’s conclusions were taken up and elaborated in work by, among others, A.H. Armstrong, H-R. Schwyzer, John Rist, and Philip Merlan.²⁶ The consequences of those conclusions have been fully explored in Saffrey and Westerink’s introduction to the first volume of their edition of Proclus’ *Platonic Theology*.²⁷ The extent to which Dodds’s view is now taken for granted can be seen in the way in which a recent discussion of the negative theology of Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, an author heavily influenced by Proclus, declares that ‘The argument that even the negative proofs about God must be transcended has its root in Platonic discussions of the negative propositions on the One’.²⁸

I said earlier that the Neoplatonists offer a remarkable combination of the mystical and the analytical. That combination becomes even more remarkable from the time of Iamblichus (245–325 AD) onwards. It was Iamblichus who welcomed theurgy—a kind of religious magic—into Neoplatonism whereas Plotinus and Porphyry had both been more cautious in their approach. Iamblichus’ main surviving work, *On the Mysteries*, is a defence of theurgy. Here too, as in other areas of Neoplatonic scholarship, work by Dodds is the starting-point for modern discussion. The second appendix to *The Greeks and the Irrational* reprints a paper on theurgy originally published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* in 1947. Dodds there teases out as much information as he can on what the practice of theurgy involved

²⁶ See Armstrong 1940, 14–28, 34, 71–3; Schwyzer 1951, 553–4; Rist 1962; Merlan 1967, 91–4.

²⁷ Saffrey and Westerink 1968, lxxv–lxxxix.

²⁸ Wear and Dillon 2007, 121.

(something on which the Neoplatonists are not as informative as one might wish) and distinguishes sharply between the attitudes to theurgy of Plotinus and Porphyry on the one hand and Iamblichus on the other in a way that has gone largely unquestioned ever since. As elsewhere in his work, Dodds upholds Plotinus as a rational thinker for whom mystical union is to be attained 'by an inward discipline of the mind' and contrasts Plotinus' approach with later Neoplatonism, describing the latter as 'a retrogression to the spineless syncretism from which he [i.e. Plotinus] had tried to escape'.²⁹ This colourful language exaggerates the difference between Plotinus and his successors but it should be remembered that Dodds was writing at a time when later Neoplatonism had been little studied by other scholars. The analogy Dodds drew between the type of divine possession experienced by the theurgist and the spiritualist phenomena of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, phenomena which he had encountered in his forays into psychical research, has been criticized as misleading,³⁰ and more recent scholarship has questioned his harsh criticism of Iamblichus and his description of *On the Mysteries* as 'a manifesto of irrationalism'.³¹ Since Dodds's paper on theurgy was written we have learned a great deal more about Iamblichus' wider philosophical work and the importance of his contribution to commentary on Plato, thanks to John Dillon, Carlos Steel, Dominic O'Meara, and others,³² and more generally views about what is 'rational' and what is 'irrational' have also undergone some change. Yet all of that is in part due to Dodds's own work and the paper remains fundamental reading for anyone interested in the topic.

Networks and pupils

Scholarly influence is not just about publications. His work on Neoplatonism brought Dodds into contact with a number of scholars from continental Europe including Richard Harder, Willy Theiler, Paul Henry, Pierre Hadot, and A-J. Festugière. The first four of these were, like Dodds, contributors to a volume entitled *Les sources de Plotin* which arose out of one of the Entretiens held at the Fondation Hardt. Dodds's contribution to this

²⁹ Dodds 1947, 58.

³⁰ See Shaw 1995, 87. For Dodds's interest in psychical research, see Dodds 1977, ch. XI and Nick Lowe's chapter in this volume, pp. 88–115.

³¹ See, for example, Clarke 2001, 1–3.

³² See Larsen 1972, Dillon 1973, Steel 1978, O'Meara 1989.

collection was an important paper on Numenius and Ammonius Saccas (Dodds 1960c). Plotinus was accused in antiquity of copying the ideas of Numenius, and many scholars have also assumed that he was strongly influenced by Ammonius with whom he studied for eleven years.³³ Since the publication of that paper, the fragments of Numenius have been edited in the Budé series and scholars have continued to puzzle over the relationship between his ideas and those of Plotinus.³⁴ Tantalizingly little is known for certain about Ammonius. The section of Dodds's paper that deals with him begins with a characteristically cautious and epigrammatic remark: 'I... should have found virtually nothing to say about him, were it not that other scholars have found a great deal.'³⁵ Since 1960, other scholars have continued to find a great deal to say about Ammonius and a recent book by Elizabeth DePalma Digeser argues for an 'Ammonian community' that included both Christians and pagans.³⁶ Nevertheless, Dodds's comment has not lost its force, and may usefully remind us how little we really know about Plotinus' teacher.

It was, I believe, Dodds's friendship with Festugière that led to a younger Dominican scholar, H.D. Saffrey, coming to Oxford in 1954 to do a DPhil with Dodds on Book II of Proclus' *Platonic Theology*. This DPhil thesis was the germ of the subsequent edition in the Budé series of all six books of the *Platonic Theology* by Saffrey and the Dutch scholar L.G. Westerink.³⁷ The *Platonic Theology* is a major work by Proclus, which once again makes very clear how for Proclus philosophy and exegesis go hand in hand. It had not been edited in full since the *editio princeps* of 1618. Saffrey and Westerink's edition appeared between 1968 and 1997, the last volume after the death of Westerink, but its origins lie in Saffrey's study with Dodds at the beginning of his career.

Saffrey is not the only pupil of Dodds to have played a key role in Neoplatonic studies. In Birmingham Dodds taught B.S. Page who collaborated with Stephen MacKenna on the last volume of his translation of Plotinus and was responsible for the revised edition of that translation published in 1956. Page's prefaces to the revised edition and to the subsequent third and fourth editions acknowledge his debt to Dodds's help and

³³ See Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* chs. 3 and 17.

³⁴ See des Places 1973 and the bibliography in Goulet 2005, 725–6.

³⁵ Dodds 1960a, 24.

³⁶ Digeser 2012. The footnotes to Ch. 1 contain references to other recent scholarship on Ammonius.

³⁷ See the preface to Saffrey and Westerink 1974.

advice. The acknowledgement is fullest in the final, fourth edition: 'My debt to Prof. Dodds for the inspiration of his teaching and for his unfailing encouragement remains paramount.'³⁸ Dodds also taught R.E. Witt, the author of an important monograph on the Middle Platonist author of the *Didascalicus*, then known as Albinus but more recently identified with Alcinoüs. The last few pages of Witt's monograph compare the kind of Platonism found in the *Didascalicus* unfavourably with the thought of Plotinus while the preface acknowledges that Witt owed his first acquaintance with Plotinus to Dodds.³⁹

It was Dodds who recommended A.H. Armstrong to the Loeb Classical Library as a suitable editor and translator for the seven-volume Loeb edition of Plotinus.⁴⁰ In the introduction to his classic study, *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus*, first published in 1940, early in his academic career, Armstrong mentions Dodds, along with F.M. Cornford, as someone from whom he had received 'much most valued help and encouragement' while in a much later paper on 'Elements in the thought of Plotinus at variance with classical intellectualism', first published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1973, the volume in honour of Dodds's eightieth birthday, he acknowledges his debt to Dodds's paper on 'Tradition and personal achievement in the philosophy of Plotinus'.⁴¹

Even after his retirement, Dodds continued to be willing to advise young scholars starting work on Neoplatonism, albeit with an appearance of reluctance. At this point I should say a little about my own contacts with Dodds, since they have some relevance to the wider theme of this chapter. In 1973, I embarked on an Oxford DPhil supervised by Donald Russell. Because I was interested in ancient philosophers' views of literature, Donald suggested that I write a thesis on Proclus' defence of Homer and poetry against Plato in the fifth and sixth essays of his commentary on the *Republic*. Proclus defends Homer by offering elaborate allegorical interpretations of many of the passages criticized by Plato and by putting forward a theory of inspired, symbolic poetry. In order to understand his text I had to study not only Neoplatonic metaphysics but also the tradition of allegorical

³⁸ See MacKenna 1956, xviii, MacKenna 1962, xix, MacKenna 1969, xx.

³⁹ See Witt 1937, 134–44 and x and cf. also Griffiths 1980, Todd 2008, 140–1. Dodds was still in touch with Witt many years later, corresponding with him about emendations to the *Didascalicus*: see Cartlidge forthcoming. On the authorship of the *Didascalicus*, see Whittaker 1990, vii–xiii, Dillon 1993, ix–xiii.

⁴⁰ See Bregman 2004, Dillon 2004.

⁴¹ See Armstrong 1940, ix and Armstrong 1973, 13–14.

interpretation and I found myself developing an interest in the use of allegory and symbolism in literature and art. Donald Russell put me in touch with Dodds who kindly invited me to tea at his house at Old Marston. Dodds informed me that he was no longer really very interested in Proclus, but then proceeded to suggest an emendation to a passage of the Greek text of 'my' part of the commentary on the *Republic*, lent me a copy of Louis MacNeice's book, *Varieties of Parable*, which is one of the most elegant and stimulating discussions of allegory in literature that I have encountered, and showed me a picture on his wall by MacNeice's daughter, Corinna, of some people making their way up a hill. 'It's an allegorical picture,' he said. 'What do you think it represents?' I do not remember what I said in reply—I think something about the effort of going up the hill, and perhaps that the people might be on some kind of quest. I realize now that everything about that encounter was entirely characteristic of Dodds's work on Neoplatonism: the application of the critical acumen of the trained classicist to a difficult text combined with an appreciation of the wider perspectives which study of such a text might open up.

During my time as a research student, I was fortunate enough to win a Derby scholarship which required me to go and study abroad for at least three months. I went to Paris, which at the time was the main place in continental Europe where work on later Neoplatonism was going on. It was Colin Macleod who suggested that I should go and talk to Pierre Hadot but, if I remember correctly, it was Dodds who wrote to Hadot about me, and certainly Dodds who wrote to Saffrey. I am sure that it was because those letters came from Dodds that I was warmly welcomed in Paris and given the opportunity to attend research seminars and discuss my work with Hadot, Saffrey, and others, and even to meet a very elderly Festugière. Those three months in Paris led in due course to invitations to conferences and to a range of contacts with European scholars from which I have continued to benefit ever since. My own experience may serve, therefore, as an illustration of the kind of influence that a scholar like Dodds can have through networks with other scholars and contact with younger researchers.

The Neoplatonists of late antiquity were very conscious of their debts to their predecessors. From our perspective, their constant deferral to authority and lack of interest in claiming originality can seem quite strange. The label 'Neoplatonist' is a modern one; they thought they were simply 'Platonists'. Proclus in particular regularly attributed most of his ideas to his teacher, Syrianus, and was described as 'the successor', *διάδοχος*, claiming that his position as the head of a revived Platonic Academy in Athens put him in a

line of succession from Plato. The Academy headed by Syrianus and Proclus is no more and, however aware we may be of what we owe to our teachers, we no longer claim authority for our views by declaring that they are not really ours but derive from an earlier period. On the contrary, we like to claim novelty, originality, and independence of thought. Yet when we start delving into the history of scholarship, we can perceive connections and influences not only between teachers, pupils, and the pupils of those pupils but also between friends and colleagues at local, national, and international levels. Dodds's influence on subsequent Neoplatonic studies has been so profound and extensive as to put greatly in his debt all those who might in any way regard themselves as belonging, even if indirectly, to some kind of line of succession.

9

Pagans and Christians

Fifty Years of Anxiety

Teresa Morgan

Introduction: 1963

1963 was a memorable one: a year of global crisis and change, in politics, war, and popular culture. In the relatively peaceful world of classical scholarship, 1963 is remembered not (only) for the assassination of President Kennedy, Martin Luther King's dream, or the Profumo affair; not even for the beginning of sex, Beatlemania, or *Dr Who*; but for the delivery, by Professor E.R. Dodds, of the Wiles Lectures at the University of Belfast. Published in 1965 as *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, Dodds's lectures mark a pivotal moment in the modern study of late antiquity.¹

Since the rise of research specialisms in the research university, few classicists, unless they had become patrologists, had taken much interest in the history of Christianity. Exceptions included Arthur Darby Nock, who had been writing about early Christianity since the late 1920s, Charles Cochrane, who published *Christianity and Classical Culture* in 1940, A.H.M. Jones (*Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, 1948), Werner Jaeger (*Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, 1961), and Arnaldo Momigliano (*The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, 1963). More surprisingly, perhaps, few patrologists (all of whom, at least if brought up in Europe, had received a classical education) had written on the world to which their sources belonged. Adolf von Harnack had pioneered the study of the expansion of Christianity in the Roman world in a series of studies from the 1870s on, but few had followed him.² Closer in age to Dodds, W.H.C. Frend had published his social history

¹ On the term 'late antiquity', which originated in German scholarship of the early twentieth century and was popularized in English especially by Brown 1971; see e.g. Giardana 1999.

² Cf. Dölger 1929, Giordani 1944.

of Donatism in 1952, while Henri-Irénée Marrou and Henry Chadwick had written on the interaction of early Christianity and classical culture (highlighting, in the process, the importance of sub-literary and documentary sources for the study of ancient cultural history).³ Nock's friend and interlocutor C.H. Dodd was unusual among New Testament scholars at the time in taking an interest in the intellectual world of the first Christians. The Oxford International Patristics Conference had been started in 1951 by F.L. Cross, and from the beginning attracted a few inter-disciplinary papers. But on the whole, in 1963, there had been remarkably little recent interaction between classics and patristics. The explosion of cross-disciplinary interest which has made the study of late antiquity so productive in recent years was still a gleam in the eye of the next generation.

One thing classics and patristics had (and still largely have) in common was that neither had been noticeably affected by the growing field of the phenomenology of religion: the study of religion, paying particular attention to insiders' own understanding of it, which originated in the mid-nineteenth century and was made famous in the Anglophone world by William James's *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). In patristics, this omission was less obvious because early Christianity had always been studied by Christian insiders and there was a long tradition of interest in Christian spirituality. It is more notable, in retrospect, that the study of Greek and Roman religions, which owed so much to the anthropology of religion, had taken no significant interest in phenomenology.

In *Pagan and Christian*, Dodds cites as one of his starting points on the classical side a comment by Martin Nilsson in *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, that the spiritual soil of the late antique syncretism between Greek religion and Christianity had not been enough discussed, but that there was plenty of material for a study of late antique spirituality along the lines of *The Varieties of Religious Experience*.⁴ Dodds would have been hard pressed, at the time, to find any similar observation in another author. *Pagan and Christian* also cites Nock, to whose memory Dodds dedicates the book, and André-Jean Festugière as precursors in his field.⁵ In fact, Nock's interest in early Christianity, and in religion in general, was substantially 'outsider' in approach. Though *Conversion*, for example, is famous for its analysis of Lucius' experience of Isis, most of that book (like his study of early gentile Christianity and his biography of Paul of Tarsus) is more interested in the

³ E.g. Marrou 1948, 1955, Chadwick 1959; cf. Jaeger 1961.

⁴ 1965, 1–2.

⁵ E.g. pp. 3, 22.

evolution of religion as an expression of social change and contributor to it than in participants' own understanding of their religious experiences. Festugière's aim in *Personal Religion Among the Greeks* was closer in spirit to that of Dodds in *Pagan and Christian*, and is the closest precursor in classical scholarship to Dodds's book.

It is significant that Festugière, like many of the pioneers in this field, was personally religious.⁶ He does not find it difficult to see, in the remains of Greek religions, evidence of sincere individual piety or (as he sometimes calls it) faith, as well as of the civic religion of collectives. It seems to have been Festugière's own faith that inspired his interest in Greek personal religion: at any rate, his definition of personal religion at the start of the book is his own, he sometimes draws parallels, for instance, between popular Christian and ancient Greek piety, and, apart from one reference to Nilsson's *Greek Popular Religion* (p. 8), he does not mention any other scholar as informing his approach. Dodds's interests arose from a very different religious background, and, though encouraged by Festugière's work, developed in a significantly different direction.

It is worth mentioning one other figure in the background as Dodds worked on *Pagan and Christian*: his contemporary, the great scholar of Hellenistic Judaism Erwin Goodenough, who, together with Jones and Momigliano, is thanked in Dodds's preface.⁷ Goodenough had already published extensively on both Judaism and early Christianity, including on the mysticism of Philo of Alexandria, and was about to publish (in 1965) *The Psychology of Religious Experiences*. Goodenough's interest in religious experience in general and parallels between Christian and Jewish experiences in particular surely encouraged Dodds as he set Greek and Christian experiences side by side.

Into this landscape Dodds's lectures and book burst dramatically, generating instant admiration and wide discussion in both classics and patristics, and significantly influencing the study of late antique Greek religion, early Christian history, and the later Roman Empire as a whole.

Dodds had retired in 1960. In *Missing Persons*, he says that he accepted the invitation to give the Wiles Lectures, and a year later the Eitrem Lectures at the University of Oslo, partly because he missed teaching, which he had always found a stimulus to research.⁸ He had lectured on Greek religion at Oxford since 1948,⁹ while his interest in Neoplatonism went back to the

⁶ He was a Dominican friar. ⁷ 1965, ix. ⁸ 1977, 188.

⁹ I am grateful to Richard Rutherford for excavating the history of Dodds's lectures.

beginning of his career and had dominated his early research. In other directions, the roots of *Pagan and Christian* went deeper still. Dodds had first read William James and Sigmund Freud, both of whom loom large over the book, as an undergraduate, in connection with his interest in psychical research.¹⁰ The Church Fathers, in contrast, had not been a longstanding interest, and it shows. Dodds says himself that *Pagan and Christian* would have been a better book if he had known the Fathers better, but 'I did not like [them], though I tried to; my whole being revolted against their arrogant self-assurance'.¹¹ It cannot have helped Dodds's appreciation of these writers that he was not only an agnostic, but an Ulster Protestant agnostic, while (outside Germany, at least) the Church Fathers had been, since their rediscovery in the early nineteenth century, mainly the preserve of Catholics and Anglo-Catholics.¹² This lack of sympathy, however, which does less than justice to the fears and uncertainties of patristic writers, the exploratory nature of their thinking, their intellectual subtlety, and their sensitivity to their social and intellectual environment, is one of the book's real weaknesses.

Anxieties

In 1963, then, the Hellenist and philosopher, Freudian, psychically curious, former Calvinist Dodds set out to investigate the religious experience of a handful of (mostly) late antique intellectuals, some of them Christians. His intellectual affinities are more than usually relevant to his project, not only because he wears them on his sleeve but because they shape both his approach and his conclusions.

Both approach and conclusions have been challenged even by sympathetic readers. The first thing that strikes any reader now is Dodds's untroubled acceptance of a 'decline and fall' narrative of the Roman empire, which went back, almost unchallenged, to Gibbon, but would not survive more than another few years. By 1984, when a collection of essays was published in honour of *Pagan and Christian*, Jay Bregman could observe

¹⁰ 1977, 32–3, 98–9. ¹¹ 1977, 188.

¹² Dodds describes himself as an atheist in *Missing Persons* (pp. 21, 44–5, cf. 84) and implies that he never moved away from that position, but in *Pagan and Christian* (pp. 4–5) he says, 'The historian's interpretation of this period is inevitably coloured in some degree by his own religious beliefs. It is therefore right that I should declare my interest, so that readers may make the appropriate allowances... As an agnostic...'

that it was one of the very last works to be written within the Gibbonian framework.¹³ The wealth of scholarship on late antiquity which followed it showed that the political, social, economic, and cultural evolution of the high Roman empire and later antiquity was much more complex than Gibbon or Dodds recognized.

As it happens, the dismantling of the 'decline and fall' model does not necessarily vitiate the argument of *Pagan and Christian*. One could ignore the causal link Dodds makes between (what he regards as) individual psychological crises and social crisis, and read the book as showing some of the ways in which individuals, during a particular period, responded to some of the anxieties of human life which are endemic in almost any society. Alternatively, one could preserve Dodds's link between late antique psychology and society (while recognizing that the link remains thought-provoking rather than proven) but challenge his view that either is symptomatic of a crisis. Both approaches could plausibly be defended and both preserve much of interest and significance in Dodds's argument. More difficult to defend is Dodds's approach of making the recorded experiences of a handful of individuals, most of whom must have been exceptional as intellectuals, if in no other way, represent the mentality of a whole society. As Dodds was writing, *l'histoire des mentalités* was just beginning to develop out of the *Annales* school and microhistoriography; its leading theorist, Roger Chartier, was still a student. Even so, there is a certain commonsense difficulty about treating Marcus Aurelius and Plotinus, Aelius Aristides and Origen, Lucian's Peregrinus and the martyr Perpetua as typical of a whole culture. Significantly, the limitations of this approach were immediately evident to Peter Brown, who criticized Dodds for focusing too much on the unusual and from the beginning took a different approach in his own work.¹⁴

In his review of *Pagan and Christian* in *Church History*, the patrologist William Schoedel asked the 'friendly question', did not Dodds's approach constitute a form of reductionism? 'When religious phenomena are brought into line with psychoanalytical (and sociological) theories, is not precisely that which is religious lost?'¹⁵ Classicists have not been much disturbed by this possibility because most studies of Greek and Roman religion are, in Schoedel's terms, reductionist: their concern is to analyse religion as an expression of psychological and social phenomena (such as the need to

¹³ 1984, 228.

¹⁴ E.g. Brown 1972, 74–80.

¹⁵ 1966, 107.

ensure a good harvest or articulate a social group) rather than as a set of attitudes and practices *sui generis*. Festugière had largely avoided this pitfall by not seeking to connect his case studies closely with their social world,¹⁶ but Schoedel is surely right that Dodds falls into it.

All religions and religious thinking and practice, of course, are socially embedded and articulated, and the scrolls of an individual's dreambook are no less a social artefact than a temple or a public ritual. It is always a possible and defensible part of any account of religion to see it in reductionist, and even functionalist, terms.¹⁷ At the same time, most historians or sociologists of religion, and all phenomenologists, accept that neither reductionism nor functionalism is the whole story. Religion and religiosity do not simply express psychological or social needs or seek to secure certain outcomes for an individual or a group. They are also *sui generis*, expressing intuitions of the divine and negotiating divine/human relationships in ways which do more than reflect or further individual or corporate needs and desires.

Dodds's debt to William James struggles here with his debt to Freud and the ingrained assumptions of classical scholarship. In one passage, James is routed completely and Dodds's argument becomes not merely reductionist, but fully functionalist. The result is an explanation of the 'triumph' of Christianity which is not only, in the eyes of many reviewers, crude and outdated, but which undermines the premise of the book. Christianity was ultimately more successful than paganism, Dodds claims (pp. 133–8), because Christians were clear, in a religiously highly complex environment, that only they were right; because churches were open to all; because Christians had the most optimistic eschatology of any cult; and, above all, because churches formed strong and supportive social communities.¹⁸ This classically functionalist claim not only is discontinuous with Dodds's programmatic assumption, at the start of the book, that changes in outlook on the world are a factor in their own right in creating social and political change, but implicitly contradicts it.¹⁹ It suggests that in looking for reasons for religious change we must, after all, assume that the successful cult spoke

¹⁶ Though Dodds quotes him approvingly as claiming elsewhere that social misery and mysticism go together (1965, 100).

¹⁷ I distinguish here between reductionism, functionalism, and instrumentalism. Reductionism interprets religion as an expression of other (especially social) phenomena. Functionalism also considers the contribution of religion to social structures, processes, or change. Many studies of Greek and Roman religions are functionalist, but most of *Pagan and Christian* is not.

¹⁸ Ideas that have already been explored by von Harnack (e.g. 1924) and others.

¹⁹ See p. 185.

particularly effectively to certain social needs and offered effective solutions to them. The role of the phenomena (daemonology, asceticism, mysticism, and dreams) which form most of the subject matter of the book is reduced, at best, to that of a set of symptoms of social problems.²⁰

Dodds's explanation of Christianity's success, unexpected and unsatisfying as it is in context, underlines the fact that, despite his ambivalent relationship with the Oxford faculty, Dodds remained, in many ways, a very Oxonian classicist of his time: deeply interested in the analysis of texts and much less interested in methodology.²¹ It is his only significant moment of functionalism, but elsewhere his reductionism leads him to draw other conclusions and make specific judgements which many readers also find unhelpful. To demand of Christian asceticism 'Where did all this madness come from?' (p. 34) is entertaining but not historically illuminating. To call Aelius Aristides 'brainsick' and 'neurotic' (p. 43) does not help us understand him or his world. To call dreams and daemonic experiences part of the 'pathology of religion' (p. 69) undermines Dodds's own claim of scholarly objectivity. Occasionally Dodds even undermines the reader's confidence by yielding to the temptation to be witty. In his chapter on man and the daemonic world, for example, he discusses Perpetua's first dream, in which she mounts a ladder to a place where she meets a heavenly shepherd. The shepherd milks curds or cheese from his sheep and gives it to her to eat. This, Dodds says airily, has all the hallmarks of a genuine dream, but there is little that is distinctively Christian about it. 'Cheese-eating in Heaven is quite unorthodox . . .' He prefers a Freudian interpretation: 'the "curds" offered by a male personage at the top of a "ladder" could well have a latent sexual meaning' (p. 51 n. 2). Entertaining as this thought is, it is both trivializing of his evidence and obviously nonsense. Christian images of heaven draw heavily on those of the promised land, the land of 'milk and honey' (Exod. 3.8, 33.3), while Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28.12) was a favourite image of how the chosen reach heaven. The heavenly shepherd is easily identifiable with the good shepherd, Christ, who, among other things, feeds his people (cf. Ps. 40.11, Jn 10.11, 21.15–17).²² In the logic of the dream, for Christ to feed his daughter with sheep's curds does not represent much imaginative

²⁰ Shepherd's review (1967, 111) notes that in explaining the triumph of Christianity in these terms Dodds does not, as he surely needs to do, account for the failure of paganism as well.

²¹ Noted by Lloyd 1966, 253–4.

²² The newly baptized were often given milk and honey with their first Eucharist (e.g. Tert. *Coron.* 3.3, *Trad. Apostol.* 21.27–30), identifying their first Eucharistic encounter with Christ as an arrival in the promised land.

elaboration of the mainstream and orthodox idea that when Perpetua reaches heaven, she will encounter the good shepherd who looks after her.

These and other anxieties about the book were shared by a number of reviewers and still worry readers today.²³ They are, arguably, outweighed by the book's sparkling originality, insight, influence, and sheer charm, and by the methodological questions and debates that were prompted even by its difficulties.

Pagans and Christians in a new age

By 1963, Dodds had a long history of combining his scholarly and other interests to create new fields of study. *Pagan and Christian* draws both on his non-academic interests and on his past research into Neoplatonism, Greek literature, Greek religion, and the 'irrational', encompassing the supernatural or paranormal in antiquity.²⁴

Some of the most important and lasting contributions made by the book were recognized immediately and widely praised by reviewers.²⁵ Dodds brought together sources which were not usually discussed side by side (or, in some cases, at all). He argued for seeing common ground between pagan and Christian mentalities in a way which can now be taken for granted, but was anything but typical at the time. In the process, he created a new field of study and, if not many scholars have followed him in studying the whole breadth of the field, there has been much more serious discussion since of many of its elements (notably dreams, asceticism, and daemonology).²⁶ He helped to bring his interest in Neoplatonism, which had been regarded as eccentric in a Greek scholar, into the mainstream, not just of philosophy but of intellectual history.

Dodds demolished at a stroke the assumption that there was a qualitative difference between Christian religiosity and that of others in the ancient world. By treating both types without being confessionally invested in either,

²³ E.g. Dodds's casual way with classification (e.g. of dreams and mysticism, pp. 50, 69, 86), and his passing assumptions about the 'inevitable' decline of certain forms of Christianity, such as Montanism (p. 67), as well as of 'paganism'.

²⁴ E.g. Dodds 1931–2, 1936, 1951, 1961.

²⁵ E.g. Hamilton Baird 1966, 464, Podlecki 1966, 272, Rist 1966, 349–52, Schneider 1966, 219, Shepherd 1967, 110–12, Weltin 1968, 674–5.

²⁶ E.g. (on dreams) Miller 1994, Pelling 1997b, Harris 2009; (on daemonology) Pietersma 1994, Clarke, Dillon and Herschbell 2004, Luck 2006, Phillips 2009; studies of asceticism since the 1960s are too numerous to mention.

he sought to side-step value judgements and questions of truth. He was not the first scholar to do this but, writing when he did, he was particularly influential. He made it easier for classicists and patrologists to study both Christian and Graeco-Roman religious experiences in their social context without assuming that the former were radically discontinuous with that context or that the latter were not worth studying because they were not in a confessional sense 'true'.

Dodds also helped to shift the study of religions in antiquity away from either the study of beliefs and doctrines (on the Christian side) or that of institutions and communities (on both sides). All those fields, of course, have gone on being intensively worked but, thanks to Dodds, new areas of research have joined them and the relationship between religious mentality and practice has become a matter of scholarly debate in its own right.²⁷

To say that Dodds was not confessionally invested in his religious subject matter is not to say that there is no confessional aspect to the book. His personal investment in *Pagan and Christian* is one of its most striking qualities. It is worth discussing briefly three aspects of this investment which helped, in different ways, to make the book remarkable: Dodds's interest in psychology, his interest in the study of religions, and his conviction that what classicists study and write should be relevant to the world they live in.

In addition to his debt to William James, Dodds draws on a number of other writers in the study of religions. R.J. Lifton's *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism* (1961) helps him to argue that some experiences of union with the divine, among which he includes Christian baptism and the experience of 'regeneration' in the thirteenth Hermetic tract, should be distinguished from other kinds of mysticism or temporary possession because they bring about a radical and permanent change of identity (pp. 76–7). This classification of different kinds of union with the divine (a category which Dodds argues includes, among other things, oracular possession, *unio mystica*, and *homoïōsis theōi*) is still among the most nuanced and influential by a classicist. Dodds draws on three other major students of religion, Rudolf Otto, W.T. Stace, and R.C. Zaehner, to develop his distinction between extrovertive and introvertive mystical experience, on which he bases his extended, sympathetic, and perceptive discussion of the mysticism of Plotinus (pp. 79–91). Fifty years on, rather few classicists have

²⁷ E.g. Scheid 2005, Mikalson 2010, Morgan 2015, 124–8.

followed Dodds's interest in the study of religions, but those who have are among the most creative and influential in the field.

Dodds's absorption and use of Freud and James is thorough and extensive. The two giants of psychology and phenomenology are in many ways very different, but they have features in common which attracted Dodds. Both juggle insider and outsider perspectives on the phenomena they study. Both are willing to pass value judgements on those phenomena. Though neither is a social functionalist, and James, at least, is not a reductionist, both are (in somewhat different senses) instrumentalists. For Freud, experiences, from a desire for self-punishment to sensations of eternity, are useful insofar as they allow a person and her analyst to understand her psychological pathologies and combat them.²⁸ For James, we can evaluate the validity of religious experiences, first by the 'delight' they bring as they are being experienced, and secondly by how well they fit with our 'moral needs and the rest of what we hold as true'—whether they help us to live in a way that in other moods we would recognize as good or right.²⁹

The instrumentalism of Freud and James was ingeniously adapted by Dodds to historiography. *Pagan and Christian* opens with the claim that changes in the outlook of historical agents on the world form a factor in wider social and political change. This is more than a reductionist claim that the outlook of historical agents is an expression of their social situation; it takes change in outlook as a historical phenomenon in its own right which causes change independently of other factors. This hypothesis is derived, as Dodds says, partly from Rostovtzeff, who expressed the view without pursuing it (p. 1). But it was Freud and James who provided Dodds with a methodology for investigating psychological phenomena and changes in such phenomena with a view to explaining historical change.

Of the two, Dodds's debt to Freud perhaps leads to more mixed results for most readers. The idea that psychological states affect all our actions—personal, social, and political—is crucial for Dodds and Freud is a compelling exponent of it. On the other hand, it is Freud who encourages Dodds to dismiss asceticism as nothing more than the self-punishment of a 'nagging Super-ego' and to see Perpetua's vision of the good shepherd in sexual rather

²⁸ Dodds 1965a, 28, 82 n. 2. At p. 88 n. 4, Dodds quotes Freud's *New Introductory Lectures* with approval: 'Certain practices of the mystics may succeed in upsetting the normal relations between the different regions of the mind, so that, for example, the perceptual system becomes able to grasp relations in the deeper layers of the Ego, and in the Id, which would otherwise be inaccessible to it.'

²⁹ James 1902/1985, 15–18.

than theological terms.³⁰ Discussing whether Plotinus' mystical experience is an isolated phenomenon, 'the accidental product of an exceptional personality-structure', or whether it is evidence of an aspect of late-antique mentality, Dodds nearly derails his own argument that it is the latter by suggesting that Freud would have thought it an extension of an infantile feeling of unity between self and other arising from the fact that Plotinus was not weaned until he was eight (p. 91). In his overall argument, therefore, Freud plays a central part; in its details, he sometimes seems to undermine the enterprise more than supporting it.

James's contribution is more consistently benign. His basic claim that personal religious experience is significant and accessible to systematic analysis, and his argument that such experience can and does (and, for James, should) affect people's behaviour, provide key justifications for Dodds's project. His contributions to the detail of Dodds's analyses seem more often to march with the direction of Dodds's argument than do Freud's. James provides parallels to some of the experiences Dodds explores, such as the sense of 'drawing in' the divine breath in the process of Hermetist 'regeneration', which help Dodds to argue persuasively that these are real and literal descriptions of religious experiences, not simply fictional, fanciful, or metaphorical.³¹ Even the limitations of James's sympathies, paradoxically, seem to have stimulated Dodds to argue more strongly for the comparability of Greek, Roman, and Christian experiences. James argued that religious experiences are widely shared across modern religious traditions—but he could not convince himself that they were part of Greek religion. Dodds, with his abundant sympathy for Greek *mentalité* in general, has no sympathy with that argument, and most students of Greek religion would now agree with him.³²

It was noted above that, in 1963, the historiography of mentalities was in its infancy. *Pagan and Christian*, as a study in *l'histoire des mentalités avant la lettre*, did as much as any work to make the developing field attractive to classicists. Since 1965, the study of all aspects of Greek and Roman mentality has burgeoned (I can trace my own fascination with it back to reading first *The Greeks and the Irrational*, then *Pagan and Christian*, when I was about sixteen).

As an exercise in the historiography of mentality, *Pagan and Christian* has strengths and weaknesses. Compared with most studies, it focuses on a

³⁰ pp. 28, 49.

³¹ e.g. pp. 76–7.

³² e.g. pp. 80–1.

very small number of texts. Nearly all those texts are produced by members of intellectual and social elites. Nearly all are works of individual writers, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to know how representative of their period their experiences or their interpretations are. Dodds, moreover, makes little attempt to argue that their experiences or interpretations are representative. The result, for readers interested in mentality, is a sense of a significant argument too narrowly founded. More recent studies of mentality have addressed this problem by widening the scope of their evidence or limiting the scope of their claims. One might supplement Dodds's work with a certain amount of the former: there is more evidence than he cited, especially if one is content to move away from his interest in individual personalities. But there is not as much evidence as one would like, nor does it come from as wide a social range as one would like.

One might alternatively think of *Pagan and Christian* as an exercise in a sub-field of *l'histoire des mentalités* which has scarcely yet been identified, but which deserves to be more explored: the micro-history of mentalities. The claim of micro-historiography is that a study of a very specific place, time, or set of ideas can illuminate a much larger social or intellectual world. Classicists and patrologists could both make use of such an approach to religion. To do so, one would need to consider under what conditions one could plausibly argue that a small number of sources for an aspect of ancient religion illuminated a wider social context. I suggest that four conditions, at least, would need to be met. The phenomenon under discussion would need to be attested in at least two sources which there was no reason to think were interdependent (and the more the better). Attestations would need to include some material which was *prima facie* plausibly typical of wider thinking, either because it derived from a popular genre, such as proverbs or fables, or because it did not contribute to the author's argument where it appeared, suggesting that the author had little incentive to adapt it to his own purposes. Attestations would need to occur within a reasonably short time-frame (though 'reasonably short' might be defined in different ways in different contexts). And it would need to be reasonable to think that the idea(s) under consideration could have been held by a wider range of people. Some, at least, of Dodds's topics might already fulfil these criteria—dreams are the obvious example—and others might do so with some supplementary investigation. If this idea were taken up, *Pagan and Christian* might be seen in the future as a text as seminal for the micro-history of mentalities as it is for the history of mentality as a whole.

Last, but not least, it is worth mentioning the significance of *Pagan and Christian* as an expression of Dodds's conviction that the study of classics should be relevant to a wider audience. This was a topic, as he reports in *Missing Persons* (p. 172), which had been much on his mind since at least the 1940s, and he returned to it, while writing *Pagan and Christian*, in his 1964 Presidential Address to the Classical Association. Did the decline of Greek and Latin language teaching and the study of classics in general, Dodds asked, really matter? In *Missing Persons*, that large question gets rather lost in the discussion which follows of the importance of teaching languages *ab initio* at university level (now a universal practice in Anglophone countries for which Dodds deserves some of the credit). But it is clear that Dodds does believe in the continuing value of the study of classical literature and civilization. It enlarges our understanding of human society, he suggests, 'its perils and its possibilities', by introducing us to the (or a) society which was a parent of our own (pp. 173–4). In the 1960s, in a time when so much was changing and both 'critical standards' and 'moral judgements' were under fire, he thought it particularly important to introduce people to a 'high culture which had subsisted for more than a thousand years without the support of a sacred book or the guidance of anything that we should call a Church' (p. 174).

Debate over the value of classics (and the humanities in general) has moved on since the 1960s. Few contributors to it then, even if working on religion themselves, would have identified religion as a key area in which the study of classics could contribute to contemporary society. Fewer, if any, would do so now (the fact that Dodds did is testimony, among other things, to the ongoing seriousness of his agnosticism or atheism). Classics (especially ancient philosophy) has, however, been identified increasingly often in recent years as a source of moral thinking and moral guidance in the modern world (the many examples include Martha Nussbaum's *Not for Profit* (2010), Richard Mohr and Barbara Sattler's *One Book, the Whole Universe: Plato's Timaeus Today* (2010), and Donald Robertson's *Stoicism and the Art of Happiness* (2013)). One might take the view that more classicists could follow Dodds's example and argue more often and more explicitly for the ethical value—in whatever sense they wanted to construe that phrase—of studying, not just philosophy, but many different aspects of classical antiquity. The ethical significance, in a broad sense, of all kinds of high culture was, after all, taken for granted throughout classical antiquity and well into the modern world. The study of classics, moreover, is (still, if decreasingly) publicly funded in many universities and schools, especially in

Europe and North America.³³ Public funding is an affirmation, among other things, of the usefulness of a subject: of its social, not just personal significance. If classicists aim to maintain the study of the subject, to which Dodds made such remarkable contributions, for the next generation, maybe more of us should be taking more seriously his conviction that it speaks to our present social and existential situation in ways which our generation needs to hear.

Post scriptum

In *Missing Persons* (p. 188), Dodds observes that some of his reviewers pointed out the parallels one might draw between the ancient ‘age of anxiety’ and their own. In this, as in other ways, the critical response was more or less univocal. The book was extensively praised for its erudition and its originality in setting pagan and Christian sources side by side (though several reviewers commented that Dodds’s interpretations of the Church Fathers were not very original).³⁴ Several reviewers (on the whole, rather gently) queried Dodds’s use of Freud, or more generally what they saw as his reductionism.³⁵ Almost none queried Dodds’s ‘age of anxiety’ framework (Peter Brown was again an exception, as was the Plato scholar Heinrich Dörrie, who saw the anxieties Dodds described as developing over a much longer period³⁶). While praising Dodds’s overall conception, several reviewers and later commentators were critical of individual readings and arguments: John Rist, for example, of Dodds’s view of Gnosticism, Stevan Davies of his interpretation of asceticism, Betty Barrett of his definition of mysticism, and Warren Hovland of his understanding of the dialogue between Christians and Neoplatonists.³⁷

Neither then nor subsequently did such queries and criticisms prevent the book from having a wide and deep impact, above all on the developing field of late antique historiography. Few studies of the sixties or seventies in either classics or patristics neglected to mention it. Its influence in patristics was gradually overtaken by the publication of new sources and the burgeoning

³³ See e.g. Small 2013.

³⁴ Weltin 1968, 674 and Shepherd 1967, 110 note Dodds’s few precursors in this exercise.

³⁵ On the Fathers, e.g. Lloyd 1966, 353; on Freud or reductionism, e.g. Podlecki 1966, 272, Schoedel 1966, 107, Shepherd 1967, 112.

³⁶ Dörrie 1968, 638–40.

³⁷ Rist 1966, 350–1, Davies 1984, Barrett 1984, 113–7, Hovland 1984.

sociology of early churches.³⁸ On the classical side, some of the most ground-breaking recent studies in Greek and Roman religions, early Christianity, and late antiquity cite *Pagan and Christian* as still influential (examples include H.S. Versnel's *Coping with the Gods* (2011), Peter Brown's *Through the Eye of a Needle* (2012), and Jörg Rüpke's *The Individual in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (2013)).

Fifty years on, the disciplines with which Dodds engaged are all almost unrecognizable. The growth of scholarship, the publication of most of the Qumran texts, all the Nag Hammadi texts, new post-testamental Christian texts and many more late antique and Christian documentary papyri and inscriptions, together with increasing interest in the continuity of late antiquity with the Byzantine and very early mediaeval worlds, have changed the size and shape of the field and our approaches to it in almost every way. *Pagan and Christian*, however, continues to be read and relished for its lucid vision, its literary elegance, its attempt at an even-handed treatment of Christians and (what we no longer tend to call) pagans, and its remarkably original ideas.

Society, too, has changed dramatically since 1963. The upheavals of that year have been succeeded by multiple political, social, economic, cultural, scientific, and technological revolutions. Throughout this turbulent period classics has survived and in many places thrived, despite often being under threat from a cultural environment in which the humanities are trivialized and marginalized (and occasionally, perhaps, as Dodds joked, from 'suffocation arising from its exponents' industry'³⁹). Christianity, in the UK and some other parts of the world, is under fire more now even more than it was in 1963, the year John Robinson's *Honest to God* provoked a storm of controversy about Anglican liberalism. (What some see as the threat of liberalism does not seem to have resonated at all with Dodds, who obliquely criticized, rather, the narrow rigidity of his remembered Calvinism in the concluding pages of *Pagan and Christian* (pp. 133–4).) One wonders whether, if Dodds had been writing now, it would have occurred to him to point either to the doctrinal exclusivity of Christianity or to its social inclusiveness as reasons *prima facie* why it was so successful. On the other hand, in the former Roman Empire, religious diversity and even, in a new sense, paganism have, if anything, grown and become more

³⁸ In studies of patristic theology, as of late antique philosophy, it is Dodds's essays on Neoplatonism, rather than *Pagan and Christian*, that have continued to be widely cited.

³⁹ 1977, 172.

mainstream. In some ways Europe is reverting to a pluralism which would have looked rather familiar to the Romans, though where religious exclusivism and battles do occur, they take a somewhat different shape. Whatever classicists' and patrologists', or pagans' and Christians' anxieties now, however, in one area there is little or no cause for anxiety at all. Thanks in no small part to Dodds, the study of late antiquity, which he explored and opened up for subsequent generations, grows and thrives.

Dodds, Plotinus, and Stephen MacKenna

John Dillon

I am not here concerned with the broader theme of E.R. Dodds's remarkable (for an Ulster Protestant) attitude to Irish nationalism, on which he has a good deal to say in the course of his memoir, *Missing Persons*. My concern is simply with his relationship to the Irishman Stephen MacKenna (1872–1934), the remarkable journalist turned Greek scholar, who devoted the latter part of his life, from 1912 on, to the translation into English of the *Enneads* of Plotinus, and with Dodds's own relations with Plotinus.

We may begin, perhaps, by way of background, with a quotation from Dodds's memoir, *Missing Persons*, on his growing sense of Irish nationalism in the first years of his sojourn in Oxford, in the period 1912–14:

While these things were happening in term-time, I was spending most of my vacations quietly at home with my mother in Ireland,¹ and as Elizabeth Bowen wrote at the end of her life, 'If you begin in Ireland, Ireland remains the norm: like it or not'. My sense of Irishness, my self-identification not with Ulster but with Ireland as a whole, was growing not weaker but stronger. Initially this came about less for any political reason than through my interest in the writers of the Irish Literary Revival. I had begun to read Yeats in 1911, while still at Campbell, and the authors recorded in my reading lists for the next couple of years include Synge and Lady Gregory, 'AE' (George Russell) and George Moore, James Stephens and Lennox Robinson. (*MP* 33)

There is no mention here yet of Stephen MacKenna, but he was a much more esoteric figure, who would only be discovered once Dodds had managed to insinuate oneself into the milieu of literary tea-parties and 'at-homes' which were such a feature of the Dublin of this time, and of the early 1920s.

¹ His mother had moved back in 1912 from Belfast (whither she had moved while Dodds was attending Campbell College) to Dublin.

The occasion for meeting came when, at some time in 1914, prompted by a desire to enlarge his acquaintance with spiritual experience, Dodds ventured to write to AE, asking him about the possibility of joining the Hermetic Society. AE in response invited him to tea, and, while discouraging him from joining the Hermetic Society (which he described as 'a pack of old women and a waste of time'), admitted him to the company of those who attended his famous Sunday evening 'at-homes'. At these, everybody of any consequence in the intellectual life of Dublin was to be encountered, including that 'melancholic jester', Stephen MacKenna (*MP* 56). Dodds's introductory characterization of him (*MP* 62) is worth quoting at length:

[Lennox Robinson was fun.] But the man who attracted my warmest and most lasting affection and admiration was a very different character, Stephen MacKenna. His legend was known to me before I had met him: how he had escaped from behind the counter of a bank to starve as a struggling journalist in Paris with his friend J.M. Synge; how he had fought as a volunteer with the Greek army in the Graeco-Turkish War of 1897 and had witnessed in St. Petersburg the abortive Russian Revolution of 1904–5; how he had achieved a lucrative position as head of the European office of the *New York World* and had thrown it away on a point of principle;² and how finally he had abandoned his career as a journalist in Dublin to devote the rest of his life to the unlikely task of translating Plotinus into English – a task so difficult that professional Greek scholars, careful of their reputations, had hitherto averted their eyes from it. This was plainly a man after my own heart, a man obstinately obedient to the demands of his daemon at whatever cost to his worldly success.

This is indeed a fine tribute, from one remarkable man to another. His description of his first encounter with MacKenna, in the MacKenna apartment on Merrion Square, recounted in his memoir of him,³ but repeated in *Missing Persons* gives a most vivid and characteristic picture of the man:

Entering what had been the drawing-room of some Georgian hostess, I saw a long, lean man with grizzled hair and liquid brown eyes remote and melancholy as a peatbog; he was walking with a peculiar grace of movement

² The occasion of his resignation was slightly absurd, but one can see his point: Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the paper, when visiting Paris in May of 1907, had high-handedly ordered him, as if he were a mere messenger-boy, to deliver some chickens and ducklings to the Gare de Lyons, for despatch to his yacht on the Riviera.

³ Prefixed to his edition of the *Journal and Letters of Stephen MacKenna*, published by Constable, London, 1936.

very softly up and down the twilight room, swerving now and again in his course to avoid a jutting piece of furniture or a heap of books on the floor; his face, upturned and serious, wore the illuminated look of an El Greco saint; and as he walked he played upon a concertina. He did not interrupt his stride or his music for our entrance, but as the tune ended his grave mouth suddenly wrinkled into a grin of welcome. I gaped, uncertain if what I had seen were pose or passion. Doubtless, like much of MacKenna's behaviour, it was both – passion inviting you to laugh at it as pose, in the secret fear that you might laugh at it as passion. (*MP* 63)

MacKenna was indeed devoted to the concertina, which he played more or less to the end of his life, but it is not this, nor yet his multifarious literary and political enthusiasms, that is our concern on the present occasion.⁴ What concerns us now is rather their common enthusiasm for Plotinus, which is what brought Dodds together with MacKenna in later years.

MacKenna discovered Plotinus in typically romantic circumstances. What happened was that his journalistic work for Pulitzer's *New York World* brought him to St Petersburg in 1905, to cover the abortive revolution there. During his stay, he discovered, while poking about in a bookshop (a favourite occupation of his), a copy of Creuzer's edition of the *Enneads* of Plotinus, which he then began to read while confined temporarily in his hotel room. One can only wonder how much progress he made, since Plotinus is hardly the easiest of options for someone with essentially school-boy Greek (though MacKenna had been an excellent Classics student in secondary school, at Ratcliffe College in Leicestershire), but by the beginning of 1907, as we can see from an entry in his journal for 29 March, he had already formed the idea of translating Plotinus into English (contrasting this vividly with his contempt for the journalism that was his bread-and-butter):

There is something high fantastical in the thought that if every day of my life I had a good hot piece of gossip, about some millionaire fool or some powerful businessman at play, to cable to New York, I should be well off and considered from New Year to Christmas; but if I put comely English about Plotinus and give him for the first time – and perhaps for all time – entire and clear and pleasantly readable to America and Australia and England, I shall certainly go about in old clothes and shrink from facing a post-office clerk. When I did very little and that little better left wholly

⁴ These can be appreciated through a reading of his *Journal and Letters*, later published by Dodds (see n. 3).

undone, I was a fatted bourgeois: work begins only when the 'dear little cheques' that paid me for an ugly idleness cease to flutter in.

The idea grew on him of devoting himself to this task, and in a later entry, on 5 December, he writes: 'It seems to me that I must be born for him, and that somehow, some day, I must have nobly translated him.'

In the summer of 1908, MacKenna and his wife, after an interval in London, moved back to Dublin, where he turned to working as an editorial writer for the *Freeman's Journal*. At this time, among many other literary initiatives which never came to fruition, he essayed a specimen of Plotinian translation, producing the essay *On Beauty* (I 6), for which (with the help of his friend J.M. Synge) he found an appreciative publisher in A.H. Bullen,⁵ who produced the slim volume in a limited edition of 300 copies. This, which he liked to describe as his 'Christmas Card', was designed as a sort of 'flier', to test the market, as it were. The edition actually sold out (though without much profit to himself). It greatly impressed W.B. Yeats, among others, but it also produced a result that was unexpected, and which in effect placed MacKenna in bondage to Plotinus for the rest of his life. One of those who came upon the little book, and read its optimistic preface, was the British entrepreneur and philanthropist Ernest Debenham.⁶ He wrote to MacKenna in January 1912 to enquire as to his plans for completing the project, and, on discovering that the author was not an accredited classical scholar but a penniless journalist, offered to help with a subsidy. This offer MacKenna's pride and instinct of independence would not permit him to accept, but Debenham devised a cunning plan to get round that. He arranged for the prospective publisher of the Plotinus edition, Lee Warner, to offer an 'advance' (which really came from Debenham), and MacKenna accepted that. Once he had accepted that, he was (benignly) trapped, as he was never afterwards in a position to pay back the 'advance'. And so, with much groaning and lamentation, over the next fourteen years, the great enterprise was completed, the final volume appearing in 1931.

Over the latter part of this period, Dodds was regularly consulted, though he is too modest to make much of that in the *Memoir*. His role in the completion of the final volume, though, is worth quoting:

⁵ Arthur Henry Bullen (1857–1920), distinguished English editor and publisher, founder of the Shakespeare Head Press.

⁶ Sir Ernest Debenham (1853–1952) greatly expanded the family department store business after joining it in 1892. He was an enlightened if paternalistic employer, and established a model village and farm at Briantspuddle in Dorset.

In the autumn of 1928 I received a despairing appeal for help: 'I'm in agonies over the Sixth, and not the difficulter parts.'⁷ 'Tis all too difficult for me and I wish I were dead – tho' even that has its risks. I figure myself sometimes flying down the corridors of Hades pursued by Plotty and him roaring.' More was wanted than the slight occasional assistance by way of criticism and suggestion which I had been able to render in connection with one or two of the earlier volumes. I introduced MacKenna to a young Plotinian scholar named B.S. Page,⁸ and Debenham so far relented as to allow the two to collaborate in the translation of the last *Ennead*. I had feared that MacKenna might not be an easy person to work with; but I was wrong – the partnership between the young university-trained man and the self-made scholar proved a very happy one, and resulted in a better version than either could have produced unaided. In May 1930 the last proof-sheets were signed. 'The work will be creditable', wrote MacKenna to his patron, 'but there's no disguising the fact that a few more decades could well be spent on bringing it up to a really fine polish'. He thought of adding a brief personal postscript to the final volume, but decided against it: 'the whole thing has been austere impersonal, and that impersonality is very personal' – what had Stephen MacKenna's victory over fate to do with Plotinus? He had judged his achievement 'worth a life': he had given his life, and had achieved. (Dodds 1936a: 70–1)

MacKenna died not long afterwards, on 8 March 1934.

We may now turn briefly to review Dodds's own relationship to Plotinus, which, while not as fraught as that of MacKenna, was nonetheless not without its tensions. Plotinus was, after all, even in my days in Oxford in the late 1950s, when Dodds himself was coming up to retirement, still a relatively exotic beast, and not recommended as a subject of study.⁹ In Dodds's period in Oxford (1912–16), this was certainly the case. He was drawn to him, however, as a kind of extension of his interest in psychology and psychical research. As he tells the story, he was drawn to a class on

⁷ The real sticking point was *Ennead* VI 1–3: 'On the Kinds of Being', which in the event was largely the responsibility of B.S. Page.

⁸ Who had in fact been his first doctoral student in Birmingham.

⁹ Thereby hangs a tale. In January 1961, half way through my final year at Oxford, my 'moral' tutor in Oriël, the distinguished ancient historian Peter Brunt, wrote to Dodds, asking him to intervene to persuade me against taking Plotinus as a Special Subject in Greats; in response to which Dodds had me to tea in Old Marston, and, in the most amiable way, persuaded me that I was not really qualified to take him on. What I did not know at the time was that, way back in December 1914, he himself had received just the same advice from the then Regius Professor of Greek, Gilbert Murray, as detailed below. Neither of us, I am glad to say, was permanently discouraged from our enthusiasm for Neoplatonism.

Plotinus offered by the distinguished (but, it seems, rather dull) Professor J.A. Stewart,¹⁰ who was an expert on Plato and Aristotle, but who was plainly prepared to try his hand at Plotinus. As Dodds tells the story (*MP* 40):

Even more seminal [sc. than the courses he was taking on psychology and anthropology], as it turned out, though equally unpractical, was J.A. Stewart's class on Plotinus, an author of whom I knew very little, but whom I vaguely dreamed of possibly offering as a 'special subject' in Greats. The membership of the class was initially six, but, as Stewart proved to be an unexciting teacher, it quickly dropped to two. I was one of the two; the other was a young American lately arrived from the Graduate School at Harvard. Out of regard for Stewart's feelings, if for no other reason, we felt bound to continue our attendance, and, as we came away from class, we naturally fell into conversation.

This 'quiet, reserved' American turned out to be none other than T.S. Eliot, with whom Dodds continued an acquaintance for many years. This course, dull though it may have been, and of which we hear no details, resulted in an approach, in December 1914, to Gilbert Murray, then Regius Professor of Greek (and in later years a great admirer of Dodds's), which Dodds does not detail in his memoir, but which is preserved in the Murray and Dodds papers.¹¹ Dodds writes:

Dear Professor Murray,

I wonder if you could advise me about a special subject in Greats. It looks as if I were fated to be a scholar; the prospect doesn't attract me very much, but I can't think of anything else to be. So I feel that I ought to get hold of some subject to work at in Greece, so as to relieve a little the monotony of Greek Historical Inscriptions and Aristotelian Logic. Can you suggest anything? I have thought of offering the Gnostics or the neo-Platonists or both. I don't know whether the examiners would accept that as a subject.¹² It might be a profitable study on the linguistic side, and I am rather attracted by the bizarre blending of philosophy and mysticism and magic in these writers. I think that there would be a considerable fascination

¹⁰ John Alexander Stewart, White's Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford from 1897 to 1927.

¹¹ MSS Gilbert Murray, Bodleian Library, 114/27; Dodds Papers, Bodleian Library, Box 1. I am indebted to Professor Robert Todd for bringing these documents to my attention.

¹² The University regulations allowed candidates to propose 'special subjects' of their own choice, outside the published list of 'stated subjects', though they had to secure the approval by the examining board. In the early 1960s this was still allowed, but Plotinus was included in the published list, thanks no doubt to the presence of Dodds himself.

in tracing the obscure undercurrent of magical tradition that flows down from the Empire into the Middle Ages through the magical papyri, the so-called Hermetic books, the 'grimoires', and so forth. There might be interesting sidelights on morbid psychology and the aberrations of the religious consciousness. I fancy the subject has been seldom studied, and very seldom studied sanely. I should think that, if one wanted to work at it afterwards, Gnosticism and neo-Platonism would make a good point of departure. But I don't know enough about the thing yet to feel sure that it would be worth while. Is there anyone in Oxford who would be able to supervise my work at all, or do you know of any good books to read?

With apologies for bothering you about this,

I am

Yours sincerely,

E.R. Dodds

Not bad, one might say, for a lad of twenty-one! He received a prompt and civil reply from Gilbert Murray, of which I quote the following:

My dear Dodds,

The Neo-Platonists would be a good subject, but rather too large and hard. Plotinus alone would be enough, or too much. The various commentaries of Proclus would be awful to get up; so would Iamblichus. Prof. Stewart knows Plotinus and could advise you.¹³

The Hermetic Corpus would be more manageable: very interesting and hard, and lands you at once in a really important controversy—that between Reitzenstein – Loisy – Montefiore – Preserved Smith and me on the one hand, and Harnack and the orthodox on the other. I do not know the ground thoroughly, but I could help to guide you through. Scott, late of Sydney, is a specialist on the Corpus.

On the whole, though, I should slightly advise against a special for Greats in your case. A special is good for a man who will be weak in some part of his work and may pull himself up by brilliance in some special direction. But you ought to be at home in all parts of Greats.

Yours very sincerely,

G.M.

This was not, however, by any means Dodds's last brush with Plotinus, even apart from his continued help for MacKenna during the 1920s and early

¹³ It is not clear, from his account in *Missing Persons*, whether he was already attending Stewart's Plotinus class by this time, but if it ran all year, he was.

1930s. In the summer of 1937, some years after MacKenna's death, and in the year after Dodds took up the Regius Chair of Greek at Oxford, he initiated a connected series of efforts to bring both Plotinus and MacKenna's translation of him to a wider public, both scholarly and lay. There survives in his papers a most interesting series of letters, to and from the Oxford University Press, the Harvard University Press (in the person of W.H.D. Rouse), to the great Belgian Plotinus scholar Father Paul Henry, S.J., and to Sir Ernest Debenham, seeking, on the one hand, to give MacKenna's translation a wider audience, and, on the other, to provide Plotinus himself with both a bilingual edition in the Loeb Classical Library, and a respectable text in the Oxford Classical Texts series.¹⁴ All of these laudable aims ultimately met with success, but, sadly—largely due to the onset of yet another world war—not for another quarter to half a century.¹⁵

The correspondence begins with a letter of 7 May 1937 from R.W. Chapman, Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, in reply to an enquiry from Dodds, suggesting that the Press 'would be much attracted by the idea of re-publishing MacKenna's *Plotinus* under your auspices'—though only if Sir Ernest Debenham would consider revising upwards his proposed subvention of £300! The Delegates further urged, however, that Dodds should undertake a comprehensive revision of MacKenna's text.

Meanwhile, on 4 May, Dodds received a letter from Sir Ernest, detailing negotiations that he had been conducting with Harvard University Press about using MacKenna's version as the English translation for a Loeb edition, but he is conscious that the Clarendon Press has a prior claim. Following this, there is an undated draft of a letter to the Jesuit scholar Fr. Paul Henry of Louvain, thanking him for the gift of certain offprints, celebrating the news that he is at work on the text of Plotinus, and urging him to consider a full edition.¹⁶ He also exchanges views with him in a most

¹⁴ The letters quoted below are in the Dodds Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Box 2.

¹⁵ MacKenna's translation (which he had fondly hoped would be made available in a cheap edition, available to the average working man!) was brought out in a single-volume edition by Faber and Faber in 1962, with corrections by B.S. Page, and a preface by Dodds—and much later, in 1991, in a (somewhat abridged) Penguin edition, by myself (again, with some respectful corrections!); the Loeb edition was finally brought out by A.H. Armstrong, another great English Plotinian scholar, in seven volumes, from 1966 to 1988; and the Oxford text (based upon the Henry and Schwyzer Brussels edition of 1951–9), in three volumes, from 1964 to 1982.

¹⁶ The final version, duly typed, would presumably be found in the Henry Papers, if there are such.

interesting vein on certain detailed conjectures in the text of Plotinus, rather too technical to go into here.¹⁷

This is followed by another draft of a letter to Fr Henry, raising the possibility of bringing out his proposed Plotinus edition with OUP (presumably in the Oxford Classical Texts series, in which it eventually appeared, see n. 15 above), and urging Henry to write to the Secretary to the Delegates (R.W. Chapman):

If you thought fit you could give him my name as a reference. I know him slightly, and could at any rate say that I think there ought to be an Oxford text of Plotinus, and that I have a high opinion of such of your work as I have seen. You would probably find that they restricted you rather severely in the matter of *apparatus criticus*: I had to reduce mine (hence incomplete report of PQ),¹⁸ though they gave me more freedom than they usually allow in the O.C.T.

He continues:

We must have been at Oxford together: I was at Univ. 1912–16. But national pride bids me correct one misapprehension: I live and work in England, but was born and bred in Ireland, and account myself an Irishman. Did you know my fellow-countryman Gwynne¹⁹ at Campion Hall? Or Father d'Arcy, who was my contemporary?"

The next item of interest, from this very active summer, is a letter, dated 22 July, from W.H.D. Rouse, a distinguished English classical scholar and educationalist,²⁰ who was at this time one of the three editors of the Loeb

¹⁷ Dodds had actually published a paper, 'Plotiniana', in the *Classical Quarterly* (Dodds 1922); in 1956 he published 'Notes on Plotinus, Ennead III 8', in *Studi italiani di filologia classica* (Dodds 1956c); so his expert concern with the textual tradition was ongoing. For a fuller account of his scholarly activity, see the contribution of Anne Sheppard in the present volume.

¹⁸ These would be two manuscripts of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. Dodds's edition of the *Elements* was published by Oxford University Press in 1933 (Dodds 1933a); he appears to have sent Henry a copy with this letter. This was a truly ground-breaking work, and still the standard edition of this text in English.

¹⁹ Fr. Aubrey Gwynn [*sic*], S.J. (1892–1983), a distinguished historian (Professor of Mediaeval History at University College, Dublin, 1949–63), scion of a distinguished Irish Protestant family, son of the statesman and writer Stephen Gwynn, and grandson of John Gwynn, Professor of Theology in Trinity College Dublin. Gwynn had become a Catholic at the age of ten, when his mother converted, and later became a Jesuit; hence of special interest to Fr Henry. As for Fr. Martin d'Arcy, S.J. (1888–1976), he was of English Catholic stock, and has been described as 'England's leading Catholic intellectual'. He spent most of his adult life in Campion Hall, and to that extent was Dodds's 'contemporary'—as indeed he would have been Henry's.

²⁰ William Henry Denham Rouse (1863–1950), despite gaining a fine double first in Classics in Cambridge, was always more interested in the education of the young than in classical

Classical Library, recalling Dodds's previous approach to him about a possible Loeb edition back in 1932, and indicating that the question might now be reopened, though with certain provisos:

Dear Professor Dodds,

You may remember five years ago we had an exchange of letters about Plotinus. The project fell through in a way that I need not explain, but it has not been forgotten; and the Trustees are now considering it. All agree that we ought to have a Plotinus, and as MacKenna gave us freedom to use his translation as we like (I have his letter), they are considering whether to republish it, or get a new one. Have you considered making a new one? If so, let me know. I suppose you are still indisposed to doctor MacK. I may say the project is highly approved by Dr Inge,²¹ who of course named you as *the man*.

I am yours sincerely,
W.H.D. Rouse

Dodds notes on the margin that he answered this (very promptly) on 28 July. What he seems to have told Rouse is that, since Henry was producing a new and improved text of Plotinus, it would be necessary to wait for that. At any rate, Rouse's reply of 2 August acknowledges that this puts paid to the project for the time being, as does the fact that Sir Ernest Debenham seems to have found another publisher for MacKenna's translation.²²

In any case, Dodds was by now coming to have doubts as to how suitable MacKenna's translation would in fact be for a Loeb bilingual edition, at least without major revision. The next item in the collection is the draft of a letter

scholarship as such. After holding various teaching positions, he became headmaster of the Perse School in Cambridge (1902–28). He was a great advocate of the 'direct method'; of teaching Greek and Latin, and practised this with considerable success. At the time of writing, he was just completing prose translations of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which were to prove very popular, though Dodds had given his *Odyssey* a resounding thumbs down in a report to the publisher Macmillan (Dodds to Macmillan, 2 October 1936: Dodds papers, box 3). He also translated a number of dialogues of Plato, including the *Republic*. See Stray 1992.

²¹ William Ralph Inge (1860–1954), English classical scholar, clergyman and author, Dean of St Paul's 1911–34: 'the Gloomy Dean'. Among many other interests (he published thirty-five books), he developed a considerable enthusiasm for Plotinus and Platonism in general, in effect becoming a Christian Platonist. His Gifford Lectures of 1917–18 were published as *The Philosophy of Plotinus* (Inge 1918).

²² If he did, this came to nothing, as the work was only finally republished by Faber in 1962, long after Sir Ernest's death in 1952.

to Sir Ernest Debenham, of 7 August, in which he sets out his reasons why he turned down Rouse's invitation to revise the translation for this purpose:

Dr. Rouse had already written to ask me whether I would consider revising MacKenna's version for the Loeb edition, if they accepted it. I felt obliged to decline, on two grounds:

(1) MacKenna's is in my judgement the wrong sort of version for a series like the Loeb classics. It is Plotinus made English, a literary version for the Greekless reader; it isn't, and wasn't meant to be, an aid to the understanding of the Greek

(2) No reasonably satisfactory Greek text of the *Enneads* exists, but one has been promised, by Fr. Paul Henry of Louvain, who has been working on the text for several years past. I should guess that his edition will take at least another five years to produce, perhaps more.

This is the decisive objection. I am not prepared—and no serious scholar would be prepared—to duplicate work already being done by Henry, or to print a manuscript text which would be made to look ridiculous in a few years' time. As for the text on which MacKenna's translation was based, it is already obsolete.

I hope you won't think these objections merely captious. I am as anxious as you are that MacKenna's life-work should be made available to the public in a cheaper form, with or without revision. But I can't see the Loeb scheme working out satisfactorily. And it would certainly exclude publication by the Oxford University Press. I feel quite sure that they would not consider printing a translation which was also being handled by another publisher. Yours sincerely,

E.R. Dodds

So that lays the situation on the line. In order to advance Plotinian studies, there will have to be a new, scientifically based text, and, for the purposes of a scholarly bilingual edition, a new translation; and both these developments will prove to be, by his own admission, out of Dodds's hands—though he lived to see both of them either completed or well under way. A letter later in the year (18 September) from Fr. Henry outlines his progress with the edition, expresses the hope that either it can be an Oxford text, or an Oxford text can be derived from it (the latter being the actual outcome), and that Dodds will undertake a new translation for a Loeb edition, based on this text. This is followed by a further letter from Rouse, on 24 November, presenting a revised proposal from Harvard, that Dodds undertake a new translation

for a Loeb edition, using Henry's proposed new text (by agreement with him, and with OUP, or whoever) for the Greek.

It gives one a curious sensation to read over these plans and hopes, emanating from Oxford, Louvain, and London, which were soon to be swallowed up in over five years of worldwide madness, slaughter, and destruction, but which ultimately came to very satisfactory fruition, though the agency not of Dodds himself, but of one of his protégés, the distinguished Neoplatonist A.H. Armstrong (see n. 15 above).

‘The lonely flight of Mind’

W.B. Yeats, Louis MacNeice, and the
Metaphysical Poetry of Dodds’s Scholarship

Tom Walker

I

As a young man, E.R. Dodds had his poetry published in some notable places. His verses appeared besides those of Edith Sitwell, Edmund Blunden, Richard Aldington, and Herbert Read in the London quarterly *Coterie*.¹ His poetry was also included in Lennox Robinson’s *A Little Anthology of Modern Irish Verse* (1928), alongside work by W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, AE (George Russell), and Frank O’Connor (Robinson 1928). By 1929, though, Dodds had come to categorize himself as an ‘unprofessional poet’ (Dodds 1929b, 9). Nevertheless, while he very much became a professional classicist rather than poet, he might still be enlighteningly thought of as a poetical scholar. This is not only in the sense that his scholarship relates to his attempts to write poetry or that he followed in the footsteps of his academic mentor (and fellow sometime poet) Gilbert Murray—whom Wilamowitz once admitted he could ‘take seriously only as a poet’.² Rather his academic work was partly informed by the modes of thinking and feeling that were embodied in the work of the modern poets he admired, while his words and ideas also had some impact on certain contemporary poets. Near the end of his autobiography *Missing Persons*, Dodds notes having had ‘the strange and undeserved privilege of knowing’ the four poets he considers to have been the best of his lifetime: Yeats, T.S. Eliot, W.H. Auden, and Louis MacNeice (Dodds 1977,

¹ E.R. Dodds, ‘Low Tide on the Foreshore at Merrion’, ‘The Blind Glen’, ‘The Moon-worshippers’, ‘Why Should Beauty Endure?’, *Coterie: A Quarterly* 3 (December 1919), 9–11 (Dodds 1919e); all reprinted in Dodds 1929b.

² *The Prussian and the Poet: The Letters of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to Gilbert Murray (1894–1930)*, ed. Anton Bierl, William M. Calder III, Robert L. Fowler (Hildesheim, 1991), 6, as quoted in Davies 2007, 168.

194). This essay will seek to trace something of the intertwined relationship between Dodds's developing scholarly interests—particularly in relation to questions of metaphysics and mysticism—and his engagement with modern poetry in the case of two of these poets: Yeats, who perhaps had the greatest impact on Dodds; and MacNeice, for whom Dodds possibly played the most formative role.³

Yeats's reputation was well established when he and Dodds first met. Dodds recalls being 'not much of a favourite' with Yeats, yet Brian Arkins judges him to have been the 'most important' of the professional scholars on whose knowledge the monoglot poet drew in creating a body of work that is replete with classical references (Dodds 1977, 59; Arkins 1990, 11). As an 'occasional informant on questions of ancient philosophy and ancient religion', Dodds notes he unwittingly contributed one phrase to which the poet gave 'enduring life', pointing to the words 'a fabulous, formless darkness' in Yeats's 'Two Songs from a Play' from *The Tower* (1928) (Dodds 1977, 60; Allt and Alspach 1957, 438). In the introduction to *Select Passages Illustrating Neoplatonism* (1923), Dodds had quoted Eunapius recounting the fourth-century philosopher Antoninus's description of Christianity as 'a fabulous and formless darkness mastering the loveliness of the world' (Dodds 1923b, 8). This phrase became an important touchstone for Yeats in the 1920s, as he started to conceive of history in cyclical terms. It occurs not only in 'Two Songs from a Play' and the play from which the songs originate, *The Resurrection* (1927), but also in the introduction to another dramatic work, *Fighting the Waves* (1929), and both versions (1925 and 1937) of *A Vision*—the metaphysical and spiritual system that arose from the automatic writing experiments of Yeats and his wife George (Alspach 1966, 930–1, 571; Yeats 2008, 158; Yeats 2015, 202).

Yeats scholars have recently questioned Dodds's assumption that he passed on the phrase, pointing to similarly worded translations to be found in works by William Ralph Inge.⁴ Such focused textual source hunting, however, risks occluding the significance of the curious fact that recondite aspects of ancient philosophy, religion, and history were being discussed among Dublin's small group of literati in the 1910s and 1920s via

³ For Dodds and MacNeice, see also Peter McDonald's chapter in this volume.

⁴ Mann 2013: 282; Yeats 2015b, 447–8. The references in works by Inge, both held in Yeats's personal library, are: William Ralph Inge, 'Neo-Platonism', in James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 13 Volumes (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1908–1926), 9:317; William Ralph Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus: The Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews, 1917–1918*, 2 Volumes (London: Longman, 1918), 1:26.

the city's informal 'system of "at home" days or open evenings'—occasions at which Dodds came to have considerable contact not only with Yeats (from about 1914) but also with AE (G.W. Russell), another mystically minded reader of Neoplatonism, and Stephen MacKenna, the translator of Plotinus (Dodds 1977, 56).⁵ It also risks side-lining a broader culture across Britain and Ireland in which such ancient ideas were being put to present use.

Inge's and Plotinus's circulation in Irish literary circles at the time can be glimpsed in Lady Gregory's journals, where in May 1919 she hails 'Inge's *Plotinus*' (his recently published Gifford lectures) as 'a wonderful philosophy, really a new statement of Christianity'. In November 1919, she then reports discussing Inge with George Bernard Shaw, who had just reviewed the clergyman's collection of *Outspoken Essays* (1919) (Murphy 1978, 68, 108). As the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Inge very much wrote as a public theologian—justifying Dodds's later praise of his 'passionate conviction that Neoplatonism is a living philosophy' (Dodds 1929e). For instance, writing amid the First World War and what he sees as a 'prostrate' civilization, 'her hopes of reasonable and orderly progress shattered', her 'economic ruin' resembling 'the Roman Empire in the third, fourth and fifth centuries', Inge describes Plotinus' writings as offering 'a message of calm and confidence' (Inge 1918, 2:221, 1:22). Similar claims for Plotinus's contemporary spiritual relevance were also being advanced at this time by Evelyn Underhill.⁶ Beyond any more specific personal or textual interchange, both Yeats's and Dodds's reception of Neoplatonism not only took place in relation to the pressures of the present but was also set against the backdrop of Dublin's literary salons, as well as Inge's and Underhill's writings.

Dodds began reading Yeats while still at school. In Oxford, he then read a paper on the poet to the 'Psittakoi'—a student group of modern poetry enthusiasts he had co-founded (Dodds 1977, 33–4). The surviving 1914 manuscript demonstrates his familiarity with an impressive range of Yeats's poetry, drama, and prose. He is unstinting in his praise, describing 'The Wanderings of Usheen' as bearing 'comparison, for sustained splendour of diction and imagery, with any long narrative poem in the language'.

⁵ Cf. John Dillon's chapter in this volume.

⁶ Plotinus is referred to fairly extensively in *Mysticism: A Study of the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (London, 1911). Underhill also devotes a whole essay to 'The Mysticism of Plotinus' in *The Essentials of Mysticism and Other Essays* (London, 1920).

Credence is also notably given to the idea that pre-Christian paganism, 'that great unwritten tradition which is the heritage of all primitive peoples who live close to nature', survives among the Irish peasantry.⁷ This notion had been championed in Yeats's early writings on Irish folklore. In 'The Celtic Element in Literature' (1898), for instance, the poet argues that when 'Matthew Arnold thought he was criticizing the Celts' for their sense of 'natural magic', 'he was really criticizing the ancient religion of the world' (Yeats 1898, 190–1). Such assertions were not without their critics.⁸ Dodds, though, unequivocally assents to this widely held tenet of Irish cultural revivalism, praising Yeats's poetry for having 'given expression to that gift of vision which alone among western nations Ireland has kept alive' (Dodds, 'Yeats').

Beyond Irish culture, Yeats's work is also related to Dodds's emerging intellectual preoccupations. That Yeats is a 'mystic as well as a poet' is supported by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt having once told Gilbert Murray that 'Yeats's real bent is towards metaphysics'. The hand of Murray is perceptible too in Dodds's linking of his sense that Yeats's symbolism is 'an evocation by ritual as well as an evocation by art' to the recent discovery 'that the gods, or rather those appearances under which the primitive world saw the gods, are the projections of a prolonged emotion expressed in ritual' (Dodds, 'Yeats'). This seems to refer to Jane Harrison's argument that 'ritual is the utterance of an emotion, a thing felt, in *action*', whereas myth is 'the spoken correlative of the acted rite'—recently made in a book to which Murray had contributed an 'Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy' (Harrison 1912, 43, 328, 341–63). Dodds characteristically also suggests that the question of whether Yeats's imaginative 'vision may be supposed to have an objective basis' is not important. He is more concerned with the function of such faith, asserting (somewhat vaguely) that Yeats's sense of 'dimly-lit presences' beyond the phenomenal realm 'give dignity to our shadowy and troubled existence by linking it to a being simpler and more intense' (Dodds, 'Yeats'). Under Murray's tutelage, Dodds was already thinking about the relationship between belief and its literary evocation in metaphysical, sociological, and psychological terms.

⁷ E.R. Dodds, 'Yeats', Bodleian Library, E.R. Dodds Papers, Box 27/1.

⁸ 'Practically no one in Ireland understands Mr. Yeats or his school [...] Mystics they were and are, for a mystic is assuredly a man who deals in mysteries, and mysteries are things which the limited human mind cannot understand' (Moran 1905, 103–5).

It might be suggested, however, that Dodds's deep engagement with Yeats's work also contributed to his scholarly pursuit of the mystical in the ancient world. A Yeats-derived sense that ancient vision persists in rural Ireland and an appreciation of the visionary aspects of Yeats's poetry seemed to go hand-in-hand with the development of Dodds's unusual academic interests. A letter to Murray in 1914 outlines the ambitious desire to pursue a special study for Greats on the 'bizarre blending of philosophy and mysticism and magic' of the Gnostics and Neoplatonists, which might, Dodds explains, allow him to trace 'the obscure undercurrent of magical tradition that flows down from the Empire into the Middle Ages'.⁹ Murray advised against such an unusual choice of subject. Nevertheless, this bizarre blend, to be rediscovered as continuing forward from antiquity, chimes with Dodds's contemporaneous account of Yeats. It also possibly owes something to Yeats's polemical prose. For in the essay 'Magic' (1900), the poet had called for a rewriting of history to take better account of the influence of magic in the past, referring to Tacitus in asking: 'Why should not the Roman soldiers, though they came of a civilization which was ceasing to be sensitive to such things, have trembled for a moment before the enchantments of the Druids of Mona?'¹⁰

In some regards, Dodds would labour to answer this call for much of his scholarly life. He later emphasized that he and Yeats approached the occult from different standpoints: 'what I viewed coldly as a historian of ideas he saw with the inflamed imagination of an occultist who happened also to be a great poet' (Dodds 1977, 61–2). But such a division was less pronounced in the 1910s and 1920s. Disarmingly direct in its abstractions, Dodds's poetry repeatedly engages with the nature of existence in baldly metaphysical and mystical terms. Published in 1917, 'The Awaiters of the Advent' explores the desire to be out of time, 'to slip the gyve of fate / And dream the unconditioned'. It recognizes, though, that those 'sick voices by the Ivory Gate' on the 'verge of hell' that pray to be returned to time were no less satisfied when 'they knew the chain of hours' (Dodds 1916). 'Measure', also published in 1917, looks to be reconciled to an existence within time. Its speaker develops a conceit, derived from aligning temporal cycles to 'the waxing and waning of passion', whereby ascending to the 'One' would result

⁹ E.R. Dodds to Gilbert Murray [December 1914], Bodleian Library, Murray Papers, MS. 114/27, as quoted in Todd 1999), 84–5. Cf. Stray's chapter in this volume.

¹⁰ Yeats 1900, 35; Tacitus, *Annals*, 14:29–30.

in losing the pleasure of being within 'life's fashion', though such pleasures are also derived from an unknowable unity:

This is the sun's wisdom: that change and rest
 And change, the embodied world's recurrent measure,
 In check and counterpoise
 Contain all joys
 Lest the one treasure perish, being possessed. (Dodds 1917)

As Robert Todd suggests, Dodds's poetry 'reflects Neoplatonism and its dualistic psychology' (Todd 2000). The relationship posited in 'Measure' between an overarching One and an embodied existence in time owes something to the one-way hierarchies of Plotinus' hypostases. The opening stanza of 'The Moon-worshippers' published a couple of years later offers a poetic summary of aspects of the Fourth Ennead's account of the Soul's descent into the body (Dodds 1919e). The pursuit of these ideas within lyric poems that Dodds would later justify as offering the 'self's experience', however, suggests considerable personal investment in such modes of thought (Dodds 1929b, 10). Trying to reconcile the ideal and the phenomenal realms is certainly a theme that recurs in Dodds's poetry in ways that suggests its contemporary relevance. In two poems published in 1919, for instance, he worries away at the possibility of the persistence of absolute beauty in a post-war world now decisively marked by death (Dodds 1919g = Dodds 1929b, 15; Dodds 1919e = Dodds 1929b, 16). A sonnet from that same year brings such dualism to bear on contemporary love, as its speaker tries to grasp the true 'living self, a ghost among ghosts' resting below the unreal body of a female addressee (Dodds 1919f = Dodds 1929b, 23).

In the article 'The Renaissance of Occultism' (1919), Dodds reflects on how 'the prevailing postures of mind' of the present 'cultural epoch' might come to be written. A chapter in such a history, he argues, would need to be devoted to the contemporary rise of occultism, taking in phenomena from 'the revival among intellectuals of an interest in the classics of mysticism' to 'the recrudescence among servant girls of a penchant for shilling palmists'. He views these as symptoms of 'some widespread and deep-seated disturbance in the mind of man'. Uneasy about this collective psychological malaise, he perceives present crises through distinctly metaphysical and mystical frameworks. A plausible analysis, he explains, might be that 'the nervous break-down of a civilization too highly strung' has led not only the individual to 'take to automatism' but 'nations' to 'take to war' (Dodds 1919a). This comes from a man who spent the latter half of the war studying in Dublin,

having been asked to leave Oxford for ‘speaking his mind’ in the aftermath of the Easter 1916 uprising, and later described the English in the autumn of 1914 as having been ‘seized by some form of collective madness’ (Dodds 1977, 38, 45). While his imagination may not be, in Yeatsian fashion, inflamed by the occult, his position is not coolly detached either.

Todd perceptively notes that this article shares certain similarities with Shaw’s preface to *Heartbreak House* (1919) (Todd 1999, 99). This condemns the banishment of ‘mind, choice, purpose, conscience, will, and so forth’ that followed in the wake of the preceding half-century’s crude adoption of evolutionary theory. It also outlines the widespread ‘hypochondria’ of ‘table-rapping, materialization séances, clairvoyance, palmistry, crystal-gazing and the like’ that arose in reaction. Shaw sees both mentalities as having contributed towards the ‘delirium’ at large in Britain during the war (Shaw 1919, xii–xvii). Todd thinks it unlikely Dodds was aware of this preface when he composed his article, as both were published in September 1919 (Todd 1999, 99; Shaw 1985, 633). Whether or not he had read it, Dodds may have had some prior sense of the analysis offered in Shaw’s preface. Its subject could have been a topic of discussion among Dublin’s literati (several of whom knew Shaw well)—and the playwright had spent much of that summer in Ireland (Shaw 1985, 623–32). In any case, Dodds soon afterwards sent a postcard to his then close friend the future art critic and modernist poet Thomas MacGreevy which thanked him for leaving ‘the Shaw’.¹¹ In doing so, MacGreevy may have recognized the parallels between the article and Shaw’s recent publication. The play was certainly a cause for later comment between the pair, when after he had seen it in 1921, Dodds wrote:

It is a superb clinical analysis of the disease they’re all dying of, done by the old man who originally poisoned them, and if they’re not interested they ought to be. It isn’t every day you can see a disintegrator of Shaw’s eminence impartially sizing up the results of his life-work: the only parallel I can think of is Euripides’ ‘Bacchae’.¹²

In the same letter, Dodds not only identifies with Shaw’s diagnosis but notes that disintegration is being perceived elsewhere:

¹¹ E.R. Dodds to Thomas MacGreevy, [postmarked 5 October 1919], Trinity College Dublin, Thomas MacGreevy Papers, Ms 8112/26.

¹² E.R. Dodds to Thomas MacGreevy, 20 November 1921, Trinity College Dublin, Thomas MacGreevy Papers, Ms 8112/46. The comparison of Shaw to Euripides is further elaborated upon in relation to a cyclical historical pattern of ‘systematic irrationalism’ in Dodds 1929a.

Did you read the new Yeats poems in *The ‘Mercury’*? They want repunctuating in places, but they’re obviously a lyrical presentation of Shaw’s theme. I think it’s the carefully submerged thought in the back of most people’s heads. Lately I’ve found it obtruding itself from a lot of quarters: from the daily papers, from books like Gide’s ‘L’Immoraliste’ [...] I am trying to get hold of Spengler’s *Untergang des Abendlandes*, in which he works it out systematically.¹³

The sequence published by Yeats in *The London Mercury* in November 1921 was entitled ‘Thoughts upon the Present State of the World’ and dated ‘May, 1921’—though by the time it came to be collected in *The Tower* it was renamed (and so re-dated) ‘Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen’. The opening poem confronts a world given over to primitive brutality in which ‘a drunken soldiery / Can leave the mother, murdered at her door, / To crawl in her own blood and go scot-free’. Such violence debunks the preceding period’s collective delusions of principled progress, the ‘we’ who ‘planned to bring the world under a rule / Who are but weasels fighting in a hole’ (Allt and Anspach 1957, 429). In the 1914 Oxford talk, Dodds notes ‘a remarkable change’ in Yeats’s recent work, but as yet only perceives this as a personal ‘crisis’ growing out of ‘the bitterness of the transition from youth to age’.¹⁴ By 1921 though, he views Yeats, along with Shaw, André Gide and (he speculates) Oswald Spengler, as responding to a more general sense of cultural crisis and decline. In the intervening years, Dodds had, presumably at first hand, become better acquainted with something of the poet’s evolving attitude towards the present. He had also become better acquainted with emerging modernist literary trends. As mentioned above, by 1921 Dodds’s poetry had appeared alongside many of London’s modernists in *Coterie*—a magazine that grew out of a progressively minded writing group that Dodds had attended at Oxford, along with T.S. Eliot and Aldous Huxley (Dodds 1977, 40–2). Dodds had become well placed to situate Yeats within the emerging modernist critiques of a period now overshadowed by dehumanizing conflict.

In confronting contemporary crisis, Yeats, like several other writers central to Anglophone high modernism, looked to the past (Whitaker 1964, Longenbach 1987). His ‘Thoughts upon the Present State of the World’ are

¹³ Dodds to MacGreevy, 20 November 1921 (n. 10).

¹⁴ Dodds, ‘Yeats’, Bodleian Library, E.R. Dodds Papers, Box 27/1.

initially framed by the parallel case of the destruction of ancient Greek artworks: 'gone are Phidias' carven ivories'. Not only have such 'ingenious lovely things' gone, but so too has the popular religious mentality that perceived them as miraculous manifestations of the eternal realm, 'Above the murderous treachery of the moon'. Ancient history offers the example of this civilization in which religion and life, through art, were altogether more integrated. Yet this was also nonetheless destroyed by the return of primitive violence, so what hope has the present age whose artworks are mere 'pretty toys'? The response of the speaker to the inevitable destruction of the work of civilization is decidedly Platonic. In the second section, time is perceived in terms of the vast historical cycles of 'the platonic Year'—the outlining in *Timaeus* of the great year in which all the constellations and planets return to their original positions such that the universe might be apprehended as being imitative of the divine (Plato, *Timaeus* 39d). This is figured by Yeats as being like a dancer's 'floating ribbon of cloth', whirling in the 'wrong' and the 'old' along with the 'new right'. A human sense of individuality, as well as the progress of civilization, might be circumvented by the determinations of cosmological time, as it now fixes men upon a 'barbarous' course, but the universe is nonetheless a reflection of eternal beauty. On the side of human individuality and agency, and echoing somewhat Socrates' account of the soul's immortality in the *Phaedo*, the third section contemplates the journey of 'the solitary soul' before its 'brief gleam' in the phenomenal realm passes, as it bids to 'cast off body and trade' and leap into 'the desolate heaven' (Allt and Anspach 1957, 430–1). Finding consolation in such forbidding abstractions was for Yeats not only Platonic but, more particularly, Neoplatonic. Peter Liebrechts notes that as early as 1898, Yeats had described Plotinus as awakening to 'his lonely and abstract joy' on mystically perceiving that the particularities of human life are but a shadowy reflection of the true reality in which the soul exists (Liebrechts 1993, 322; Yeats 1975, 111–13). Plotinian self-delight then returns in Yeats's later work. For instance, 'Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen' is preceded in *The Tower* by the closing assertion of 'Meditations in a Time Civil War' that: 'The abstract joy / The half-read wisdom of daemonic images / Suffice the ageing man as once the growing boy' (Allt and Anspach 1957, 427). Before this comes the mocking of 'Plotinus' thought' and crying 'in Plato's teeth' in 'The Tower' through an assertion of the importance of the human will: 'Death and Life were not / Till man made up the whole' (Allt and Anspach 1957, 415). Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas form an important aspect of the emerging dialectic through which Yeats responds to

a sense of the tragic nature of human existence, caught between the real and the ideal in a temporal universe marked by conflict and destruction.

There are striking similarities between Yeats's and Dodds's attitudes and interests, both in relation to the nature of the contemporary moment and in terms of which aspects of the history and thought of the past might illuminate and alleviate that present. It is tempting to speculate that Yeats's renewed interest in Platonism and Neoplatonism at this point in his career, as well as his comparison of the decline of Greek civilization with the present and his dwelling on the religious functions of Greek artworks, might have been informed by his contact with Dodds. Or that Dodds's investigations into such matters, his curious persistence 'in working on Plotinus, and later Proclus, during the 1920s when such authors were so obviously non-canonical within British Classics', might have been stimulated in some way by Yeats's imaginative investment in these aspects of antiquity (Todd 2000). Certainly it is hard to keep a sense of Yeats's influence and of Dodds's scholarly reaction to such an influence far from view when considering that Dodds in the introduction to *Select Passages Illustrating Neoplatonism* writes that

We are less disposed than were our grandfathers to confuse mysticism with mystification, and perhaps at the same time less ready to turn away in disgust from a religion which disposed with ritual, a morality which ignored politics, and a philosophy which omitted the idea of progress.

(Dodds 1924a, 9)

A lack of documentary evidence makes it hard to substantiate such claims with confidence. What can be more certainly stated is that Dodds's writings and research, like Yeats's poetry, grew out of a literary and intellectual culture in the late 1910s and 1920s in which there was a widely held sense of civilization being in material and spiritual crisis. They both responded to this by looking for illumination, in historical, metaphysical, and mystical terms, to the parallel case of the regressions of late antiquity and the consolations of Neoplatonism. This corroborates that Dodds's scholarship, as Wayne Hankey suggests, was 'personally engaged', in being 'related to the terrible problems of twentieth-century Europe' and in overlapping with Dodds's personal interests in the occult. This leads Hankey to speculate that Dodds 'in an attenuated sense' was personally 'a species of Platonist, even of Neoplatonist' (Hankey 2007, 506–8). In seeking to direct the scholarship towards the personal, furthermore, Dodds in his early career pursued

paths that were intertwined with the imagination of Yeats in particular as well as with high poetic modernism more generally.

II

Moving into the 1930s, Dodds's work and his personal relationship to that work somewhat changed. Todd notes that as Dodds started to turn more towards the classical period in his scholarship, drawing on 'modern instinct-based psychology' as a framework for analysis, he seems to have become personally invested in a more secular outlook. To understand such shifts, Todd looks to the institutions where Dodds worked. He highlights that while Dodds's provincial location in Birmingham allowed for considerable intellectual freedom, on arriving in Oxford in 1936 Dodds chose to edit the *Bacchae* rather than Plotinus, thereby showing his Oxford doubters that he 'knew about something other than Neoplatonism' (Todd 2000). Viewing Dodds's scholarship in relation to his contact with modern poetry, however, suggests that other influences were also being exerted upon the scholar's thinking at this time.

In this regard, if Yeats was Dodds's primary contemporary poetic interlocutor of the late 1910s and early 1920s—acting as something of a poetic father figure to the younger man—then MacNeice seems to have taken up that role from the 1930s on, in being somewhat mentored by Dodds.¹⁵ A fellow Irishman who read *Literae Humaniores* at Merton College, MacNeice on leaving Oxford in 1930 was given a job by Dodds as an Assistant Lecturer in Classics at the University of Birmingham. The pair went on to be close friends, and after the poet's untimely death in 1963, Dodds acted as MacNeice's literary executor. MacNeice's writing reflects his immersion in the history, literature, and language of Ancient Greece and Rome. Several translations and adaptations of Greek and Latin works were made by MacNeice, and across his oeuvre many classical references and themes occur.¹⁶ But much of MacNeice's work, as Peter McDonald notes, is short on the kinds of affinities 'comforting to those looking for a secure

¹⁵ See Peter McDonald's chapter in this volume.

¹⁶ Dodds had a hand in several of these projects, most notably in MacNeice's full-length translation of *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936; see again McDonald's chapter). The scale of MacNeice's use of the classics in his later radio work has recently been highlighted by the publication of *Louis MacNeice: The Classical Radio Plays*, ed. Amanda Wrigley and S.J. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

"classical tradition" of cosy intertextual dialogue'.¹⁷ Looking at MacNeice in relation to Dodds, however, uncovers the somewhat metaphysical, rather than only literary or historical, terms on which the younger man's poems engaged with Dodds's classical scholarship. It also offers some sense of how Dodds's thought further developed in parallel with his interest in contemporary poetry.

As a sometime professional classicist, MacNeice was well placed to appreciate his friend's scholarly achievements. In 1945, for instance, a letter mentions that he has learned 'a lot from the notes' in Dodds's new edition of *The Bacchae*.¹⁸ Moreover, MacNeice's intellectual formation allowed him to engage closely with the philosophical aspects of Dodds's research. As he recounts in his posthumously published memoir *The Strings are False* (written c.1940–1), while being tutored in philosophy at Merton by 'one of Oxford's few remaining neo-Hegelians', Geoffrey Mure, MacNeice became—somewhat like Yeats and Dodds before him—torn between a desire for 'the world to be One, to be permanent, the incarnation of an absolute Idea' and his sense that 'any typical monistic system appeared hopelessly static, discounting Becoming as mere illusion and hamstringing human action' (MacNeice 1965, 124–7). But in confronting similar dilemmas in similar terms, MacNeice did not quite follow Dodds's earlier path.

As a student, MacNeice found support for his questioning of 'the three Platonic tenets' of 'reason' dominating 'instinct, soul body, and subject-matter form' via 'the psychoanalysts, D.H. Lawrence and the Post-Impressionist painters respectively'. And rather than reaching back to Neoplatonism to bridge a dualistic split between Being and Becoming, the young MacNeice resorted to the more contemporary 'flashy dynamic idealism' of Giovanni Gentile's *Mind as Pure Act* (MacNeice 1965, 124–7). In looking to Italian neo-idealism, MacNeice shared common ground with Dodds's wife, Bet, who in 1926 had published a fine study of Romantic poetic theory in the light of the aesthetic philosophy of Benedetto Croce.¹⁹ Indeed, in his later study of Yeats, MacNeice discusses Croce's aesthetics in terms that echo this study's

¹⁷ Peter McDonald, "'With Eyes Turned Down on the Past": MacNeice's Classicism', in Kathleen Devine and Alan J. Peacock (eds.), *Louis MacNeice and his Influence* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1998), 34–52: 37. McDonald's critically penetrating account links the formal and stylistic aspects of MacNeice's classicism to developments in his religious sensibility. But for a more general overview of MacNeice's classical education and pursuit of Greek and Roman themes, see Arkins 2000.

¹⁸ Louis MacNeice to E.R. Dodds, 31 July [1945]: MacNeice 2010, 459. Cf. Scullion's chapter.

¹⁹ Powell 1926. The book was awarded the Rose Mary Crawshay Prize by the British Academy.

linking of Croce to Wordsworth (MacNeice 1941, 7–8). Both Gentile and Croce offer an immanent form of idealism in contrast to the mystical transcendentalism of Neoplatonism. MacNeice’s youthful attraction to such ideas accords with Dodds’s sense that flux was a disturbing aesthetic and metaphysical problem for the young MacNeice: ‘He was a man who took a sensuous delight in the appearances of the world, the glittering surfaces of things; but the appearances refused to stay put’ (Dodds 1977, 118). Rather than the split between the phenomenal and the ideal realms, a recurring dilemma of MacNeice’s poetry is the perception and articulation of value amid a phenomenal reality marked by plurality and change: ‘World is crazier and more of it than we think, / Incurably plural’, as the speaker of ‘Snow’ suddenly apprehends (MacNeice 2007, 24).

The disaffected son of a clergyman, MacNeice seems to have been suspicious of the contemporary religious uses to which the mystical aspects of Neoplatonism could be put. His early novel *Roundabout Way* (1932) pokes fun at a Reverend Bilbatrox who ranks ‘next to Dean Inge among England’s advanced clerics. Not that he had read Plotinus or cared much for Platonic precedents of Christianity (MacNeice 2012, 61).’ Nevertheless, the extent to which metaphysics, Platonism, and Neoplatonism may have featured prominently (and sometimes less than reverently) within ongoing conversations between Dodds and MacNeice is suggested by the curious novel *Tea-Tray in the Sky* (1934). Written by MacNeice’s close friend Graham Shepard, its author’s note thanks Dodds for ‘permission to quote from his “Passages Illustrating Neo-Platonism”’ and points out that Stephen MacKenna, who died while the book was going to press, ‘is mentioned during the course of it as though still being alive’ (Shepard 1934, 6). The novel’s protagonist Maureen Pierreson obsessively pursues Plotinus as an object of study in a bid to ‘link material realism with the various aspects of supernatural reality, as mystics perceive it, in one unbroken harmonious whole’ (ibid., 235–6). Her resulting descent into a state of madness is seemingly abated at the novel’s end when she swerves her car away from a lorry, apprehending a ‘reality’ that now definitely ‘concerned her’. She so achieves some kind of distinctly worldly ecstasy amid flux: ‘an exquisite moment of poise with nothing but sky everywhere’ (ibid., 407).

Seemingly satirical in tone, the exact nature of this uncontrolled novel’s critique is hard to discern. But an attempt to turn to Plotinus as some form of adequate response to modernity certainly features prominently within it. Furthermore, one can only speculate as to the connections between the novel and MacNeice’s and Dodds’s views. However, the extreme rationalism

and solipsism of any consolation Plotinus might offer amid the manifold social and political exigencies of the 1930s are at odds with the nature of much of MacNeice's work and critical writing at this time, as will be outlined below. They are also at some distance from Dodds's turn in his scholarship from the mid-1930s on, starting with his work upon the *Bacchae*, towards 'anthropological and psychological' modes of analysis as a means of illuminating the persistence of the irrational as not just a personal but also a social phenomenon within Greek cultural history (Dodds 1951a, preface).

In any case, out of MacNeice's and Dodds's shared intellectual and literary interests at this time emerges the praise for Stephen MacKenna in the 1936 poem 'Eclogue from Iceland'. Dodds had been editing the translator's letters and journals over the previous couple of years. In 1934, MacNeice had gone to visit Dodds in Dublin, where he was compiling material for an introductory memoir to the volume, and while MacNeice was there, Dodds had taken him to have tea with Yeats.²⁰ Somewhat following Dodds's biographical introduction, the Irish speaker in the poem, Ryan, describes MacKenna as having:

Spent twenty years translating Greek philosophy
 Ill and tormented, unwilling to break contract,
 A brilliant talker who left
 The salon for the lonely flight of Mind.

This clearly echoes Yeats's image of the soul as a swan in lonely flight in the sequence 'Thoughts upon the Present State of the World', which had caught Dodds's attention fifteen years previously. But MacNeice does not merely repeat Yeats's sense of a Platonic consolation to be found in the soul's persistence beyond time's destructions. Rather the speaker Ryan goes on to group MacKenna with other figures who through some willed act of individuality have achieved moments of ecstasy:

at intervals
 They paused in sunlight for a moment's fusion
 With friends or nature till the cynical wind
 Blew the trees pale – (MacNeice 2007, 78)

²⁰ MacNeice 1965, 147–8. MacNeice reviewed the MacKenna volume on its publication: Louis MacNeice, 'Stephen MacKenna: A Writer Who Had the Courage of His Instincts', *Morning Post* (4 December 1936), 19.

Destruction is at hand but it is counterweighted within the temporal realm. It is done so too through forms of communion in which the individual reaches out to something ('friends', 'nature') beyond its own mind. That the apocalyptic wind is related to cynicism indicates how the poem more generally moves, in the face of contemporary discontents, towards the 'minute' gesture of asserting 'human values' (MacNeice 2007, 81). MacKenna, through his work as a translator, might have followed Plotinus' 'lonely flight of Mind' and, in literal terms, become somewhat lonely in leaving Dublin's salons for rural Devon. However, the momentary, worldly consolation ascribed to him in MacNeice's poem lies at some distance from Yeats's sense of Plotinus' abstract self-delight.

The redirection in 'Eclogue from Iceland' of the soul's Yeatsian Platonic 'lonely flight' towards the value to be found in lived, human experience illustrates something of how MacNeice at this time sought to point poetry (and his metaphysical proclivities) towards realism. His 1938 survey-cum-manifesto *Modern Poetry*, for instance, rails against trends from the late nineteenth century on that have attempted to 'divorce art from life', pleading instead in typical 1930s fashion for the pursuit of 'impure' poetry 'conditioned by the poet's life and the world around him' (MacNeice 1938, 3, preface). Such assertions, though, formed part of an ongoing debate across MacNeice's poetry and critical prose, set against the backdrop of the coming of the Second World War, about the relationship of poetry to reality. From the summer of 1939 on, MacNeice was working on a study of Yeats. His letters to Dodds make it clear that the pair discussed the emerging book—'I am getting near the end of the Yeats book (1st version) which is at last coming to life. I shall probably scrap nearly all that I read to you.'—and when *The Poetry of W.B. Yeats* (1941) appeared it was dedicated to Dodds: 'AN IRISHMAN, A POET, AND A SCHOLAR WHO KNOWS MORE ABOUT IT ALL THAN I DO'.²¹ The impact of Dodds's thoughts about Yeats and about poetry are discernible in MacNeice's qualified embrace in the book of idealism and mysticism. Its preface acknowledges that *Modern Poetry* 'overstressed the half-truth that poetry is *about* something'. MacNeice now rather emphasizes that a poem is 'saving the presence of philosophers, an absolute'. He makes it clear, however, that he does not mean by this that there is gulf between 'the thing which is valuable' and its abstract value:

²¹ Louis MacNeice to E.R. Dodds, 22 November [1939]: MacNeice 2010, 369.

When a rose hits me in the senses, it is the rose that hits me and not some value separable from the rose. Idealist philosophers in talking about their Absolutes and Universals have made them vulnerable by hypostatizing them, whereas the only invulnerable Universal is one that is incarnate.

This seems close to MacNeice's earlier, neo-idealist-derived sense of immanent absolute value, even echoing somewhat the images of the poem 'Snow'. Added to this now, though, is the admittance of mysticism as an important category not just for poetry but in general experience too. It represents for MacNeice not some special visionary power, but 'an instinct which is a human *sine qua non*': 'The faith in the *value* of living is a mystical faith' (MacNeice 1941, vii–viii).

As several critics have highlighted, confronting Yeats was a key aspect of MacNeice's attempts to come to terms with the arrival of the war, leading him away from some of the simplistic binaries about reality's relationship to art espoused in his earlier critical writings.²² However, this is a Yeats seemingly read through Dodds's as well as MacNeice's eyes. A distinctly metaphysical engagement with Yeats's idealism and mysticism, partly framed by Dodds's Neoplatonic interests, is set forth at points in MacNeice's study; it also recurs in the ways in which MacNeice's late poetry implicitly engages with and critiques Yeats's work (Walker 2015, 159–88). But in seeing mysticism as an essential element in humanity's relationship to the world, MacNeice here also runs in parallel to Dodds's developing scholarly concern for the persistence of the irrational as 'a surd element in human experience' (Dodds 1945a, 16). This illuminates aspects of the paths MacNeice took away from the 1930s towards the varieties of parable (to borrow the title of his own 1963 Clark lectures) that, for good and ill, constituted much of his subsequent work.²³ Writing in 1940 of Euripides' description of maenadism in the *Bacchae*, Dodds had looked to the present in commenting that: 'Dionysus has still his votaries or victims, though we call them by other names; and Pentheus was confronted by a problem which other civil authorities have had to face in real life' (Dodds 1940a, 166). A vein of MacNeice's wartime writing attempts to control or ameliorate such problems. 'Written after an air-raid, April 1941', a section of 'The Trolls' asserts: 'The trolls can occasion / Our death but they are not able / To use it as we can use it' (MacNeice 2007, 218). The irrational is to be harnessed

²² See Longley 1988, 27–8, 99; Brown 1991, 5–77: 169–71; Brown 2005, 109–29; Walker 2015, 36–8, 55–9.

²³ For an overview of parable and MacNeice, see McDonald 1991, 154–76.

as a faith, constructively and vitally, in the face of the equally irrational destructions and demands of the conflict. In *Autumn Sequel* (1954), Dodds (as 'Boyce') is then praised in terms that highlight how his understanding of the irrational at large in the ancient world—"that Rome / Absorbed rough wine and blood with the she-wolf's milk"—positively allows him to see that the present political 'dogmas' of Moscow and Washington 'are largely based on some irrational urge' (MacNeice 2007, 429).

However, Dodds's scholarly pursuit of the irrational perhaps bears its richest, though most unsettling, poetic fruit in MacNeice's late work. As Dodds perceived, the questions that troubled MacNeice 'were at bottom religious questions' (Dodds 1977, 118). The spiritual terrain that late MacNeice confronts, though, is now very different to Dodds's earlier, vaguely comforting sense of how Yeats's 'dimly-lit presences' beyond the phenomenal realm 'give dignity to our shadowy and troubled existence by linking it to a being simpler and more intense'.²⁴ The religious outlook rather resembles Dodds's account of the return of the irrational in second-century Greece: 'Gods withdraw, but their rituals live on' and 'rationalism of a limited and negative kind, continues to spread from above downwards' as 'antirationalism spreads from below upwards' (Dodds 1951a, 243–5). Instead of pursuing forbidding abstractions, Yeatsian or otherwise, MacNeice's late work embodies a visceral 'nightmare logic, where parables are twisted and distorted and there is the suspicion that sometimes, as Edna Longley has remarked, "waking up from the nightmare was only part of the dream"' (McDonald 1998, 49). In a poem such as 'After the Crash', from MacNeice's final collection *The Burning Perch* (1963), all metaphysical and mystical bets are now off:

Then he looked up and marked
 The gigantic scales in the sky,
 The pan in the left dead empty
 And the pan on the right dead empty,
 And knew in the dead, dead calm
 It was too late to die. (MacNeice 2007, 586)

At the culmination of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Dodds looks explicitly from the past towards the problems of the present. In the face of the contemporary prospect of an unprecedentedly 'open' society, he diagnoses

²⁴ Dodds, 'Yeats' (n. 12).

in mankind 'the unmistakable symptoms of recoil from that prospect'. In Ancient Greece, he proposes it was 'the horse' rather 'the rider' that refused the jump towards freedom: 'in other words, those irrational elements in human nature which govern without our knowledge so much of our behaviour and so much of what we think is our thinking.' In hopeful, positivist fashion, Dodds sees 'modern man', in contrast to his Ancient Greek counterparts, as now acquiring 'an instrument'—which presumably in part denotes the psychological and sociological ideas that were informing much of his own work—for understanding and controlling the workings of the irrational (Dodds 1951a, 254–5). By contrast, modern man and his instruments loomed increasingly large among MacNeice's fears, irrational or otherwise. As a poet rather than a scholar, he also productively came to see that he was under no obligation to understand, let alone control, his horse. Nevertheless, the very terms in which he recognized the importance of this animal's existence were in no small manner related to Dodds's decidedly poetical scholarship.

The Deaths of Tragedy

The *Agamemnon* of MacNeice, Dodds, and Yeats

Peter McDonald

Louis MacNeice's translation of *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (1936)¹ is often cited as one of the most important twentieth-century versions of Greek tragedy, by classicists as well as by admirers of MacNeice's own poetry. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, not perhaps the easiest of classical scholars to please, was in the habit of according MacNeice's translation a very high place amongst attempts to put Aeschylus into English; and the enthusiasm of classicists more generally for MacNeice's achievement seems to point to a fusion of Greek fidelity with poetic originality.² That is less surprising, possibly, when we remember that MacNeice was still in 1936 (albeit precariously) practising the twin avocations of a poet and a lecturer in classics. It may not be quite enough, though, to explain the particular qualities and importance of this translation, which is something apart from—and more than—either a scholar's or a poet's version of the play. The meaning of MacNeice's *Agamemnon* is bound up closely with certain creative tensions that energized both his own writing in the 1930s and after and, more generally, informed the direction of Irish literature of the mid-century. In trying to identify and define these tensions, it helps to bring MacNeice alongside two figures of central importance: the classical scholar (and poet) E.R. Dodds and the poet (and, in his fashion, classical enthusiast) W.B. Yeats.

When MacNeice's *Agamemnon* was first performed by the Group in the Westminster Theatre in November 1936 (it had two performances, a week apart, on the first and eighth of that month), all three of these figures were present. Yeats attended the performance in the company of the artist

¹ MacNeice 1936. Hereafter (in the text) A.

² As Dodds wrote, 'my successor at Oxford, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, told me not long ago that he thinks it the most successful version of any Greek tragedy that anyone in this country has yet produced' (*MP* 116); Lloyd-Jones repeated this assertion to the present author in the late 1980s.

Edmund Dulac and his wife, partly owing to an interest in MacNeice's work, and partly because the Group's director, Rupert Doone, had expressed enthusiasm for staging Yeats's own dramatic works (a desire which, as things turned out, Yeats did all in his power to rebuff). During the interval that evening at the Westminster Theatre, he ran into Dodds, then Oxford's very newly appointed Regius Professor of Greek, and MacNeice's mentor ever since the young poet's appointment as a lecturer in Classics at the University of Birmingham (where Dodds had been head of department) in 1930. Neither Yeats nor Dodds (who had known one another for a long time) was much enamoured of Doone's production (or, indeed, of the flamboyant and imperious Doone himself). In Dodds's memoirs, the evening is remembered like this (*MP* 132):

Doone was determined at all costs to display his originality and he made a dreadful hash of the *Agamemnon*, on which I was supposed to act as an adviser. 'Aeschylus', said Doone, 'was static, I am dynamic, so fuck all.' Some of his more eccentric 'Dooneries' were eliminated at rehearsals, like the proposal to have Cassandra, as Louis described it, 'gibbering unseen in a kind of portable bathing tent'. But on the first night of the show the Chorus were still dressed in dinner jackets, to demonstrate how 'contemporary' and 'relevant' Aeschylus was. Small wonder that the aged Yeats who was sitting in the stalls murmured to me at the interval, 'We are assisting, my dear Dodds, at the death of tragedy.' But he had the grace to add that the translation deserved a better producer.

Undoubtedly, Doone's production had a few too many bright ideas for its own good, and MacNeice was as sceptical as Dodds and Yeats about the worth of these. The dinner jackets, in particular, seem to have been an irritation all around: although the Chorus had lost their 'stained glass window'-effect masks by the first night, that evening wear was still enough to grate. Doone intended, according to Michael Sidnell's history of the Group, 'to make a connection between the actors and the audience by putting the Chorus in the "uniform" of the latter', but, since 'the audience was not "in uniform"', 'the point was rather lost'.³ Actually, the point was not at all lost on Yeats, who had himself worried about the inconvenience of donning evening wear for the occasion.⁴ But Yeats hated that point, and his

³ Sidnell 1984, 214.

⁴ See Yeats's letter to Dorothy Wellesley, 29 October 1936: 'Sunday evening go with the Dulacs to Macneice's translation of the *Agomemnon*. . . I have put off my return to Dublin because my wife thought Friday a bad day—an excursion—and Saturday seems little better & if

remark about ‘the death of tragedy’ in some ways hinges upon it. For MacNeice, too, as for Dodds, the ‘connection’ between the *Agamemnon* and a London audience was neither skin-deep nor a question of mere familiarity (he called Doone’s costumes ‘a crazy bogus idea of having the Chorus in modern dress’).⁵ That the play had connections aplenty however, with powerful and troubling realities—creative and personal, as well as cultural—was something that MacNeice, like Dodds and Yeats, knew only too well.

To begin with the translator himself, MacNeice’s decision to tackle Aeschylus was more than a matter of getting a foot in the door of the London theatre. In fact, the poet always saw his *Agamemnon* as a work with a published as well as a stage existence, and it was Faber and Faber—or more specifically, T.S. Eliot as editor there—who brought out the play in book form in time for the production. It is worth noting that Eliot was being kept up to date on the play’s progress as it was being translated over the summer of 1936—worth remembering, too, that Eliot was not only a close and acute observer of Yeats at this time, and in particular of Yeats’s recent work for the stage, but an old acquaintance of Dodds also, having studied Neoplatonism alongside him in Oxford in 1914. It is a matter of some interest also that Eliot’s own Aeschylean play, *The Family Reunion* (1939) would feature—and have its production’s success troubled by—the Erinyes kitted out in evening wear. One of MacNeice’s letters to Eliot from the summer includes a note on the translation, one which was to be cut substantially in eventual publication. In this, MacNeice plays the stage against the study revealingly:⁶

This translation was primarily written for the stage. Of the many English translations already existent none of them seems to me to emerge as a live play. I hope that mine reads like a live play; in working to this end I have been prepared to sacrifice the parts to the whole. I have consciously sacrificed two things in the original: the liturgical flavour of the diction and the metrical complexity of the choruses. I have tried to make this translation vigorous, intelligible, and homogeneous. I have avoided on the whole poetic or archaic diction and any diction or rhythm too reminiscent

I have to dress for the *Agamemnon* I should hate to pack on Sunday night’ (Yeats 2015a, no. 6688.)

⁵ MacNeice, letter to Mary MacNeice, 10 November 1936: MacNeice 2010, 284.

⁶ MacNeice to T.S. Eliot, 23 June 1936: MacNeice 2010, 266.

of familiar English models. The dialogue is in an elastic blank verse; the choruses are unrhymed (occasionally they echo the cadences of the original.) The translation is, I think, closer to the original than many; I first wrote a very literal version, line for line, sometimes word for word, and afterwards modified it with a view to form, intelligibility, and dramatic effect.

Of all its readers, Eliot would surely be one of the most alert to the irony of this statement about what is 'consciously sacrificed' in a translation of the *Agamemnon*, where one conscious sacrifice in particular lies behind the bloodiness of the action. This is not a casual infelicity on MacNeice's part, but an indication of the underlying concentration and difficulty in the translation that might make it 'a live play'. 'Live' here is not the same thing as Rupert Doone's sense of accessibility or contemporary relevance, for MacNeice makes his translation awkwardly, sometimes painfully, alive in its searching and unsettling relation to the shapes that haunt his own poetic imagination.

The mechanics of the literary 'sacrifice', too, are made specific. MacNeice's interest in what can be done poetically from a 'very literal' starting point was not new, and was in fact one of the elements in this translation which worked against, rather than with, the ambitions for 'relevance' of its director. At the heart of this is a conviction (not MacNeice's alone, of course) that translated Greek should carry the shock of unfamiliarity, instead of the comfort of naturalness, in English. Some of MacNeice's notes (probably for a talk from the 1930s) put things bluntly:⁷

What I want to say is that if only translators and paraphrasers and hellenizers had taken Milton's hint they would not have ruined the Greek choruses and Greek lyric poetry by putting them into pat English metres and slick English rhythms, but they would have done something severe and intricate and probably irregular in English to convey what is severe and amazingly intricate in Greek. If you are translating Greek verse into English verse, you must not use any sustained and regular English metre, for the more regular and the more specific a metre it is, the more will it obsess the ear of the hearer and keep out the Greek atmosphere from the mind.

The practical consequences of this emerge critically in MacNeice's account for the *Spectator* in 1935 of Gilbert Murray's translation of Aeschylus'

⁷ MS note among MacNeice papers, Bodleian Library. Authorial abbreviations have been expanded. For a fuller discussion, see McDonald 1998, 39–40.

The Seven Against Thebes.⁸ This review is more or less a complete dismissal of Murray's efforts, even though it acknowledges his good intentions as a translator. While MacNeice concedes that Murray 'wishes to put across his original' and thus 'takes liberties not for their own sake but in order to save qualities in his original which he regards as more important than word for word accuracy', he insists that this doesn't really work. 'It may be maintained,' MacNeice writes, 'that neither Dryden nor Pope really took the spirit of their originals, but one thing which they certainly had in common with them was technical virility.' 'And this,' the reviewer concludes, 'is one thing which Professor Murray lacks.' Again, MacNeice is willing to spell out the alternative means of translation that he recommends:

Not that I would recommend a free verse translation, but I think a translation should start from the Greek, preferably line for line. Diction and rhythm will then differentiate. A touch of Gerard Manley Hopkins might have helped Professor Murray. Thus if for 'Hark! in the gates the bronzen targes groan' we substitute 'Hark! in the gates the bronze shiëlds gróan,' we improve both rhythm and diction and so make the whole more real.

All theories of translation apart, this is fighting talk, and it offers a few sidelights on how MacNeice regarded what might have been seen as the 'Oxford' school of translation of the day. One wonders how many junior lecturers in the provinces would, even now, be quite so willing to call out the Oxford Regius Professor for his lack of 'technical virility'—and one wonders too whether Murray himself, when he sliced straight through the Gordian tangle of internal candidates in nominating his successor around this time, by giving Number 10 the name of E.R. Dodds, was seeking to rid his old pupil of such a troublesome junior colleague. It's hard to believe that the thoughts in this review had not been shared with Dodds, and MacNeice's piece of deadly quotation, 'Hark! in the gates the bronzen targes groan', carries its own bit of Ulster mischief: 'targes', which Murray in his bookish innocence wants just to mean 'shields', would mean something else as well to anyone who—like MacNeice and like Dodds—had ears attuned to Ulster Scots: there, the noun can mean 'One who targes; a termagant; a scold' (*OED* *targe* *n.* 3).

MacNeice's interest in 'word for word' foundations was to be a persistent one. As late as 1962, he wrote about Robert Fitzgerald's *Odyssey*: 'I think it

⁸ MacNeice, 'Translating Aeschylus', *Spectator* 10 May 1935, repr. in Heuser, 7–10.

would have helped if he had attempted a line-by-line translation, keeping wherever possible the word order of the original; this kind of puzzle holds the translator up but, perhaps just because of that, a by-product can be that tautness which is so easily lost in translating a long poem.⁹ As *The Agamemnon* took shape, it was just this ‘tautness’ which MacNeice took pains to achieve, and his own diction and word order very often show signs of an origin in what might seem a highly literal, or verbally equivalent, mapping of the Aeschylus text. What MacNeice called ‘the Greek atmosphere’—so completely etiolated in the exhausted Victorian diction of Murray—was the poetic effect to which MacNeice aspired. Yet that atmosphere is, if not preciously Oxonian, not just ‘Greek’ either, for there is an important sense in which it is the ‘atmosphere’ of the poet’s imagination, with a ‘tautness’ imparted by pressures and counter-pressures from biographical and cultural inheritances. Reading these (as we must) in an Irish context, two names for them might be religion, and W.B. Yeats.

MacNeice dedicates *The Agamemnon* ‘To my Father’. All things considered, Aeschylus’ play is an odd one to be carrying this kind of filial dedication; odder still, once MacNeice’s remarks on ‘the liturgical flavour of the diction’ are taken into account (John Frederick MacNeice, his father, was a clergyman in the Church of Ireland, and Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore). In the published Preface, the poet himself waxed liturgical, or at least Old Testament, on the subject of ‘blood’ (A, pp. 7–8):

The family is physically, and therefore morally, a unit: the same blood runs in all, and through it descends an inherited responsibility which limits, without wholly destroying, the power of choice in each. The sins of the fathers are visited on the children, so the children are victims of circumstance. But the children, because they are of the same blood, are tempted to sin in their turn. If a man holds such a view he will tend simultaneously to vindicate the ways of God and kick against the pricks of chance. It is a paradox that gives tension to a play like the *Agamemnon*.

This is the poet who, only a year before, had given his Faber debut volume *Poems* an epigraph from Aeschylus (in the Greek, translated in *The Agamemnon* as ‘like a boy | Who chases a winged bird’ (A, p. 26)), and had declared in one of that book’s poems that ‘I will exorcise my blood’.¹⁰ As for the family being a physical and moral unit, MacNeice’s adult life had very

⁹ MacNeice, ‘Blood and Fate’, *The Listener*, 4 October 1962, repr. in Heuser 1987, 235.

¹⁰ ‘Valediction’, in MacNeice 2007, 9.

recently succumbed to the familial breakdown that marred his own childhood: his wife Mary had left him abruptly and devastatingly for another man, so that he (like his father, who had been widowed when Louis was seven years old) was left to take care of an infant son. 'The power of choice', which so much of MacNeice's poetry celebrates and relishes, was in these respects at least somewhat curtailed, and kicking against the pricks was an impulse held in creative tension with that counter-impulse 'to vindicate the ways of God'. Even in adulthood, MacNeice was never short on familial advice about how such vindication might best be worked out in his own life. In 1936, that life was far from a satisfactory or a stable one. 'Both Menelaus and Agamemnon,' MacNeice wrote in an early try at a programme note, 'are ruined by their wives'.¹¹ His own divorce became final on the day after the play's first performance.

It was to E.R. Dodds's wife that MacNeice wrote in the last stages of rehearsals, to report how 'The murder has been amended & now happens behind a human screen & during a blackout', while 'I have to do the atmospheric voice after all because they all like it (no doubt it has a religious flavour, the episcopal heritage)'.¹² Dodds himself was an unofficial advisor throughout, and was consulted in detail on the translation, but he would not have been so aware as MacNeice of the familial tensions that were being brought to bear. In a way, though, Dodds was himself involved in another of the poet's family groupings, as a kind of surrogate father to MacNeice – and MacNeice was, in his turn, a kind of surrogate son to the childless Doddses. 'What am I to call him, by the way,' MacNeice wrote in the same letter, 'if I can't call him Professor?'

It should be obvious that family, and families, bring a certain pressure to bear on MacNeice's translation; but the whole question of the familiar is not without bearing on the poet's wish to distance his language and style in *The Agamemnon* from the overly familiar, in order to have the play breathe again with 'the Greek atmosphere'. By looking in detail at a few passages, it is possible to see MacNeice putting his theories into practice, and even to venture some tentative analysis of the 'atmosphere' that results. At the opening of the Third stasimon, after Clytemnestra has gone into the palace to murder her husband, MacNeice gives the Chorus these lines (A, p. 46):

¹¹ Quoted in Stallworthy 1995, 194.

¹² MacNeice to Mrs E.R. Dodds, late October 1936, in MacNeice 2007, 277.

Why, why at the doors
 Of my fore-seeing heart,
 Does this terror keep beating its wings?
 And my song play the prophet
 Unbidden, unhired –
 Which I cannot spit out
 Like the enigmas of dreams
 Nor plausible confidence
 Sit on the throne of my mind?
 It is long time since
 The cables let down from the stern
 Were chafed by the sand when the sea-faring army started for
 Troy.

The rhythms here are nervy, even jittery; but there is an abrupt strangeness to the imagery and diction too, which adds to the disconcerting effect. Hearts, for example, don't often have 'doors' in English idiom (even though they commonly have keys): MacNeice produces these 'doors' from somewhere just behind the literal level of his Greek text (one scholarly version offers as a literal translation, 'Why does this terror persistently hover in front of my divining heart?').¹³ This still doesn't quite give the heart 'doors', and MacNeice develops his image from the implications of Aeschylus' word *prostaterion*, which can mean 'standing in front of', 'guarding over', or (as a recent commentary has it) 'presiding before'.¹⁴ The trouble with the literal meaning here is that, if fear is standing in front of the heart like some kind of guardian or governor (which would be the import of the word *prostates*, if that is indeed to be heard in *prostaterion*), it is hard to imagine such a presence engaged in persistent hovering. The Greek words conveying that are in fact two at the ends of Aeschylus' first and third lines: '*empedos*' (continually) and '*potatai*' ('hovers'). MacNeice's 'Why... Does this terror keep beating its wings' not only answers to the prominence of this image, but gives it proper immediacy and reality: a bird won't 'hover', persistently or otherwise, without using its wings. More than this is achieved, for the 'doors' and the 'beating' are brought together to promote the subliminal sense of something hammering to be admitted (this, when Clytemnestra has just walked in through one ominously open door). Even the Porter in *Macbeth* may be a distant presence.

¹³ Denniston and Page 1957, 155.

¹⁴ Raeburn and Thomas 2011, 173.

As the lines proceed, MacNeice's effects continue to be disconcerting. 'It plays the prophet, my song, though none has bidden or hired it,' translate Denniston and Page, 'nor yet, to reject it (viz. the terror) like dreams of doubtful import, does confidence persuasive sit on the throne of my thought.'¹⁵ A central verb here, *'apoptusas'*, is much more definite than 'reject', and MacNeice gives it its literal weight as 'spit out', in the process setting off a whole chain of sounds and rhythms: 'cannot spit out' itself hardens 'unbidden' from the line before, and is picked up on by 'sit on the' and 'It is' a couple of lines later. 'What I cannot spit out' is, then, 'literal'; at the same time, it draws energy from the colloquial English of 'spit it out' (in a play where, from almost the beginning, great emphasis is placed on what is known but can't be said), but it also carries ominous resonances from the aboriginal horror of the cannibal banquet in the house of Atreus. Next, the word of straight Greek in MacNeice's translation, 'enigmas', isn't actually there in the Greek text (where the word is *'duskriton'*, conveying ambiguity or doubleness of interpretation). A more truly literal moment comes with MacNeice's 'Sit on the throne of my mind' for the Greek *'hidzei phrenos . . . thronon'*. The metaphor is not English, in the sense that it would not occur naturally in an English idiom in this form. Again, though, it can feel like either a development of, or a stripping back from the metaphorical use of 'enthroned' to mean emotionally rooted or established. Once MacNeice gets to grips with the last three lines, where textual corruption has (it seems) issued in a piece of barely intelligible Greek, he sidesteps entirely a dispute about whether or not sand may be said to 'fly up' when ships' cables are let down (or drawn up), by introducing his own verb 'chafed'. This is better than any of the scholars' proffered guesses (from Wilamowitz onwards), but it is also a practical demonstration of the need for a translator to be able to compose afresh when necessary.

'Atmosphere' in all this is paramount, and it is also a matter of particulars. The rhythms make no concession to what may be claimed as falling 'naturally' into English; and they are proof that MacNeice had taken his own advice for Murray, and had been listening attentively to the 'sprung rhythm' of Hopkins. At other points in the play, the translation can take on a different formal bearing—sometimes, indeed, one that is indebted to what MacNeice calls the 'liturgical'. In the so-called hymn to Zeus of the play's long Parodos, MacNeice finds a register for the religiously 'severe'. Zeus

¹⁵ Denniston and Page 1957, 155.

having been mentioned at the close of one strophe, a new sentence begins with 'Who' (A, p. 19):

Who setting us on the road
 Made this a valid law –
 'That men must learn by suffering.'
 Drop by drop in sleep upon the heart
 Falls the laborious memory of pain,
 Against one's will comes wisdom;
 The grace of the gods is forced on us
 Throned inviolably.

Here, MacNeice expands where Aeschylus compresses: the little phrase '*pathei mathos*' ('learning by suffering') becomes a line-long dictum, its stiff iambic tetrameter being immediately superseded by two delicately paced pentameters, the first trochaic, the second reversing its first foot to continue the trochaic effect. This is learning in detail, then, and it does not sound at all like the abstract proposition from which it issues. 'Drop by drop . . . Falls' answers Aeschylus's (perhaps simpler) verb at the beginning of the fourth line, '*stazei*'—'drops', or 'drips'. MacNeice's 'Falls', positioned as it is, feels heavier than this; and the real work of the lines is to convey a heaviness as something incremental and inevitable. Here, the Greek finds the compound '*mnesipemon ponos*'—the suffering of remembered pains; what MacNeice comes up with is quite different in 'Falls the laborious memory of pain'. 'Laborious' might grow from a bud of meaning in '*ponos*', but its mid-line position in the pentameter gives it both duration and weight that are very much to the translator's purpose. Learning by suffering isn't just a slogan; it is hard work. But the sound here is not MacNeice's alone: 'laborious' in mid-pentameter, with its two last syllables either slurred into one or doubly unstressed, had been done before. MacNeice's line, in other words, carries unmistakably the rhythmic and lexical fingerprints of W.B. Yeats—and Yeats, moreover, in a recent poem about the ruination of houses and families, the 'My Descendants' section of 'Meditations in Time of Civil War' (published first in 1923, and collected in 1933):¹⁶

And what if my descendants lose the flower
 Through natural declension of the soul,

¹⁶ Allt and Alspach 1957, 423.

Through too much business with the passing hour,
 Through too much play, or marriage with a fool?
 May this laborious stair and this stark tower
 Become a roofless ruin that the owl
 May build in the cracked masonry and cry
 Her desolation to the desolate sky.

Yeats's whole stanza is relevant, and the metrical match for 'laborious' exact. Why should MacNeice, whether or not consciously, have Yeats in his ear at this especially 'liturgical' moment of the translation? One answer may be that Yeats sits somewhere close to the broadly 'religious' elements in the 'Greek atmosphere' which MacNeice wants to transmit here. In this context, 'Against one's will comes wisdom' is a line that frames a highly charged item in the Yeatsian poetic vocabulary, 'wisdom', in a distinctly un-Yeatsian cadence and diction, while the final couplet drives home a lesson drastically at odds with Yeats's views on the subject of wisdom and its attainment. Here, MacNeice creates a piece of his (designedly slightly disjointed) diction in the final line 'Throned inviolably': the Greek image hinges on the word '*selma*', meaning a raised bench on a boat, and something very far from a throne. 'The grace of the gods', too, seems to up the stakes from the Greek word '*charis*', meaning something between favour and goodwill, for 'grace' in English is a word with a very un-Greek history, especially in the 'liturgical' register in which MacNeice is working. Aeschylus's word for 'the gods' in this context is not '*theon*' but '*daimonon*'; and *daimon* was a word, and a concept, in which Yeats was much interested and which, by this point in the 1930s, he had made his own.

MacNeice's lyric poetry, too, comes into the range of effects open to the translation. In the first stasimon, MacNeice has his Chorus wax sternly sententious (*A*, pp. 25–6):

Measure is the best. Let danger be distant,
 This should suffice a man
 With a proper part of wisdom.
 For a man has no protection
 Against the drunkenness of riches
 Once he has spurned from his sight
 The high altar of Justice.

'Measure is the best' sounds like it should be a literal version of the Greek; but it isn't, and the alliterative drive of 'Let danger be distant', also, belongs

more to MacNeice than to Aeschylus. It is with 'the drunkenness of riches', though, that MacNeice's version becomes more personal: the phrase translates '*ploutou pros koron*', 'against excess of wealth', where the word '*koros*' means—as it had done from Homer onwards—'satiety, surfeit'. Dodds produces a rather more nuanced gloss in *The Greeks and the Irrational* when he writes that 'Between the primitive offence of too much success and its punishment by jealous Deity, a moral link is inserted: success is said to produce *koros*—the complacency of the man who has done too well—which in turn generates *hubris*, arrogance in word or deed or even thought' (Dodds 1951a: 31). Why 'drunkenness'? The connection with MacNeice's own poetry is obvious now, since the poem in question is one of his most famous, but in 1936 'Snow' had only been published for a year or so:¹⁷

World is crazier and more of it than we think,
 Incorrigibly plural. I peel and portion
 A tangerine and spit the pips and feel
 The drunkenness of things being various.

Aeschylus has bad news to bring to these lines, which MacNeice's translation hammers home with an unrelenting flatness. It might be possible to extend this one point of detail to the broader picture of the relation between *The Agamemnon* and MacNeice's own lyric work as it then stood, and say that the poet is forcing himself to encounter the vast shapes of determination, and familial ruination, which his own finest poetry had already so brilliantly set itself to escape. 'Drunkenness' is for MacNeice escape, albeit an escape which this play crushes flat. When Dodds read these lines from 'Snow' in MacNeice's *Poems* (1935), they were among the compositions which, he told MacNeice, 'seem to me to have a live core which is the personality of their author'; he also, some time later, was able to locate the origins of the poem 'Snow' not just very close to, but actually inside his own Birmingham home (*MP* 117):

Of the pieces in that volume the best are rooted in immediate personal experience. 'Snow' was conceived on a winter evening at Sir Harry's Road. Out of doors it was snowing, but in the study window Bet had placed a big bowl of roses from our heated greenhouse, 'soundlessly collateral and incompatible', while we sat round the fire eating tangerines. The scene

¹⁷ 'Snow', MacNeice 2007, 24.

was no invented symbol (as some critics have assumed) but an accidental piece of real life, vividly recalled by Louis and endowed by him with a universal meaning.

'Drunkness', so minute a detail of MacNeice's translation here, is a verbal trace that connects back to 'Snow' and, just as importantly, to Dodds and the alternative 'family' he provided for the poet. Had Dodds, perhaps, already tried out on MacNeice the quotation that he adduced later in his edition of *The Bacchae*: 'Drunkness, as William James observed, 'expands, unites, and says Yes: it brings its votary from the chill periphery of things to the radiant core; it makes him for the moment one with truth'?' (Dodds 1944: xiii). Dodds's personal connections with drunkness (his father had lost his job in disgrace after one drunken episode, and died young, probably from the effects of alcoholism, while his own autobiography both alludes to heavy drinking as a young man, and mentions more than once his successful moderation in later life) gives such discussion a certain edge. Years later, MacNeice was to write of Dodds in terms that acknowledge a connection between the irrational and (amongst other things), strong drink:¹⁸

He knows that Rome
Absorbed rough wine and blood with the she-wolf's milk
And that the dogmas of each pompous dome
In Moscow, Washington, and places of that ilk,
Are largely based on some irrational urge [...]

As in his relations with his father, MacNeice in his friendship with Dodds sometimes found himself explaining away instances of 'The drunkness of things' close to home; and theories of civilization and the irrational did, perhaps, come as a welcome aid in this respect.

As a whole, and independently of its production, MacNeice's *Agamemnon* moves towards a distinctly chill periphery of alienation and menace. At this point in the 1930s, MacNeice knew that his own poetry needed to look certain horrors and threats full in the face: even his publisher-subsidized jaunt to Iceland with W.H. Auden was part of a project of unsettling his own settled perspectives, and again and again in his poetry of the decade the brilliantly illuminated spaces of intimate happiness and individuality are threatened by cold, shadowy, and sinisterly deterministic forces from places outside the control of the individual will. The literary project of the

¹⁸ *Autumn Sequel* (1954) Canto XIII: MacNeice 2007, 429.

translation in *The Agamemnon* is a part of this, especially in its cultivation of effects of ritual action and unfamiliarity of style. 'Unfamiliarity' may be an accurate term, but it is still not exactly the right word for the effect imagined in this view of translation. What MacNeice has in mind, and is doing his best to achieve, is an encounter between the known and the unknown, the familiar and the alien, which will unsettle an audience's, or a reader's, sense of context and certainty, in the same way that it delivers a severe shock to the poetic imagination. Translation, in Yeatsian terms, becomes a means of encountering the 'daimon', which is a presence at once intimate and radically other.

Like Dodds, MacNeice was fascinated by ancient Greek religion; unlike him, his interest did not take a primarily scholarly turn, but both men had in common a sense of the beliefs of the ancient world as being in an antagonistic, while intimate, relation to the Christianity into which they had both been born. It is hard to say, in the end, whether this sense derives more from study of ancient thought itself than from deep, prolonged, and life-changing exposure to the writings of W.B. Yeats. Like Yeats, both Dodds and MacNeice came from the Protestant Irish tradition, and the Church of Ireland. Though none of the three was in adulthood a believing Christian, all of them retained a fascination with superstition, myth, and the irrational which had a focus in the study of the classical world, but had also its correlative in the religious (or rather perhaps, sectarian) psycho-geography of the faith and place into which they had been born. Ancient Greece, therefore, has some alarming points of contact with Catholic Ireland. At some level, encountering the remote past was for all three a process of meeting and absorbing the feared other. In his *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (1917) Yeats was eloquent on the necessity of what he called 'The Daemon':¹⁹

The Daemon comes not as like to like but seeking its own opposite, for man and Daemon feed the hunger in one another's hearts. Because the ghost is simple, the man heterogeneous and confused, they are but knit together when the man has found a mask whose lineaments permit the expression of all the man most lacks, and it may be dreads, and of that only.

The spelling of Yeats's 'Daemon' hints at an origin in Shelley, but his conception became more and more definitely Greek as time passed; and

¹⁹ Yeats 1994, 11.

by 1931, Stephen MacKenna's Plotinus—along with cognate studies by Dodds—had further informed what was now his 'daimon':²⁰

It is fitting that Plotinus should have been the first philosopher to meet the daimon face to face . . . This timeless individuality contains archetypes of all possible existences whether of man or brute, and as it traverses its circle of allotted lives, now one, now another, prevails. . . . Some other existence may take the place of Socrates, yet Socrates can never cease to exist. . . . All about us there seems to start up a precise inexplicable teeming life, and the earth becomes once more, not in rhetorical metaphor, but in reality, sacred.

This is exactly what the young Yeats had found in the beliefs, stories, and landscape of the West of Ireland. For Dodds, a work like *The Greeks and the Irrational* grows from such a point, opened by the wayward, idiosyncratic, and Irish imagination of Yeats. Translation, in so far as it is the bringing into life of words that are otherwise dead—and nowhere more dead than where they are converted into the literary ease of conventional style—is potentially an encounter with the daimonic. In his own account of Yeats's use of the daimon, MacNeice concluded that 'In a sense then the poet as poet can escape up to a point from determinism'.²¹ This helps to explain why MacNeice forces himself into the deterministic world of *The Agamemnon*, in the intention of bringing the play to life. That *The Agamemnon* is a living thing, as MacNeice knows, should fill us not with archaeological interest, but with raw horror. And MacNeice, a trained classicist and a professional, had to come to terms with the overwhelming evidence for Yeats's being closer to the alien heart of Greek otherness than much of the most advanced modern scholarship.

One is describing here a classicism which needs to be identified as in some ways distinctly Irish, and Protestant Irish at that. At all events, it owes little in the end to Oxford. 'How I hate that town!' MacNeice wrote to Dodds as he put the finishing touches to his Aeschylus;²² and Dodds was—to put it mildly—slow to come to terms with his life in the University there: 'It was many years,' Hugh Lloyd-Jones wrote (believing, evidently, that this could matter a jot) 'before he really settled down among his Oxford colleagues.'²³ A better sense of belonging, and a more complicated grasp of Hellenism, is

²⁰ W.B. Yeats, from the conclusion of the Introduction to *The Words upon the Window Pane* (1931), repr. in Yeats 2001, 721–2.

²¹ MacNeice 1941, 115.

²² Letter to E.R. Dodds, October 1936: MacNeice 2010, 277.

²³ Lloyd-Jones 2004.

conveyed in this anecdote of Dodds's—*mutatis mutandis*, it could come from Yeats (*MP* 101):

On a later occasion I used Greek poetry for a different purpose. The S.P.R. had asked me to investigate a 'poltergeist' which was giving trouble in a remote and isolated farmhouse in Flintshire. On arriving there I found the farmer and his wife in a condition of panic terror, although the observed phenomena appeared to consist of little more than a series of unexplained nocturnal noises. After taking notes of their evidence and inspecting the premises I was inclined to diagnose the Unseen Agency as rats in the thatch. But the old couple would have none of that. To them I was a person specially qualified to deal with unclean spirits, an expert sent by Providence from distant London, and they were not to be put off with chat about rats. After hours of fruitless argument I agreed reluctantly to perform an exorcism, and proceeded to recite very gravely a chorus from the *Agamemnon* in the original Greek. I promised them on my faith as an expert that this would ensure a good night's rest for all three of us, and so in fact it did. Their gratitude was touching. But with typical carelessness I neglected to follow up the case and see how long the effect lasted.

Wales here, not the West of Ireland; but the sensibility—amused scepticism and all—originates in Yeats, and strongly resembles his wanderings in search of folklore and myth in Ireland towards the end of the nineteenth century. To measure the forces working between Yeats, MacNeice, and Dodds involves more than just that 'death of tragedy' in the Westminster Theatre on All Saints' Day in 1936, where what was dead was the attempt to make Aeschylus contemporary and 'relevant'; it involves also understanding that for all three, in their very different ways, Greek otherness and daimonic agency was something liable to come to life in poetry. This aspect of Yeats's imagination was problematic, and it largely eluded—as it continues to elude—Anglocentric patterns of literary thinking. And yet it is precisely this that makes MacNeice's *Agamemnon* (which is in a way Dodds's *Agamemnon* too, and Yeats's) such a strange, fearful, and living work.

Dodds and Educational Policy for a Defeated Germany

David Phillips

Wartime planning for the defeat of Germany

As it became clear during the Second World War that Germany would eventually be defeated, the Allies began to turn their attention to planning for some kind of post-war settlement. Policy at the highest level was slow to emerge. President Roosevelt was indecisive on the choice between a brutal ‘Carthaginian’ peace—in line with the US Secretary to the Treasury Henry Morgenthau’s proposal for the pastoralization of Germany—and one that would return a new civilized and democratic Germany to the comity of European nations. Winston Churchill took little interest in the practicalities of the task of reconstruction in Germany until a very late stage: Anthony Eden could record in January 1945 (by which time Allied troops had been on German soil for several months) that Germany was a subject on which Churchill was still unwilling to make decisions (Eden 1965, 505). By April, he was asking the Secretary of State for War for an estimate of manpower requirements and a statement on the broad basis upon which it was proposed to take action (Churchill 1954, 644–5). Before then, considerable planning had been undertaken in the Foreign Office and through SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force), including outline agreement on the zonal division of Germany. Roosevelt and Churchill had formulated ‘certain common principles’ in the 1941 declaration known as the Atlantic Charter, and they were developed in a series of further Allied meetings culminating in the Potsdam Protocol of 1945, in which there was common agreement on a wide range of issues, including what was to be done in education.

The relevant paragraph of the Protocol states:

German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas. (Potsdam Agreement 1947, 5)

For most of the war-time planning, there was an assumption that the war would end with a peace treaty and that a German government of some kind would be in place to implement the victors' demands. For those working on the detail of what would be needed in education, it would come as a shock to realize that there would be no government machinery of any kind at any level through which the occupying forces might operate. Gilbert Murray, who had been chairing a joint commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship, wrote a preface to Minna Specht's 1944 pamphlet *Education in Post-War Germany*, in which he still—in the final stages of the War—anticipated that a German ministry would be in place. He proposed that a High Commissioner be appointed

who would stand between the Allied military authority and the German Ministry of Education, and be capable of explaining each to the other. He would see that the essential demands of the Allies are carried out, and at the same time see that the German educational authority, if trustworthy, should have as much freedom and support as necessary. (Specht 1944, 4)

This was the view taken in the Joint Commission's report of January 1943. Among its 'general principles' for the re-education of Germany were that the reality of defeat should be made manifest to the German people, and that the peace imposed should not be 'of such vengeance that they would be placed in a position of permanent inferiority'. Re-education and 'spiritual regeneration' were of no less importance than physical disarmament (London International Assembly & Council for Education in World Citizenship, 1943, 25). And the role of the proposed High Commissioner would include improvisation with existing German authorities:

If, as would seem to be highly probable, there is widespread chaos in Germany at the end of the war, then one of the first responsibilities of the High Commissioner should be to make the best arrangements he can for as much education as possible to be carried on. This may well have to include co-operation with the proper authorities to ensure the provision of food, clothing and shelter for school children, teachers and students. In this period the work of the High Commissioner would be largely a matter of improvisation. He would have to accept the assistance of such German teachers and administrators as had been retained in their posts and were willing to collaborate with him, but in this initial work he might well have an opportunity to discover men and women in Germany who would later

be of the utmost assistance to him in carrying through a more fundamental re-organisation of the educational system. (Ibid., 26)

Before the War, Murray had addressed the need for international co-operation in matters of education in his capacity as president of the International Committee of International Co-operation (*The Schools of Europe: The Coming Danger*, 1935). Thinking internationally in this way and anticipating a settlement in which good Germans would co-operate with a benign occupying authority, creating the conditions for reform, was very much the view that E.R. Dodds was to adopt as he began his involvement with preparation for a post-war Germany.

The Foreign Research and Press Service and the Foreign Office Research Department

In 1939, Arnold Toynbee reached agreement with the Foreign Office for support to transfer to Balliol College, Oxford, a research group established under the aegis of the Institute of International Affairs and charged with considering post-war international planning. The group, known as the Foreign Research and Press Service (FRPS), would provide its findings to the government on demand (McNeill 1989, 179–80). The work of FRPS was widely recognized in government ministries. R.A. Butler minuted that he could not imagine any head of department at the Foreign Office being ‘so shortsighted as to underrate the value and ability’ of people like T.H. Marshall and others working in Oxford, even though he himself was ‘brought up to hate Oxford, much the same as Coke of Norfolk was brought up to hate a Tory’.¹ Many FRPS papers were adopted as text for technical manuals, designed to assist policy makers to check the background detail relevant to developing proposals.

As early as April 1939, Dodds had apparently been exploring what role he might have once war was declared with Germany. His Oxford contemporary and friend Eric Earnshaw Smith (1893–1972),² with the Foreign Office and working for the Government Code and Cypher School, following an approach from Dodds, wrote to him with a suggestion:

¹ Butler to Sir Orme Sargent & Sir Stephen Gaselee, 4 February 1941. National Archives, FO371/29145.

² Earnshaw Smith appears in Dodds’s memoir *Missing Persons* as ‘Hearnshaw’.

If you really want to strike a blow for our peculiar brand of liberty, democracy, decency and all that, I think your best course would be to join the Ministry of Propaganda which will, I understand, be set going when war breaks out. I gather that the arrangements for this are in the hands of the F.O., and that a number of your colleagues are already earmarked for it.

Smith told Dodds that he would 'approach the right people and have your name put on the list'; he added, however, that his department was full and 'what we are to do with the hordes of Professors when they are loosed upon us is causing me the greatest anxiety'. (Maurice Bowra was apparently deemed 'not suitable'.)³

In the event, it was Toynbee's Oxford operation and work on the problems of post-war education with which Dodds chose to become involved during the course of 1940. He agreed with Toynbee that he should focus on German rather than French education 'as presenting the bigger and more difficult problems' (MP 140). And so he began to immerse himself in a detailed study of the historical development of education in Germany, keeping up to date through a daily file of cuttings provided by the Foreign Office. Toynbee's group eventually transferred to London and became the Foreign Office Research Department (FORD), merging with the relatively small Political Intelligence Department (PID) in 1943.⁴ Of its 185 members in the summer of 1943, only six were regular personnel of the Foreign Office,⁵ and so Dodds found himself working in a team of specialists from a wide range of backgrounds.

Minds in the Making

In 1941, Dodds published a pamphlet, *Minds in the Making*, which drew on his impressively wide reading from original German sources (Dodds 1941a). Such sources were relied upon, he says, in order to keep his answers to a series of questions as objective as possible. His questions were: What is an education system for? Who controls it? What is taught? How are pupils selected? Is it efficient? Throughout, Dodds employs the device of quotation

³ Smith to Dodds, 15 April 1939, Bodleian Library, Dodds Papers, box 2.

⁴ The PID had a staff of only ten experts.

⁵ Anthony Eden responding to a question from Russell Thomas MP. Eden insisted that the work of FORD was factual and not speculative. The department cost £78,500 (some £3.3 million in today's prices.) Hansard House of Commons Debates 21 July 1943, Vol.391 Col.867.

to condemn. His sources are used to demonstrate the hollowness and barbarity of Nazi ideology and its effects on education. Though his passionate objections are always clear, he rarely resorts to ridicule of the Nazi approach to education and he only occasionally expresses a direct personal view. Here is his description of the Nazi *Ordensburgen*, ‘designed to inculcate simultaneously the heroic devotion of the Teutonic Knights and the racial philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg’ (Dodds 1941a, 24):

From these difficult fastnesses of the spirit, secluded in lonely forests or remote mountain villages, will emerge at last the Perfect Men of National-Socialism, the new *illuminati* whose task it will be to operate Hitler’s New Order in Europe. It is a slight relief to realise that the earliest batch of these chosen vessels will be fully trained only in the year 1954.

And in a passage in which he quotes Hitler’s disparaging view of Eton, he makes his own position on public schools clear:

Our Public Schools are vestigial remains of a pre-democratic order, and many of us think that the sooner they become genuinely public the better.
(*Ibid.*, 22–3)

Dodds was concerned in this tightly argued study to understand the profound changes in education since Hitler came to power, examining in detail what the state, that ‘mystical triune monster whose existence is affirmed in the Athanasian Creed of National-Socialism—“State, Party, and Adolf Hitler are One Substance”’ had so effectively achieved. The schools were ‘easier victims than the universities’, though the university authorities had shown ‘timid passivity’ in the face of Nazism. The future lay in equality of educational opportunity, in the development of vocational education, in education for responsible citizenship (which could be attained ‘not by *ad hoc* preachments, but by the conscious adaptation of the content and methods of education to social ends’), and in an internationalism that would ‘disinfect against the virus of nationalism’.

The ‘Macmillan War Pamphlets’, in which Dodds’s account appeared, included texts by such luminaries as A.P. Herbert, A.A. Milne, E.M. Forster, Ronald Knox, C.E.M. Joad, Horace Walpole, Dorothy Sayers, Julian Huxley, R.H. Tawney, and Francis Williams. The series reflected war-time morale-boosting efforts on the part of publishers keen to satisfy the public’s demands for information, and they attracted a wide readership. Very soon Dodds would be accepting invitations to address a variety of audiences on the subject of education in Germany.

Lectures on German themes

In a WEA lecture on 'Lessons of Nazi Education' in March 1941, Dodds warns that totalitarian education was an 'article of easy export'; it was not specifically German, except in terms of its 'appalling thoroughness' in the German context. Nazi education was easily exportable because the system it replaced had fatal flaws, and it was important to make sure that similar flaws did not exist in Britain. Adolf Löwe⁶ had argued that the Weimar regime collapsed since it failed to solve the problem of mass education. 'Have we solved it?' Dodds asked.⁷

Later in the year, he was emphasizing much the same point: totalitarian education was an international menace whose principles and techniques could be observed in Russia and Italy. On the situation in the universities, he cites the assertion of the distinguished Prussian Minister of Education, Carl Heinrich Becker, that in no country in the world was the university teacher's freedom so unconditionally demanded and guaranteed as in Germany. That was true in 1925, but since 1933 over 40 per cent of university teachers in Germany had lost their jobs. The situation in Vichy France was frightening, since it demonstrated further diffusion of the totalitarian menace.⁸

In November, Dodds spoke on the future of Germany at a meeting in Cambridge of the British Universities League of United Nations Societies. There was no subject on which wishful thinking was more common or more dangerous, he said, and he realized that some of his tentative conclusions might be unwelcome or even repugnant to his audience, but the possibilities were limited by the psychology of eighty million Germans and the post-war situation outside of Germany, especially in France and Russia. The question was of choosing not the best theoretical policy but the least dangerous among the alternatives which were actually possible. Germany's problems were the result of the 'blindness' of English [sic], French, and American statesmen since 1918 and of the failure of two great world forces: that of capitalism to solve unemployment and that of Christianity to 'bring itself up to date'. In reminding his audience that the National Socialists had

⁶ Adolf Löwe (1893–1950) was a German economist who had fled Germany, taught at the University of Manchester, and later moved to the United States.

⁷ Talk to WEA, Princes Risborough, 12 May 1941. Dodds Papers additional (see Preface).

⁸ Talk to the Martineau Club, Manchester College, Oxford, 14 May 1941. Dodds Papers.

been a minority party, he argues that Vansittart's view that the German people were synonymous with the Nazi Party was unjustified.⁹

The post-war treatment of Germany would need to achieve aims on which there was general agreement: disarmament and the prevention of re-armament; drastic punishment of leaders; a period of occupation; territorial changes. While there was agreement on the necessity of solving the many problems Germany presented, there was less consensus on how to solve them, especially through the weakening of Prussia and the 're-education' of Germany by means of a purge of Nazi influence in education and the civil service. It was clear to Dodds that this could only be done by the Germans or with their co-operation. It was utopian to suppose that if Germany were to be artificially partitioned by foreign forces it would not reunite and that Germany could be re-educated by corps of English and American teachers, as Erika Mann (daughter of Thomas Mann and author of *School for Barbarians: Education under the Nazis*, 1939) had suggested. It would be simply futile, for example, to start writing textbooks for German schools. (Dodds was later, however, to be a member of a textbook committee charged with achieving precisely that.)

Dodds rejects two views from British liberal circles: to leave the Germans to choose their own form of government, and to impose democratic parliamentary government on Germany ('i.e. force [a] return to something like Weimar'.) Where might there be hope for a new strong German government? The three possibilities were the army, the Catholic church, and the working class. He concludes that the German 'requires an ism—without a Weltanschauung he is lost. Nazism, Catholicism, Communism appeal because totalitarian.' The best that could be done would be to 'induce Germany to divide itself between the two least dangerous of these forces', i.e. Catholicism and the working class.¹⁰

These early views on what might be done with Germany reflect the anticipation of the time that there would be a conventional end to hostilities, with Allied intervention but with some kind of malleable German government in place. Dodds returned to the theme of future reconstruction, this time in relation to the German universities, in an address to the Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for

⁹ Lord (Robert) Vansittart (1881–1957) was an uncompromising critic of Germany. His pamphlet *Black Record* (1941) had huge sales. Like Henry Morgenthau he argued for toughness in dealing with Germany once the War ended.

¹⁰ Talk on 'The Future of Germany', BULNS, Cambridge, 8 November 1941. Dodds Papers additional.

Education in World Citizenship, chaired by Gilbert Murray in March 1942 and concerned with re-education in enemy countries.¹¹ Here Dodds placed his faith, with appropriate circumspection, in a putative communist regime:

Professor Dodds said that it would be difficult to take a strong positive line about the relation of the university to the state in Germany until we know what kind of state will emerge. He suggested that we cannot afford to allow the luxury of sentiment to determine for us whether to impose a hard or soft peace but that we must in self-interest seek a peace that stands a reasonable chance of lasting, whether hard or soft. A realist would say that we must use those Germans whose outlook seems compatible with our New Order and he thought we should probably find more utilisable Germans than Hitler has found utilisable people for his New Order in the countries which he has occupied. Russia is much nearer, its political warfare appears to be more effective and is having results. If Russia remained undefeated, we must contemplate the possibility of a good many German universities becoming organs of state communism. That was not his idea of the function of a university, but at least a communist regime could be trusted to make an effective purge, to destroy the class consciousness of the universities and to integrate them in the life and system of [the] state in the way that Weimar failed to do.¹²

Gilbert Murray responded that the Nazi Party had its roots in the lower middle class and that its rise was largely due to the destruction of a cultured middle class. The Catholics were 'a rather liberal influence' who might play a part in forming a new centre in Germany (*ibid.*).

During 1941, Dodds also contributed to a series on education in Germany published in *The Times Educational Supplement*. In a piece on youth movements, he drew some lessons from the German experience: no modern community was safe from revolution which denied economic security and self-expression to its young people, genuine youth movements were born and not made, and there still existed in Germany idealistic elements which might in the future 'respond to an imaginative and generously conceived appeal from the free world outside their prison' (Dodds 1941a, 252).

In April 1942, Dodds addressed a meeting in Sutton on the subject of re-education. His theme revolved around two questions in the minds of all

¹¹ Dodds had previously contributed to a discussion on the aims and methods of Nazi education at a meeting of the Council for Education in World Citizenship in January, 1941. Charles Judd to Dodds, 15 January 1941. Dodds Papers additional.

¹² Minutes, meeting of 18 March 1942. Dodds papers additional.

since 1939 and of some for a good deal longer, as he put it: ‘Why are the Germans like that? What can be done to make themselves less like that in future?’ ‘You must try, and I must try, to think coldly’, he said, ‘with brains not blood’. This was difficult in wartime, but neither sentimental abstract pacifism nor equally sentimental abstract hatred was the answer. The German problem was the common man’s problem, because if it were not solved, the common man would pay.

For his first question, Dodds suggests five theories with which he deals in detail:

1. It is in their blood.
2. It is because they were taken in by Hitler.
3. It is because they have given up Christianity.
4. It is because of Prussianism.
5. It is because the Allies made a mistake at Versailles.

These theories lead to the question of what might be done ‘to make the Germans different’. German aggression is not fixed and immutable. There are Germans who can be trusted with power. If the transfer of power is to be real and permanent, there will have to be an ‘extremely drastic purge’—of bureaucrats, of the diplomatic and consular service, of business and of industrialists, ‘above all of teachers’, from elementary school to university, ‘and this purge must be conducted by Germans’. The *Sunday Times* and the *Daily Mail* will be yelling for the setting up of an international court to try war criminals, but this would be the height of political ineptitude: no German would believe in such a court’s impartiality and those condemned would become national heroes and martyrs. A court of justice is a two-edged instrument when used to try political offences.

Once the transfer of power and the purging are complete, the re-education of ‘non-political following-leaders German sheep’ can begin. This also will have to be conducted by Germans. Proposals for English and American ‘schoolmasters’ to re-educate Germany were ‘impractical nonsense’. Put yourself in the place of a German schoolboy: education doesn’t work without the consent of the educated. Foreign control can destroy a national system of education but cannot create one. You can’t re-educate a nation by Act of Parliament. The active co-operation of teachers would be needed: the first task for any new government (after the purging of active Nazis and nationalists) would be to gain the support of the general body of teachers and this should not be too difficult in the elementary schools, which he

asserts had in many parts of Germany a good democratic tradition, showing dislike of the Nazis. Most would be loyal to a government that met their grievances (about Nazi interference, salaries, inferior status.) Universities also have grievances. Most deplore—in private—the dismissals and the compulsory perversion of facts in subjects like history, literature, and biology. The old-fashioned professor had plenty of faults, showing contempt for what Dodds says he personally would call education, but he did have respect for the truth. The worst difficulties would be in the secondary schools which were very snobbish, conventional, and anti-democratic. An urgent task would be to open these schools to working class children—they show less equality of opportunity even than in England.

Finally, there must be safeguards against any future misuse of education to teach international hatred, as had happened in Germany before 1918,¹³ between 1918 and 1933, and since 1933. A recurrence of such misuse could be prevented only by internationalizing education—through an international educational authority (with the power to veto textbooks and inspect and report on history teaching), through a system of international exchanges of teachers and students, and through an international university, somewhere on neutral ground, devoted to postgraduate research in subjects like economics, political theory, international law, and public administration: its diploma would be compulsory for administrative posts in France and England as well as Germany. If these three things could be done, we should have laid the foundation necessary for a future United States of Europe.¹⁴

In these addresses in 1941 and 1942, there is a mixture of themes dear to Dodds (especially a concern for the working class, a revulsion at class-based discrimination, advocacy of equality of opportunity, and internationalism) and serious analysis of the problem of what to do with Germany, based on his investigations for FORD. Some of the views that he expresses are contradictory or idiosyncratically at odds with emerging official policy. One example would be his arguing in November against the writing of textbooks for German schools, and a little over five months later for a body which might veto school history textbooks. And though he shows an impressive knowledge of recent German history and especially of the history

¹³ The reference here is to the rise of German militarism in the *Kaiserreich*.

¹⁴ 'Germany and Re-Education', Secondary School Conference, Sutton, 24 April 1942. Dodds Papers additional.

of education, he fails to recognize that the elementary schools were just as nazified as the secondary schools, if not more so.¹⁵

Dodds spent eleven months in China (up to August 1943) in an initiative supported by the British Council and the Foreign Office to help the Chinese universities resume contacts with the West. He lectured while there on a variety of subjects, including what he terms a 'standby' talk on tradition and experiment in English education and 'a few oddments for special purposes like "Education in Germany"' (MP 151–2). The Foreign Research and Press Service had moved to London by the time of his return from China, and so he established himself in the capital and became involved in the detailed planning for the control of education in a post-war Germany.

The German section, headed by the sociologist T.H. Marshall, was housed in a large room overlooking St James's Park. Here Dodds was involved in drafting thoroughly researched background papers, chiefly but not exclusively concerned with education. He writes in his autobiography of compiling 'a child's history of the Weimar Republic', and of producing 'a lengthy and comprehensive' essay on university education in Germany. He imagines these documents still gathering dust in the Foreign Office archives (MP 142–3). Many of them do in fact survive in the National Archives in Kew.

Dodds was also called upon to chair or take an active part in committees concerned with future policy on Germany. He chaired the first meeting of a textbook committee, for example, charged with planning for the writing of new texts to replace Nazi schoolbooks, and he also chaired an important committee on re-education, producing the hugely important black, grey, and white lists categorizing degrees of engagement with Nazism. The white list contained the names of individuals who could be trusted when it came to helping the Allies in the task of reconstruction. A surviving copy of this list contains the names of 514 people in Germany connected with education at various levels and includes two classicists with whom Dodds was later to have dealings: Max Pohlenz and Bruno Snell.¹⁶

¹⁵ Figures for November 1946 show that of 41,330 German teachers in elementary and intermediate schools, 13,304 had been dismissed; the figures for secondary schools show 2,230 dismissed out of a total of 8,987. The percentage of dismissals for more than nominal involvement with Nazism was therefore 32.18 for elementary and intermediate schools and 24.81 for secondary schools, with a little over 6,500 teachers (some 13 per cent in each of the two categories) still awaiting assessment. (*Monthly Report of the Control Commission for Germany (British Element)*, November 1946, Appendix 6).

¹⁶ 21 Army Gp Mil Gov Ed. Control Instruction No.6: 'White Personalities'. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Wiss. Nachlaß D.C. Riddy, 622–2/51:14.

One crucial decision in which Dodds played an important part involved the appointment of someone to be in charge of the work in education in the British Zone. It had been envisaged that Lieutenant-Colonel E.R. Gayre would be appointed to such a post. He had performed a similar function in Italy without criticism, had had a significant role at SHAEF headquarters, and was a member of Dodds's re-education committee. But there were doubts about Gayre's suitability, and Dodds was asked to investigate an overtly racist book that he had recently published, *Teuton and Slav on the Polish Frontier*. Dodds reported that 'Germans will read [Gayre's] book with interest, to find out what manner of man it is who has undertaken to "re-educate" them'.¹⁷ And so Dodds may be seen as having been instrumental in ensuring that the future of educational work in Germany would instead be in the hands of a more suitable figure in the person of Donald Riddy. Dodds was also approached to take on the post of 'educational adviser at Control level', as he puts it, since there was dissatisfaction 'with the quality of the personnel [the Control Commission] had been able to recruit for the educational side of "Mil. Gov."'. He declined: 'In such a job with such a team the most that could be hoped for was a series of makeshift short-term answers to long-term questions' (*MP* 163).

In early February 1945, Dodds completed a draft paper for FORD (which he was soon to leave) on the failure of democracy in Germany. Though not all his points were accepted in the Foreign Office by John Troutbeck (head of the German department) and by the Cambridge historian Ernest Passant (head of the German section and deputy director of FORD), the view was that it was a 'most impressive paper' and should be made more widely available. Dodds had suggested in his first paragraph and in his conclusions that a stable democracy might have been established in Germany if there had been a stronger revolutionary feeling in 1918. Troutbeck argued that violent revolutions seldom result in democracy 'which comes by long, steady growth'. He also found fault with Dodds's assertion that the French Revolution resulted in a 'stable democratic order'.¹⁸ Changes were made to the

¹⁷ Note by Dodds of 18 July 1944. FO371/39095. Gayre approved of the infamous racial theorist H.F.K. Günther ('Rassen-Günther')—and he was something of a self-aggrandizing fantasist. The Foreign Office had doubts about his academic qualifications and inquiries revealed that though he claimed to be an anthropologist he was disowned by the Royal Anthropological Institute.

¹⁸ Minutes by Troutbeck (25 March; 3 April) and Passant (30 March). FO371/46880.

draft and the paper was printed in August for wider circulation.¹⁹ Dodds concludes:

There is nothing in the history of the years 1918–33 which compels us to believe that Germans are by nature incapable of self-government and will permanently remain so. It is true that their development between 1848 and 1918 had been a bad preparation for self-government; but the specific breakdown of German democracy is traceable to a particular constellation of contemporary political, economic, social and cultural factors.

Among those factors were the maintenance of the old social structure, a constitution founded on compromises, Germany's 'pariah' status imposed by the Versailles Treaty, the economic effects of inflation and unemployment, and 'the fact that the Weimar system was based on a "liberal" philosophy of life which did not correspond with the experience of the younger generation, and therefore made little appeal to them'. Dodds's final sentence expresses the hope that the Weimar experiment might appear in a more positive light to future generations of Germans. The submission of this thorough piece of analysis was one of Dodds's final actions in FORD.

In September 1944, Dodds had lectured to the SHAEF training school in Kilburn on the re-education of German youth. In February 1945, he spoke in Eastbourne on the German universities. In August of that year, he returned to the question of reconstruction in the German universities, speaking at a conference in Manchester and anticipating the issues that he would later be dealing with during a two-week investigation in Germany. They included the failure of the professoriate to resist Nazism, coping with student enrolments, material damage, the supply of books, the high age of the professors in post, denazification questions, the nature of 'indirect' control, the relationship between the universities and the state, the university as a 'class institution' and the necessity of its accepting a social role, and international contacts. By the end of 1946, he had agreed to lead a delegation of the Association of University Teachers (AUT) commissioned to report on the universities of the British Zone.²⁰ Dodds was by now the AUT's President.

¹⁹ 'The Failure of Democracy in Germany', 14 August 1945. Ibid.

²⁰ For further details see Phillips 1986; for the text of the AUT Report and a commentary on its genesis, see Phillips 1983.

The AUT delegation and its report

The idea for such a delegation had originated in the late summer of 1946 with James Mark, who had been one of the first occupation officers to visit and report on the six universities of the Zone in 1945. Mark was Private Secretary to Lord (Frank) Pakenham (later the Earl of Longford) who as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster headed the Control Office, the government department responsible for German affairs. One of the eventual members of the delegation, Lord Chorley, was invited to visit Germany to take part in a universities conference and he had submitted a report on his observations. The AUT had previously sent delegations to report on universities in France (1930) and Germany (1939): its executive committee had considered Chorley's report and 'in view of a definite request to do so from the Government', agreed that arrangements be made for a delegation to visit Germany.²¹ The delegation, though under the aegis of the AUT, was therefore quasi-official, with the full cooperation of the British Element of the Control Commission. And so it was that a group of eight senior British academics departed for the Zone in the bitter winter conditions of January 1947.

Dodds wrote to his wife in early January 1947 from 'a vast and super-elegant bed chamber in the villa of a Nazi cement manufacturer, now a Mil. Gov. mess' in Hanover:

This afternoon we had our first German – a fluent Ministerialrat, who addressed us very thoroughly for 2 hours on the administrative problems. I thought him as much superior in ability to our rather amateur CCG chaps as he was inferior to them in personal charm. If the light had not gone out he would probably be talking still.²²

His next letter was from a 'small carpetless and slightly sordid hotel bedroom' in Göttingen. The weather was the coldest he had ever experienced: thirty degrees of frost the night before, and more expected. The university was closed for lack of fuel, but the delegation had had a meeting with the *Rektor* and selected professors and with the *Rektor* and selected *Dozenten*, and Dodds had viewed the bombed library and lunched in the

²¹ AUT Archives, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick: Council Minutes, 21 December 1946.

²² Dodds to Mrs A.E. ('Bet') Dodds, Hanover, 3 January 1947. Dodds Papers additional.

student *Mensa*. He noted fears of the Russians among the student body, and reported hunger among students and academic staff. He had visited 'old Pohlenz':

On seeing me the old man plunged at once into an eager discussion of Greek philosophy, exactly as if all that has happened since 1933 was an irrelevant and essentially unimportant interruption to our real business of scholarship. I suspect this is a common attitude with the older men: delightful, but also irresponsible.²³

He then undertook a six-hour drive to Hamburg, together with a Cambridge economist and a London schoolteacher, now with the Control Commission. Hamburg was experiencing its coldest temperatures since 1893. In the 'dingy' *Mensa*, he reported that physically impaired students and those whose body weight was more than 25lb under the norm could receive a coupon-free bowl of soup. The rest got nothing. Hamburg was 'rapidly becoming disillusioned and embittered'.

Dodds talked to Bruno Snell's students and was impressed by Snell as an exemplary German academic; he was

a tower of strength and well of comfort; he is the finest and most courageous German I have met. He studied at Edinburgh and Oxford, and was a civilian internee in England during the 1914 war, so he understands the English mind as extremely few Germans do. He believed, and said, throughout the war that Germany's only spiritual hope lay in rapid and total defeat, and he is genuinely working to create a new spirit in his scarecrow university (which has lost almost all its buildings and almost all its books.)²⁴

He also thought highly of the *Rektor*, Emil Wolff (1879–1952), 'who is as vague, humorous and charming as the old fashioned English professor at his nicest: not an appropriate figure to preside over the ruins, but an attractive one'.²⁵

The delegation's brief from the Control Office was to give advice on a number of 'technical issues' on which it needed assistance and to consider

²³ Max Pohlenz (1872–1962) had come out of retirement to take part in teaching again. Dodds to his wife, Göttingen, 6 January 1947. *Ibid.*

²⁴ Dodds to his wife, Reichshof Hotel, Hamburg, 10 January 1947. *Ibid.*

²⁵ Finding suitable academics to take over as *Rektoren* from their dismissed Nazi predecessors was very difficult. Stephen Spender described Wolff as 'a man remarkably lacking in distinction. It was difficult to interview him for he had no views on any subject whatever' (Spender 1985b, 89).

what steps could be taken to renew relations between British and German universities. The delegates went far beyond this limited brief in their far-reaching report. They spent thirteen days in Germany and visited Göttingen, Hamburg, Kiel, Cologne, Bonn, Münster, the *Technische Hochschulen* in Braunschweig and Hanover, and the Medical Academy in Düsseldorf. They were not able to visit Berlin or the *Technische Hochschule* in Aachen, owing to the appalling weather. The eventual report, in an 'expurgated' form revised after perusal by Foreign Office and Control Commission staff, was published in May 1947. Despite its revisions (including the omission of a reservation on denazification by Chorley), it remained uncompromising in its criticism of the German universities and made difficult reading for the academics charged with re-building their shattered institutions.

The text reads like the work of Dodds and Roy Pascal, the distinguished Marxist Professor of German of the University of Birmingham.²⁶ The Report opened with an unequivocal statement of the problem of the German universities:

We feel that we should place in the forefront of our Report our strong and unanimous impression that no radical and lasting reform of the universities which we have visited is likely to come about on the sole initiative of the universities themselves. (AUT 1947, 204)

The reasons for this judgement were internal and external manifestations of the same 'social fact':

- (i) The German universities are at present controlled, so far as internal affairs are concerned, by groups of senior professors whose average age is high, whose academic ideals were formed under conditions very different from today's, and whose capacity for responding to new circumstances is therefore likely to be in general small.
- (ii) The social structure of the universities is bound up with that of the secondary schools, and both of them with the traditional structure of German society as a whole, so that reform of the educational system is unlikely to be brought about save in the context of a much wider movement of social reform. (AUT 1947, 205)

²⁶ Pascal confirmed that he had drafted the text, which was then revised by Dodds. One section was written by the Birmingham historian John Hawgood. (Hawgood had worked for PID and FRPS and had been a member of Dodds's re-education committee.) Letter from Roy Pascal to present author, 3 November 1979.

Since the cooperation of the professoriate was relied upon for any progress to be made with reform, this was not a propitious beginning. To argue in effect for more outside intervention at precisely the time when responsibility for education had been restored to German authorities (from 1 January 1947) was also a starting point unlikely to gain support in the universities. The whole tenor of the report was uncompromisingly critical in socio-political terms and made hard reading for both senior German academics and Control Commission officers working to change attitudes among the professoriate. The report covered general and academic material needs, denazification and the academic staff, the constitution of the universities, staff questions, the student body, suggestions for a possible international approach (the appointment of an international educational commission to examine fundamental problems of the German education system), and contacts between British and German universities.

In the concluding section of the Report, the delegates reiterate their view that the problems of the German university were too great to be solved quickly or in ways that treated them in isolation:

We wish to make it clear that we do not regard our recommendations and suggestions as being more than palliatives for the long-standing disorder of German academic life which reaches back to the nineteenth century. We do not believe the disorder to be incurable, though it will certainly not be cured easily or quickly. But if we are correct in our diagnosis of its nature [...], it is a disorder not of the universities alone, but of the whole German educational system, and a permanent cure can be achieved only by attacking it on this wider basis. It is a disorder, moreover, which takes no account of zonal frontiers, and can be fully dealt with only by interzonal action.

(AUT 1947, 219)

Before they left Germany, members of the delegation met Donald Riddy (Director) and other Education Branch staff in Berlin. Though at this stage they had not produced a draft of their report, they were unanimous that 'of the two evils constituted by:

- (i) the creation of an academic proletariat by allowing more students to study than could later be found suitable jobs; and
- (ii) the denial to some students of the opportunity to study, the second was the lesser.'²⁷

²⁷ Minutes of Conference with AUT Delegation, 14 January 1947. FO1050/1055.

In August, members of the delegation had a meeting with Lord Pakenham and Foreign Office staff, together with Donald Riddy and Robert Birley (Educational Adviser to the Military Governor). Pakenham thought the report 'excellent' and Birley said it was 'of remarkable value'.²⁸ The Control Commission (effectively Education Branch in the person of Riddy) had produced detailed comments, which began with an endorsement of the Delegation's view 'that no radical and lasting reforms are likely to be initiated from within the zonal universities'.²⁹

Dodds had suggested four topics for discussion with Pakenham: the function and composition of proposed university councils and/or commissions; methods of securing constitutional reforms of zonal universities; denazification; exchange of books and periodicals.³⁰ The discussion centred largely around the relationship of the universities to the *Länder* governments and the composition of university councils and *Land* commissions, the internal structure of the universities; British control; books and periodicals; contacts between British and German universities; denazification and the academic staff; and the composition of the student body. When Dodds reported that there were complaints that no steps had been taken to invite lecturers from Britain proposed by German universities, he was told that when the lists were examined, 'most of the men had been found to be dead or too old to travel'.

Coming from what one observer called, rather over-cautiously, 'a perhaps Leftish body' (Hocking 1954, 137), it is not surprising that the Report dealt with uncomfortable truths about education and society. Apart from Dodds, three at least of the delegation's members were unequivocally of the left. The respected sociologist T.H. Marshall had stood for Labour in the 1922 general election; Chorley was an unsuccessful Labour Party candidate in 1945; and Pascal was so far to the left that he was held in suspicion by the Foreign Office, which had objected to his participation (Subiotto 1981, 449).

Walter Hallstein, *Rektor* of the University of Frankfurt, while being critical of some of the statements in the Report (dominance of elderly professors; racist and political stance of some elements in the universities; discussion of the position of the *Dozenten* having a 'shade of class conflict about it'), saw it

²⁸ Minutes of meeting held on 14 August 1947. *Ibid.*

²⁹ CCG Comments on AUT Report, 30 June 1947. *Ibid.* Riddy had complained to the Foreign Office about the short time in which comments should be produced: 'Even over here we have to think to find answers to knotty problems such as those raised by the Report!' Letter of 3 June 1947. (*Ibid.*)

³⁰ Telegram from FO to Birley, 7 August 1947. *Ibid.*

as ‘an important document of contemporary history’ but wanted to know more about the universities’ role in a new democratic Germany:

We should like to hear more about all this in more detail, and I suppose we may expect to do so, for we do not regard even the critics of our system as so progressive that they take anything ‘different’ to be ‘better’ and not so obsessed with development theory that they will discard a solution because it has already proved its worth in the past.

(Hallstein 1948, 18; present author’s translation)

Birley reflected in a lecture at Chatham House in 1949 that ‘the German universities naturally reacted against [a report] produced by a delegation of foreigners’ (Birley 1950, 41). Having previously welcomed it, he later regarded the report as a serious mistake, coming as it did so soon after control in educational matters had been handed back to German authorities on 1 January 1947 (Birley 1963, 12).

‘It was in many respects a gloomy visit’, Dodds later wrote of his time in Germany with the AUT delegation, but ‘the prospect was not all gloom: one had the invigorating sense that by the united efforts of two peoples a new and saner order was being created out of the shambles’ (MP, 167). One important result of the Report’s recommendations was the establishment in 1948 of a famous German commission charged with the task of reporting to the Military Governor on university reform.³¹ The new commission, with only two foreign members, produced a report which was widely welcomed in Germany and which served as a significant stimulus for reform efforts.

Dodds was back in Germany in July 1959 with a delegation investigating the funding of research. Characteristically he had a probing series of questions to put to his friends and colleagues, and he had a chance to spend time with Bruno Snell and to talk to a large student audience on ‘the Homeric poems as oral poetry’.

* * * * *

Two particular qualities identified by Dodds’s obituarist Donald Russell are evident in all aspects of his work on education in Germany, his character as a ‘robust individualist’ and his ‘life-long devotion to intellectual honesty’.³² The Foreign Office was fortunate to be able to recruit academics of his calibre to

³¹ This was the *Studienausschuß für Hochschulreform*, which included among its members the then Master of Balliol, A.D. Lindsay. Bruno Snell was also a member.

³² *The Times*, 19 November 1979.

work alongside career civil servants on the difficult task of planning for the uncertain conditions in a defeated Germany. Dodds was better informed than almost anyone else on the historical development of the German university and on the issues that would need to be resolved if it was to regain its previous standing. His knowledge was based on scholarly investigation, on his own experience as student, researcher, and teacher, and on a deep concern for social justice and democracy. He was not concerned, as so many were after the War, simply to ‘do something for Germany’—all too often that amounted to short forays into the Zone for personal profit. He saw the problems of education in Germany as part of a much broader context that had to do with internationalism, democratization, and social equity, and he was passionate about contributing to its potential. He had clearly played a full part in policy development in an exemplary fashion, combining intellectual rigour with the technical efficiency expected by officialdom. But he was never afraid to declare his personal socialist position on matters affecting the education of those who had no access to privilege. An undated talk to German parents entitled ‘What Chance will My Child have?’ contains a summary that can serve as testimony to the beliefs that underpinned his work on education in Germany during the War and the occupation:

The last 20 years have taught us that the people’s state can only be secure when it rests on a foundation of social justice and educational equality. We are determined that after this war, both in our own country and wherever our influence extends, education shall no longer be a matter of class privilege or money privilege or Party privilege, but shall be freely available to all who can profit by it. We know that many Germans secretly cherish that ideal today, and we believe that a time will come when you and we shall work side by side for its accomplishment – building a world in which the ordinary man will feel happy and secure, and will know that his child’s prospects are secure also.³³

Acknowledgement

The research on which this chapter is based was funded through the award of a Leverhulme Trust Emeritus Fellowship.

³³ Dodds Papers additional.

Memories of E. R. Dodds

Ruth Padel, Helen Ganly, Oswyn Murray, and Donald Russell

Ruth Padel

I became Dodds's last D.Phil. student by accident. Before I did Finals in 1969, Hugh Loyd-Jones said, 'I think you should work on Tragedy and you should do it with me.' But then it appeared he would be away in America. I wanted to work on ideas of the mind in tragedy so Hugh asked Dodds if he would act as my supervisor instead.

I went to Old Marston for a seeing-how-we-liked-each-other tea. Mrs Dodds was still alive: she brought a tray onto a sunlit lawn under blazing yellow tree peonies. Dodds agreed to supervise me and I left for the vacation. By the time we started work, she had died; he was on his own and came to stay with my family at Christmas. And so, over the last ten years of his life, he became a family friend. He discussed Greek and the mind with my father, who taught Classics before becoming a psychoanalyst, and my brother Felix, studying for his D.Phil. in anthropology, was his lodger when he died.

With the sculptor Michael Black, I went with Dodds to Tuscany. He wanted to see the frescoes of Piero della Francesca. 'I may die on you,' he warned. 'Then you'll be in trouble.' 'We'll roll you up in a carpet,' I said, 'and bring you back that way.'

I went with him to Greece, too, after the junta fell. I was living there on and off throughout the 1970s and he introduced me to the writer Kevin Andrews, whom he'd met in 1950s Athens. With Louis MacNeice, then working there for the British Council, they walked over Greek mountains. Kevin's 1959 book *The Flight of Icarus* is a classic and enduring first-hand account of the aftermath of the Greek civil war; but in post-junta Athens, thanks to his involvement in the Polytechnion resistance to the junta, he had become a newly iconic figure. They invited me to go to Ithaca with them. As the evening boat pulled away from the mainland, Kevin went up to the bows to write a poem and I bought ouzo at the bar. The sun was setting;

the clouds were purple and spidery. ‘This is one of the happiest moments of my life,’ said Dodds.¹ I was touched but also minded a little, too—for him, for he was often self-deprecating about how much he had enjoyed his life. He wanted to call his memoir *Cast a Cold Eye*, but that title had been used so he called it *Missing Persons* (see Introduction). Both titles, it seems to me, spoke to a sense of absence or distance which I always found surprising, because I also always found him warm, funny, and easy to be with. He once asked my mother Hilda not to call him Eric because he hated that name. ‘Can you call me Mit?’ he asked her. ‘It’s short for Mister. It’s what my wife used to call me.’

My mother found that a little strange but was touched and Mitted him manfully. In the last year of his life, he adopted a little cat, a tortoise-shell he called Phantom. I have no idea what part of himself, or his sense of the soul, he was pointing to in her name, but she would sit on his knee in a very unkitten-like calm, in the study where I began my thesis, surrounded by scholarship, books, a Tang horse, and light filtered through from a sunlit garden. When he died, we inherited gentle little Phantom but our long-established family cat took great exception to her. My mother gave her to the green-grocer who adored her, so Phantom had a happy after-life, which Dodds would have been glad of.

I was glad he was happy on the way to Ithaca. When we finished our ouzos he stood up, a little rockily, to buy another round. It was choppy, he was frail, but he was always determined in anything he took on. He fought his way to the crowded bar and carried the small glasses back over the heaving deck. He had caught sight of Kevin writing away at the front; he had also, recently, sent some poems of mine to a friend who had commented on them, kindly but critically, and said they weren’t ready for publication yet. Which was quite true and I was grateful. Dodds hadn’t said who this was and I didn’t ask. I hadn’t known he was doing it. He had a lot of poet friends and knew I was halfway to hoping to consider myself one, someday. He probably saw more about that in me than I did, then.

‘I should like to have been a creative writer,’ he said into the sunset.

‘You changed the subject,’ I said.

He knew what I was saying. Think of the wonderful writing you have done. It’s all creative. All the people you’ve inspired with papers and books,

¹ See *MP* 191 for an account of a similar moment, and 184–5 (incorrectly indexed as 134–5) for an encounter with Kevin Andrews.

the boundaries you've demolished, all the ideas, style and light you've brought to the study of Greek.

'That was only an accident,' he said.

On the island next day, the three of us found a secret bay with a red stony beach fringed with very dark green stone pines. It smelt of resin and scorched earth. Kevin went off for a long swim. 'Want to go in?' I asked Dodds and held his hands, walking backwards as he walked into the water up to his waist, up to his shoulders and then swam.

Afterwards, his white thin legs in swirling blue-green shallows, he looked out at the blue sky, the pine trees of Ithaca, the coppery light. 'I never thought I'd bathe in the Med again,' he said.

At Oxford, he read papers I wrote towards my thesis and made imaginative and connective suggestions. We worked in his study, he made tea, he talked about the books, the seventeenth-century fire-grate, the house. But above all we talked writing and poetry. He told me while he was writing *The Greeks and the Irrational*, it was his habit, in his evening bath, to plan out the paragraph he would begin with the next day. I was stunned. To save my life, I couldn't have plotted out a paragraph *and left it until next day* to write. I think that was one of the secrets of his prose: the paragraphs are works of architectural art as well as thought. If he *had* become what he called a creative writer (I thought he was one, anyway, I suppose he meant a novelist), critics would have used words like chiselled and flawless of his prose. I've met very few writers whose clarity and resonance of thought so completely matched the clarity and resonance of their words.

Above all, though, I thrilled to his relationships with poets (cf. McDonald). As an undergraduate at Oxford, he had attended a class on Plotinus. The only other student was an American graduate. As they walked back through foggy winter streets, they discovered they both cared about poetry. Both wrote it. 'I invited him to a group where we read our own poems to each other,' Dodds told me. 'I thought I was being kind. But then—then we knew what we heard him read would change poetry forever.' What this American graduate read to them—I cannot imagine what it was like to hear it unpublished, unexpectedly like that—was 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'.

Dodds hadn't warmed to Yeats, however. They got across each other somehow. Dodds didn't like grandstanding and was always a sceptic. (As President of the Psychological Research Society, he cast a cold eye on that, too. He'd had a deal with his gardener that whichever died first would come back and tell the other what death was like. By the time I met Dodds, the gardener had died, but hadn't kept his part of the bargain, yet.) So when Yeats went

on about ghosts, Dodds asked if he had ever seen them. 'No—but I have smelt them,' Yeats said. Dodds told that story with a dry chuckle as if the joke was on them both—and that was how he told stories against himself, too. Travelling to Greece in the Thirties, not very used to modern Greek, he was woken by a hotelier one Easter morning with a boisterous cry, *Christos anesti! Then peirasi*, he replied sleepily. 'Never mind.'

He was much warmer about the man he called, affectionately, Wystan. He got to know Auden in Birmingham through his father and he talked to me a lot about Auden's poems, and his mind. 'But I think Bet, my wife, was the person Auden was closest to,' he said. The poet he was warmest about, however, and closest to was Louis MacNeice (see McDonald). It was through Dodds that I first read MacNeice. He was MacNeice's literary executor and when Dodds died, I inherited his own marked copy of the *Collected Poems*, which I presented to Edna Longley for Queen's University Library, Belfast. I thought Dodds, and MacNeice himself, would have liked that it ended up there. He once told me that MacNeice wrote 'Snow' about their living room in Birmingham. It was a grief that they had no children: what he and his wife did together passionately was garden. The huge roses in 'Snow', he said, were grown by his wife. But he was haunted by Louis' untimely death. 'If it hadn't been over a weekend,' he said, 'and hadn't been for Louis' perfectionism, he wouldn't have caught pneumonia.' On a Friday or Saturday, at the end of August 1963, MacNeice insisted on going down a damp Yorkshire cave to record a radio play. He died on the Tuesday, 3 September. Dodds hated waste; he missed the people themselves, but he also mourned when people he loved didn't fulfil themselves the way he hoped. 'Louis would have written so much more,' he said.

Dodds also introduced me to a living poet, Michael Longley. Dodds was hoping that Edna, or perhaps Edna and Michael together, would write MacNeice's biography. We went to a reading Michael did—in, I think, Lady Margaret Hall, one of the first poetry readings I ever went to—and Michael was, of course, wonderful. It was a revelation to me—and I reciprocated by introducing Dodds to another writer he admired, the novelist J.G. Farrell, a friend of mine in London. When I found how much they valued each other's work, I brought them together.

Dodds and Jim Farrell had in common not just the experience of reading England through Ireland's eyes, but also dry wit applied with a point of steel. You didn't always notice this in Dodds at first, but it underlay his gentle courtesy. (As an undergraduate in Oxford, in the First World War, women would hand out white feathers in the street to any man not in uniform.

‘I would bow, say thank you very much, and put it in my hat,’ he told me.) When new to the Chair at Oxford, one of the few things he enjoyed at first was absorbing the very different attitude to teaching of his new colleague Eduard Fraenkel. ‘He once rang me up in a terrible state,’ he told me once. ‘He was nearly gibbering, he wanted my advice, he didn’t know what to do. “What has happened?” I asked. “Calm yourself, Fraenkel, tell me the problem.” “Well!” he said. “Of course I sent him away for the rest of the term but what should I *do*, Dodds? Should I write to his college and get him sent down?”’ ‘What did this person do?’ Dodds asked again. ‘A young man sitting in the front row at my lecture actually *yawned!*’²

But apart from words, there were ideas which he loved just as much—and one of the things in him *I* loved was his openness to new ideas. He brought into my family’s life Georges Devereux, a Hungarian ethno-psychiatrist who lived in Paris, and whom I later studied with in France (cf. *MP* 186). Dodds might not always share the conclusions but he wanted to know about new wild ideas, anything that might be useful, illuminate Greek thought from new perspectives.

Many of these new ideas, from psychical research through psychoanalysis to ethno-psychiatry, began with the Greek word for soul. Hence, perhaps, ‘Phantom’ for the cat. Quite apart from the value of all this for my thesis, I learned something crucial for any writing, poetry or prose, fiction or scholarship. It was a truth I learned to recognize in many of the people he drew round him, or who were attracted to his work and wit: that it is possible—in fact sensible—and also fun, to be both wild *and* cautious. You can be way-out but also clear, associative, imaginative and dreamy but also scholarly. You can, in fact, combine mysticism with scepticism. You can lunge into the unknown, while leaving a trail of disciplined thought, like pebbles, that you can follow and retrace.

When I heard he had throat cancer I was living in Greece, teaching on the sponge divers’ island of Kalymnos. I cancelled my course and went back to England to take him for one last holiday. ‘Where do you want to go?’ I asked. ‘What would you like to see?’ ‘The roof angels of East Anglian churches,’ he said instantly. It was November and a little bleak. I drove us round the angel churches; we found out a lot about hammer beams and recumbent angels. But he was never satisfied with knowledge just for its own sake: he always wanted to run with what he learned, see where he could

² On Fraenkel and his seminars, see Stray 2014.

take it. On our last day, the church we looked at was filled with a careers emporium for school leavers. There were stalls everywhere, and crowds of large confused seventeen-year-olds. He blanched a little—he was very frail now, it was only three months before he died—but we ploughed through the crowd. ‘Like the last book of the *Republic*,’ he murmured. ‘All the souls, choosing their future lives.’

Helen Ganly

THE QUEST

‘Therefore we must ascend again towards the Good, the desired of every Soul. Anyone that has seen This, knows what I intend when I say that it is beautiful, It is desired as the goal of desire.’

Who was Plotinus and what were the Enneads? I had read these words in the parish magazine at my parents’ home in Cookham and they couldn’t answer my questions, but these words were the reason some months later for finding myself at the door of Cromwell’s House in Marston to meet E.R. Dodds. I was on a quest. An artist’s quest. Sometimes artists feel compelled to paint certain images without understanding why and the reasons only become clear to them much later.

I had come through an emotionally traumatic few years and had completed a series of large paintings, some quite abstract, featuring the beauty of hot air balloons floating above the earth or breaking up into wonderful colours and shapes as they deflated. There were no people in these paintings. As I read these words from Plotinus, I realized that I had been trying to express transcendence in a visual form. I told a sculptor friend (Edward Robinson) of my discovery. He told me that Leszek Kolakowski was holding some seminars on Plotinus at All Souls and when I expressed an interest suggested that I attended myself. He invited me to accompany him.

Edward only attended the first seminar but I continued to go every week, just listening but asking no questions. At the end of each session, someone was asked to prepare a paper for discussion the following week, and I knew it was only a matter of time until I would be asked, and I would have nothing to offer. I stayed behind and explained anxiously to Kolakowski why I had been coming every week. He was very kind and having read the quotation pointed to three volumes of Plotinus in Polish on his shelves. He then reached for three volumes translated by A.H. Armstrong and turned

immediately to the correct place. I read in consternation because the words were different. They didn't have the poetic resonance of those I had read and loved. 'This is from Stephen MacKenna's translation which I don't have so you will have to go to the philosophy library,' said Kolakowski. I hadn't taken down the reference so searching through the Enneads was time consuming. Juggling my professional and domestic life meant that I managed to read for one day a week in the philosophy library, but it was taking so long that my parents bought me my own copy of MacKenna's translation so that I could read at home.

I became very interested in the character of Plotinus and wanted to do an etching of him using the letters of his name superimposed on an image of his face. It turned out that no image of him existed. I had read that Carterius had tried to sketch Plotinus surreptitiously in lectures but no images had survived. I was interested in this because I had also been surreptitiously drawing philosophers during open lectures. I spoke to Oswyn Murray who said that two busts existed (supposedly of Plotinus) but they looked very different, so I was at a loss as to how to proceed.

Reading a review of *Missing Persons* in the *New Statesman*, I realized that the author was E.R. Dodds who had written the foreword to Stephen MacKenna's translation. The article was accompanied by an appealing photograph of Dodds's face and I decided that I could do a photo etching of his face over which the name PLOTINUS could be worked using the technique of blind embossing (the etched plate is printed without ink). Unfortunately the etching acid distorted the image and, disappointed, I decided to abandon my idea. I mentioned this to Oswyn and said I would really like to draw E.R. Dodds in person. I hadn't known that Dodds lived in Oxford and Oswyn knew him well. He suggested that I write directly asking if he would allow me to draw him.

I wrote to Dodds, telling him the story of the quest, and waited for a reply. At last a card in spidery handwriting arrived. He said that if I still wanted to draw a sick old man I was welcome. He invited me to come to Cromwell's House with a view to drawing his portrait and asking if I could bring the failed print for him to see. I duly turned up on a cold winter's day. As Dodds opened the door I stepped in, accompanied by a flurry of dead leaves which blew in from the cold and swirled around our feet.

The following uncorrected notes are from my pocket journal written in 1979.

Monday February 3rd

Met Professor Dodds, a charming and fascinating elf. We discussed Plotinus and Stephen MacKenna. I gave him a copy of my 'Plotinus' etching. Did three drawings each one an improvement on the one before. Sat in the study to draw. His cat sat on his knee. It kept turning its head so that I couldn't see it. A genuine Plotinian cat. We laughed about this as we talked from time to time.

I was talking about museums and Professor Dodds was smiling as I mentioned the Pitt Rivers Museum. He said with an impish grin, 'I don't think I've ever been to the Pitt Rivers'. I told him about Pitt Rivers' reaction to accidentally pricking his finger with what he imagined was a poisoned arrow. It made him laugh.

He told me I would have to be quick with the drawings as he had been told by the doctor that he had cancer and he was going to die. When I said I was very sorry he said 'Don't be sorry, I'm very old'.

At another time when he was making china tea (which he served up in delicate and beautiful bone china cups, carrying them precariously across the room) I said (looking at the desk piled high with books) 'Goodness, you must read a tremendous amount' to which he replied 'Oh, I don't read much nowadays. Those piles of books are what I balance my table lamps on'.

He is an amazing and beautiful old man. He lent me his only copy of Stephen MacKenna's journal with a memoir by himself.

I shall return to draw him on Monday 15th February.

He said about Oswyn that he was probably the most gifted of the younger classicists.

Monday 13th February. 2 p.m. Went to see Professor Dodds. Did the best drawing of him. Pencil. Placed him low down on the page. He liked it also.

Talked to him about Stephen MacKenna. Returned his book. Talked to him about Ben, Dan, Mick, feeding the birds, his cancer, Bet. Asked if I could go next Monday. He said 'Yes, if I'm not dead'. I said 'You won't be dead, you're too lively'. He said 'Oh don't say that'.

Tonight I looked at all the drawings I've done.

Chris Ruscombe-King, Professor Dodds, Professor Cobb and Margaret, Emma, Julia, Mo's baby, Jo's baby, Dina.

My awareness of the fragility of life means I am racing against time in trying to capture the essence of these people.

During our conversations, Dodds had spoken about his love of gardening. Normally at this time of year, he would have been in his garden planting and looking at the spring bulbs. Now he was too ill for me to go as planned but when he said I could visit again, I wanted to take him some spring flowers. He was dying and I didn't want to take cut flowers. I thought I would take some growing flowers.

March 21st. Went to see Prof Dodds. He is in bed looking beautiful but fragile. I took him a miniature garden. Moss with snowdrops, primroses and aconites. 'Granny' Swan had found some little plants when I had told her of my plan. She had accidentally knocked the primrose flower off the plant while moving it. Anna Murray (next door) had dug up her only one when I said what it was for.

I read to P.D. out of the Life of Swinburne which he had out of the library. He said it was a treat for him. We both laughed when it referred to McCarthy being so excited by Swinburne's poetry that he had had 'quite a bad night'. I told Dodds that he had better not read the poetry if that was what was likely to happen.

When it referred to 90 year old Landor and Landor saying his presence made him happy Professor Dodds said 'I could say the same' (a lovely thing to say).

Felix Scrumple (or something)³ is the graduate lodger who lives with him at Cromwell's House.

He says I can show the pencil drawing I did of him at the Royal Academy. I shall show him, Emma and Julia (if they are accepted).

While I was in London delivering the drawings to the Royal Academy Oswyn sent me a card saying, 'Dodds died on Sunday peacefully in his own home.' While looking at the pencil drawing of himself, Dodds had asked, 'Will you show my friends?' I remembered this and spoke to Oswyn. The Royal Academy rejected the drawing of Dodds and the one of Emma. The drawing of Julia Lambert was accepted but not hung. Later Oswyn asked me if he could buy the drawing (fig. 14.1) and I agreed because he was the only person to whom I felt I could have sold it. The drawing was important to me and I knew I would be able to go and look at it, whenever I wished, which indeed has proved to be the case.

³ Felix Padel, of course.



Fig. 14.1 Detail of a pencil portrait of E. R. Dodds by Helen Ganly (1979), in possession of Oswyn Murray.

Reproduced by kind permission of the artist.

Oswyn Murray

I knew of E.R. Dodds long before I came to Oxford: at school our inspirational sixth form teacher, A.D. Whitehorn ('Father Whitehorn' was his nickname, because we loved him, not because he was in fact the father of Katherine Whitehorn, the shortly-to-be-famous journalist), had tried to

convince us of the finality of death by reading with us Lucretius book III, and, being himself a pupil of A.W. Verrall (*Euripides the Rationalist*), studied with us Euripides' *Bacchae* in Dodds's edition. This text was a revelation, for it showed me for the first and only time in my youth that Classics was relevant to the modern world: in no other subject could I find the openness to comparative studies, to religious experience, to psychology and anthropology that I saw in Dodds's commentary. Later at Oxford, I read his newly published book, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, and understood that he was indeed the greatest living scholar of ancient Greece; and when Gilbert Murray's library was sold, I bought his copy from Mr Thornton: it must have been the presentation copy given by Dodds to the dedicatee of the book.

But I was too timid and insecure to approach such a great man: I don't think I went to his lectures, or had any personal contact with him until ten years later, when I was a young don. My lifelong friend Ruth Padel was his last graduate student, and took upon herself the task of looking after him in his old age after the death of his wife, arranging for her brother Felix to live in the house and keep him company. She told me that Dodds felt lonely and cut off from Oxford, and she thought that he would appreciate being asked to meet present-day undergraduates. So I screwed up my courage and wrote to him, sending him some offprints (mostly reviews from the *Classical Review*). He replied with a postcard on 4 April 1973:

Very many thanks for the bundle of offprints. When I see a review over your signature I have long made a practice of reading it, in the confident expectation of pleasure as well as profit (two things rarely combined).

As to meeting, why should we wait for the dilatory Walzer?⁴ Could you perhaps dine as my guest at Christ Church next Monday, 9 April, meeting in the SCR soon after 7? Since the notice is rather short I should be grateful if you would ring me up. E.R. Dodds

⁴ I must have mentioned Richard and Sophie Walzer, who were mutual friends. Richard (1900–75; see *ODNB*) was a pupil of Wilamowitz, and the great Arabist who opened up the topic of the relation between Greek and Arabic philosophy; Sophie was a Cassirer, and they had taken refuge in Oxford in the 1930s, together with the most outstanding collection of Impressionist paintings that I have ever seen in private hands (her father had been the leading art dealer in Berlin). Every room in their tiny house in Bladon Close was crammed with paintings; I remember a sketch for 'Déjeuner sur l'herbe' hanging over the door, and a huge Manet of the boathouse at Argenteuil behind the sofa dominating the main room. When they died, several of the paintings were given to the Ashmolean in lieu of death duties, from where the Cézanne and a Van Gogh were stolen on New Year's Day 2000.

So I dined with him. It was the middle of the Easter vacation, and there were very few others at High Table. After dinner there were three of us at dessert—myself, Dodds and W.H. Auden. Auden proceeded to dominate the conversation, arguing at length that Virgil was a greater poet than Homer. I was too much in awe of both of them to say anything at all; but I could not help noticing the twinkle in Dodds's eye as he sat silently watching Auden utter more and more outrageous statements. I began to understand why so many great poets had been drawn to Dodds and made him their friend: that quiet receptiveness without contest or judgement was just what they needed to expand their visions. One of Dodds's own poems captures this perfectly:

In omnibuses, trains and trams,
It is the practice of the wise
To sit in corners very still;
So shall they meet behind the eyes
Of someone of their fellow shams
The unspeakable daemon of the will.

He was always the silent watcher, trying to understand what others were really like.

The next occasion I recall from my diary was on 9 December 1975. I had an Irish pupil called Bobby McDonagh, whose uncle (I wrongly believed) was the poet shot by the British for his part in the Easter Rising of 1916 and immortalized in one of Yeats's greatest poems ('A terrible beauty is born'). I knew that Dodds admired the poet, and thought he would like to meet his nephew (Bobby now tells me that he is no relation, though 'wearing my godson of de Valera hat, Dev once gave me a book of poetry which had been owned and inscribed by Thomas MacDonagh and Dev further inscribed it to me'). So we had an undergraduate party, and I brought Dodds by car to our house. I have asked Bobby (subsequently Irish Ambassador to the EU and to Britain), and his close friend Nigel Sheinwald (subsequently British Ambassador to the EU and to Washington), who was also at the party, for their memories; but unfortunately neither they nor I can recall anything except that Dodds had a very heavy cold, and I had to take him home early. That is a great pity, for Dodds and Bobby had a long conversation together about Ireland.

In autumn 1976, Pierre Vidal-Naquet was in Oxford as Nellie Wallace lecturer, and on 29 November, Penny and I held a dinner party for him; we invited Dodds and David Barrett, officially a librarian in the Bodleian cataloguing Chinese books, but who in fact spent most of his time on

his brilliant translations of Aristophanes. Pierre recalls the event in his *Mémoires* (vol. II (Paris 1998), p. 308):

J'eus la chance de dîner un soir chez les Murrays avec Eric Dodds, grand découvreur après Nietzsche des aspects 'irrationnels' de la culture grecque, dont j'avais commencé à lire les oeuvres vingt ans auparavant, quand j'étais assistant à Caen.

This was the period of his composition of *Le Chasseur noir*. But what we chiefly remember of that evening was one remark from Dodds. Our first son had recently been born, and Penny began breast-feeding him at the dinner table. Dodds looked on with an expression of profound empathy: 'Ah, the New Life,' he said in a quiet voice. It seemed both a spiritual benediction and a moment of personal melancholy as he recalled his own childless life.

The next spring Ruth took Dodds on holiday to Italy to see the paintings of Piero della Francesca for the last time. She was staying on, and asked me to collect Dodds from Luton airport at 7 o'clock on 16 April. Since he would be coming back to an empty house, we made him what my young daughter called a 'Doddy hamper' to take home—butter, bread, local honey and eggs from the country, and some tea. I remember waiting by the arrivals door searching for his familiar face until this tiny figure emerged amid all the bronzed and burly holiday makers, and how his expression changed from bewilderment and fear to delight as he caught sight of me. We drove back through the dark, and I thought how glad I was that he could not see the ugliness of that part of England.

In 1977, *Missing Persons* was published, the most misnamed book I know. Dodds claims that in each of the successive stages of his life he was essentially a different, disconnected person. Nothing could be further from the truth: in every chapter the same determined, uncompromising, radical Northern Irish Republican is revealed, with a personality, which is quiet, yes, but so powerful that no one could mistake its essential nature. The book was reviewed in the *Times Literary Supplement* by F.S.L. Lyons, Provost of Trinity College Dublin (Lyons 1977); his review caused me to write a letter to the journal, signed by my Balliol colleagues, Jasper Griffin, Oliver Lyne, Penelope Bulloch and Anthony Kenny:

Sir, – Your otherwise sympathetic reviewer of E.R. Dodds's autobiography, *Missing Persons*, is betrayed by his lack of knowledge of the classical world into writing, 'One doubts if he will be remembered as one of the towering scholars of this century'.

In fact E.R. Dodds is one of the most influential scholars of his generation; and his book *The Greeks and the Irrational* has done more to shape contemporary understanding of Greek culture than any other single work by a classical scholar. (TLS 18 November 1977)

On 27 January 1978, Dodds asked me to dinner in Christ Church again: this happened to be a Graduate Common Room guest night, and the GCR, feeling sorry for Princess Margaret because she had just been forced to give up Roddy Llewellyn, had invited her to dinner. As the minutes ticked by and she did not appear, High Table became agitated by the question of whether they should begin dinner, and what should they do if she arrived late? Eventually hunger overcame loyalty, and they decided to start dinner, but to stand up if she appeared. As a guest, I was seated to the left of the Dean, Henry Chadwick, who was of course presiding; on my left was Dodds. When Princess Margaret finally arrived, we all stood up, except for the diminutive figure of Dodds, who remained firmly seated. Chadwick, a very tall man, leaned over me and addressed the bald head below him: 'Still the old Republican, eh Dodds,' he said with a twinkle in his eye; and Dodds smiled.

I recall another occasion: I was working on a review of Arthur Darby Nock's *Collected Essays* (which was never finished, but parts of it appeared much later in Simon Price's article on Nock: Price 2010). I asked Dodds if he had known Nock. 'Very well,' he replied, 'We used to meet at international conferences; he had strange phobias. He believed he might catch terrible diseases from door knobs, so he always insisted I go through doors first. I don't know whether he thought I was more expendable, or more immune.'⁵ There was one other meeting I remember, a supper with Ruth, Dodds, George Forrest, and others at the house of Michael Black, the sculptor of the emperors' heads outside the Sheldonian, in his first-floor conservatory overlooking his garden in Chalfont Road; but I recall nothing except that it was a very happy and convivial occasion in the summer evening sunlight.

On 20 March 1979, I visited Dodds for the last time. The Cherwell was in spate and all the meadows along the Marston Ferry Road were flooded; it was a beautiful sight. Dodds was lying in bed upstairs in the front room of Cromwell's House, and the light was reflected from the water onto the ceiling to produce a sense of ethereal brightness. I wanted desperately to ask him how he, who had studied the supernatural so closely and spent so

⁵ 'On Dodds and Nock see also Russell, p. 280, and Morgan, p. 182.

much time investigating communication between the living and the dead, was anticipating his own death—with excitement or fear, since at last he might find the answers to his lifelong quest. But I was too shy and did not dare break the unspoken taboo that one should not mention death to the dying. So we talked about the beauty of the floods instead and the light in his room; it was he who broke the taboo: ‘I should like to see the river again before I die.’ And we said goodbye.

Dodds died on 8 April. I do not remember any funeral; there was certainly no memorial service or commemoration. He left life silently, just as he had lived it. The fading away of his physical presence is mirrored in Helen Ganly’s wonderful drawing of an indistinct little old man with gnarled gardener’s hands, in a vast expanse of whiteness.

I had wanted to ask him to give his classical books to the new Classics Lending Library that I had just founded; but I was too late. Instead all his books were sold by his nephew at the auction house by the station, in boxes labelled things like ‘miscellaneous books, paperback’. Suddenly these boxes would leap from a few pounds to thousands or more as the dealers realized that they contained priceless inscribed first editions from Yeats, Auden, and MacNeice. I am told that one Oxford don made a killing later at the London auction houses. But typically of my relations with Dodds I had mistaken the day, and arrived the next day as the boxes were being carted away by happy purchasers. Later some of these books appeared in Robin Waterfield’s bookshop at the bottom of the High Street: I have a catalogue of March 1980 listing ‘books from the library of E.R. Dodds’. I went down to the bookshop and managed to buy his battered copy of Sandys’ edition of the *Bacchae*, and for £10 one of my most precious possessions, a copy of ‘*Thirty-Two Poems with a note on unprofessional poetry by E.R. Dodds*’ (Dodds 1929b); although it contains no annotations, I like to think that it is his personal copy.

I did, however, manage to persuade his heirs to give to the Classics Lending Library the painting of Dodds by Corinna MacNeice, daughter of his friend, the famous poet. It hung above a doorway in the Library (with no inscription I admit) for many years until the Classics Office moved to new premises. Twelve years later, in preparation for the conference from which this book stems, I asked about it: it could not be found anywhere. I searched all over Wellington Square, no one had ever heard of it. Eventually an appeal went out to the Faculty, and Juliane Kerkhecker revealed that she had found it abandoned by the black rubbish bins, and rescued it and kept it for the last dozen years in her various teaching offices. Somehow that was so typical of

his personality: completely forgotten by his Faculty and most of his Oxford colleagues, only a young German scholar still knew who he was. In future that picture will hang in the Classics Centre, with a plaque to remind people of the most imaginative European classicist of the twentieth century.

Forty years later, approaching the same moment of departure that I witnessed as a young man, I still wish that I had been brave enough to ask him that final question. I know now that he would have answered truthfully, for I have just read his wonderful memoir of the great translator of Plotinus, Stephen Mackenna, and his description of his last visit:

He knew that he was dying, and we spoke of the approaching end without embarrassment. He said that he had no wish to live longer, and when I asked him if he did not fear to die alone, he replied that he preferred it; he had always been spiritually alone, and his one dread was that the 'black crows' might scent his deathbed and pester him with unwelcome services. He hoped, and expected, that there would be nothing after death. I asked him whether, if he did find himself surviving, he would attempt to establish the fact by communicating with me through a medium; but he begged to be excused, on the ground of a distaste for mediums and a congenital incapacity for scientific experiment. (Dodds 1936a, 88)

But if I had talked to him as truthfully as that, I think he would surely have answered in the same ironic words that he used at the end of his address to the Society for Psychical Research in 1933, on 'Why I do not believe in survival' (Dodds 1934a: 172):

If there is an after-life, it would appear on the evidence so far available to be a life which kills all interest in intellectual pursuits, as living men understand them. This may be indeed the case; yet I cannot but think it surprising, as well as extremely unfortunate from an evidential point of view.

And yet, forty years on, at last I begin to understand that he did give me an answer in that sunlit room by the water-meadows: by his actions and his acceptance of the coming end he showed me how it is best to die. All life is a preparation for death.

Donald Russell

My recollections, whatever their value, do at any rate go back a long way—in fact, to 1939, when I came up to Balliol and Dodds had been professor for three years. So I was aware of him as a person, in one way or another, for forty years. I became a pupil and a friend. I revered him, and he, I think, had confidence in me, however unjustifiable that may have been. Sometimes I took his advice—for example, that Ireland was a good setting for a honeymoon—and sometimes, as will be seen, I did not, and that was to my disadvantage. Of course, I never called him Eric. He did get round to calling me Donald, but I think it was an effort.

His early years as Regius Professor were, as we all know, not very happy. Some tutors—including, I have been told, my predecessor at St John's, Gilbert Highet—actually forbade their pupils to attend the professor's lectures. Luckily for me, the Balliol view was different. We took full advantage of the opportunities of sampling the learning and the personal qualities of a teacher who, as we soon realized, was a very unusual and remarkable person. Moreover, his lectures were much better than most. He was audible, he had an enthralling voice, he was interesting, and he was obviously very learned. Many of the other lecturers for Mods in those days were none of these things. Some gabbled their material so fast and with such poor delivery that it was useless: I think of Maurice Bowra. Others dispensed small doses of elementary information, drop by drop, at something near dictation speed. I think especially of Erskine Wright at Queen's. Dodds was very different: a shaft of light in a dark place. In his lectures on the *Choephoroi* and the *Eumenides*, for example, all the knotty points of text and metre were, of course, lucidly set out, and in such a way that one could easily take good notes. But he also brought out the grandeur of the poetry (often by reading it out) and the religious dimension of the story. Remember that, at the same time, some of us were going to Fraenkel's *Agamemnon* class, then bogged down in the Cassandra scene. Here a quite different style of scholarship was on offer: not so much about the poetry, hardly anything about the religion, but instead that wonderful introduction to the world of scholarly tradition, making one feel a participant in centuries of debate, and symbolized by the pile of old editions with which Fraenkel was invariably loaded. There was nothing, as far as I remember, about, for example, the physical symptoms of Cassandra's trance (and there seems to be nothing on this in the *Agamemnon* edition)—yet think how Dodds would have gone to town with his

parallels in the experiences of modern mediums and clairvoyants; and that at least would have made it clear that this was not a fairy-tale fantasy, but something, however strange and delusory, that happens in the real world.

Apart from the *Oresteia* lectures, there was Dodds's translation class, a practice he had inherited from Murray. You handed in your piece at 62 High St., where he then lived, and you got it back with valuable, but not always easily legible comments. (His handwriting was, as many will remember, laboured and painful, not at all fluent; he formed his letters with an effort, and I wonder if he already had some tremor in his hand.) He often produced a version of his own, but he sometimes read out one of ours. It was a big boost to my vanity when he singled out my rendering of a Greek epigram for this treatment, and read it, of course, much better than I could have done. I remember a chorus of Sophocles, a piece of Pericles' Funeral Speech, and a passage of the *Georgics*—he didn't stick exclusively to Greek. He says somewhere that he regretted not having done more translation himself. It is indeed a pity: he had all the skills and, moreover, he knew how poetry could be written with twentieth-century techniques. He showed this understanding once when he was examining a thesis on Louis MacNeice's imagery, with Rachel Trickett of the English faculty as his fellow-examiner. Towards the end of the viva, (so Rachel told me) Dodds said, 'Your thesis is on the imagery: Louis was interested in the metre. Will you please read this' (he pushed a text over the table) 'and explain to us how the metre works.'

In 1939–40, Dodds was also lecturing on the *Gorgias*. I did not go; but these were the lectures that he mentions himself as to some extent shaped by the realization that many of his audience would soon be soldiers. I do however remember, though vaguely, a single lecture in Christ Church Hall, about the war and the reasons for it. I remember anyway a lurid description of the sexual behaviour of Japanese troops in China in the 1930s: whole regiments, I think, publicly masturbating! Our own Japanese war, by the way, had not yet begun.

The war was surely life-changing for Dodds, as for so many. In 1914–18 he had been a conscientious objector and, as an Irish nationalist, unwilling to subscribe to British war aims. It was this of course which was specially held against him on his return to Oxford—naturally enough by people like Bowra and Denniston who had known the horrors of the trenches, and perhaps did not think so very highly of Dodds's medical work in Serbia. The war against Nazism was quite different. He was glad to contribute to morale building by his pamphlet on 'Making Minds', the fierce critique of Nazi ideology and

education which made Fraenkel say that it made him proud to have become a British citizen.⁶ And of course he worked for the Foreign Office and made the journey to Chungking, of which he tells us something in *Missing Persons*. I was thinking that I might have to argue that it was the war that brought Dodds in out of the cold and rendered his stance as a rebel and an outsider at last an empty fantasy. But there is no need to argue. There is a dramatic scene at the end of Chap. 15 of *Missing Persons* in which he says that, on his return from China, he 'knelt and kissed the soil of England'. Did he really? It makes a fine ending, and anyway it is symbolically true.

I must now say something about my own experience as his pupil.

After I took Greats in 1947, Dodds became my supervisor. I had, very rashly, said I wanted to write a commentary on Plutarch's dialogue on the *daimonion* of Socrates, because it encapsulated (as it surely does) both of Plutarch's main concerns—the Hellenic past and Platonist philosophy. Dodds wisely tried to persuade me to do something less ambitious—a commentary on Plutarch's rather puzzling little essay on superstition, *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας*. This would have been closer to his own interests; and I should have taken the advice. But I was obstinate, and so harnessed myself to a job beyond my powers. Only many years later did I manage to make partial amends by contributing a little to the understanding of what I still think of as Plutarch's little masterpiece.

Dodds realized that, having read Mods and Greats, I would be totally ignorant of most of what I now needed to know. So he gave me an enormous reading list. It included not only various Middle Platonist works—Albinus and so forth—but the *Hermetica* and several large volumes of modern discussions of telepathy and clairvoyance, which he believed would cast light on Socrates' experience. These things were important to Dodds; again, it was something he shared with Gilbert Murray; and he once presided over the Council of the Society for Psychical Research—the hardest job of the kind (he said) which he had ever had to do.

As well as reading all this, I had of course to attend his own class on Plotinus. Here we were all, except Dodds, in the dark. Yet, characteristically, he maintained the fiction that we were discussing things on equal terms. Good teachers, in his way of thinking, do not condescend. Indeed, to me one of the most admirable things about Dodds as a teacher is just this refusal to talk down to pupils, but always to take what they said seriously, as if put forward by an intellectual equal. We read, to begin with, *Ennead* V.1, the

⁶ For Dodds's work on educational reconstruction in post-war Germany, see Phillips.

natural introduction. This was before the days of Henry and Schwyzer, and our difficulties were compounded by the fact that we all had only such old texts as we could find in collage libraries. But it was all good fun, and very friendly.

I mentioned that he told me to read the *Hermetica*. This reminds me that the editors of the Budé edition, Nock and Festugière, both visited Oxford in these post-war years under Dodds's aegis. Father Festugière—as Dodds always called him—lectured to us, in French, on Plato's *Euthydemus*; he charmed us all. Dodds's admiration for him—unqualified, I think—was surely justified. Whenever nowadays I turn to these great volumes, written on and around the 'revelation of Hermes'—as I did quite recently over something very difficult in Iamblichus—I know I am in the hands of a master, so lucid and convincing is his treatment of the hardest text.

A.D. Nock I met once, in Dodds's company, and I have not forgotten the circumstances. It was in Christ Church, perhaps around 1959–60. Nock was Dodds's guest at dinner, and in common room afterwards he delivered a long speech—harangue, I should say—about the philosopher Posidonius, on whom he had lately published an important article in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (49 [1959] 1–16). So he expatiated on Posidonius: his broad interests, his acute intelligence, his brilliant and original style. At the end of all this, Dodds leaned across the table towards him and said, slowly and deliberately but with a twinkle in his eye, 'Rather like Professor Nock' Nock, I fancy, was, let us say, somewhat knocked back. But I am sure that Dodds's remark was meant as a real compliment—though I personally have always treasured it also as a piece of Doddsian wisdom, a salutary reminder that we can scarcely help shaping the figures of our antiquity in our own image. It is our own blood we give the ghosts, and sometimes they reject it. And am I not now giving a little blood to Dodds's ghost, with very great doubts indeed as to whether it is acceptable?

Dodds must have been disappointed in me when I gave up the *daimonion* project, depressed at my inability to cope, engrossed by teaching (fifteen hours or so a week was common in those days), but also beginning to change my interests to things like rhetoric of which he was not very fond. But he did not complain. I don't think he thought doctorates, in themselves, very important. And loyalty, even uncritical loyalty, to pupils and friends was deeply ingrained in his character.

In the 1950s, his last decade as professor, Dodds came into his own, respected and popular as a lecturer and as a leader. Everyone remembers the Homer lectures with the famous printed handouts; he took immense trouble with such things. It was also the period of his most mature works, *The*

Greeks and the Irrational and the edition of the *Gorgias*. When *The Greeks and the Irrational* was first on view in Blackwell's, I met Fraenkel there (he was often there about three o'clock in the afternoon), and we looked at it together. Fraenkel, who respected Dodds and was respected by him, as well as sharing a sense of being a fellow-exile, a stranger in a foreign land (though of course Dodds only *chose* to seem an exile, and Fraenkel really was one), clearly had some doubts about this book. 'It is not *Psyche*,' he said decisively. Well, it doesn't of course have the range or the learning of Rohde's book: it looks at the problems in a more indirect and oblique way. Fraenkel perhaps did not understand this; but I do not think he wanted to disparage a work which, after all, has had immense influence and success.

By now, Dodds was playing a full part in faculty affairs, with a lot of new colleagues, appointed in the years after the war. I examined Mods in 1952 when he was chairman. Our preliminary meeting was at 2 p.m. in his little room in Christ Church—in Peckwater, if I remember right, on the ground floor—shared, on a time-sharing basis, with the physicist von Engel. The first thing Dodds did was to produce a bottle of cognac and five glasses, 'The situation' he said 'calls for brandy.' That shows how seriously he took examining. He was a careful, perceptive, and generous examiner, on the look-out for virtue rather than counting up sins, and with no great respect for conventional rules-of-thumb. I recall that on this occasion he took a lot of trouble to nudge into the first class a very able and deserving pupil of mine who had just come short of the seven alphas, which would have assured him a First. I waited patiently quite a long time in the outer courts of the Examination Schools while Dodds persuaded our colleagues to do the right thing. My pupil's later career fully justified the decision; but I sometimes wonder whether Dodds's energy in pursuing this obviously just course was fuelled either by his soft spot for me or by the fact that my pupil had a distinctively Irish name!

In preparation for the *Gorgias* edition, Dodds held a class. It was not well attended, but some visiting scholars were there. I remember André Rivier. Essentially, it was like Fraenkel's classes. But Dodds—dare I say unlike Fraenkel?—was genuinely there to learn as well as to teach. Some years later, when he was preparing to go to the Fondation Hardt for a meeting on the sources of Plotinus' philosophy, he again set up a little seminar, at which he tried out his own views on Numenius and Ammonius. I remember making a very unsatisfactory effort to understand Antiochus of Ascalon; but the class was mainly memorable for the presence of the art historian

Edgar Wind, for whom Neoplatonism was important as a source of ideas and symbolism in the Renaissance. Another thing Dodds did was to attend, and sometimes chair, the fortnightly Aristotle reading group, then usually held in Corpus, a long-standing institution going back to Bywater's time, and one of the few places where you could sometimes find classicists and philosophers working together.

After his retirement, Dodds was still active and much in evidence. It was always a pleasure to visit Cromwell's House, though they kept the place so cold. He had long been discontented with the old Mods and Greats divide, and indeed had agitated in vain against it. So when the wall began to crumble and we broke it down (about 1967), he could applaud from the sidelines. It was always a help to have him on the side of this reform, because, after all, the philosophers took him seriously.

Missing Persons was his therapy after Bet's death. There was a party for it in London, at which Conor Cruise O'Brien presented him with the Duff Cooper prize. But all I remember, I am afraid, is a glimpse of Lady Diana Cooper and the quality of the champagne specially sent over by Madame Pol Roger. What O'Brien said and what Dodds said in reply have slipped from my mind, overwhelmed by these other memories.

My last visit to Dodds was when he was dying. He told me he had cancer of the throat. His neighbour, close friend, executor, and fellow gardening enthusiast, Norman Heatley, was with him. If you go to Old Marston now, you see a blue plaque on Heatley's house, commemorating his part in the development of penicillin. There is no such plaque on Cromwell's House. Dodds would have said, rightly so. He would not have thought that the achievements of a mere professor of Greek should be in the same league as those of one who had helped to save millions of lives.

This really concludes my 'recollections'. But, if I may, I should like to end by trying to formulate one or two questions about Dodds which I have sometimes asked myself.

One: how did he come to mellow and slough off the skin of the outsider and the rebel? Winnington-Ingram once told me that he could not make up his mind whether Dodds conquered Oxford or Oxford conquered Dodds. Well, I don't think the enervating charms of this city have much to do with it. Much more, I think, the experiences of 1939–45. But I surmise also that Dodds, a bit late in life, just grew out of the rebellious stance of his younger days. After all, many people do.

Two: how did such an avowed lover of the truth, who liked to say that it was much more important for people to know the truth than to be happy,

come to spend so much time not only on the concerns of the Society for Psychical Research, but on the wilder reaches of Greek religion and on what Denys Page called 'Neoplatonic poppycock'? Denys of course disapproved of Dodds: I still remember the embarrassment of sitting between them at dinner, each talking to me, but neither to the other.

The fact is, I think, that Dodds never approached any of these things with anything like a Gibbonian sneer or a curl of the lip, but always as a sober seeker after truth, in an unprejudiced spirit of inquiry. Dodds didn't do sarcasm; he was much too generous. I am not sure that he did irony; at any rate, it seems to me that when he found it, say in the account of the 'blessings of madness' in the *Phaedrus*, or in Lucian's *Peregrinus*, he does not know quite how to deal with it. So he approached the psychical researches and the theurgists and the later Neoplatonist metaphysicians with the intention of trying to isolate genuine experience or insight from fraud or self-deception.

But why choose these areas? This is surely a proper question to ask about an important scholar. Perhaps—but perhaps this is too glib and facile an answer—he was a person of spiritual instincts and longings with a strong sense of the numinous, but no religion to which he could subscribe, once he had abandoned the Ulster Protestantism amid which he had lived as a child. After all, he had somewhat the same background as C.S. Lewis—but what a different trajectory! He did know Lewis and was friendly with him, despite their differences over Irish politics (see A.N. Wilson, *C. S. Lewis*, p. 62); whether he knew Lewis's circle—Tolkien and the Inklings—I do not myself know. Colin Hardie, a classicist and a friend of Dodds, was also a fringe member of the Inklings.

Dodds left the royalties of his books—and some still accrue—to the Gilbert Murray Trust, not only because he approved its aims, but out of loyalty to Murray himself and a sense of what he owed him. They did indeed have much in common, quite enough to make Dodds self-consciously Murray's successor. I don't mean merely the interest in Greek religion or the involvement with clairvoyance and telepathy, but also—and more importantly—the conviction that a scholar's life does not entail withdrawal from active involvement in the moral or even the political problems of the present. There was a public duty, to which even professors of Greek were bound to attend, whether by going to China on government business or governing the village school in Old Marston. Dodds was a serious scholar, a serious teacher (which is what I have been mainly talking about) and a serious citizen. Those of us who are not quite so serious in one or more of these areas must none the less respect and admire his commitment, and see if we can learn from it.

E. R. Dodds: A Bibliography of His Publications

1916

'The awaiters of the Advent', in W.R. Childe, T.W. Earp, and A.L. Huxley, eds., *Oxford Poetry 1916*, Oxford, 14.

1917

'Measure', in W.R. Childe, T.W. Earp, and Dorothy L. Sayers, eds., *Oxford Poetry 1917*, Oxford, 15.

1919

'The renaissance of occultism', *The Irish Statesman* 1.14, 27 Sept.: 337-8 [repr. in *Classics Ireland* 6 (1999): 98-105] (=1919a).

'The renaissance of the occult II: The implications of telepathy', *The Irish Statesman* 1.17, 18 Oct.: 406-7 (=1919b).

'The renaissance of the occult III: What is hypnotism?', *The Irish Statesman* 1.23, 29 Nov. 1919: 549-51 (=1919c).

'The renaissance of the occult IV: The evidence for survival', *The Irish Statesman* 1.27, 27 Dec.: 645-6 (=1919d).

'The blind glen', 'Low tide on the foreshore at Merrion', 'The moon worshippers', 'Why should beauty endure?' [poems], *Coterie* 3: 9-11 (=1919e).

'A young woman of my acquaintance', *Aengus: An All Poetry Journal* 1 (Midsummer): np. (=1919f).

'The old men on an October morning', *Aengus: An All Poetry Journal* 2 (December): np. (=1919g).

1920

'The evidence for telepathy: an historical survey', *Psychic Research Quarterly* 1: 131-49 (=1920a).

'The rediscovery of the Classics', *The Irish Statesman* II.42, 10 Apr.: 346-7 [repr. in *Classics Ireland* 6 (1999): 92-8] (=1920b).

1922

'Plotiniana', *Classical Quarterly* 16: 93-7.

1923

Review of V. De Falco ed., [*Iamblichus*] *Theologoumena Arithmetica*, *Classical Review* 37: 138 (=1923a).

Select Passages Illustrating Neoplatonism. Translated with an Introduction (Translations of Early Documents), London (=1923b).

1924

Select Passages Illustrative of Neoplatonism: Greek. Arranged and edited. (Texts for Students no. 36), London (=1924a).

Review (unsigned) of S. Ward, *Ethics: An Historical Introduction*; M.E.J. Taylor, *Greek Philosophy: An Introduction*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 44: 293 (=1924b).

1925

'The ΑΙΔΩΣ of Phaedra and the meaning of the Hippolytus', *Classical Review* 39: 102-4 (=1925a).

'When the ecstatic body grips', 'The moon worshippers', *A Golden Treasury of Irish Verse*, L. Robinson ed., London: 91-2, 201-2 (=1925b).

Review of J. Stenzel, *Zahl und Gestalt bei Platon und Aristoteles*; A. Godeckmeyer, *Aristoteles praktisch Philosophie (Ethik und Politik)*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 45: 137 (=1925c).

1927-8

'Augustine's confessions; a study of spiritual maladjustment', *Hibbert Journal* 26: 459-73.

1928

'The Parmenides of Plato and the origin of the Neoplatonic "One"', *Classical Quarterly* 22: 129-42.

1929

- 'Euripides the Irrationalist,' *Classical Review* 43: 97–104 [reprinted in Dodds 1973: 78–91] (=1929a).
- Thirty-two Poems, with a Note on Unprofessional Poetry*, London (=1929b).
- 'Religion and magic in the last age of Greek philosophy,' *Actes du V^e Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions à Lund, 27–29 Août 1929*, Lund, 173–5 [summary] (=1929c).
- Review of E. Bréhier, *La Philosophie de Plotin*, *Gnomon* 5: 477–81 (=1929d).
- Review of W.R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus and Plotinus*, *Classical Review* 43: 140–1 (=1929e).
- Review of W.R. Inge, 'Plotinus', *Journal of Philosophical Studies* 4: 406–7 (=1929f).
- Review of G. Nebel, *Plotins Kategorien der intelligiblen Welt*; H. Oppermann, *Plotins Leben*, *Classical Review* 43: 186–7 (=1929g).
- Review of Ψυχικά Ἐρευνά [journal of the Greek Society for Psychical Research] 4 (1928), *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 25: 149 (=1929h).

1930

- 'Neuplatonismus', in F.M. Schile (ed.), *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. by H. Gunkel and L.L. Zscharnak, IV (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr), cols. 511–14 (=1930a).
- 'After nine years', *The Irish Statesman* 13.26, 1 March: 511 (=1930b).
- Review of P.O. Kristeller, *Der Begriff der Seele in der Ethik es Plotins*, *Classical Review* 44: 153 (=1930c).

1931

- 'What is wrong with the modern universities?', *The Universities Review* 4.1:9–20 (=1931a).
- Review of P.A. Bielmeier, *Die neuplatonische Phaidros-interpretation*, *Classical Review* 45: 206 (=1931b).
- Review of E. Hamilton, *The Greek Way* and F.R. Earp, *The Way of the Greeks*, *Oxford Magazine*, 22 October: 75–6 (=1931c).
- Review of M.M. Patrick, *The Greek Sceptics*, *Oxford Magazine* 50.2, 22 October: 79 (=1931d).
- Review of R. Harder, *Plotins Schriften überstezt*, Bd. I, *Classical Review* 45: 35–6 (=1931e).
- Review of W. Theiler, *Die Vorbereitung des Neoplatonismus*, *Gnomon* 7: 307–10 (=1931f).

1931–2

- 'On the evidence for supernormal occurrences in classical antiquity', *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 27: 216–21.

1933

Proclus: the Elements of Theology. A Revised Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary. Oxford [2nd ed. 1963] (=1933a).

'The portrait of a Greek gentleman', *Greece and Rome* 2: 97-107 (=1933b).

1933-4

Review of *Ψυχικὰ Ἔρευναί* [journal of the Greek Society for Psychical Research] 9 (1933), *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 28: 184 (=1933-4a).

Review of T. Besterman, *Inquiry into the Unknown: A B.B.C. Symposium*, *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 28: 310-11 (=1933-4b).

Review of Mrs W.H. Salter, *Evidence for Telepathy*, *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 28: 311 (=1933-4c).

Correspondence: precognition and psychoanalysts, *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 28: 204-6 (=1933-4d).

1934

'Why I do not believe in survival', *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 42: 147-72 (=1934a).

'Notes on the ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΙΑΙ of Plotinus (*Ennead* IV.iii-iv)', *Classical Quarterly* 28: 47-53 (=1934b).

Review of C.G. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 42: 286-8 (=1934c).

1935

'The quantitative study of trance personalities', *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 29: 131-2 (=1935a).

Review of W. Theiler, *Porphyrios und Augustin*, *Classical Review* 49: 71-2 (=1935b).

Review of H. Willms, *EIKON: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Platonismus* and P. Henry, *Plotin et l'Occident*, *Classical Review* 49: 179-80 (=1935c).

1936

Journal and Letters of Stephen MacKenna. Edited with a memoir [memoir by ERD, 2-89], London (=1936a).

Humanism and Technique in Greek Studies: An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 5 November 1936, Oxford [Reviewed by Anon., *The Oxford Magazine* 55.5, 12 November 1936: 143; by W.M. Calder, *Classical Review* 61: 143; and by M.S., *Die Antike* 14: 78-80] (=1936b).

‘Telepathy and clairvoyance in classical antiquity’, in *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays presented to Gilbert Murray on his Seventieth Birthday*, Oxford, 364–85 (=1936c) [reprinted in *Journal of Parapsychology* 10, 1946: 290–309]

Review of P. Henry, ‘Recherches sur la préparation evangelique d’Eusèbe’, *Classical Review* 50: 128–9 (=1936d).

Review of M. Wundt, *Platons Parmenides*; E. Hoffmann, *Platonismus und Mystik im Altertum*; *Gnomon* 12: 116–20 (=1936e).

1937

‘R.T. Davis’, *The Campbellian* [Campbell College, Belfast] 9.2 (March): 56–7 (=1937a).

Review of R. Harder, *Plotins Schriften überstezt*, Bd. II–III, *Classical Review* 51: 16–17 (=1937b).

1938

‘Four notes on the *Choephoroi*’, *Classical Quarterly* 32: 1–4 (=1938a).

Review of R.H.S. Crossman, *Plato Today*, *Oxford Magazine* 56.10, 27 January: 332 (=1938b).

Review of T.F. Higham and C.M. Bowra (eds.), *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation*, *Oxford Magazine* 56.23, 9 June: 747 (=1938c).

1938–9

‘Note by Professor E.R. Dodds’, *Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research* 45: 294–6.

1939

Review of J.E. Powell, *Greek in the University*, *Classical Review* 53: 37.

1940

‘Maenadism in the *Bacchae*’, *Harvard Theological Review* 33: 155–76 (=1940a).

‘The universities and the war’, *Fabian Quarterly* 25: 4–11 (=1940b).

Review of S.E. Morison, *The Ancient Classics in a Modern Democracy*, *Classical Review* 54: 112 (=1940c).

Review of H.W. Parke, *A History of the Delphic Oracle*, *Oxford Magazine* 58.18, 2 May: 294 (=1940d).

1941

- Minds in the Making* (Macmillan War Pamphlets no.14), London (=1941a).
Review of M.P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 42: 246-7 (=1941b).

1943

- 'Ernest de Selincourt', pp. 402-3 of H. Darbishire, 'Ernest de Selincourt', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29: 393-409.

1944

- Euripides: *Bacchae*. Edited with Introduction and Commentary, Oxford. [2nd ed. 1960].

1945

- 'Plato and the irrational', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 65: 16-25 (=1945a).
'Marcus Antoninus VI.13', *Classical Review* 59: 53 (=1945b).
Review of A.S.L. Farquharson (ed.), *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius*, *Oxford Magazine* 63.19, 17 May: 252-3 (=1945c).

1946

- Review (unsigned) of A.-J. Festugière, *L Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. I, *Times Literary Supplement* 2336, 9 November: 552.

1947

- 'Theurgy and its relationship to Neoplatonism', *Journal of Roman Studies* 37: 55-69 (=1947a).
'Presidential address' [Association of University Teachers], *The Universities Review* 20: 54-8 (=1947b).
'The universities in the British zone of Germany [Report of the Delegation of the Association of University Teachers], E.R. Dodds, Chairman, et al., *The Universities Review* 19: 203-22 (=1947c).

1949

'Iamblichus', 'Neoplatonism', 'Neopythagoreanism', 'Plotinus', 'Porphyry' in M. Cary et al. (eds.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

1950

Review of A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vols. I-II, *Journal of Roman Studies* 40: 146-8.

1951

The Greeks and the Irrational (Sather Classical Lectures, 25), Berkeley and Los Angeles (=1951a).

Review of W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, *The Oxford Magazine* 69.12, 8 February: 264-5 (=1951b).

1952

'The Alcidamas-papyrus again', *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 2: 187-8 (=1952a).

'A fragment of a Greek novel (*P. Mich Inv.* no. 5)', in *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* [*Phoenix* Supplementary Vol. 1], Toronto, 133-8 (=1952b).

'Three notes on the *Medea*', *Humanitas* 4: 13-18 (=1952c).

'Why Greek rationalism failed', *The Listener* 47, 8 May: 745-6 (=1952d).

Review of P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer eds., *Plotini Opera: Tomus I* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer), *Classical Review* n.s. 2: 165-8 (=1952e).

1953

'Notes on the *Oresteia*', *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 3: 11-21 (=1953a).

Review of F. Zucker, *Plotin und Lykopolis*, *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 3: 56-7 (=1953b).

Review of R.B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*, *Philosophy* 28: 86-8 (=1953c).

1954

'Chapter 1. Homer, pts. i-iii', in M. Platnauer (ed.), *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*, Oxford: 1-17, 31-5 (=1954a).

'The nationality of Antiphon the sophist', *Classical Review* n.s. 4: 94-5 (=1954b).

1955

- Review of L.G. Westerink ed., *Proclus Diadochus: Commentary on the First Alcibiades*, *Gnomon* 27: 164–7 (=1955a).
- Review of D.J. Allan and G. Italie, *A Concordance to Euripides*, *Oxford Magazine* 73.22, 9 June: 412 (=1955b).

1956

- ‘The position of classical studies at Oxford’, *The Oxford Magazine* 74: 372–4 (=1956a).
- ‘Foreword’ (pp. xi–xiii) to *Plotinus: the Enneads*, tr. Stephen McKenna [2nd revised ed.; repr. in 3rd ed., 1960, and 4th ed., 1969] (=1956b).
- ‘Notes on Plotinus, *Ennead* III.8’, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 27–8: 108–13 (=1956c).

1957

- ‘Obituary: Gilbert Murray OM’, *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 39: 150–4 (=1957a).
- ‘Gilbert Murray’, *Gnomon* 29: 476–9 [reprinted in Gilbert Murray, *An Unfinished Autobiography* (ed. J. Smith and A. Toynbee), London, 1960, 13–19] (=1957b).
- ‘Notes on some manuscripts of Plato’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77: 24–30 (=1957c).
- Review of J.D. Denniston and D.L. Page eds., *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, *The Oxford Magazine* 76.5, 14 November: 128–9 (=1957d).
- Review of L.G. Westerbrink (ed.), *Olympiodorus: Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato*, *Gnomon* 29: 356–9 (=1957e).

1959

- Plato: Gorgias. A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford [corr. repr. 1966] (=1959a).
- Review of A.-H. Chroust, *Socrates: Man and Myth*, *Mind* 68: 269–7 (=1959b).

1960

- Euripides: *Bacchae. Edited with Introduction and Commentary* [2nd ed.], Oxford (=1960a).
- ‘Morals and politics in the Oresteia’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 6: 19–31 (=1960b).

'Numenius and Ammonius', in *Les Sources de Plotin* [Entretiens Hardt sur l'antiquité classique 5], Vandoeuvres and Geneva: 3-61 (=1960c).

'Tradition and personal achievement in the philosophy of Plotinus', *Journal of Roman Studies* 50: 1-7 (=1960d).

1961

'New light on the "Chaldean Oracles"', *Harvard Theological Review* 54: 263-73.

1962

'Experimental research at the universities and in the Society' (Presidential Address), *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 53: 247-63 (=1962a).

'Two concordant experiences coinciding with a death', *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 41: 337-46 (=1962b).

1963

(with H. Chadwick), 'A.D. Nock', *Journal of Roman Studies* 53: 168-9.

1964

'The President's Address: classical teaching in an altered climate', *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 61, 11-23. Printed separately as *Classical Teaching in an Altered Climate* (Presidential Address delivered to the Classical Association at the University of Leicester 7 April 1964), London [reviewed by V.A. Goodman, *Hermathena* 100 (1965): 86-7].

1965

Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine, Cambridge (=1965a).

Louis MacNeice, *The Strings are False: an unfinished autobiography* [preface by Dodds, 11-15], London (=1965b).

Review of P. Aubin, *Le problème de la 'Conversion'*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 16: 269-71 (=1965c).

Review of P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer eds., *Plotini Opera: Tomus I* (OCT), *Gnomon* 37: 419-20 (=1965d).

Review of J.C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Folklore: A Study in Survivals*, *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 43: 216-17 (=1965e).

1966

The Collected Poems of Louis MacNeice [preface by Dodds, pp. xv-xvi], London (=1966a).

'On misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*', *Greece and Rome* 13: 37-49 (=1966b).

1967

'Background to a poet [W.H. Auden]: memories of Birmingham, 1924-36', *Shenandoah* 18: 6-11 (=1967a).

Review of H.D. Saffrey and L. Westerink (eds.), *Proclus: Théologie Platonicienne*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 90: 241-2 (=1967b).

Review of H.W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon, Hermathena* 105: 87-90 (=1967c).

1968

'Appendix to ch. 1 [Homer pts. i-iii]', in *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship*, ed. M. Platnauer, Oxford: 38-42 (=1968a).

Review of L. Edelstein, *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity*, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29: 453-7 (=1968b).

1970

'Ammonius (2) Saccas', 'Anacharsis', 'Albinus', 'Iamblichus (2)', 'Neoplatonism', 'Neopythagoreanism', 'Numenius', 'Plotinus', 'Porphyry', 'Proclus', 'Simplicius', in N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard (eds.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edition, Oxford.

1970-1

Articles in R. Cavendish (ed.), *Man Myth and Magic: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Supernatural*, London: 'Psychical research, Man Myth and Magic' (pt. 9), 241-4; 'Cross-correspondences, Man Myth and Magic' (pt. 20), 553-4; 'Theurgy' (pt. 101), 2821-4.

1971

'Supernormal phenomena in classical antiquity', *Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research* 55: 189-237.

1972

'Gilbert Murray's last experiments', *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 55: 371–402 (=1972a).

Review of P.J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus*, *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 46: 94–5 (=1972b).

1973

The Ancient Concept of Progress and Other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief, Oxford (=1973a).

'Progress in classical antiquity', *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. P. Wiener, New York, 3.623–33 (=1973b).

1974

'Louis MacNeice at Birmingham', in T. Brown and A. Reid (eds.), *Time was Away: The World of Louis MacNeice*, Dublin: 35–8.

1977

Missing Persons: An Autobiography, Oxford. Reprinted 2000.

1991

Parapsicologia nel mondo antico [ed. G. Cambiano], Rome and Bari. [translation of Dodds 1971]

Bibliography

- Accorinti, D. (2014), *Raffaele Pettazzoni and Herbert Jennings Rose, Correspondence 1927–1958*, Leiden.
- Ackerman, R. (1991), *The Myth and Ritual School: J.G. Frazer and the Cambridge Ritualists*, New York.
- Ackroyd, P. (1984), *T.S. Eliot*, London.
- Actes (1930) = *Actes du Ve Congrès international d'histoire des religions, Lund, 27–29 août 1929*, Lund.
- Alain, E.C. (1939), *Idées: introduction à la philosophie*, Paris.
- Allen, P.S., ed. (1908), *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford.
- Alles, G.D. (2002), 'The science of religion in a fascist state: Rudolf Otto and Jakob Wilhelm Hauer during the Third Reich', *Religion* 32: 177–204.
- Alles, G.D., ed. (2008), *Religious Studies: A Global View*, London.
- Alles, G.D. (2014), 'Rudolf Otto and the Cognitive Science of Religion' in Lauster et al. 2014, 21–36.
- Allison, J., ed. (2010), *The Letters of Louis MacNeice*, London.
- Allt, P. and Alspach, R.K., eds. (1957), *The Variorum Edition of the Poems of W.B. Yeats*, London.
- Alphandéry, P. (1908), 'Le troisième congrès international d'histoire des religions à Oxford', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 58: 238–47.
- Alspach, R.K., ed. (1966), *The Variorum Edition of the Plays of W.B. Yeats*, London.
- d'Alviella, G. (1908), 'President's address' in Allen 1908, 365–79.
- Annan, N.G. (1999), *The Dons: Mentors, Eccentrics, Geniuses*, London.
- Antes, P. (2016), 'Phenomenology of religion revisited' in Antes et al. 2016, 141–52.
- Antes, P., Geertz, A.W., and Rothstein, M., eds. (2016), *Contemporary Views on Comparative Religion*, Sheffield.
- Antes, P. and Pahnke, D., eds. (1989), *Die Religion von Oberschichten. Religion-Profession-Intellektualismus*, Marburg.
- Arbogast, H. (1998a), 'Stefan George und die Antike' in Arbogast 1998b, 7–28.
- Arbogast, H., ed. (1998b), *Versuche über George*, Stuttgart.
- Arkins, B. (1990), *Builders of My Soul: Greek and Roman Themes in Yeats*, Gerrards Cross.
- Arkins, B. (2000), 'Athens no longer dies: Greek and Roman themes in MacNeice', *Classics Ireland* 7: 1–24.
- Armstrong, A.H. (1940), *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus*, Cambridge.
- Armstrong, A.H., ed. and trans. (1966), *Plotinus. Porphyry on Plotinus, Ennead I*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA and London.

- Armstrong, A.H., ed. (1967), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge.
- Armstrong, A.H. (1973), 'Elements in the thought of Plotinus at variance with classical intellectualism', *Journal of Roman Studies* 93: 13–22 (reprinted in Armstrong 1979, Ch. XVI, with 1973 pagination).
- Armstrong, A.H. (1979), *Plotinian and Christian Studies*, London.
- Armstrong, A.H., ed. and trans. (1989), *Plotinus. Porphyry on Plotinus, Ennead I*, Loeb Classical Library, revised edition, Cambridge, MA and London.
- Arrighetti, G., ed. (1982), *Aspetti di Hermann Usener, filologo della religione*, Pisa.
- Arvidsson, S. (2006), *Aryan Idols. Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science*, Chicago.
- Asmuth, C. and Neuffer, S.G., eds. (2015), *Irrationalität*, Würzburg.
- Assmann, J. and Gladigow, B., eds. (1995), *Text und Kommentar*, Munich.
- Atkinson, J. (2010), 'Benjamin Farrington: Cape Town and the shaping of a public intellectual', *South African Historical Journal* 62: 671–92.
- Atkinson, J. (2016), 'Benjamin Farrington and the science of swerve' in Parker 2016, 356–79.
- Auffarth, C. (2006), 'Licht von Osten. Die antiken Mysterienreligionen als Vorläufer, Gegenmodell oder katholisches Gift zum Christentum', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 8: 206–26.
- Auffarth, C. and Rüpke, J., eds. (2002), *Epitome tes oikumenes*, Stuttgart.
- Aurnhammer, A., Braungart, W., Breuer, S., and Oelmann, U., eds. (2015), *Stefan George und sein Kreis. Ein Handbuch*, Bielefeld [3 vols; 2nd ed.].
- AUT [Association of University Teachers] (1947), 'The Universities in the British Zone of Germany', *The Universities Review* 19/3.
- Aziz, R. (1990), *C.G. Jung's Psychology of Religion and Synchronicity*, New York.
- Bachofen, J.J. (1948), *Das Mutterrecht* [ed. K. Meuli], Basel.
- Baeumer, M.L. (2007), *Dionysos und das Dionysische in der antiken und deutschen Literatur*, Darmstadt.
- Bailey, C., ed. (1936), *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray on his Seventieth Birthday*, Oxford.
- Baird, T. Hamilton (1966), review of Dodds 1965, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 5: 463–4.
- Bambrough, R., ed. (1967), *Plato, Popper and Politics*, Cambridge.
- Barber, G. (1994), 'Libraries' in Harrison 1994, 471–84.
- Barone, E., Riedl, M., and Toschel, A., eds. (2004), *Pioniere, Poeten, Professoren. Eranos und der Monte Verità in der Zivilisationsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg.
- Barrett, B. (1984), 'Problems of definition and interpretation' in Smith and Lounibos 1984, 113–30.
- Barrett, W.F. (1918–19), 'Evidence of super-normal communications through motor automatism: A paper read at a private meeting of the Society on November 22, 1917', *Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research* 30 : 230–50.
- Barrett, W.S. (1964), *Euripides: Hippolytos*, Oxford.
- Basch, S., Espagne, M., and Leclant, J., eds. (2008), *Les frères Reinach*, Paris.

- Baubérot, J. (2002), 'Deux institutions de science des religions en France: la Section des Sciences Religieuses de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE), le Groupe de Sociologie des Religions' in Wiegers 2002, 55–66.
- Baumann, G. (2000), 'Der George-Kreis' in Faber and Holste 2000, 65–84.
- Bauschulte, M. (2007), *Religionsbahnhöfe der Weimarer Republik. Studien zur Religionsforschung 1918–1933*, Marburg.
- Beam, A. (2008), *A Great Idea at the Time: The Rise, Fall, and Curious Afterlife of the Great Books*, New York.
- Beard, M. (1992), 'Frazer, Leach, and Virgil: The popularity (and unpopularity) of The Golden Bough', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34: 203–24.
- Beard, M. (1995), Review of Dover 1994, *London Review of Books* 17, 9 February, 12.
- Beckett, Samuel ['Andrew Belis'] (1934), 'Recent Irish poetry', *The Bookman* 86: 235–6; reprinted in D. Pierce, *Irish Writing in the Twentieth Century: A Reader*, Cork 2000, 378–81.
- Benavides, G. (2008), 'Irrational experiences, heroic deeds and the extraction of surplus' in Junginger 2008a, 263–79.
- Benedict, R. (1934), *Patterns of Culture*, New York.
- Benedict, R. (1946), *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, Cambridge, Ma.
- Benferhat, Y. (2004), 'Farrington, Benjamin' in Todd 2004a, 1.314–15.
- Bengtsson, B.O. (2014), 'Strange history: The fall of Rome explained in *Hereditas*', *Hereditas* 151: 132–9.
- Bentley, E. (1951), *Far Horizon: A Biography of Hester Dowden, Medium and Psychic Investigator*, London.
- Berlin, I. (2005), *Flourishing: Letters 1928–1946*, ed. H. Hardy, London.
- Berlin, I. (2011), *Enlightening: Letters 1946–1960* ed. H. Hardy and J. Holmes, London.
- Bernabé, A., Herrero de Jáuregui, M., Jiménez San Cristóbal, A.I., and Martín Hernández, R., eds. (2013), *Redefining Dionysus*, Berlin and New York.
- Beverluis, J. (2000), *Cross-examining Socrates: A Defense of the Interlocutors in Plato's Early Dialogues*, Cambridge.
- Bianchi, U. (1979 = 1983), 'Raffaele Pettazzoni e la I.A.H.R.', *Strada maestra* 12: 11–18 = *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 49: 21–8.
- Bierl, A. and Braungart, W., eds. (2010), *Gewalt und Opfer. Im Dialog mit Walter Burkert*, Berlin.
- Binkelman, J. (2015), 'i—oder warum das Imaginäre das eigentlich Irrationale ist' in Asmuth and Neuffer 2015, 239–50.
- Birley, E. (1950), 'Education in the British Zone of Germany', *International Affairs*, 26: 32–44.
- Birley, R. (1963), *British Educational Control in Germany after the 1939–45 War* [Irvine Memorial Lecture], St Andrews.
- Bissing, F. von (1921), *Das Griechentum und seine Weltmission*, Leipzig.
- Bixio, A. and Marzi, T., eds. (2008), *Società Moderna e Pensiero Primitivo*, Soveria Mannelli, Catanzaro.
- Bleeker, C.J., et al., eds. (1951), *Proceedings of the 7th Congress for the History of Religions*, Amsterdam.

- Bloch, L. (1905), 'Antike Religion' in Kroll 1905, 428–64.
- Blom, P. (2015), *Fracture: Life and Culture in the West, 1918–1938*, New York.
- Blondell, R. (2002), *The Play of Character in Plato's Dialogues*, Cambridge.
- Blum, D. (2006), *The Ghost Hunters: William James and the Search for Scientific Proof of Life after Death*, New York.
- Boll, F. (1918), *Stern Glaube und Sterndeutung: Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie*, Leipzig.
- Bollack, J. (1993), 'Die kritische Potenz der Wissenschaftsgeschichte' in König and Lämmert 1993, 111–20.
- Bongard-Levine, G., Bonnet, C., Litvinenko, Y., and Marcone, A. (2007), *Mongolus syrio salutem optimam dat: la correspondance entre Mikhail Rostovtzeff et Franz Cumont*, Paris.
- Bonnet, C. (1997), *La correspondance scientifique de Franz Cumont conservée à l'Academia Belgica de Rome*, Bruxelles.
- Bonnet, C. (2001), 'Franz Cumont recenseur', in Delruelle and Pirenne-Delforge 2001, 309–25.
- Bonnet, C. (2005), *Le 'Grand Atelier de la Science'. Franz Cumont et l'Altérumswissenschaft. Héritages et émancipations*, Brussels.
- Bonnet, C. (2007), 'L'histoire séculière et profane des religions (F. Cumont): Observations sur l'articulation entre rite et croyance dans l'historiographie des religions de la fin du XIXe et de la première moitié du XXe siècle' in Bonnet et al. 2007, 1–37.
- Bonnet, C. (2014), 'Les échanges entre Franz Cumont et Jean Hubert', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 2014/3: 1305–23.
- Bonnet, C., Belayche, N., and Scheid, J., eds. (2007), *Rites et croyances dans les religions du monde romain*, Vandoeuvres.
- Bonnet, C., Ossola, C., and Scheid, J., eds. (2010), *Rome et ses religions: culte, morale, spiritualité: en relisant 'Lux perpetua' de Franz Cumont*, Caltanissetta.
- Borgeaud, P. (2016), *Exercices d'histoire des religions: Comparaisons, rites, mythes et émotions* [ed. D. Barbu and P. Matthey], Leiden.
- Bouffartigue, J. and M. Patillon (1979), *Porphyre: De l'abstinence II*, Paris.
- Boulanger, A. (1925), *Orphée. Rapports de l'Orphisme et du Christianisme*, Paris.
- Brandon, R. (1983), *The Spiritualists: The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London.
- Braungart, W. (1997), *Ästhetischer Katholizismus. Stefan Georges Rituale der Literatur*, Tübingen.
- Brecht, F.J. (1929), *Platon und der George-Kreis*, Leipzig.
- Bredholdt, C. (2009), "'Cult" in the study of religion and archaeology', in Jensen 2009, 13–27.
- Bregman, J. (1984), 'Logismos and pistis' in Smith and Lounibos, 217–31.
- Bregman, J. (2004), 'Armstrong, (Arthur) Hilary 1909–1997', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68471>, accessed 9 February 2016).
- Bremmer, J.N. (1983), *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul*, Princeton.
- Bremmer, J.N. (1990), 'Hermann Usener' in Briggs and Calder 1990, 462–78.

- Bremmer, J.N. (1991), 'Gerardus van der Leeuw and Jane Ellen Harrison', in Kippenberg and Luchesi 1991, 237–41.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2002), *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*, London.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2010a), 'Walter Burkert on ancient myth and ritual: Some personal observations' in Bierl and Braungart 2010, 71–86.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2010b), 'Introduction: The Greek gods in the twentieth century' in Bremmer and Erskine 2010, 1–18.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2011), 'Hermann Usener between British anthropology, Dutch history and French sociology' in Espagne and Rabault-Feurhahn 2011, 75–85.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2013), 'Walter F. Otto's *Dionysos* (1933)' in Bernabé et al. 2013, 4–22.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2014), *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*, Brill.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2016a), 'Arthur Darby Nock's *Conversion* (1933): a balance', in Weitbrecht et al. 2016, 2–29.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2016b), 'Shamanism in classical scholarship: Where are we now?' in Jackson 2016, 52–78.
- Bremmer, J.N. and Erskine, A., eds. (2010), *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformations*, Edinburgh.
- Briggs, W.W. and Calder, W.M. III, eds. (1990), *Classical Scholarship: A Biographical Encyclopedia*, New York.
- Brooks, J.I. III (2002), 'The Durkheimians and the Fifth Section of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études: An Overview' in Idinopoulos and Wilson 2002, 85–100.
- Brown, P. (1971), *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150–750*, London.
- Brown, P. (1972), *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*, London.
- Brown, R.D. (2005), 'Neutrality and commitment: MacNeice, Yeats, Ireland and the Second World War', *Journal of Modern Literature* 28: 109–29.
- Brown, T. (1991), 'Louis MacNeice and the Second World War' in *Modern Irish Writers and the Wars*, ed. Kathleen Devine, Gerrards Cross, 165–77.
- Brubaker, L. and Linaudou, K., eds. (2007), *Eat, Drink, and be Merry (Luke 12:19)—Food and Wine in Byzantium*, Aldershot.
- Budelmann, F. and Haubold, J. (2011), 'Reception and tradition' in Hardwick and Stray 2011, 13–25.
- Burkert, W. (1972), *Homo Necans: Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Berlin.
- Burkert, W. (1980), 'Griechische Mythologie und die Geistesgeschichte der Moderne' in den Boer (1980) 159–99 [reprinted in Burkert 2011a, 66–95].
- Burkert, W. (1985), *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, Ma. [German ed. 1977].
- Burkert, W. (2002), "'Mythos und Ritual'" in Wechselwind der Moderne' in Hortsmanhoff et al. 2002, 1–22 [reprinted in Burkert 2011b, 231–51].
- Burkert, W. (2011a), *Kleine Schriften, Teil 4: Mythica, Ritualia, Religiosa Band I* [ed. F.Graf], Göttingen.
- Burkert, W. (2011b), *Kleine Schriften, Teil 4: Mythica, Ritualia, Religiosa Band II* [ed. F.Graf], Göttingen.
- Burnett, A., ed. (2007), *The Letters of A.E. Housman*, Oxford.
- Burrills, A., Ellis, S., Parsons, D., and Simpson, K., eds. (2007), *Woolfian Boundaries*, Clemson, SC.

- Cabanel, P. (1994), 'L'institutionnalisation des "sciences religieuses" en France (1879–1908): Une entreprise protestante?', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français* 140: 33–80.
- Cairns, D.L. (1993), *Aidos*, Oxford.
- Calder, W.M. III, ed. (1985), *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, Darmstadt.
- Calder, W.M. III, ed. (1991), *The Cambridge Ritualists Reconsidered*, Atlanta.
- Calder, W.M. III, ed. (1992), *Werner Jaeger Reconsidered*, Atlanta.
- Calder, W.M. III, ed. (1994), *Further Letters of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff*, Darmstadt.
- Calder, W.M. III and Bierl, A. (1994), 'Instinct against proof: The correspondence between Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Martin P. Nilsson on *Religionsgeschichte*' in Calder 1994, 151–78.
- Cambiano, G. (1991), 'Eric Dodds entre psychanalyse et parapsychologie', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 208: 3–26.
- Cambiano, G. (1991), 'Introduzione' in Dodds 1991, i–xxxii.
- Cancik, H. (1982a), "'Neuheiten" und totaler Staat. Völkische Religion am Ende der Weimarer Republik' in Cancik 1982b, 176–212 [reprinted in Cancik 1998, 187–227].
- Cancik, H., ed. (1982b), *Religions- und Geistesgeschichte der Weimarer Republik*, Düsseldorf.
- Cancik, H. (1984), 'Die Götter Griechenlands 1929. Walter F. Otto als Religionswissenschaftler und Theologe am Ende der Weimarer Republik', *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 26: [reprinted in Cancik 1998, 139–63].
- Cancik, H. (1986), 'Dionysos 1933. W. F. Otto, ein Religionswissenschaftler am Ende der Weimarer Republik' in Faber and Schlesier 1986, 105–23 [reprinted in Cancik 1998, 165–86].
- Cancik, H. (1988), *Dioniso in Germania*, Rome.
- Cancik, H. (1989), 'Der Nietzsche-Kult in Weimar (II). Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte der nationalsozialistischen Ära' in Antes and Pahnke 1989, 87–116.
- Cancik, H. (1995), 'Der Einfluss Nietzsches auf klassische Philologen in Deutschland bis 1945. Philologen am Nietzsche-Archiv (I)' in Flashar 1995, 381–402.
- Cancik, H. (1998), *Antik-Modern. Beiträge zur römischen und deutschen Kulturgeschichte* [ed. R. Faber, B. von Reibnitz and J. Rüpke], Stuttgart.
- Cancik, H., and Puschner, W., eds. (2004), *Antisemitismus, Paganismus, völkische Religion*, Munich.
- Carpenter, H. (2010), *W.H. Auden: A Biography*, London.
- Carter, L.B. (1986), *The Quiet Athenian*, Oxford.
- Cartlidge, B. (forthcoming), 'Emendations of Alcinous' *Didaskalikos* from the Witt-Dodds Briefwechsel', GRBS forthcoming.
- Caruso, S. (1979), *La politica del Destino. Relativismo storico e irrazionalismo politico nel pensiero di Oswald Spengler*, Florence.
- Casadio, G., ed. (2002), *Ugo Bianchi. Una vita per la storia delle religioni*, Rome.
- Casadio, G. (2006) = (2009), 'Ancient mystic religion: the emergence of a new paradigm from A.D. Nock to Ugo Bianchi', *Mediterraneo Antico* 9: 485–534 = *Archaeus* 13: 35–94 [with corrections].
- Casadio, G. (2008), 'Alcune riflessioni d'ordine storiografico sull' influenza del pensiero di Lucien Lévy-Bruhl' in Bixio and Marci 2008, 89–95.

- Casadio, G., ed. (2013), *Raffaele Pettazzoni: Saggi di storia delle religioni e di mitologia*, Naples.
- Cauer, F. (1895), 'Aischylos und der Areopag', *Rheinisches Museum* 50: 348–56.
- Cerullo, J. (1982), *The Secularization of the Soul: Psychical Research in Modern Britain*, Philadelphia.
- Chadwick, H. (1959), *The Sentences of Sextus: A Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics*, Cambridge.
- Chadwick, H.M. and Chadwick, N.K. (1932–40), *The Heroic Age* [3 vols], Cambridge.
- Chantepie de la Saussaye, P.D. (1925), *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* [2 vols, 4th ed.], Freiburg.
- Christianidis, J., ed. (2004), *Classics in the History of Greek Mathematics*, Berlin.
- Churchill, W.S. (1954), *The Second World War, Vol. VI: Triumph and Tragedy*, London.
- Ciurtin, E. (2008), 'Raffaele Pettazzoni et Mircea Eliade: historiens des religions généralistes devant les fascismes (1933–1945)' in Junginger 2008a, 333–63.
- Clair, R. (2011), 'Pascal et Kierkegaard face à face', *Les études philosophiques* 96: 3–18.
- Clarke, E.C. (2001), *Iamblichus' De Mysteriis. A Manifesto of the Miraculous*, Aldershot.
- Clarke, E., Dillon, J., and Hershbell, J., eds. (2004), *Iamblichus: De Mysteriis*, Leiden.
- Clemen, C. (1928), 'Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte', *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie* 61: 1–128.
- Clemen, C. (1935), 'Hermann Usener als Religionshistoriker', *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 11: 110–25.
- Collard, C., Cropp, M. and Gibert, J. (2004), *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays II*, Warminster.
- Conacher, D.J. (1987), *Aeschylus' Oresteia: A Literary Commentary*, Toronto.
- Connolly, A. (1998), 'Was Sophocles heroised as Dexion?', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 118: 1–21.
- Conrad, R. (2006), *Lexikonpolitik. Die erste Auflage der RGG in Horizontprotestantischer Lexikographie*, Berlin.
- Cook, A.B. (1914–40), *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion* [5 vols], Cambridge.
- Cornelius, F. (1942), *Indogermanische Religionsgeschichte*, Munich.
- Cornford, F.M. (1923), *Greek Religious Thought from Homer to Alexander*, London.
- Cornford, F.M. (1950), 'The Marxist Approach to Ancient Philosophy' in *The Unwritten Philosophy and Other Essays*, Cambridge, 117–37.
- Cornford, F.M. (1952), *Principium Sapientiae*, Cambridge.
- Cron, C. and Deuschle, J., eds. (1909), *Plato: Gorgias* (Leipzig-Berlin), 5th edn. revised by W. Nestle.
- Crossman, R. (1937), *Plato Today*, London.
- Cummins, G. (1966), *Swan on a Black Sea: A Study in Automatic Writing* (ed. S. Toksvig), London.
- Cumont, F. (2009a), *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* [ed. C. Bonnet and F. Van Haepelen; BICUMA 1, reprint of 1906 ed.], Turnhout.
- Cumont, F. (2009b), *Lux Perpetua* [ed. B. Rochette and A. Motte; BICUMA 2, reprint of 1949 ed.], Turnhout.

- Cumont, F. (2015), *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, ed. J. Balty and J.-C. Balty [BICUMA 4, reprint of 1942 ed], Turnhout.
- Currie, R. (1994), 'The arts and sciences, 1914–1939' in Harrison 1994, 109–38.
- Curthoys, J. (2012), *The Cardinal's College: Christ Church, Chapter and Verse*, London.
- Dana, D. (2012), *Métamorphoses de Mircea Eliade. À partir du motif de Zalmoxis*, Paris.
- Darwall-Smith, R. (2008), *A History of University College, Oxford*, Oxford.
- Davenport-Hines, R., ed. (2012), *Hugh Trevor-Roper: The Wartime Journals*, London.
- Davenport-Hines, R. and Sisman, A. (2014), *One Hundred Letters from Hugh Trevor-Roper*, Oxford.
- Davies, M. (2007), 'Gilbert Murray and A.E. Housman' in Stray 2007a, 167–78.
- Davies, S. (1984), 'Ascetic madness' in Smith and Lounibos 1984, 13–36.
- Delattre, J. (2004), 'Álogon, eúlogon, analogòs' chez deux philosophes médio-platoniciens: Plutarque et Théon de Smyrne' in Naas 2004, 115–26.
- Delcourt, M. (1938), *Stérilités mystérieuses et naissances maléfiques dans l'Antiquité classique*, Liège.
- Delcourt, M. (1944), *Oedipe ou la légende du conquérant*, Liège.
- Delruelle, E. and Pirenne-Delforge, V., eds. (2001), *Kēpoi: de la religion à la philosophie*, Liège.
- den Boer, W., ed. (1980), *Les études classiques au XIXe et XXe siècles: leur place dans l'histoire des idées* [Entretiens Hardt 26] Vandoeuvres and Geneva.
- Denniston, J.D. and Page, D.L. (1957), *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, Oxford.
- Deprez, S. (2010), *Lucien Lévy-Bruhl et la rationalisation du monde*, Rennes.
- des Places, E., ed. (1973), *Numénius. Fragments*, Paris.
- Detienne, M. (1981), 'Au commencement était le corps des dieux', preface to Otto 1981, 7–19.
- Detienne, M., Loraux, N., Mossé, C. and Vidal-Naquet, P., eds. (1987), *Poikilia. Études offertes à Jean-Pierre Vernant*, Paris.
- Deubner, L. (1932), *Attische Feste*, Berlin.
- Deubner, L. (1942), *Ololyge und Verwandtes*, Berlin.
- Devereux, G. (1951), *Reality and Dream: Psychotherapy of a Plains Indian*, New York.
- Devine, K. and Peacock, A.J., eds. (1998), *Louis MacNeice and his Influence*, Gerrards Cross.
- Di Donato, R. (1982), 'L'anthropologie historique de Louis Gernet', *Annales* 37: 984–96.
- Di Donato, R. (1983), 'Postface: Une oeuvre, un itinéraire' in Gernet 1983, 403–20.
- Di Donato, R. (1987), 'La cité de Fustel à Glotz. Méthode historique et science sociale' in Detienne et al. 1987, 451–61.
- Dickey, E. (2007), *Ancient Greek Scholarship*. Oxford.
- Digeser, E.D. (2012), *A Threat to Public Piety. Christians, Platonists and the Great Persecution*, Ithaca and London.
- Dillon, J.M. (1973), *In Platonis dialogos commentariorum fragmenta Iamblichi Chalcedensis*, Leiden.
- Dillon, J.M. (1993), *Alcinous: The Handbook of Platonism*, Oxford.

- Dillon, J.M. (2004), 'Armstrong, Arthur Hilary (1909–97)' in Todd 2004a, 1.17–18.
- Dingwall, E.J. (1971), 'The need for responsibility in parapsychology: My sixty years in psychical research' in Allan Angoff and Betty Shapin (eds.), *A Century of Psychical Research*, New York, reprinted in Paul Kurtz (ed.), *A Skeptic's Handbook of Parapsychology* (Buffalo, NY, 1985), 161–74.
- Dingwall, E.J. (1973), 'Gilbert Murray's experiments: Telepathy or hyperaesthesia?', *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 56: 21–39.
- [Dodds, E.R.: see separate bibliography of Dodds's publications.]
- Dölger, F.-J. (1929), *Antike und Christentum: kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, Münster.
- Dörr, G. and Mohr, H. (2002), 'Religionswissenschaft und Kulturwissenschaft. Die "Schule von Rom" und die deutsche Religionswissenschaft des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts' in Auffarth and Rüpke 2002, 263–84.
- Dörrie, H. (1968), review of Dodds 1965, *Historische Zeitschrift* 207: 638–41.
- Dover, K.J. (1957), 'The political aspect of Aeschylus's *Eumenides*', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77: 230–7 [reprinted in Dover 1987, 161–75].
- Dover, K.J. (1975), 'The freedom of the intellectual in Greek society', *Talanta* 7: 24–54 [reprinted in Dover 1988, 135–58].
- Dover, K.J. (1987), *Greek and the Greeks*, Oxford.
- Dover, K.J. (1988), *The Greeks and their Legacy*, Oxford.
- Dover, K.J. (1994), *Marginal Comment: A Memoir*, London.
- Dowden, H. (1919, as Hester Travers Smith), *Voices from the Void: Six Years' Experience in Automatic Communications*, London.
- Dumézil, G. (1950), review of Bachofen 1948, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 138: 242–3.
- Dürkop, M. (2013), *Das Archiv für Religionswissenschaft in den Jahren 1919 bis 1939*, Berlin.
- Eden, A. (1965), *The Reckoning*, London.
- Edinger, H.D. (1979), Review of Dodds 1977, *Biography* 2: 182–4.
- Edmonds, R. (2013), *Redefining Ancient Orphism*, Cambridge.
- Edmunds, L., ed. (1990), *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore.
- Ehrenberg, V. (1947), 'Polypragmosyne: a study in Greek politics', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67: 46–67.
- Eidinow, E. (2007), *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks*, Oxford.
- Eisler, R. (1921), *Orpheus—The Fisher: Comparative Studies in Orphic and Early Christian Cult Symbolism*, London.
- Eissfeldt, O. (1930), 'Religionsgeschichtliche Schule', *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2.4, col. 1898–1905.
- Elsner, J. (2013), 'Paideia: Ancient concept and modern reception', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 4: 136–52.
- Elsner, J. (2016), review of Cumont 2015, *BMCR* 2016.06.38.
- Epperson, G. (1997), *The Mind of Edmund Gurney*, Madison NJ.
- Érison, D. (1993), *Faut-il brûler Dumézil?*, Paris.
- Erler, M. and Brisson, L., eds. (2007), *Gorgias—Menon. Selected Papers from the Seventh Symposium Platonicum*, Sankt Augustin.

- Espagne, M., and Rabault-Feurhahn, P., eds. (2011), *Hermann Usener und die Metamorphosen der Philologie*, Wiesbaden.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1933 = 1970), 'Lévy-Bruhl's theory of primitive mentality', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts (Egyptian University, Cairo)* 2: 1–26 [reprinted in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 1: 39–60].
- Evans-Pritchard, E. (1937), *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford.
- Evola, J. (1928), *Imperialismo pagano: il fascismo dinnanzi al pericolo Euro-Cristiano*, Rome.
- Evola, J. (1934), *Rivolta contro il mondo moderno*, Rome.
- Faber, R. (1986), 'Pagan und Neo-Paganismus. Versuch einer Begriffsklärung' in Faber and Schlesier 1986, 10–25.
- Faber, R. (1994), *Männerbunde mit Gräfin. Die 'Kosmiker' Derleth, George, Klages, Schuler, Wolfskehl und Franziska von Reventlow*, Frankfurt.
- Faber, R. (2001), *Lateinischer Faschismus. Über Carl Schmitt den Römer und Katholiken*, Berlin.
- Faber, R. and Holste, C., eds. (2000), *Kreise—Gruppen—Bünde. Zur Soziologie moderner Intellektuelenassoziation*, Würzburg.
- Faber, R. and Schlesier, R., eds. (1986), *Die Restauration der Götter: Antike Religion und Neo-Paganismus*, Würzburg.
- Fariás, V. (1989), *Heidegger and Nazism*, Philadelphia.
- Farnell, L.R. (1896–1909), *Cults of the Greek States* [5 vols], Oxford.
- Farnell, L.R. (1909), *Inaugural Lecture of the Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion*, Oxford.
- Farnell, L.R. (1911), *Greece and Babylon. A Comparative Sketch of Mesopotamian, Anatolian and Hellenic Religion*, Edinburgh.
- Farnell, L.R. (1912), *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, London.
- Farrington, B. (1939), *Science and Politics in the Ancient World*, London.
- Farrington, B. (1947), *Head and Hand in Ancient Greece: Four Studies in the Social Relations of Thought*, London.
- Feigel, L. (2007), 'Buggery and montage' in Burrells et al. 2007, 51–8.
- Festugière, A.J. (1932), *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile*, Paris.
- Festugière, A.J. (1954), *Personal Religion among the Greeks*, Berkeley.
- Fischer, M., Bolz, P., and Kamel, S. (2007), *Adolf Bastian and his Universal Archive of Humanity. The Origins of German Anthropology*, Hildesheim.
- Flasche, R. (1978), *Die Religionswissenschaft Joachim Wachs*, Berlin.
- Flasche, R. (1982), 'Religionsmodelle und Erkenntnisprinzipien der Religionswissenschaft' in Cancik 1982b, 261–76.
- Flasche, R. (1991), 'Der Irrationalismus in der Religionswissenschaft und dessen Begründung' in Kippenberg and Luchesi 1991, 243–57.
- Flasche, R. (1993), 'Vom deutschen Kaiserreich zum Dritten Reich. National-religiöse Bewegungen in der ersten Hälfte der 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland', *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 2: 28–49.
- Flashar, H., ed. (1990), *Auseinandersetzungen mit der Antike*, Bamberg.

- Flashar, H., ed. (1995), *Altertumswissenschaft in den 20er Jahren: Neue Fragen und Impulse*, Stuttgart.
- Fornaro, S. (2011), 'Mythos und Ritus bei Hermann Usener' in Espagne and Rabault-Feurhahn 2011, 171–83.
- Fournier, M. (1994), *Marcel Mauss*, Paris.
- Fournier, M. (2007), *Émile Durkheim*, Paris.
- Fowler, R.L. (1991), 'Gilbert Murray: Four (five) Stages of Greek religion' in Calder 1991, 79–95.
- Frazer, J.G. (1908), 'Two notes on Hebrew folk-lore' in Allen 1908, 254–9.
- Frazer, J.G. (1934), *La crainte des morts*, Paris.
- Freud, S. (1913), *Totem und Tabu*, Leipzig.
- Freud, S. (1923), *Das Ich und das Es*. Wien.
- Fritz, K. (2004), 'The discovery of incommensurability by Hippasus of Metapontum' in Christianidis 2004, 211–31.
- Frobenius, L. (1922), *Paideuma. Umriss einer Kultur- und Seelenlehre*, Munich.
- Fromm, E. (1942), *The Fear Of Freedom*, London.
- Gagné, R. (2007), 'Inherited guilt in E.R. Dodds', *Quaderni di Storia* 76: 16–33.
- Gagné, R. (2013), *Ancestral Fault in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
- Gandini, M. (1998), 'Raffaele Pettazzoni dall'incarico bolognese alla cattedra romana (1922–1923)', *Strada maestra* 45: 157–241.
- Gandini, M. (1999), 'Raffaele Pettazzoni negli anni del noviziato universitario romano (1924–1925)', *Strada maestra* 46: 77–223.
- Gandini, M. (2001), 'Raffaele Pettazzoni nelle spire del fascismo (1931–1933)', *Strada maestra* 50: 19–183.
- Gasperoni, L. (2015), 'Die irrationale Wurzel bei Salomon Maimon. Ein Problem zwischen Mathematik und Philosophie' in Asmuth and Neuffer 2015, 9–26.
- Gauld, A. (1968), *The Founders of Psychological Research*, London.
- Gauld, A. (1982), *Mediumship and Survival: A Century of Investigations* (London: Heinemann, 1982); partly reprinted with revisions as Chapter 17 of Leslie Kean, *Surviving Death: A Journalist Investigates Evidence for an Afterlife*, 2017, New York.
- Gekle, H. (1993), 'Irrationalismus/das Irrationale', *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* 3: 302–17.
- Gentile, E. (1993), *Il culto del littorio. La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*, Bari.
- George, S. (1928), *Das neue Reich*, Berlin.
- Georget, J.-L., Ivanoff, H., Kuba, R., eds. (2016), *Kulturkreise. Leo Frobenius und seine Zeit*, Berlin.
- Gernet, L. (1917), *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique en Grèce ancienne*, Paris.
- Gernet, L. (1968), *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris.
- Gernet, L. (1983), *Les Grecs sans miracle* [ed. R. Di Donato], Paris.
- Gernet, L. and Boulanger, A. (1932), *Le génie grec dans la religion*, Paris.
- Gerson, G. (2004), *Margins of Disorder: New Liberalism and the Crisis of European Consciousness*, Albany NY.

- Giardana, A. (1999), 'Esplosione di tardantico', *Studi Storici* 40: 157–80.
- Gibson, R.K. and Kraus, C.S., eds. (2002), *The Classical Commentary*, Leiden.
- Gildenhard, I. and Rühl, M., eds. (2003), *Out of Arcadia. Classics and Politics in Germany in the Age of Burckhardt, Nietzsche and Wilamowitz* [BICS Suppl. 79], London.
- Gillmeister, A. (2013), 'The point of view: Tadeusz Zieliński on ancient religions', *Akme. Studia Historica* 11: 1–67.
- Ginzburg, C. (1985), 'Mythologie germanique et nazisme', *Annales* 40: 695–715.
- Ginzburg, C. (1991), *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* [tr. R. Rosenthal], New York.
- Giordani, I. (1944), *The Social Message of the Early Church Fathers*, Paterson, NJ.
- Glott, G. (1904), *La solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris.
- Gloyn, L. (2016), 'This is not a chapter about Jane Harrison: Teaching Classics at Newnham College, 1882–1922' in Rosie Wyles and Edith Hall (eds.), *Women Classical Scholars: Unsealing the Fountain from the Renaissance to Jacqueline de Romilly*, Oxford, 153–76.
- Gold, D. (2003), *Aesthetics and Analysis in Writing on Religion: Modern Fascinations*, Berkeley, Ca.
- Goldsmith, U.K. (1985), 'Wilamowitz and the *Georgkreis*: New documents' in Calder 1985, 583–612.
- Gooch, T.A. (2000), *The Numinous and Modernity. An Interpretation of Rudolf Otto's Philosophy of Religion*, Berlin.
- Gordon, R. (1975), 'Franz Cumont and the doctrines of Mithraism' in Hinnels 1975, 215–48.
- Goulet, R. (2005), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*: IV, Paris.
- Graf, F., ed. (1992), *Klassische Antike und neue Wege der Kulturwissenschaften. Symposium Karl Meuli*, Basel.
- Graf, F. (2006), 'Griechische und römische Mythologie bei Karl Kerényi' in Schlesier and Martinez 2006, 71–82.
- Graf, F. and Johnston, S.I. (2013), *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets* [2nd ed.], New York.
- Grafton, A.T. and Jardine, L. (1986), *From Humanism to the Humanities*, Cambridge, Ma.
- Grottanelli, C. (2002), 'Mircea Eliade, Carl Schmitt, René Guénon, 1942', *Revue d'histoire des religions* 219: 325–56.
- Gruppe, O. (1906), *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* [2 vols.], Munich.
- Grzymala-Moszczyńska, H. and Hoffmann, H. (1998), 'The science of religion in Poland: past and present', *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 10: 352–72.
- Guénon, R. (1927), *La crise du monde moderne*, Paris.
- Guerri, G.B. (2001), *Eretico e profeta. Ernesto Buonaiuti, un prete contro la Chiesa*, Milan.
- Guthrie, W.K.C. (1935), *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London.
- Guthrie, W.K.C. (1950), *The Greeks and their Gods*, London.
- Guthrie, W.K.C. (1969), *History of Greek Philosophy III*, Cambridge.

- Guthrie, W.K.C. (1975), *History of Greek Philosophy IV*, Cambridge.
- Habermas, J. (2008), 'Secularism's crisis of faith: Notes on post-secular society', *New Perspectives Quarterly* 25: 17–29.
- Habert, O. (1910), *La religion de la Grèce antique*, Paris.
- Hahn, H.P. (2014), *Ethnologie* [2nd ed.], Berlin.
- Hakl, H.T. (2013), *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*, Sheffield.
- Hall, T. (1980), *The Strange Case of Edmund Gurney*, London (2nd edn.; originally published 1964).
- Hallstein, W. (1948), 'Deutsche Universitäten in englischer Sicht', *Göttinger Universitäts-Zeitung* 7/8: 15–18.
- Hamilton, P., ed. (1995), *Emile Durkheim: Critical Assessments* [Second Series, vol. 6], London.
- Hamilton, T. (2009), *Immortal Longings: F.W.H. Myers and the Victorian Search for Life after Death*, Exeter.
- Hamilton, T. (2012), *Tell my Mother I'm Not Dead: A Case Study in Mediumship Research*, Exeter.
- Hamilton, T. (2017), *Arthur Balfour's Ghosts: An Edwardian Elite and the Riddle of the Cross-Correspondence Automatic Writings*, Exeter.
- Hampshire, S. (1978), 'A daemon at Oxford', *New York Review of Books*, 25.5 (6 April): 31.
- Hankey, W. (2007), 'Re-evaluating E. R. Dodds' Platonism', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 103: 499–541.
- Hansen, M.H. (1991), *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes*, Oxford.
- Hardwick, L.P. and Stray, C.A., eds. (2011), *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, Oxford.
- Harrington, A. (1996), *Reenchaned Science: Holism in German Culture from Wilhelm to Hitler*, Princeton.
- Harris, W. (2009), *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- Harrison, B., ed. (1994), *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. VIII: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford.
- Harrison, J.E. (1912), *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge.
- Harrison, J.E. (1921), *Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge.
- Harrison, J.E. (1927), *Themis. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* [2nd edn], Cambridge.
- Hart, V. and Lane, M., eds. (2013), *Politeia in Greek and Roman Philosophy*, Cambridge.
- Harvey, F.D. (1965), 'Two kinds of equality', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 26: 101–46.
- Harvey, F.D. (1966), 'Two kinds of equality: corrections and addenda', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27: 99–100.
- Haussoullier, B. (1919), 'Bacchantes Milésiennes', *Revue des Études Grecques* 31: 256–67.
- Haynes, R. (1982), *The Society for Psychological Research: A History*, London.
- Hazelgrove, J. (2000), *Spiritualism and British Society between the Wars*, Manchester.

- Healey, D. (1990), *The Time of My Life*, London.
- Heiler, F. (1920), *Das Gebet. Eine religionsgeschichtliche und religionspsychologische Untersuchung* [2nd ed.], Munich.
- Heinrich, F. (2002), *Die deutsche Religionswissenschaft und der Nazionalsozialismus. Eine ideologiekritische und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Petersberg.
- Heinrichs, H.-J. (1998), *Die fremde Welt, das bin ich: Leo Frobenius. Ethnologe, Forschungsreisender, Abenteurer*, Wuppertal.
- Heinze, A.R. (1994), *Jews and the American Soul: Human Nature in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton.
- Henderson, J. (2007), 'The "Euripides Reds" series: best-laid plans at OUP', in Stray 2007b, 143–75.
- Henrichs, A. (1978), 'Greek maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82: 121–60.
- Henrichs, A. (1981), 'Human sacrifice in Greek religion: Three Case Studies' in Rudhardt and Reverdin 1981, 195–242.
- Henrichs, A. (1982), 'Changing Dionysiac identities' in Meyer and Sanders 1982, 137–60, 213–36.
- Henrichs, A. (1984), 'Loss of self, suffering, violence: The modern view of Dionysus from Nietzsche to Girard', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 88: 205–40.
- Henrichs, A. (1985), 'Der Glaube der Hellenen: Religionsgeschichte als Glaubensbekenntnis und Kulturkritik' in Calder 1985, 263–305.
- Henrichs, A. (1990), 'Die Götter Griechenlands. Ihr Bild im Wandel der Religionswissenschaft' in Flashar 1990, 115–62.
- Henrichs, A. (1992), 'Gott, Mensch, Tier: Antike Daseinsstruktur und religiöses Verhalten im Denken Karl Meulis' in Graf 1992, 129–67.
- Henrichs, A. (1995a), 'Philologie und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: zur Krise eines Selbstverständnisses' in Flashar 1995, 423–58.
- Henrichs, A. (1995b), "'Why should I dance?": Choral self-referentiality in Greek tragedy', *Arion* 3: 56–111.
- Henrichs, A. (2006), 'Der antike Roman. Kerényi und die Folgen' in Schlesier and Martinez 2006, 57–70.
- Henrichs, A. (2011), 'Göttliche Präsenz als Differenz: Dionysos als epiphanischer Gott' in Schlesier 2011, 105–16.
- Henry, P. and Schwyzer, H.-R. (1951–73), *Plotini Opera* [3 vols], Paris.
- Henry, P. and Schwyzer, H.-R. (1964–82), *Plotini Opera* [3 vols], Oxford.
- Herrin, J. (2007), '*Polla ta ete* (repeat three times) to Bryer' in Brubaker and Linardou 2007, 5–9.
- Heuser, A., ed. (1987), *Selected Literary Criticism of Louis MacNeice*, Oxford.
- Hildebrandt, K. von (1910), 'Hellas und Wilamowitz (zum Ethos der Tragödie)', *Jahrbuch für die geistige Bewegung* 1: 64–117.
- Hinnels, R., ed. (1975), *Mithraic Studies I*, Manchester.
- Hippler, F. (1937), *Wissenschaft und Leben*, Heidelberg.
- Hirson, B. (2001), *The Cape Town Intellectuals: Ruth Schechter and her Circle, 1907–1934*, Johannesburg.

- Hjelde, S. (1998), 'The science of religion and theology. The question of their interrelationship' in Molendijk and Pels 1998, 99–128.
- Hocking, W.E. (1954), *Experiment in Education. What We Can Learn from Teaching Germany*, Chicago.
- Höfler, O. (1934), *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*, Frankfurt.
- Hofstede, G. and McCrae, R.R. (2004), 'Personality and culture revisited: Linking traits and dimensions of culture', *Cross-Cultural Research* 38: 52–88.
- Holmes-Henderson, A., Hunt, S., and Musié, M. (2018), *Forward with Classics: Classical Languages in Schools and Communities*, London.
- Hölscher, U. (1995), 'Strömungen der deutschen Gräzistik in der Zwanziger Jahren' in Flashar 1995, 65–85.
- Honigsheim, P. (1995), 'The Influence of Durkheim and His School on the Study of Religion' in Hamilton 1995, 82–92.
- Hordern, P., ed. (1985), *Freud and the Humanities*, London.
- Horn, S. (2009), *Unbelievable: Investigations into Ghosts, Poltergeists, Telepathy, and Other Unseen Phenomena from the Duke Parapsychology Laboratory*, New York.
- Horney, K. (1960), 'Culture and aggression', *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis* 20: 130–8.
- Hortsmanshoff, H.F., Singor, H.W., van Straten, F., and Strubbe, J.H.M., eds. (2002), *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel*, Leiden.
- Hovland, W. (1984), 'The dialogue between Origen and Celsus' in Smith and Lounibos 1984, 191–216.
- Howald, E. (1926), *Der Kampf um Creuzers Symbolik*, Tübingen.
- Husemann, M. (2016), 'Die Kunst der Naturvölker. Die Entwicklung afrikanischer Ethnographica-Sammlungen zu Kunstobjekten im deutschen Kaiserreich' in Georget et al. 2016, 251–66.
- Idinopoulos, T.A. and Wilson, B.C., eds. (2002), *Reappraising Durkheim for the Study and Teaching of Religion Today*, Leiden.
- Inge, W.R. (1918), *The Philosophy of Plotinus* [2 vols], London.
- Irwin, T.H. (1979), *Plato: Gorgias*, Oxford.
- Isaac, J. (2012), *Working Knowledge: Making the Human Sciences from Parsons to Kuhn*, Cambridge, Ma.
- Jaccottet, Anne-Françoise (2003), *Chosir Dionysos: les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme* [2 vols.], Zurich.
- Jackson, P., ed. (2016), *Horizons of Shamanism: A Triangular Approach to the History and Anthropology of Ecstatic Techniques*, Stockholm.
- Jacoby, F. (1954), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker IIIb* (Supplement) [2 vols], Leiden.
- Jaeger, W. (1921), *Humanismus und Jugendbildung*, Berlin.
- Jaeger, W. (1924), *Stellung und Aufgaben der Universität in der Gegenwart*, Berlin.
- Jaeger, W. (1932), 'Staat und Kultur', *Die Antike* 8: 71–89.
- Jaeger, W. (1934–47), *Paideia: die Formung des griechischen Menschen* [3 vols.], Berlin.
- Jaeger, W. (1947), *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Oxford.
- Jaeger, W. (1961), *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, Cambridge, Ma.

- Jaeger, W. (1977), 'Antike und Humanismus' in Oppermann 1977, 18–32 [original publ. 1925].
- James, W. (1902), *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, London [repr. Harmondsworth, 1985].
- James, W. (1986), *The Works of William James, Volume 14: Essays in Psychological Research* (ed. F. Burkhardt and F. Bowers), Cambridge, Mass.
- Jarvie, I. and Pralong, S., eds. (1999), *Popper's Open Society after Fifty Years: The Continuing Relevance of Karl Popper*, New York.
- Jeanmaire, H. (1939), *Couroi et courètes. Essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique*, Paris.
- Jeanmaire, H. (1951), *Dionysos*, Paris.
- Jensen, J.T., ed. (2009), *Aspects of Ancient Greek Cult*, Aarhus.
- Jensen, T. and Geertz, A.W., eds. (2016), *NVMEN, the Academic Study of Religion, and the IAHR*, Leiden.
- Jessop, T.E. (1963), 'Leon Roth', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 50, 317–29.
- Johnson, S. (2006), *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets III* [ed. R. Lonsdale], Oxford.
- Johnson, S. (2010), *The Lives of the Poets II* [ed. J.H. Middendorf], New Haven, Ct.
- Jones, D.A.N. (1978), Review of Dodds 1977, *Listener* 99 (19 January): 90.
- Jones, R.A. (1984), 'Robertson Smith and James Frazer on religion. Two traditions in British social anthropology' in Stocking 1984, 31–58.
- Jordan, L. (1905), *Comparative Religion*, Edinburgh.
- Junge, G. (1907), 'Wann haben die Griechen das Irrationale entdeckt?' in *Novae Symbolae Joachimicae: Festschrift des Königlichen joachimsthalischen Gymnasiums*, Halle, 221–64.
- Junginger, H., ed. (2008a), *The Study of Religion Under the Impact of Fascism*, Leiden.
- Junginger, H. (2008b), 'Introduction' in Junginger 2008a, 1–103.
- Junginger, H. (2008c), 'From Buddha to Adolf Hitler: Walther Wüst and the Aryan tradition' in Junginger 2008a, 107–77.
- Kalinowski, I. (2011), 'Max Weber und Hermann Usener. Religionssoziologische Fragen' in Espagne and Rabault-Feurhahn 2011, 185–201.
- Kalligas, P., ed. and trans. (1994), *Plotinus. Enneas Prôtē*, Athens.
- Kalligas, P., ed. (2014), *The Enneads of Plotinus: a commentary*, vol. 1, Princeton and Oxford.
- Kardiner, A., with a foreword and two ethnological reports by Ralph Linton (1939) *The Individual and his Society. The Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organization*, New York.
- Kardiner, A., with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois and James West, (1945) *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York.
- Keck, F. (2007), *Contradiction et participation. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl entre philosophie et anthropologie*, Paris.
- Kehnscherper, J. (1998), *Theologisch-philosophische Aspekte der religionsphänomenologischen Methode des Gerardus Van der Leeuw*, Frankfurt.
- Kelly, E.F., Kelly, E.W., Crabtree, A., Gauld, A., Grosso, M., and Greyson, B. (2007), *Irreducible Mind: Toward a Psychology for the 21st Century*, Lanham MD.

- Kelly, E.W. (2007), 'F.W.H. Myers and the empirical study of the mind-body problem' in Kelly et al. 2007, 47–116.
- Kerényi, K. (1927), *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. Ein Versuch*, Tübingen.
- Kerényi, K. (1937a), *Apollon. Studien über antike Religion und Humanität*, Vienna.
- Kerényi, K. (1937b), 'Antike Religion und Religionspsychologie', in Kerényi 1937a, 15–36.
- Kerényi, K. (1937c), 'Ergriffenheit und Wissenschaft', *Apollon. Studien über antike Religion und Humanität*, Vienna, pp. 74–85.
- Kerényi, K. (1940), *La religione antica nelle sue linee fondamentali*, Bologna.
- Kerényi, K. (1988), *Wege und Weggenossen 2*, Munich.
- Kern, O. (1920), *Orpheus. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Berlin.
- Kern, O. (1922), *Orphicorum fragmenta*, Berlin.
- Kern, O. (1926–38), *Die Religion der Griechen* [3 vols], Berlin.
- Kippenberg, H.G. (1991), 'Einleitung: Religionswissenschaft und Kulturkritik' in Kippenberg and Luchesi 1991, 13–28.
- Kippenberg, H.G. (1997), *Die Entdeckung der Religionsgeschichte. Religionswissenschaft und Moderne*, Munich.
- Kippenberg, H.G. and Luchesi, B., eds. (1991), *Religionswissenschaft und Kulturkritik*, Marburg.
- Kitawaga, J.M. and Strong, J.S. (1985), 'Friedrich Max Müller and the comparative study of religion' in Smart et al. 1985, 179–213.
- Klein, P. (1977), *Alfred Loisy als Historiker des Urchristentums*, Bonn.
- Kluckhohn, C. (1961), *Anthropology and the Classics*, Providence RI.
- Knapp, K.D. (2017), *William James: Psychological Research and the Challenge of Modernity*, Chapel Hill.
- Kneissl, P. and Losemann, V., eds. (1998), *Imperium Romanum: Studien zur Geschichte und Rezeption*, Stuttgart.
- Koester, H. (1986), 'The History-of-Religions School', *Studia Theologica* 40: 115–36.
- Konaris, M.D. (2016), *The Greek Gods in Modern Scholarship: Interpretation and Belief in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Germany and Britain*, Oxford.
- König, C. and Lämmert, E., eds. (1993), *Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 1910 bis 1925*, Frankfurt.
- Konrad, R. (2006), *Lexikonpolitik. Die erste Auflage der RGG in Horizont protestantischer Lexikographie*, Berlin.
- Koselleck, R. (1985), *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* [original German edition 1979], New York.
- Kovacs, D. (1993), 'Zeus in Euripides' *Medea*', *American Journal of Philology* 114: 45–70.
- Kraul, M. (1984), *Das deutsche Gymnasium, 1780–1980*, Frankfurt.
- Kraus, C.S. and Stray, C.A., eds. (2016), *Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre*, Oxford.
- Krech, V. (2000), 'From historicism to functionalism. The rise of scientific approaches to religions around 1900 and their socio-cultural context', *Numen* 47: 244–65.

- Krech, V. (2002), *Wissenschaft und Religion: Studien zur Geschichte der Religionsforschung in Deutschland 1871 bis 1933*, Tübingen.
- Kriek, E. (1934), *Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulereform*, Leipzig.
- Kripal, J.J. (2010), *Authors of the Impossible: The Paranormal and the Sacred*, Chicago and London.
- Kroll, W., ed. (1905), *Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert*, Leipzig.
- Kubota, H. (2005), *Religionswissenschaftliche Religiosität und Religionsgründung. Jakob Wilhelm Hauer im Kontext des freien Protestantismus*, Frankfurt.
- Lacchin, G. (2006), *Stefan George e l'antichità. Lineamenti di una filosofia dell'arte*, Lugano.
- Ladrière, J. (1950), 'Rationnel et irrationnel en mathématiques', *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 48: 37–62.
- Lagrange, M.-J. (1918), *Le sens du christianisme d'après l'exégèse allemande*, Paris.
- Lagrange, Fr. M.-J. (1937), *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament: les Mystères, l'Orphisme*, Paris.
- Landmann, E. (1955), 'Georges Wiederentdeckung der Griechen', *Castrum Peregrini* 55: 7–33.
- Lange, W. and Schnizle, N., eds. (2000), *Deutsche Italomanie in Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik*, Paderborn.
- Lannoy, A. (2012), 'St Paul in the early 20th century history of religions. The 'Mystic of Tarsus' and the pagan mystery cults. After the correspondence of Franz Cumont and Alfred Loisy', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 64: 1–18.
- Laplanche, F. (2006), *La crise de l'origine. La science catholique des Évangiles et l'histoire au XXe siècle*, Paris.
- Larsen, B.D. (1972), *Jamblique de Chalcis: exégète et philosophe*, Aarhus.
- Latte, K. (1920–1), 'Schuld und Sünde in der griechischen Religion', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 20: 254–98.
- Lauster, J., Schüz, P., Barth, R., and Danz, C., eds. (2013), *Rudolf Otto: Theologie—Religionsphilosophie—Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin.
- League of Nations Union (1935), *The Schools of Europe: The Coming Danger*, London.
- Leege, O. (2008), 'Dionysos in der modernen Religionsgeschichte' in Schlesier and Schwarzmaier 2008, 132–41.
- Leege, O. (2011), 'Religionswissenschaft, Religionsgeschichte und die moderne Kultur bei Hermann Usener und Walter F. Otto' in Espagne and Rabault-Feurhahn 2011, 235–52.
- Leege, O. (2016), *Walter F. Ottos Studie 'Dionysos, Mythos und Kultus'*, Würzburg.
- Lefkowitz, M. (1989), "'Impiety" and "Atheism" in Euripides' Dramas', *Classical Quarterly* 39: 70–82 [reprinted in Mossman 2003, 102–21].
- Lehmkuhler, K. (1996), *Kultus und Theologie. Dogmatik und Exegese in der religionsgeschichtlichen Schule*, Göttingen.
- Lernoud, A. (2012), 'Nature in Proclus: from irrational immanent principle to goddess' in Wilberding and Horn 2012, 68–102.
- Levi, P. (1979), Review of Dodds 1977, *CR* 29: 132–4.
- Levinson, R.B. (1942), *In Defense of Plato*, Cambridge, MA.

- Levinson, R.B. (1953), *In Defense of Plato*, Cambridge, MA.
- Lévy-Bruhl, L. (1922), *La mentalité primitive*, Paris.
- Lévy-Bruhl, L. (1931), *Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive*, Paris.
- Liebregts, P.T.M.G. (1993), *Centaur in the Twilight: W.B. Yeats's Use of Classical Tradition*, Amsterdam.
- Lincoln, B. (1998), 'Rewriting the German war god: Georges Dumézil, politics and scholarship in the late 30s', *History of Religions* 37: 187–208 [=Lincoln 2000, 121–37].
- Lincoln, B. (2000), *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology and Scholarship*, Chicago.
- Linforth, I. (1941), *The Arts of Orpheus*, Berkeley.
- Linn, A. and McLelland, N., ed. (2004), *Flores Grammaticae: Essays in Memory of Vivien Law*, Münster.
- Littleton, S. (1973), *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumézil* [2nd ed.], Berkeley.
- Lloyd, A. (1966), review of Dodds 1965a, *Journal of Roman Studies* 56: 253–4.
- Lloyd, G.E.R. (1976), 'Benjamin Farrington, 1891–1974', *Archives Internationales d'histoire des Sciences* 26: 159.
- Lloyd, G.E.R. (2004), 'The Meno and the mysteries of mathematics' in Christianidis 2004, 169–83.
- Lloyd, G.E.R. (2018), *The Ambivalences of Rationality: Ancient and Modern Cross-Cultural Explorations*, Cambridge.
- Lloyd, M., ed. (2007), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Aeschylus*, Oxford.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1956), 'Zeus in Aeschylus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 76: 55–67 [reprinted in Lloyd-Jones 1990, 238–61].
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1965), review of Barrett 1964, *JHS* 85: 161–5.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1971), *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1980), 'Eric Robertson Dodds', *Gnomon* 52: 78–82.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1982), *Blood for the Ghosts: Classical Influences in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1985), 'Psychoanalysis and the study of the ancient world' in Hordern 1985, 152–80, reprinted in Lloyd-Jones 1990, 281–305 and Lloyd-Jones 1991, 172–95.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1990), *Academic Papers II: Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion and Miscellanea*, Oxford.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1991), *Greek in a Cold Climate*, London.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (2004), 'Dodds, Eric Robertson (1893–1979)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31039>].
- Loisy, A. (1911), *À propos d'histoire des religions*, Paris.
- Loisy, A. (1919), *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien*, Paris [1st ed. 1914].
- London International Assembly & Council for Education in World Citizenship (1943), *First Report of the Joint Commission on the Place of Education, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction*, London.
- Longenbach, J. (1987), *Modernist Poetics of History: Pound, Eliot and the Sense of the Past*, Princeton NJ.
- Longley, E. (1988), *Louis MacNeice: A Critical Study*, London.

- Lord, P. (2007), *Winifred Coombe-Tennant: A Life through Art*, Aberystwyth.
- Lord, P., ed. (2011), *Between Two Worlds: The Diary of Winifred Coombe-Tennant 1909–24*, Aberystwyth.
- Losemann, V. (1977), *Nazionalsozialismus und Antike. Studien zur Entwicklung des Faches Alte Geschichte 1933–1945*, Hamburg.
- Losemann, V. (1998), “Die Krise der Alten Welt” und der Gegenwart. Franz Altheim und Karl Kerényi im Dialog’ in Kneissl and Losemann 1998, 492–518.
- Lowe, N.J. (2005), ‘Problematic Verrall: the sceptic-at-law’ in C.A. Stray, ed., *The Owl of Minerva: The Cambridge Praelections of 1906* (PCPS Supplementary Vol. 28), 142–60.
- Lowe, N.J. (2007), ‘Gilbert Murray and psychic research’ in Stray 2007a, 349–70.
- Luck, G. (2006), *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* [2nd ed.], Baltimore.
- Luckhurst, R. (2002), *The Invention of Telepathy 1870–1901*, Oxford.
- Lüdemann, G. and Schröder, M. (1987), *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule in Göttingen*, Göttingen.
- Lyons, F.S.L. (1977), ‘Contributions to order’ [review of Dodds 1977], *Times Literary Supplement* (11 November): 131.
- Mabbott, J.D. (1986), *Oxford Memories*, Oxford.
- Macchioro, V. (1930a), *Zagreus: Studi intorno all’Orfismo* [2nd ed.], Florence.
- Macchioro, V. (1930b), *From Orpheus to Paul: A History of Orphism*, New York.
- MacKenna, S. (1936), *Journal and Letters of Stephen Mackenna edited with a memoir by E.R. Dodds*, London.
- MacKenna, S. (1956), *Plotinus. The Enneads* [2nd ed.], London.
- MacKenna, S. (1962), *Plotinus. The Enneads* [3rd ed.], London.
- MacKenna, S. (1969), *Plotinus. The Enneads* [4th ed.], London.
- Macleod, C.W. (1982), ‘Politics and the Oresteia’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102: 124–44 [reprinted in Macleod 1983, 20–40 and Lloyd 2007, 265–301].
- Macleod, C.W. (1983), *Collected Essays*, Oxford.
- MacNeice, L. (1935), ‘Translating Aeschylus’, *The Spectator*, 10 May [reprinted in Heuser 1987: 7–10].
- MacNeice, L. (1936), *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, London.
- MacNeice, L. (1938), *Modern Poetry: A Personal Essay*, London.
- MacNeice, L. (1941), *The Poetry of W.B. Yeats*, London [2nd ed. 1967].
- MacNeice, L. (1962), ‘Blood and Fate’, *The Listener*, 4 October 1962 [reprinted in Heuser 1987, 235].
- MacNeice, L. (1965), *The Strings are False: An Unfinished Autobiography*, Oxford.
- MacNeice, L. (2007), *Collected Poems* [ed. Peter McDonald], London.
- MacNeice, L. (2010), *Letters of Louis MacNeice*, ed. J. Allison, London.
- MacNeice, L. (writing as Louis Malone) (2012 [1932]), *Roundabout Way*, London.
- Magris, A. (2006), ‘L’esperienza del divino in Carlo Kerényi’ in Schlesier and Martinez 2006, 15–24.
- Mangani, G. (1980), ‘Sul metodo di Eric Dodds e sulla sua nozione di irrazionale’, *Quaderni di Storia* 6: 173–205.
- Mann, E. (1939), *School for Barbarians: Education under the Nazis*, London.

- Mann, N. (2013), 'A Vision: A review essay', *Yeats Annual* 18: 265–96.
- Marchand, S. (2003a), *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*, Princeton.
- Marchand, S. (2003b), 'From Liberalism to Neoromanticism: Albrecht Dieterich, Richard Reitzenstein, and the religious turn in fin-de-siècle German classical studies' in Gildenhard and Rühl 2003, 129–60.
- Marchand, S. (2003c), 'Leo Frobenius and the revolt against the West', *Journal of Contemporary History* 32: 153–70.
- Margagliotta, G.M.A. and Rubiglio, A.A., eds. (2013), *Art, Intellect and Politics. A Diachronic Perspective*, Leiden.
- Marichal, R. (1982), 'Allocution à l'occasion du décès du R.P. Jean Festugière, académicien ordinaire', *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 126: 504–8.
- Marrou, H. (1948), *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité*, Paris.
- Marrou, H. (1955), *Saint Augustin et l'Augustinisme*, Paris.
- Mayor, J.B., Fowler, W.W., and Conway, R.S. (1907), *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue: Its Meaning, Occasion, and Sources*, London.
- McCorristine, S. (2010), *Spectres of the Self: Thinking about Ghosts and Ghost-Seeing in England, 1750–1920*, Cambridge.
- McDonald, P. (1991), *Louis MacNeice: The Poet in his Contexts*, Oxford.
- McDonald, P. (1998), "'With eyes turned down on the past": MacNeice's Classicism' in Devine and Peacock 1998, 34–52.
- McGinty, P. (1978), *Interpretation and Dionysos*, The Hague.
- McLeod, H. (2000), *Secularization in Western Europe 1848–1914*, New York.
- McNeill, W.H. (1989), *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life*, Oxford.
- Mélanges Franz Cumont* (1936), Brussels.
- Melk-Koch, M. (1989), *Auf der Suche nach der menschlichen Gesellschaft: Richard Thurnwald*, Berlin.
- Merlan, P. (1967), 'The Pythagoreans' in Armstrong 1967, 84–106.
- Meuli, K. (1943), *Schweizer Masker und Maskenbräuche*, Zürich [= Meuli 1976: 1.177–250].
- Meuli, K. (1976), *Gesammelte Schriften* [2 vols], Basle and Stuttgart.
- Meyer, B.F. and Sanders, E.P., eds. (1982), *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World III: Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, London.
- Midgley, M. (2005), *The Owl of Minerva: A Memoir*, London.
- Mihelcic, G. (2003), *Una religione di libertà. Raffaele Pettazzoni e la scuola romana di storia delle religioni*, Rome.
- Mikalson, J. (2010), *Athenian Popular Religion in Greek Philosophy*, New York.
- Miller, P. (1994), *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*, Princeton.
- Molendijk, A.L. (2004), 'Religious development: C. P. Tiele's paradigm of science of religion', *Numen* 51: 321–51.
- Molendijk, A.L. (2005), *The Emergence of the Science of Religion in the Netherlands*, Leiden.
- Molendijk, A.L. (2010), 'Les premiers congrès d'histoire des religions, ou comment faire de la religion un objet de science', *Revue germanique internationale* 12: 91–103.

- Molendijk, A.L. and Pels, P., eds. (1998), *Religion in the Making. The Emergence of the Science of Religion*, Leiden.
- Momigliano, A. (1940), review of Kerényi 1937, *Journal of Roman Studies* 30: 208–10.
- Momigliano, A. (1951), review of Dodds 1951a, *Rivista Storica Italiana* 63: 558–9 [reprinted in Momigliano 2012, 2. 577–9].
- Momigliano, A. (1982), 'Premesse per una discussione su Hermann Usener' in Arrighetti 1982, 9–21.
- Momigliano, A. (1983), 'Premesse per una discussione su Georges Dumézil', *Opus* 2: 329–42.
- Momigliano, A. (2012), *Decimo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* [2 vols], Rome.
- Moran, D.P. (1905), *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, Dublin.
- Morgan, T. (2015), *Roman Faith and Christian Faith*, Oxford.
- Mossman, J., ed. (2003), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Euripides*, Oxford.
- Most, G.W., ed. (1997), *Commentaries—Kommentare*, Göttingen.
- Movrin, D. and Olechowska, E., eds. (2016), *Classics and Communism*, Warsaw/Ljubljana.
- Munro, A. (2004), *Runaway*, New York [reprinted London 2006].
- Münsterberg, H. et al. (1910), *Subconscious Phenomena*, Boston.
- Murphy, D.J., ed. (1978), *Lady Gregory's Journals: Volume One. Books One to Twenty Nine: 10 October 1916–24 February 1925*, Gerrards Cross.
- Murray, G. (1912), *Four Stages of Ancient Greek Religion*, Oxford.
- Murray, G. (1925), *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, Oxford.
- Murray, G. (1960), *An Unfinished Autobiography, with Contributions by his Friends*, ed. J. Smith and A. Toynbee, London.
- Myers, F.W.H. (1903), *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, London.
- Naas, V., ed. (2004), *En deçà et au-delà de la ratio*, Villeneuve d'Asq.
- Naiden, F.S. (2013), *Smoke Signals for the Gods: Ancient Greek Sacrifice from the Archaic through Roman Periods*, Oxford and New York.
- Nestle, W. (1930–4), *Die griechische Religiosität in ihren Grundzügen und Hauptvertretern von Homer bis Proklos* [3 vols], Berlin.
- Neugebauer, G. (2015), 'Die Grenzen des Rationalität in Max Webers frühen Aufsätzen zur Wissenschaftslehre' in Asmuth and Neuffer 2015, 187–99.
- Neuner, P., and Wenz, G., eds. (2002), *Theologen des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt.
- Nicholls, T. (2011), 'Professor Ronald Willetts', *The Independent*, 23 October.
- Nightingale, A.W. (1995), *Genres in Dialogue: Plato and the Construct of Philosophy*, Cambridge.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1900), *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis*, Lund.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1906), *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der Attischen*, Leipzig.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1911), *Primitive Religion*, Tübingen [original Swedish ed. 1908].
- Nilsson, M.P. (1921), 'The race problem of the Roman Empire', *Hereditas* 2: 370–89 [reprinted in Nilsson 1951–60, 2.940–64].

- Nilsson, M.P. (1925), *A History of Greek Religion*, tr. F.J. Fielden, preface by J.G. Frazer, Oxford [original Swedish ed. 1921],
- Nilsson, M.P. (1929), review of Otto 1929, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 28: 1334–7.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1935a), review of Otto 1933, *Gnomon* 11: 177–81.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1935b), 'Early Orphism and kindred religious movements', *Harvard Theological Review* 28: 181–230 [reprinted in Nilsson 1951–60: 2.626–83].
- Nilsson, M.P. (1936), 'Reflexe von dem Durchbruch des Individualismus in der griechischen Religion um die Wende des 5. und 4. Jhts v. Chr.' in *Mélanges Franz Cumon*, 1936, 366–72.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1939), 'Über Genetik und Geschichte', *Hereditas* 25: 211–23 [reprinted in Nilsson 1951–60, 2. 964–79].
- Nilsson, M.P. (1940), *Greek Popular Religion*, New York.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1941–50), *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* [2 vols], Munich.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1941), *The Historical Hellenistic Background of the New Testament*, Cambridge, MA.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1948), *Greek Piety*, Oxford.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1949), 'Letter to Professor Arthur D. Nock on some fundamental concepts in the science of religion', *Harvard Theological Review* 42: 71–107 [reprinted in Nilsson 1951–60: 3.345–82].
- Nilsson, M.P. (1951–60), *Opuscula Selecta* [3 vols; 1951, 1952, 1960], Lund.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1951a), 'Second letter to Professor Nock on the positive gains in the science of Greek religion', *Harvard Theological Review* 44: 143–51 [reprinted in Nilsson 1951–60, 3. 219–28].
- Nilsson, M.P. (1951b), *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Lund.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1954), 'Religion as man's protest against the meaninglessness of events', *Bulletin de la société des lettres de Lund* 2: 1–67 [reprinted in Nilsson 1951–60, 3.391–464].
- Nilsson, M.P. (1960a), 'Kult und Glaube in der altgriechischen Religion. Ein Nachwort zu meiner Geschichte der griechischen Religion' in Nilsson 1951–60, 3.3–10.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1960b), 'Nahe zu und Distanz von der Gottheit. Eine Studie über griechische Religiosität' in Nilsson 1951–60, 3.11–26.
- Niven, I.M. (1956), *Irrational Numbers*, New York.
- Nock, A.D., ed. and trans. (1926), *Sallustius. Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, Cambridge.
- Nock, A.D. (1928), 'Early gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic background' in Rawlinson 1928, 53–156.
- Nock, A.D. (1933), *Conversion*, Oxford.
- Nock, A.D. (1946), 'Sarcophagi and symbolism', *American Journal of Archaeology* 50: 140–70.
- Norton, R.E. (2002), *Secret Germany: Stefan George and his Circle*, Ithaca.
- Nowak, K. (1987), 'Die "antihistorische Revolution". Symptome und Folgen der Krise historischer Weltorientierung nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Deutschland' in Renz and Graf 1987, 133–71.
- Nüssel, F. (2002), 'Rudolf Bultmann. Entmythologisierung und existenziale Interpretation des neutestamentlichen Kerygma' in Neuner and Wenz 2002, 7–89.

- Oakley, S.P. (2016), 'Dodds' *Bacchae*' in Kraus and Stray 2016, 84–109.
- Ogilvie, R.M. (1964), *Latin and Greek. A History of the Influence of the Classics on English Life from 1600 to 1918*, London.
- Olender, M. (1989), *Les langues du paradis. Aryens et Sémites, un couple providentiel*, Paris.
- O Lúing, S. (1996), 'George Thomson', *Classics Ireland* 3: 131–62.
- O'Meara, D.J. (1989), *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Llate Antiquity*, Oxford.
- O'Meara, D.J., ed. and trans. (1999), *Plotin. Traité 51: I,8*, Paris.
- Oppenheim, J. (1985), *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850–1914*, Cambridge.
- Oppermann, H., ed. (1977), *Humanismus*, Darmstadt.
- Osborne, R. (2011), *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body*, Cambridge.
- Otto, R. (1917), *Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*, Munich.
- Otto, R. (1923), *Aufsätze das Numinose betreffend*, Stuttgart.
- Otto, R. (1932), 'The Sensus Numinis as the historical basis of religion', *Hibbert Journal* 30: 283–97.
- Otto, W.F. (1923a), *Der Geist der Antike und die christliche Welt*, Bonn.
- Otto, W.F. (1923b), *Die Manen, oder von den Urformen des Totenglaubens*, Berlin.
- Otto, W.F. (1926), *Die altgriechische Gottesidee*, Berlin.
- Otto, W.F. (1929), *Die Götter Griechenlands. Das Bild des Göttlichen im Spiegel des griechischen Geistes*, Bonn.
- Otto, W.F. (1933), *Dionysos: Mythos und Kultus*, Frankfurt.
- Otto, W.F. (1955), *Die Gestalt und das Sein*, Düsseldorf.
- Otto, W.F. (1956), *Theophania. Der Geist der altgriechischen Religion*, Hamburg.
- Otto, W.F. (1962a), *Mythos und Welt* [ed. K. von Fritz], Stuttgart.
- Otto, W.F. (1962b), 'Leo Frobenius' in Otto 1962a, 212–31 [original publication 1931].
- Otto, W.F. (1981), *Les dieux de la Grèce. La figure du divin au miroir de l'esprit grec*, Paris [translation of Otto 1929].
- Otto, W.F. (2004), *Gli dèi della Grecia. L'immagine del divino nello specchio dello spirito Greco*, Milan [translation of Otto 1929].
- Otto, W.F. (2011), *Dionysos: Mythos und Kultus* [7th ed.], Frankfurt.
- Parker, G., ed. (2016), *South Africa, Greece and Rome: Classical Confrontations*, Cambridge.
- Parker, R. (1983), *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford.
- Parker, R. (1996), *Athenian Religion*, Oxford.
- Parker, R. (1997), 'Gods cruel and kind: tragic and civic theology' in Pelling 1997a, 143–60.
- Parker, R. (2007), 'Gilbert Murray and Greek religion' in Stray 2007a, 81–102.
- Parrot, F. (1996), *Pour une psychologie historique*, Paris.
- Pelling, C.B.R., ed. (1997a), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian*, Oxford.
- Pelling, C.B.R. (1997b), 'Tragical dreamer: some dreams in the Roman historians', *Greece and Rome* 44: 197–213.

- Perkin, H. (1969), *Key Profession: The History of the Association of University Teachers*, London.
- Persson, A.W. (1942), *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*, Berkeley.
- Peterich, E. (1938), *Die Theologie der Hellenen*, Leipzig.
- Petermann, W. (2004), *Die Geschichte der Ethnologie*, Wuppertal.
- Pettazzoni, R. (1921), *La religione nella Grecia antica fino ad Alessandro*, Bologna.
- Pettazzoni, R. (1929–36), *La confessione dei peccati* [3 vols], Bologna.
- Pettazzoni, R. (1940), 'Criteri per l'ordinamento scientifico del VII congresso internazionale di storia delle religioni', *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia. Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali e Storiche* 7.1: 1–5, 7.2: 1–3.
- Pettazzoni, R. (1946), *Saggi di storia delle religioni e di mitologia*, Rome.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1929), 'Gottheit und Individuum in der frühgriechischen Lyrik', *Philologus* 38: 137–52 [reprinted in Pfeiffer 1960, 42–54].
- Pfeiffer, R. (1960), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Munich.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1968), *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford.
- Pfister, F. (1922), 'Kultus', *RE* 11, col. 2106–92.
- Pfister, F. (1930), *Die Religion der Griechen und der Römer mit einer Einführung in die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft. Darstellung und Literaturbericht (1918–1929/1930)*, Leipzig.
- Pfister, F. (1939a), 'Die Religion und der Glaube der germanischen Völker und ihrer religiösen Führer', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 36: 1–14.
- Pfister, F. (1939b), 'Die religiöse Sendung des deutschen Volkes', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 36: 373–80.
- Pfister, O. (1927), *Religionswissenschaft und Psychoanalyse*, Giessen.
- Phillips, D. (1983), *Zur Universitätsreform in der Britischen Besatzungszone 1945–1948*, Cologne and Vienna.
- Phillips, D. (1986), 'War-time planning for the 're-education' of Germany: Professor E.R. Dodds and the German universities', *Oxford Review of Education* 12: 195–208.
- Phillips, R. (2009), *In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual Texts from Late Roman Egypt*, Durham, NC.
- Picard, C. (1930–2), *Les origines du polythéisme hellénique* [2 vols.], Paris.
- Picard, C. (1948), *Les religions préhelléniques (Crète et Mycènes)*, Paris.
- Piccaluga, G. (1979), 'SMSR. Una rivista, un metodo, una scuola', *Strada Maestra* 12: 29–37.
- Pietersma, A. (1994), *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians: P. Chester Beatty XVI (with new editions of Papyrus Vindobonensis Greek inv. 29456+29828 verso and British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v. f. 87)*, Leiden.
- Pinard de la Boullaye, H. (1922–5), *L'étude comparée des religions* [2 vols], Paris.
- Pireddu, N. (2006), 'Primitive marks of modernity: Cultural reconfigurations in the Franco-Italian fin de siècle', *Romanic Review* 97: 371–400.
- Pitt-Rivers, J.A. (1971), *The People of the Sierra* [2nd edn], Chicago.
- Platvoet, J.G. (1998), 'Close harmonies: the science of religion in Dutch *Duplex Ordo* theology, 1860–1960', *Numen* 45: 115–62.

- Podlecki, A. (1966), review of Dodds 1965a, *Journal of the Bible and Religion* 34: 270–2.
- Popper, K.R. (2013), *The Open Society and its Enemies. I. The Spell of Plato*, Princeton [revised edition with contributions by E.H.Gombrich (1999) and A. Ryan (2013); originally published Princeton 1945].
- Porrovecchio, M.J. (2009), 'The Curious Case of F.C.S. Schiller', [<https://web.archive.org/web/20121108084126/http://www.spr.ac.uk/main/article/curious-case-f-c-s-schiller>] [accessed 17 April 2019].
- Porrovecchio, M.J. (2011), *F.C.S. Schiller and the Dawn of Pragmatism: The Rhetoric of a Philosophical Rebel*, Lanham MD.
- Potsdam Agreement (1947), *Protocol of the Proceedings of the Berlin Conference*, London.
- Powell, A.E. (1926), *The Romantic Theory of Poetry: An Examination in the Light of Croce's Aesthetic*, London.
- Prandi, C. (2006), *Pensiero primitivo e mentalità moderna*, Milan.
- Price, S. (2010), 'The road to Conversion: The life and work of A. D. Nock', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 105: 317–39.
- Pye, M. (1991), 'Reflections on the treatment of tradition in comparative perspective, with special reference to Ernst Troeltsch and Gerardus Van der Leeuw' in Kippenberg and Luchesi 1991, 101–11.
- Rade, M. (1913), 'Religionsgeschichte und Religionsgeschichtliche Schule', *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1.4. col. 2183–2200.
- Radermacher, L. (1943), *Mythos und Sage bei den Griechen* [2nd ed.], Vienna.
- Raeburn, D. and Thomas, O. (2011), *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus: A Commentary*, Oxford.
- Raglan, F.R.S. (1936), *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama*, London.
- Rank, O. (1922), *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden. Versuch einer psychologischen Mythendeutung* [2nd ed.], Leipzig.
- Rankin, A.V. (1974), 'Euripides' Hippolytus: A psychopathological hero', *Arethusa* 7: 71–94.
- Rapp, A. (1872), 'Die Mänade im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie', *Rheinisches Museum* 27: 1–22, 562–611.
- Rawlinson, A.E.J., ed. (1928), *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, London.
- Reinach, S. (1908), 'President's address' in Allen 1908, 117–20.
- Reinach, S. (1909), *Orpheus: Histoire générale des religions*, Paris.
- Reinhardt, K. (1960), *Vermächtnis der Antike*, Göttingen.
- Renz, H. and Graf, F.W., eds. (1987), *Umstrittene Moderne. Die Zukunft der Neuzeit im Urteil der Epoche Ernst Troeltsch*, Gütersloh.
- Rhodes, P.J. (1981), *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford.
- Riedweg, C. (2015), 'Walter Burkert', *Gnomon* 87: 667–71.
- Ringer, F.K. (1969), *The Decline of the German Mandarins. The German Academic Community 1890–1933*, Cambridge, Ma.
- Rist, J.M. (1962), 'The Neoplatonic One and Plato's Parmenides', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 93: 389–401.

- Rist, J.M. (1966), review of Dodds 1965a, *Phoenix* 20: 349–52.
- Robinson, A. (2006), 'Hungry at the banquet of reason: Rationality and irrationality in the life and work of Jane Ellen Harrison', *Mouseion* 6: 455–66.
- Robinson, L. (ed.) (1928), *A Little Anthology of Modern Irish Verse*, Dublin.
- Roessli, J.-M. (2013), 'Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien d'Alfred Loisy (1857–1940) et sa place dans les débats sur les origines du christianisme au début du XXe siècle', *Mythos: rivista di storia delle religioni* 7: 73–95.
- Rohde, E. (1894), *Psyche*, Freiburg.
- Rohde, E. (1898), *Psyche* [2nd edn], Tübingen.
- Rohde, E. (1925), *Psyche* [tr. W.B. Hillis], London.
- Rose, H.J. (1925), *Primitive Culture in Greece*, London.
- Rose, H.J. (1929), *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*, London.
- Rose, H.J. (1948), *Ancient Greek Religion*, London.
- Rosteutscher, J.H.W. (1947), *Die Wiederkunft des Dionysos. Der naturmystische Irrationalismus in Deutschland*, Bern.
- Roy, A.E. (2008), *The Eager Dead: A Study in Haunting*, Brighton.
- Rudhardt, J. and Reverdin, O., eds. (1981), *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité* [Entretiens Hardt 27], Vandœuvres and Geneva.
- Rudolph, K. (1962), *Die Religionsgeschichte an der Leipziger Universität und die Entwicklung der Religionswissenschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte und zum Problem der Religionswissenschaft*, Berlin.
- Rudolph, K. (2008), 'Joachim Wachs Grundlegung der Religionswissenschaft. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Identität und Selbständigkeit' in Junginger 2008a, 635–47.
- Rüpke, J. (2011), 'Lived ancient religion: Questioning "cults" and "polis religion"', *Mythos* 5: 191–204.
- Russell, D.A. (1981), 'E.R. Dodds, 1893–1979', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 67: 357–70.
- Russell, D.A. (2007), 'The study of classical literature at Oxford, 1936–1988, II: Times change' in Stray 2007c, 225–38.
- Rutherford, R.B. (1995), *The Art of Plato*, London.
- Sacco, L. (2006), 'Pettazzoni and the journal *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*', *Archaeus* 10: 221–9.
- Saffrey, H.-D. and Westerink, L.G. (1968–97), *Proclus. Théologie platonicienne* [6 vols.], Paris.
- Sanchiño Martínez, R. (2011), 'Dionysos—eine Chiffre der ästhetischen Moderne', in Schlesier 2011, 513–33.
- Sassi, M.M. (1982), 'Dalla scienza delle religioni di Usener ad Aby Warburg' in Arrighetti 1982, 65–91.
- Scheid, J. (2005), *Quand Faire, C'est Croire: Les Rites Sacrificiels des Romains*, Paris.
- Schenker, D. (2006), 'The strangeness of the *Phaedrus*', *American Journal of Philology* 127: 67–87.
- Schlesier, R. (1991), 'Prolegomena to Jane Harrison's interpretation of Greek mythology' in Calder 1991, 185–226.
- Schlesier, R. (1994), *Kulte, Mythen und Gelehrte: Anthropologie der Antike seit 1800*, Frankfurt.

- Schlesier, R. (2008), 'Salomon Reinach et l'anthropologie moderne de la Grèce ancienne' in A. Basch et al. 2008, 127–39.
- Schlesier, R., ed. (2011), *A Different God? Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism*, Berlin.
- Schlesier, R. and Martínez, R.S., eds. (2006), *Neuhumanismus und Anthropologie des griechischen Mythos. Karl Kerényi im europäischen Kontext des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Locarno.
- Schlesier, R. and Schwarzmaier, A., eds. (2008), *Dionysos—Verwandlung und Ekstase*, Regensburg.
- Schmid, W. (1929), *Untersuchungen zum gefesselten Prometheus*. Stuttgart.
- Schmidt, W. (1912–55), *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* [12 vols], Münster.
- Schmidt, W.F. (1928), 'Glaube: VI. Glaube und Geschichte', *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2, col. 1223–35.
- Schneider, C. (1966), review of Dodds 1965, *Gnomon* 38: 219.
- Schoedel, W. (1966), review of Dodds 1965, *Church History* 35: 107.
- Schröter, M. (2013), 'Rudolf Otto und die Religionswissenschaft' in Lauster et al. 2013, 511–22.
- Schwabl, H. (1991), 'A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (1914/1925/1940)': Nachdenkliches über Plan und Aussage des Werkes' in Calder 1991, 227–49.
- Schwindt, J.P. (2000), '(Italo)Manie und Methode: Georges und von Wilamowitz-Moellendorffs Streit um das "richtige Antikenbild"' in Lange and Schnizle 2000, 21–39.
- Schwyzler, H.-R. (1951), 'Plotinos', in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21.1, 471–592.
- Scullion, S. (2002), "'Nothing to do with Dionysus': Tragedy misconceived as ritual', *Classical Quarterly* 52: 102–37.
- Séchan, L. (1926), *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris.
- Sedgwick, M. (2004), *Against the Modern World. Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*, Oxford.
- Sedley, D. (2013), 'The atheist underground' in Hart and Lane 2013, 329–48.
- Seidensticker, B. and Vöhler, M., eds. (2001), *Urgeschichten der Moderne. Die Antike im 20. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart.
- Sewell-Rutter, N.J. (2007), *Guilt by Descent. Moral Inheritance and Decision Making in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford.
- Sharpe, E.J. (1986), *Comparative Religion: A History* [2nd ed.], Chicago.
- Shaw, G. (1995), *Theurgy and the Soul. The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus*, University Park, PA.
- Shaw, G.B. (1919), *Heartbreak House, Great Catherine, and Playlets of the War*, London.
- Shaw, G.B. (1985), *Collected Letters 1911–1925*, ed. Dan H. Laurence, London.
- Shepard, G. (1934), *Tea-Tray in the Sky*, London.
- Shepherd, M. (1967), review of Dodds 1965a, *American Journal of Philology* 88: 110–12.
- Shiel, M. (1978), review of Dodds 1977, *Irish University Review* 8.2: 253–5.

- Sidnell, M.J. (1984), *Dances of Death: The Group Theatre of London in the Thirties*, London.
- Sidis, B. (1898), *The Psychology of Suggestion: A Research into the Subconscious Nature of Man and Society*, New York.
- Sigerist, H.E., ed. (1931), *Das Problem der Kultur und die ärztliche Psychologie*, Leipzig.
- Simon, M. (1975), 'The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, fifty years after', *Religious Studies* 11: 135–44.
- Sinclair, R.K. (1988), *Democracy and Participation in Athens*, Cambridge.
- Slenczka, N. (2013), 'Rudolf Ottos Theorie religiöser Gefühle und die aktuelle Debatte zum Gefühlsbegriff' in Lauster et al. 2013, 277–94.
- Small, H. (2013), *The Value of the Humanities*, Oxford.
- Smart, N., Clayton, J., Sherry, P., and Katz, S.T., eds. (1985), *Nineteenth-Century Religious Thought in the West: Volume 3*, Cambridge.
- Smertenko, C.M. and Belknap, G. (1935), *Studies in Greek Religion*, Eugene, Or.
- Smith, J.Z. (1990), *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianity and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, Chicago.
- Smith, R. and Lounibos J., eds. (1984), *Pagan and Christian Anxiety. A Response to E. R. Dodds*, Lanham.
- Snell, B. (1946), *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, Hamburg.
- Sokolowski, F. (1955), *Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure*, Paris.
- Solmsen, F. (1979), 'Wilamowitz in his last ten years', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20: 89–122.
- Specht, M. (1944), *Education in Post-War Germany*, London.
- Spender, S. (1985a), *Journals 1939–1983*, London.
- Spender, S. (1985b), 'German diary, 1945' in Spender 1985a, 61–91.
- Spengler, O. (1918–22), *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* [2 vols], Munich.
- Spineto, N. (1994), *Mircea Eliade, Raffaele Pettazzoni: L'histoire des religions a-t-elle un sens? Correspondance 1926–1959*, Paris.
- Spineto, N. (2006), 'Károly Kerényi e gli studi storico-religiosi in Italia' in Schlesier and Martinez 2006, 185–202.
- Spranger, E. (1916), *Das humanistische und das politische Bildungsideal im heutigen Deutschland*, Berlin.
- Stallworthy, J. (1995), *Louis MacNeice*, London.
- Stauffer, D. (2006), *The Unity of Plato's Gorgias. Rhetoric, Justice and the Philosophic Life*, Cambridge.
- Stausberg, M. (2007), 'The study of religion(s) in Western Europe (I): Prehistory and history until World War II', *Religion* 37: 294–318.
- Stausberg, M. (2008a), 'Raffaele Pettazzoni and the history of religions in fascist Italy (1928–1938)' in Junginger 2008a, 365–95.
- Stausberg, M. (2008b), 'The study of religion(s) in Western Europe (II): Institutional developments after World War II', *Religion* 38: 305–18.
- Stausberg, M. (2009), 'The study of religion(s) in Western Europe III: Further developments after World War II', *Religion* 39: 261–82.

- Stavru, A. (2002), 'La questione dell'Erlebnis tra L. Klages e W. F. Otto', *Gli Annali di Eumeswil* 2: 93–117.
- Stavru, A. (2004), 'Postfazione' in Otto 2004, 309–37.
- Stavru, A. (2005), 'Otto, Walter F.', *Encyclopedia of Religion* 10, 6932–5.
- Stavru, A. (2011), 'Nachwort' in Otto 2011, 193–204.
- Stavru, A. (2012), 'Walter Friedrich Otto e la questione del "giudeocristianesimo"', *Links* 12: 87–95.
- Stavru, A. (2013), 'Das Schöpferische und das Göttliche: zur Frage der humanistischen Überlieferung bei Ernesto Grassi und Walter F. Otto' in Margagliotta and Rubiglio 2013: 337–61.
- Stead, H. and Hall, E.M. (2016), 'Between the Party and the ivory tower: Classics and communism in 1930s Britain' in Movrin and Olechowska 2016, 3–31.
- Steel, C.G. (1978), *The Changing Self: A Study on the Soul in Later Neoplatonism: Iamblichus, Damascius and Priscianus*, Brussels.
- Stern, F. (1961), *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in The Rise of the Germanic Ideology*, Berkeley.
- Stewart, J.A. (1960), *The Myths of Plato*, 2nd edn. edited and introduced by G.R. Levy, London.
- Stewart, J.G. (1959), *Jane Ellen Harrison: A Portrait from Letters*, London.
- Stewart, Z., Brinton, C., Robinson, F.N., and Stendhal, K. (1964), 'A faculty minute on the late Arthur Darby Nock', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 68: xi–xiv.
- Stiewe, B. (2011), *Der 'Dritte Humanismus.' Aspekte deutscher Griechenrezeption vom George-Kreis bis zum Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin.
- Stocking, G.W., jr., ed. (1984), *Functionalism Historicized*, Madison.
- Stray, C.A. (1992), *The Living Word: W.H.D. Rouse and the Crisis of Classics in Edwardian England*, London.
- Stray, C.A. (1995), 'Digs and degrees: Jessie Crum's tour of Greece, Easter 1901', *Classics Ireland* 2: 121–31.
- Stray, C.A. (1998), *Classics Transformed. Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830–1960*, Oxford.
- Stray, C.A. (2004), 'Edward Adolf Sonnenschein and the politics of linguistic authority in England 1880–1930' in Linn and McLelland 2004, 211–19.
- Stray, C.A., ed. (2007a), *Gilbert Murray Reassessed*, Oxford.
- Stray, C.A., ed. (2007b), *Classical Books: scholarship and publishing in Britain since 1800*, London.
- Stray, C.A., ed. (2007c), *Oxford Classics: Teaching and Learning 1800–2000*, London.
- Stray, C.A. (2014), 'Eduard Fraenkel: an exploration', *Syllecta Classica* 25 (2014): 113–72.
- Stray, C.A. (2015), 'A Teutonic monster in Oxford: the making of Fraenkel's *Agamemnon*' in Kraus and Stray 2015, 39–57.
- Streck, B. (2016), 'Die Religion des Leo Frobenius' in Georget et al. 2016, 41–52.
- Strenski, I. (1987), 'Henri Hubert, racial science and political myth', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 23: 353–67.
- Strenski, I. (2003), *Theology and the First Theory of Sacrifice*, Leiden.
- Subiotto, A.V. (1981), 'Roy Pascal, 1904–1980', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 67: 443–57.

- Svenbro, J. (2007), *Försokratikern Sapfo och andra studier i antikt tänkande: med ett bihang om Martin P. Nilsson och den genetiska determinismen*, Göteborg.
- Sylvain, R. (1996), 'Leo Frobenius. From "Kulturkreis" to "Kulturmorphologie"', *Anthropos* 91: 483–94.
- Syme, R. (1939), *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford.
- Tarnopolsky, C.S. (2010), *Prudes, Perverts and Tyrants. Plato's Gorgias and the Politics of Shame*, Princeton.
- Taylor, A.E. (1917–18), 'The Philosophy of Proclus', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 18, 600–35 (reprinted in Taylor 1934, 151–91).
- Taylor, A.E. (1928), *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, Oxford.
- Taylor, A.E. (1934), *Philosophical Studies*, London.
- Temkin, O. (1952), review of Dodds 1951a, *Isis* 43: 375–7.
- Thomson, G. (1938), *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, London.
- Thomson, G. (1941), *Aeschylus and Athens*, London.
- Thomson, G. (1954), *The Prehistoric Aegean*, London.
- Thurschwell, P. (2001), *Literature, Technology and Magical Thinking, 1880–1920*, Cambridge.
- Timus, M. (2008), 'La science des religions chez Stig Wikander (1935–1941)' in Junginger 2008a, 205–28.
- Todd, R.B. (1998a), 'E.R. Dodds: a bibliography of his publications', *Quaderni di Storia* 48: 175–94.
- Todd, R.B. (1998b), 'A note on the genesis of E. R. Dodds' *The Greeks and the Irrational*', *Échos du monde classique/Classical Views* 17: 663–76.
- Todd, R.B. (1999), 'E.R. Dodds: The Dublin Years (1916–1919), with reprints of two early articles by Dodds: "The rediscovery of the Classics" and "The renaissance of occultism"', *Classics Ireland* 6: 80–91 (article), 91–105 (reprints).
- Todd, R.B. (2000), review of the 2000 reprint of Dodds 1977, *Bryn Mawr Classical Reviews* 2000.08.29.
- Todd, R.B. (2001), review of the 2000 reprint of Dodds 1977, *Quaderni di Storia* 53: 233–45.
- Todd, R.B. (2002), 'Plato as public intellectual: E. R. Dodds's edition of the *Gorgias* and its "primary purpose"', *Polis* 19: 45–60.
- Todd, R.B., ed. (2004a), *The Dictionary of British Classicists* [3 vols], Bristol.
- Todd, R. B. (2004b), 'Dodds, E.R.' in Todd 2004a, I.247–51.
- Todd, R.B. (2005), 'E.R. Dodds: bibliographical addenda', *Quaderni di Storia* 61: 221–4.
- Todd, R.B. (2008), "'His own side-show": E. R. Dodds and Neoplatonic Studies in Britain, 1835–1940', *Dionysius* 25: 139–60.
- Toutain, J. (1910), 'L'histoire des religions de la Grèce et de Rome au début du XXe siècle', *Revue de synthèse historique* 20: 73–100.
- Toynbee, P. (1977), review of Dodds 1977, *The Observer*, 20 November: 28.
- Travers Smith, H. (1919), see Dowden.
- Treml, M. (2006), "'Wissenschaft der Realitäten der Seele.' Religion und Psychologie im Werk von Karl Kerényi' in Schlesier and Martinez 2006, 125–48.
- Trevisi, G. (1979), 'Religione dello stato e religione dell'uomo in Italia Religiosa di Raffaele Pettazzoni', *Strada Maestra* 12: 49–55.

- Trevor-Roper, H. (1974), 'Apologia transfugae', *Didaskalos* 4: 393–412.
- Troeltsch, E. (1910), 'Glaube: IV. Glaube und Geschichte', *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2, col. 1447–56.
- Tuckett, J. (2016), 'Clarifying phenomenologies in the study of religion: Separating Kristensen and van der Leeuw from Otto and Eliade', *Religion* 48: 75–101.
- Tully, J. ed. (1988), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, Cambridge.
- Turcanu, F. (2003), *Mircea Eliade, le prisonnier de l'histoire*, Paris.
- Turner, J. (2011), *Religion Enters the Academy: The Origins of the Scholarly Study of Religion in America*, Athens, Ga.
- Turner, J. (2014), *Philology. The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities*, Princeton.
- Valéry, P. (1919a), 'La crise de l'esprit' in Valéry 1957, 988–1000.
- Valéry, P. (1919b), 'Introduction à la méthode de Léonard de Vinci' in Valéry 1957, 1153–99.
- Valéry, P. (1934), 'Préface' in Frazer 1934, 5–9.
- Valéry, P. (1957), *Oeuvres I*, Paris.
- van der Leeuw, G. (1933 [2nd ed. 1956]), *Phänomenologie der Religion*, Tübingen.
- van Gennep, A. (1909), *Les rites de passage*, Paris.
- van Laak, L. (2015), 'Mythen, Mythisierungen, Religion' in Aurnhammer et al. 2015, 751–70.
- Vansittart, Lord (R.) (1941), *Black Record: Germans Past and Present*. London.
- Vernant, J.-P. (1968), 'Preface' in Gernet 1968, 5–10.
- Vernant, J.-P. (1974a), 'Raisons du mythe' in Vernant 1974b, 195–250.
- Vernant, J.-P. (1974b), *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne*, Paris.
- Versnel, H.S. (1990a), 'What's Sauce for the Goose Is Sauce for the Gander. Myth and Ritual, Old and New', in Edmunds 1990, 25–90.
- Versnel, H.S. (1990b), *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion: I*, Leiden.
- von Harnack, A. (1924), *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* [2 vols. 4th ed.], Leipzig.
- von Hartmann, E. (1868), *Philosophie des Unbewussten*, Berlin.
- von Reibnitz, B. (2006), 'Der Eranos-Kreis. Religionswissenschaft und Weltanschauung oder der Gelehrte als Laien-Priester' in Schlesier and Martinez 2006: 7–124.
- von Schrunck-Notzing, A. (1924), *Experimente der Fernbewegung (Telekinese) im Psychologischen Institut der Münchener Universität und im Laboratorium des Verfassers*, Stuttgart.
- Waardenburg, J. (1991), 'The problem of representing religions and religion' in Kippenberg and Luchesi 1991: 31–56.
- Wach, J. (1924), *Religionswissenschaft: Prolegomena zu ihrer wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlegung*, Leipzig.
- Wach, J. (1926–33), *Das Verstehen. Grundzüge einer Geschichte der hermeneutischen Theorie im 19. Jahrhundert* [3 vols], Tübingen.
- Wach, J. (1931), 'Das religiöse Gefühl' in Sigerist 1931, 9–33.
- Wagner, A. (2015), 'Pluralität der Rationalitätsformen. Zur Irrationalität des interkulturellen Dialoges' in Asmuth and Neuffer 2015, 219–37.

- Walker, T. (2015), *Louis MacNeice and the Irish Poetry of his Time*, Oxford.
- Wallace, R. (2010), *Improvisation and the Making of American Literary Modernism*, New York.
- Wallis, R.T. (1995), *Neoplatonism*, 2nd edn. London.
- Warburg, A. (1932), *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, Berlin.
- Wardy, R. (1996), *The Birth of Rhetoric: Gorgias, Plato and their Successors*, London.
- Wasserstrom, S.M. (1999), *Religion after Religion. Gershom Scholem, Mircea Eliade, and Henry Corbin at Eranos*, Princeton.
- Wear, S.K. and Dillon, J. (2007), *Dionysius the Areopagite and the Neoplatonist Tradition: Despoiling the Hellenes*, Aldershot.
- Weinreich, O. (1933), *Menekrates, Zeus und Salmoneus. Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Psychopathologie des Gottmenschentums in Antike und Neuzeit*, Tübingen.
- Weitbrecht, J., Röcke, W., and von Bernuth, R., eds. (2016), *Zwischen Ereignis und Erzählung. Konversion als Medium der Selbstbeschreibung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Berlin and New York.
- Weltin, E. (1968), Review of Dodds 1965a, *The Catholic Historical Review* 53: 674–5.
- Wessels, A., (2003), *Ursprungszauber. Zur Rezeption von Hermann Useners Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, Berlin.
- Wessels, A. (2011), 'Gegen die uferlose Vergleichung der Heterogenen. Religionswissenschaft und Philologie bei Otto Weinreich' in *Espagne and Rabault-Feurhahn* 2011, 253–65.
- Whitaker, T.R. (1964), *Swan and Shadow: Yeats's Dialogue with History*, Chapel Hill NC.
- Whittaker, J. (1990), *Alcinoos: Enseignement des doctrines de Platon*, Paris.
- Whittaker, T. (1918), *The Neo-Platonists. A study in the history of Hellenism*, 2nd edn. with a supplement on the commentaries of Proclus, Cambridge.
- Whyte, W. (2015), *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities*, Oxford.
- Wickkiser, B.L. (2008), *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-century Greece: Between Craft and Cult*, Baltimore.
- Wiebe, D. (1991), 'Phenomenology of religion as religio-cultural quest' in *Kippenberg and Luchesi* 1991, 65–86.
- Wiegiers, G., ed. (2002), *Modern Societies and the Science of Religions*, Leiden.
- Wikander, S. (1938), *Der arische Männerbund*, Lund.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1895), *Euripides: Herakles*, Berlin [reprinted 1909 and 1959].
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von (1931–2), *Der Glaube der Hellenen* [2 vols], Berlin.
- Wilberding, J. and Horn, C., eds. (2012), *Neoplatonism and the Philosophy of Nature*, Oxford.
- Wildberg, C. (2002), *Hyperesie und Epiphanie: Ein Versuch über die Bedeutung der Götter in den Dramen des Euripides*, Munich.
- Williams, B. (1993), *Shame and Necessity*, Berkeley.

- Williams, J.P. (1984), 'The making of Victorian psychical research: An intellectual elite's approach to the spiritual world' (diss., Cambridge University).
- Wilson, D. (1987), *Gilbert Murray OM 1866–1957*, Oxford.
- Wilson, L. (2012), 'The Cross-Correspondences, the nature of evidence and the matter of writing' in Tatiana Kontou & Sarah Willburn (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism and the Occult*, Farnham and Burlington, 97–119.
- Wilson, L. (2013), *Modernism and Magic: Experiments with Spiritualism, Theosophy and the Occult*, Edinburgh.
- Winnington-Ingram, R.P. (1948), *Euripides and Dionysus: An Interpretation of the Bacchae*, Cambridge.
- Wirth, H. (1928), *Der Aufgang der Menschheit: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Religion, Symbolik und Schrift der atlantisch-nordischen Rasse*, Jena.
- Witt, R.E. (1937), *Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism*, Cambridge.
- Wolffram, H. (2009), *The Stepchildren of Science: Psychical Research and Parapsychology in Germany, c. 1870–1939*, Amsterdam and New York.
- Wundt, W. (1900–20), *Völkerpsychologie: eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze der von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte* [10 vols], Leipzig.
- Wunsch, M. (2015), 'Lebensphilosophie und Irrationalismus. Dilthey—Bergson—Plessner' in Asmuth and Neuffer 2015, 201–18.
- Yeats, M.B. (1998), *Cast a Cold Eye: Memoirs of a Poet's Son and Politician*, Dublin.
- Yeats, W.B. (1898), 'The Celtic element in literature', repr. in W.B. Yeats, *Writings on Irish Folklore, Legend and Myth*, ed. Robert Welch, Harmondsworth, 189–200.
- Yeats, W.B. (1900), 'Magic', repr. in W.B. Yeats, *Early Essays*, ed. Richard J. Finneran and George Bornstein, New York, 25–41.
- Yeats, W.B. (1975), "'A.E.'s" Poems' (1898), in W.B. Yeats, *Uncollected Prose vol.2*, ed. John P. Frayne and Colton Johnson, London, 111–13.
- Yeats, W.B. (1994), *Later Essays* [ed. William H. O'Donnell], New York.
- Yeats, W.B. (2001), *The Plays* [ed. David R. Clark and Rosalind E. Clark], Basingstoke.
- Yeats, W.B. (2008), *A Vision (1925)* [ed. Catherine E. Paul and Margaret Mills Harper], New York.
- Yeats, W.B. (2015a), *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Electronic Edition* (IntelLex) [<http://www.nlx.com/collections/130>].
- Yeats, W.B. (2015b), *A Vision: The Revised 1937 Edition* [ed. Margaret Mills Harper and Catherine E. Paul], New York.
- Zaborowski, R. (2010), 'Tadeusz Zieliński (1859–1944): sa vie et son oeuvre', *Annales du Centre Scientifique à Paris de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences* 12: 207–22.
- Zander, H. (2007), *Anthroposophie in Deutschland. Theosophische Weltanschauung und gesellschaftliche Praxis 1884–1945* [2 vols], Göttingen.
- Zieliński, T. (1926), *The Religion of Ancient Greece: An Outline*, Oxford [original Polish ed. 1921].
- Zinser, H. (1991), 'Der Mythos des Mutterrechts in der Zeit zwischen den Weltkriegen' in Kippenberg and Luchesi 1991, 365–72.

Index

- Ackroyd, Peter 114
Adams, William 15
AE (George Russell) 96, 198, 199, 210, 212
Aelius Aristides 3, 90n. 7, 186, 188
Aeschylus 17–18, 34, 132–3, 141–6, 166,
228–43
Albinus 179, 282
Alcinous 179
Aldington, Richard 210
Allen, Walter 13
Altheim, Franz 77
Ammonius Saccas 178, 284
Anderson, W.B. 18
Andree, Richard 45
Andrews, Kevin 264–6
Antiochus of Ascalon 284
Antoninus 211
Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 44, 50n. 56,
60, 65
Aristophanes 165, 276
Aristotle 19, 94, 97, 146, 158, 169, 174,
203, 285
Arkins, Brian 211
Armstrong, A.H. 24, 171–2, 176, 179, 205,
209, 269
Arnold, Matthew 4, 213
Association of University Teachers
(AUT) 15, 32, 256–62
Auden, W.H. 1, 13, 26, 33, 167, 210, 240, 267,
275, 278
Augustine 22, 25
Ayer, A.J. ix, 165n. 35
Aymard, André 61

Bailey, Cyril 23, 25
Baldwin, Stanley 20, 128
Balfour, Francis 108
Balfour, G.W. 106n. 45, 107–8
Balfour, Lady (Jean) 107–8
Bangor 10
Barber, Eric 28
Barrett, Betty 195
Barrett, David 275–6
Barrett, W.F. 88, 96
Barrett, W. Spencer 23n. 45, 28, 30–1
Bastian, Adolf 45
Bayet, Jean 61
Beard, Mary 6n. 21
Becker, Carl Heinrich 249
Beckett, Samuel 5, 147
Belfast 10, 16, 182, 267
Benedict, Ruth 53n. 19, 119, 120
Bergson, Henri 41, 50, 64, 95n. 18, 122
Berkeley 27, 32, 54n. 81
Berlin, Isaiah ix, 21–2, 157
Berthelot, André 43n. 26, 60
Bianchi, Ugo 63
Bickel, Ernst 60
Bickerman, Elias 61
Bidez, Joseph 52, 61
Birley, Robert 261, 262
Birmingham *see* Dodds, at Birmingham
Bismarck, Otto von 43
Black, Michael 264, 277
Blake, William 128–9
Blinkenberg, Christian 60
Blumenthal, Henry 24n. 49
Blunden, Edmund 210
Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen 213
Boas, Franz 53, 60
Boulanger, André 82–3, 84
Bowen, Elizabeth 198
Bowra, Maurice 15, 19, 20–2, 23, 29, 247,
280, 281
Bregman, Jay 185–6
Brelich, Angelo 44n. 29, 63
Broad, C.D. 109–10
Brown, Peter 52n. 73, 121, 186, 195, 196
Brown, Peter G. McC. 25
Brunt, P.A. 202n. 9
Buchan, John 20
Bücheler, Franz 77
Bullen, A.H. 201
Bulloch, Penelope 276

- Bultmann, Rudolf 63
 Buonaiuti, Ernesto 48, 62n. 127
 Burkert, Walter 37–8, 64n. 139, 72, 78n. 210, 116, 127
 Burnet, John 152
 Butler, R.A. 246
- Cambiano, Giuseppe 89
 Cambridge 12, 18, 43, 91–2, 95, 112, 118n. 9, 249
 ‘Cambridge ritualists’, 13n. 8, 38, 116–17, 127, 134, 137–8
 Campbell College, Belfast 10, 93, 101, 198
 Carterius 270
 Chadwick, H.M. 43n. 26
 Chadwick, Henry 183, 277
 Chadwick, N.K. 43n. 26
 Chantepie de la Saussaye, P. D. 52, 66
 Chantraine, Pierre 61
 Chapman, R.H. 205–6
 Chartier, Roger 186
 Chesterton, G.K. 5
 Childs, W.M. 11–12
 China 17, 32, 254, 281, 282, 286
 Chorley, (Lord) Robert 257, 259, 261
 Christ Church, Oxford 21–2, 274, 277, 281, 283, 284
 Churchill, Randolph 20–1
 Churchill, Winston 244
 Cicero 154, 164
 Clarke, Stewart 101–2
 Classical Association 9, 87, 103n. 37, 153n. 11, 194
 Clennell, William 108
 Cobb, Margaret 271
 Cobb, Richard 271
 Cochrane, Charles 182
 Comte, Auguste 57
 Conan Doyle, Arthur 98
Congrès International d’Histoire des Religions 45, 59–61, 82
 Conrad, Joseph 156
 Cook, A.B. 46, 50
 Coombe Tennant, Alexander 108–10
 Coombe Tennant, Augustus Henry 107–10
 Coombe Tennant, Winifred 106–10, 112n. 60
 Cooper, (Lady) Diana 285
 Coover, John E. 99
 Cornelius, Friedrich 65
 Cornford, Francis 17–18, 51, 60, 179
 Cox, Christopher 102
 Creuzer, Georg Friedrich 200
 Critias 132
 Croce, Benedetto 221–2
 Crookes, William 97
 Cross-correspondences 92, 100, 106, 107n. 47, 109, 112, 114
 Cross, F.L. 183
 Cummins, Geraldine 90, 96, 101, 108–9, 112n. 60
 Cumont, Franz 46, 52, 60, 61, 74, 75n. 193
- d’Arcy, Fr. Martin 206
daimon 238, 241–3; *see also* Dodds, daemon
 Damascius 174
 Davies, Stevan 195
 Davin, Dan 3–4
 De Burgh, William 11
 De Martino, Ernesto 63
 De Sélincourt, Ernest 15, 20
 De Valera, Éamon 275
 Debenham, Ernest 201–2, 205, 207, 208
 Delcourt, Marie 59
 Denniston, J.D. 15, 20–1, 22, 141, 152, 281
 Des Places, Édouard 61
 Descartes, René 169
 Deubner, Ludwig 60
 Devereux, Georges 268
 Dieterich, Albrecht 44, 46, 52, 69
 Digeser, Elizabeth DePalma 178
 Dillon, John 177, 202n. 9
 Dingwall, Eric 101n. 33, 106n. 44, 112, 113–14
 Dodd, C.H. 183
 Dodds, Bet (previously Annie Powell) 6, 32–3, 221, 234, 239, 257, 264, 265, 267, 271, 285
 Dodds, Mrs A.F., mother of E.R.D. 10
 Dodds, Eric Robertson
 undergraduate at University College, Oxford 5, 10–11, 267–8
 in Serbia 10, 281
 at Birmingham 8, 11–15, 22–7, 32–3, 178, 220, 229, 239, 267
 marriage to Bet 6, 32–3
 at Reading 10, 11, 23, 90, 96, 100, 168–9
 appointment to Oxford chair 15, 18–22
 Regius Professor at Oxford and Student of Christ Church 21–2, 274, 277, 281, 283, 284

- in China 32, 254, 281–2, 286
 German education and reconstruction 2, 6, 244–63, 281
Select Passages illustrating Neoplatonism 162–3, 170–1, 211, 219
Proclus, Elements of Theology 22, 61, 149–50, 167–70, 174–7, 206
Bacchae commentary 1, 2, 23–5, 86, 133–41, 150, 152, 165, 167, 220, 221, 223, 225, 240, 274
The Greeks and the Irrational 2–3, 8–9, 56, 86, 116–27, 128–9, 141, 150, 156, 160, 162, 167, 192, 266, 274, 277, 283–4
Gorgias commentary 2, 30n. 61, 149–66, 167, 281, 284
Pagans and Christian in an Age of Anxiety 52n. 73, 90n. 7, 169n. 10, 173–4, 182–97
Missing Persons 1–5, 7–8, 22, 29–30, 159, 168–9, 194–5, 198–200, 265, 276, 282, 285
 and AUT 15, 32, 256–62
 gardening 25–7, 267, 272
 his daemon 7–8, 25, 122
 modern poets and poetry 1, 210–43, 265–6, 275, *see also entries for individual poets*
 name 5–6
 Old Marston 27, 180, 264, 269, 285, 286
 poems 2n. 4, 22, 210, 214–15, 266, 275, 278
 psychology and psychic research 2–3, 5, 6, 88–115 *see also* hypnosis, Society for Psychic Research, telepathy
 scholarly legacy 8–9, 127, 180–1, 196–7, 268
 Dodds, Robert, father of E.R.D. 5, 10
 Doone, Rupert 229–31
 Dörrie, Heinrich 195
 Dover, Kenneth 1, 6–8, 28–31, 33, 126, 132, 143–4
 Dowden, Hester 88, 90, 96, 101, 111
 Dryden, John 232
 Dublin 10–11, 16, 88, 90, 96, 168, 198–9, 201, 211–12, 215–16, 223–4
 Dulac, Edmund 229
 Dumézil, Georges 39n. 7, 43n. 26, 51, 65n. 151
 Dupuis, Charles-François 47
 Durkheim, Émile 38, 43, 44, 50, 53–4, 57, 85, 158
 Eady, Margery 112
 Eden, Anthony 244, 247n. 5
 Edinger, Harold 5
 Edmunds, Simeon 108
 Ehrenberg, Victor 154
 Eisler, Robert 82
 Eitrem, Samson 60
 Eliade, Mircea 63, 65n. 151, 66
 Eliot, T.S. 1, 4n. 13, 21, 168, 203, 210, 217, 230–1, 266
 Ephialtes 142–3
 Eunapius 211
 Euripides 3, 21, 34, 87, 122, 124, 130–41, 153, 158, 216, 274
 ‘Oxford red’ editions 22–5; *see also* Dodds, *Bacchae* commentary
 Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 53, 54n. 81, 57, 121–2
 Evans, Arthur 46, 73, 74
 Farnell, Lewis 45, 46, 50
 Farrell, J.G. 267
 Farrington, Benjamin 16–18
 Ferguson, Adam 17
 Festugière, Fr. André-Jean 43n. 26, 48, 51–2, 80n. 220, 81n. 223, 85–6, 177–8, 180, 183–4, 283
 Fitzgerald, Robert 232–3
 Fleming, Alice 106n. 43
 Flournoy, Théodore 104
 Forrest, W.G.G. 277
 Forster, E.M. 248
 Fortes, M. 53, 119n. 13, 122n. 24
 Fraenkel, Eduard 14, 25, 28, 268, 280, 281, 282, 284
 appointment to Oxford chair of Latin 14, 18, 20, 29
 role in Dodds’s Oxford appointment 19–20
 compared with Dodds 34–5
 Frazer, J.G. 43, 44n. 28, 46, 51, 116n. 4, 137, 138
 Freud, W.H.C. 182–3
 Freud, Sigmund 57–8, 87, 91, 94, 98, 115, 117, 119–20, 125, 130, 158, 185, 187, 188, 191–2
 Frobenius, Leo 54–6, 77, 78
 Fromm, Erich 78n. 206, 120–1, 157–8
 Fustel de Coulanges, Numa Denis 85
 Gagné, Renaud 125, 145
 Ganly, Helen 269–73, 278

- Gardiner, Margaret 33
 Gardner, Percy 19
 Gauld, Alan 92n. 9, 102, 103
 Gayre, Lieutenant-Colonel E.R. 255
 Geller, Uri 91
 Gentile, Giovanni 221
 George, Stefan 64, 67, 78
 Gernet, Louis 54, 61, 84–6, 121n. 20
 Gibbon, Edward 175n. 22, 185–6, 286
 Gide, André 217
 Ginzburg, Carlo 65n. 151, 126
 Glotz, Gustave 54, 118
 Gogarty, Oliver St John 34
 Goodenough, Erwin 184
 Gordon, Richard 52n. 72
 Graebner, Fritz 54
 Graham, R.B. 101
 Granet, Marcel 43n. 26, 51
 Grassi, Ernesto 78
 Gregory of Nyssa 174
 Gregory, (Lady) Augusta 198, 210, 212
 Griffin, Jasper 276
 Griffith, Mark 132
 Gruppe, Otto 72, 81
 Günther, H.F.K. 255n. 17
 Gurney, Edmund 89–90, 91, 108
 Guthrie, W.K.C. 18, 51, 83
 Gwynn, Fr. Aubrey 206
- Habert, O. 49–50
 Hadot, Pierre 177, 180
 Hallstein, Walter 261–2
 Hamilton, Trevor 113
 Hampshire, Stuart 5
 Hankey, Wayne 219
 Harder, Richard 177
 Hardie, Colin 286
 Harrison, Jane 46, 50, 74, 76n. 195, 82, 116,
 117, 134, 137n. 20, 213
 Hastings, James 52
 Hauer, Jakob Wilhelm 65
 Haussoullier, Bernard 136
 Hawgood, John 259n. 26
 Healey, Denis 28n. 59
 Heatley, Norman 285
 Hegel, G.W.F. 221
 Heidegger, Martin 41, 54, 77, 78, 122
 Henrichs, Albert 134, 137
 Henry, Fr. Paul 24, 171–2, 177, 205–9, 283
 Herbert, A.P. 248
- Hermann, J.G.J. 152
 Hermetica 192, 204, 282–3
 Herodotus 166
 Herzen, Alexander 158
 Hicken, Winifred 151
 Higham, T.F. 23
 Highet, Gilbert 19, 21, 280
 Hitler, Adolf 16, 158, 160, 248, 251, 252
 Homer 25, 71, 74, 76, 78, 175, 179, 239, 262,
 275, 283
 Hopkins, Gerard Manley 232, 236
 Horney, Karen 53n. 119
 Housman, A.E. 5, 6n. 19, 18, 20
 Howland, Warren 195
 Howard, (Lady) Mary 6
 Husserl, Edmund 66
 Huxley, Aldous 173, 217
 Huxley, Julian 248
 hypnosis 92, 96, 97–8, 101, 110, 124n. 31
- Iamblichus 167, 170, 174, 176–7, 204, 283
 Inge, Dean William Ralph 168, 169, 207,
 211–12, 222
 International Association for the History of
 Religions (IAHR) 59–62, 66
- Jackson Knight, W.F. 5
 Jacoby, Felix 143
 Jaeger, Werner 68, 86, 123, 182
 James, William 57, 91, 93n. 10, 94n. 15, 95n.
 18, 114, 183, 185, 187, 190–2, 240
 Jeanmaire, Henri 43n. 26, 44n. 29, 54, 61
 Jenkyns, Richard 34
 Joad, C.E.M. 248
 Johnson, Samuel 127, 141
 Jones, A.H.M. 182, 184
 Jones, D.A.N. 28 and n. 59
 Jowett, Benjamin 87
 Joyce, James 41, 122
 Jung, Carl Gustav 41, 54, 56, 58, 61, 87, 98,
 117, 122
 Junge, G. 40
- Kafka, Franz 41, 122
 Kalligas, Paulos 172
 Kant, Immanuel 169
 Kardiner, Abram 58, 119–21
 Kennedy, John F. 182
 Kenny, Anthony 276
 Ker, Alan 23n. 45

- Kerényi, Károly 55–6, 58, 63, 66, 76n. 195,
 77–8, 117
 Kerkhecker, Juliane 278
 Kern, Otto 70n. 177, 82
 Kierkegaard, Søren 40
 Kilkenny College 11
 King, Martin Luther 182
 Klages, Ludwig 64
 Kluckhohn, Clyde 75
 Knight, G. Wilson 5
 Knight, W.F. Jackson 5
 Knox, Ronald 248
 Koestler, Arthur 163
 Kolakowski, Leszek 269
- Lagrange, M.-J. 48, 81n. 223, 83, 85
 Lambert, G.W. 100
 Lambert, Julia 272
 Landor, Walter Savage 272
 Lang, Andrew 58n. 108, 93n. 13
 Last, Hugh 10
 Latte, Kurt 60, 117
 Lawrence, D.H. 41, 122, 221
 Leonard, Gladys Osborne 90, 95, 96n. 20,
 101–2, 111
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude 38
 Levitt, Eileen 104
 Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien 54, 56–7, 115, 121
 Lewis, C.S. 286
 Lewis, Emma 102
 Lewis, W. Stanley 102
 Liebrechts, Peter 218
 Lifton, R.J. 190
 Linforth, Ivan 83–4
 Linton, Ralph 119, 120n. 19
 Lippmann, Walter 157
 Llewellyn, Roddy 277
 Lloyd-Jones, Hugh 30, 33, 125–7, 141, 157–8,
 167, 170, 228, 242
 Lloyd, A.C. 24n. 49
 Lloyd, Michael 141
 Lloyd, Geoffrey 9
 Lobeck, Christian 64, 74
 Lodge, Oliver 95
 Loisy, Alfred 43n. 26, 48, 80, 204
 Longford, Earl of *see* Pakenham, (Lord) Frank
 Longley, Edna 226, 267
 Longley, Michael 267
 Löwe, Adolf 249
 Lowe, Christopher 25
- Lowie, Robert H. 54n. 81, 60
 Lucian 186, 286
 Lyne, R.O.A.M. 276
 Lyons, F.S.L. 5, 276
- Maas, Paul 77, 152
 Mabbott, John 10, 11–12
 Macan, R.W. 11
 Macchioro, Vittorio 82
 MacDonagh, Thomas 275
 MacGreevy, Thomas 5n. 18, 216, 217
 MacKenna, Stephen 162, 168, 178, 198–209,
 212, 222–4, 242, 269–71, 279
 Mackinnon, Donald 28
 Macleod, Colin 141–4, 180
 Macmillan, Harold 30–1, 248
 MacNeice, Corinna 180, 278–9
 MacNeice, John Frederick 233
 MacNeice, Louis 1, 4n. 14, 12–14, 26, 28n. 59,
 159n. 24, 180, 210, 220–7, 228–43, 264,
 267, 278, 281
 MacNeice, Mary 234
 maenads and maenadism 128–9, 134, 136,
 138n. 21, 225
 Magnien, Victor 61
 Malinowski, Bronislaw 38, 53, 75
 Mann, Erika 250
 Mann, Thomas 44n. 34, 250
 Mannhardt, Wilhelm 72
 Marcus Aurelius 186
 Marett, R.R. 118
 Margaret, Princess 277
 Mark, James 257
 Marrou, Henri-Irénée 183
 Marshall, T.H. 246, 254, 261
 Mason, Josiah and Mason College 12, 13
 Mauss, Marcel 38, 43, 51, 53–4, 60
 McCarthy, Mary 3
 McDonagh, Bobby 275
 McDonald, Peter 220–1
 McDougall, William 94–5, 118
 McGreevy, Thomas *see* MacGreevy
 Mead, Margaret 53n. 80, 119n. 13
 Merlan, Philip 176
 Meuli, Karl 51
 Meyerson, Ignace 58
 Midgley, Mary 24
 Milne, A.A. 248
 Milton, John 231
 Mohr, Richard 194

- Momigliano, Arnaldo 65n. 151, 123, 182, 184
 Montefiore, C.G. 204
 Moore, George 198
 Morgan, Louis Henry 17
 Morgenthau, Henry 250n. 9
 Müller, Karl Otfried 70
 Müller, Max 43, 69
 Munby, James 112n. 60
 Munro, Alice 128–9
 Mure, Geoffrey 221
 Murray, Anna 272
 Murray, Gilbert
 Oxford classes and lectures 6, 19, 27,
 280–1
 advises Dodds as an undergraduate 167,
 202–4, 214
 and Dodds's election to Regius chair 11,
 15, 19–22, 128, 232
 and German educational
 reconstruction 245–6, 251
 and Greek religion 46, 48–51, 58n. 108,
 80n. 120, 117–18, 170n. 11
 and Greek tragedy 138, 213, 231–3
 and poetry 210, 213, 231–3, 236
 and psychic research 89, 94, 99–100, 104,
 112–14, 282
 Gilbert Murray Trust 286
 his library 274
 compared with Dodds 6–7, 34, 127,
 158, 286
 Murray, Oswyn 270, 271, 272, 273–9
 Murray, Penny 276
 Myers, Frederic 91, 92–4, 95, 98, 104, 107n. 47
- Needham, Joseph 32
 Neoplatonism 2, 22, 24–5, 51–2, 64, 90,
 149–50, 162–3, 167–81, 184–5, 189,
 198–209, 210–27, 230, 285–6; *see also*
 Plotinus, Proclus
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 41, 63, 67, 78, 80,
 118n. 8, 122, 127, 134, 140, 158,
 160, 276
 Nilsson, Martin P. 51, 52, 56, 60, 61, 65,
 67–83, 116–17, 136, 183, 184
 Nock, A.D. 20, 52, 53n. 77, 60, 73–6, 80–2,
 85, 182–4, 277, 283
Numen 59, 62
 Numenius 178, 284
 Nussbaum, Martha 194
- O'Brien, Conor Cruise 285
 O'Connor, Frank 210
 O'Meara, Dominic 172, 177
 Oakeshott, Michael 157
 Oakley, Stephen 133
 Olympiodorus 174
 Origen 186
 Orphism 47, 70, 82–4, 127, 156
 Osborne, Robin 125
 'Oskar S.' 101
 Otto, Rudolf 41, 61, 63, 66, 190
 Otto, Walter F. 55n. 89, 56, 58n. 107,
 71n. 179, 75–80, 117
- Padel, Felix 264, 272, 274
 Padel, Hilda 265
 Padel, Ruth 6, 264–9, 274, 276, 277
 Page, B.S. 25n. 50, 171, 178–9, 202,
 205n. 18
 Page, Denys 2, 21, 141, 145, 286
 Pakenham, (Lord) Frank 257, 261
 Pareto, Vilfredo 41, 122
 Parker, Robert 164–5
 Pascal, Blaise 40
 Pascal, Roy 12, 15n. 15, 259, 261
 Passant, Ernest 255
 Paul of Tarsus, St. 83, 183
 Peregrinus 90n. 7, 186, 286
 Pericles 126, 281
 Perpetua 90n. 7, 186, 188–9, 191–2
 Persson, Axel W. 60
 Peterich, Ernst 76
 Pettazzoni, Raffaele 59n. 115, 60, 62–3
 Pfister, Friedrich 59, 65, 69
 Pfister, Oskar 58
 Philo 184
 Picard, Charles 51, 73, 81n. 223
 Picasso, Pablo 41, 122, 144
 Piddington, J.G. 106n. 45, 107
 Pinard de la Boullaye, Henry 62n. 127
 Piper, Leonora 95, 111
 Pirandello, Luigi 166
 Pitt Rivers, Augustus 271
 Pitt-Rivers, Julian 121
 Platnauer, Maurice 23
 Plato 7, 13, 17, 70–1, 83, 86, 149–66, 218–19,
 221–4, 282–3, 286; *see also*
 Neoplatonism and Dodds, *Gorgias*
 commentary

- Plotinus 24, 100, 162–3, 167–81, 186, 190, 192, 198–209, 212, 215, 218–19, 266, 269–71, 282, 284; *see also* Neoplatonism *and* MacKenna, Stephen
- Plutarch 24, 135, 282
- Podmore, Frank 90, 93
- Poe, Edgar Allan 114
- Pohlenz, Max 254, 258
- Polycrates 154
- Popper, Karl 157, 160
- Porphyry 167, 170, 176–7
- Posidonius 283
- Powell, Annie *see* Dodds, Bet
- Powys, John Cowper 4
- Poynton, A.B. 164
- Price, S.R.F. 277
- Proclus 162, 163, 167–81, 204, 219; *see also* Dodds, Proclus' *Elements of Theology*
- Profumo, John 182
- Protagoras 124
- Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite 176
- Pulitzer, Joseph 199n. 2, 200
- Quintilian 154
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred 53
- Radermacher, Ludwig 60
- Raglan, Lord 51
- Rank, Otto 58
- Rapp, Adolf 134
- Ratzel, Friedrich 45
- Read, Herbert 210
- Reading *see* Dodds, at Reading
- Reed, Henry 13
- Reinach, Salomon 46–8, 82
- Reinhardt, Karl 77, 78
- Reitzenstein, Richard 74, 204
- Rhine, J.B. 94, 105
- Ribot, Theodule 98n. 26
- Richet, Charles 99
- Riddy, Donald 255, 260, 261
- Rilke, Rainer Maria 140
- Rist, John 176, 195
- Rivet, Paul 54
- Rivier, André 284
- Robert, Louis 51
- Robertson, Charles Grant 14, 20, 22
- Robertson, D.S. 5
- Robertson, Donald 194
- Robin, Léon 152
- Robinson, Edward 269
- Robinson, John 196
- Robinson, Lennox 96, 198, 199, 210
- Rohde, Erwin 44, 74, 81, 82, 118, 127, 134, 284
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. 102, 244
- Roscher, Wilhelm Heinrich 52
- Rose, Herbert J. 51, 60
- Rosenberg, Alfred 248
- Rostovtzeff, Michael 191
- Rouse, W.H.D. 205–8
- Rudberg, Gunnar 154
- Rüpke, Jörg 196
- Ruscombe-King, Chris 271
- Russell, Bertrand 157
- Russell, Donald 24–5, 26, 29, 152, 165, 179–80, 262, 280–86
- Russell, George *see* AE
- Sabbatucci, Dario 63
- Saffrey, H.D. 25n. 50, 52n. 73, 176, 178, 180
- Sallustius 80n. 220, 170
- Salter, Willy 89n. 5, 106nn. 44–5, 107–8, 110–12
- Sandys, J.E. 278
- Sargent Florence, Philip 13
- Sartre, Jean-Paul 41, 122
- Sattler, Barbara 210
- Sayers, Dorothy 248
- Schanz, Martin 152
- Schechter, Ruth 16
- Schechter, Solomon 16
- Schiller, F.C.S. 94–5, 99
- Schiller, Friedrich 78
- Schlegel, Friedrich 87
- Schmid, Wilhelm 132–3
- Schmidt, Wilhelm 54, 62
- Schneider, Willie and Rudi 90, 101
- Schoedel, William 186–7
- Schwyzler, Hans-Rudolf 171–2, 176, 283
- Scott, Walter (Sydney) 204
- Scrutton, Mary (later Midgley) 24
- Semple, W.D. 93
- Serbia 10, 281
- Shackleton Bailey, D.R. 153
- Shakespeare, William 235
- Shaw, George Bernard 166, 212, 216–17
- Sheinwald, Nigel 275

- Shelley, Percy Bysshe 241
 Shepard, Graham 222
 Sheppard, Anne 179–80
 Sidgwick, Eleanor 107
 Sidgwick, Henry 91, 106n. 45, 107
 Sidis, Boris 98n. 26
 Sidnell, Michael 229
 Sinn Fein 16, 21
 Sisam, Kenneth 22–5
 Sitwell, Edith 210
 Smith, Adam 17
 Smith, Eric Earnshaw 246–7
 Smith, Hester Travers *see* Dowden, Hester
 Smith, Preserved 204
 Smith, William Robertson 43
 Snell, Bruno 85, 117, 254, 258, 262
 Society for Psychical Research (SPR) 58n.
 108, 88–115, 243, 266, 279, 282, 286
 Socrates 7, 124, 130, 150, 154–5, 160; *see also*
 Dodds, *Gorgias* commentary
 Söderblom, Nathan 60
 Solmsen, Friedrich 14
 Sonnenschein, Edward 12
 Sophocles 146–8, 166, 281
 Sorel, Georges 41, 122
 Specht, Minna 245
 Spengler, Oswald 41, 54, 122, 217
 Spranger, Eduard 68
 Stace, W.T. 190
 Stalin, Joseph 16
 Steel, Carlos 177
 Steiner, Rudolf 64
 Stephens, James 198
 Stewart, J.A. 168, 203, 204
 Stoneman, Walter 31
 Strong, Gwendoline 10n. 2
 Sturt, Henry 95n. 16
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles 87, 272
 Syme, Ronald 9
 Sygne, J.M. 198, 199, 201
 Syrianius 180–1
- Tacitus 214
 Targ, Russell 91
 Tawney, R.H. 248
 Taylor, A.E. 168–9, 170
 Taylor, A.J.P. ix, 165n. 35
 telepathy 88–115, 124n. 31, 282, 286
The Mr T Experience 44n. 34
 Theiler, Willy 152, 177
- Theophrastus 137n. 17
 Thesiger, Ernest 135
 Thomas, Rev. C. Drayton 101, 102
 Thomas, Russell 247n. 5
 Thomson, George 12, 17–18
 Thomson, J.O. 12
 Thucydides 157
 Thurnwald, Richard 58
 Thurston, Fr. Herbert 110
 Tiele, Cornelis 66
 Todd, Robert 8n. 25, 89, 118, 122, 160, 161,
 215–16, 220
 Tolkien, J.R.R. 286
 Toutain, Jules 43n. 26, 60, 61
 Toynbee, Arnold 19, 246–7
 Toynbee, Philip 4–5, 21
 Trevor-Roper, Hugh 30, 118n. 9
 Trickett, Rachel 281
 Trotter, Wilfrid 157
 Troutbeck, John 255
 Turner, Victor 44n. 29
 Tylor, E.B. 44, 45, 51, 72
- Underhill, Evelyn 212
 University College, Oxford 5, 10
 Ure, Percy 11
 Usener, Hermann 44, 65n. 146, 69, 70n. 177,
 74, 77
- Valéry, Paul 41, 44n. 28, 51, 84, 87
 Van der Leeuw, Gerardus 60, 66
 Van Gennep, Arnold 44
 Vansittart, (Lord) Robert 250
 Verrall, A.W. 89, 95, 104, 106, 107,
 108, 131, 274
 Verrall, Helen de Gaudrion 89n. 5,
 106, 107, 108
 Verrall, Margaret 89, 106, 10, 107
 Versnel, H.S. 196
 Vidal-Naquet, Pierre 275
 Virgil 107, 275
 Von Fritz, Kurt 14
 Von Harnack, Adolf 44, 63, 80, 182,
 187n. 18, 204
 Von Hartmann, Eduard 98
 Von Schrenck-Notzing, Albert 101
- Wach, Joachim 60, 62
 Wade-Gery, H.T. 28
 Wallas, Graham 157

- Walpole, Horace 248
 Walzer, Richard 274
 Walzer, Sophie 274
 Warner, Lee 201
 Weber, Max 44
 Weinreich, Otto 52, 58–9, 60–1, 65, 73n. 188
 West, Martin 25n. 50
 Westerink, L.G. 176, 178
 Whitehorn, A.D. 273
 Whitehorn, Katherine 273
 Whittaker, Thomas 168
 Widengren, Geo 66, 75
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von 14,
 34, 38–9, 67–73, 77, 81–3, 116–17, 136,
 147, 150, 210, 236, 274n. 4
 Willetts, Ronald 12
 Williams, Bernard 125
 Williams, Francis 248
 Williams, Gordon 28
 Wilson, A.N. 286
 Wilson Knight, G. 5
 Wind, Edgar 285
 Wunnington-Ingram, R.P. 138, 139, 285
 Wirth, Herman 65
 Witt, R.E. 179
 Wolff, Emil 258
 Wootton, Barbara 157
 Wordsworth, William 222
 Wright, Erskine 280
 Wundt, Wilhelm 57
 Wünsch, Richard 52
 Wüst, Walther 65
 Xenophon 157
 Yeats, W.B. 1–3, 22n. 42, 34, 41, 122, 162,
 198, 201, 210–43, 266–7, 275, 278
 Zaehner, R.C. 190
 Zeller, Edouard 168
 Ziegler, Konrat 52
 Zieliński, Thaddeus 60, 81–2