

PLATE XVIII



H. H. SCULLARD

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HOWARD HAYES SCULLARD

1903-1983

HOWARD HAYES SCULLARD was born on 9 February 1903 in Bedford, where his father, Herbert Hayes Scullard, was Congregational minister. Family links with religious dissent were strong on both sides and a close connection with Congregationalism went back at least two generations, for his grandfather, Henry Hayes Scullard (1817-90) had also been a minister of that church for over fifty years. Herbert Scullard was one of the first Nonconformists to take advantage of the removal of religious restrictions by the two older universities. After attending school at Lytham and studying at Owens College, Manchester, he won a scholarship to St John's College, Cambridge, where he gained several prizes and eventually obtained a First Class with Honours in both parts of the Theological Tripos. Later, in 1903, he took his BD and in 1907 he was to achieve the distinction of becoming the first Nonconformist to take a Doctorate in Divinity in any English university. He was justifiably proud of this accomplishment and recorded it in his citation in *Who's Who*. Meanwhile, after holding a first ministry in Dublin, he had been invited to become pastor of the Congregational church at Bedford and while there he published a pamphlet on the philanthropist John Howard, who was one of its founders. By this time he had married Barbara Louisa Dodds, and when their first (and only) child was born in 1903, it seemed a good idea to the parents to continue the line of H. Hayes Scullards by naming him after the subject of his father's memoir.

Scullard's mother was the daughter of George William Dodds (1840-1929) and Elizabeth Anne, née Viney (1850-1926), whose family was connected with the well-known Aylesbury firm of printers, Hazel, Watson and Viney. Her brother, Elliot Dodds, was for many years editor of the *Huddersfield Examiner* and several times stood, unsuccessfully, as a Liberal parliamentary candidate. Elliott Dodds exercised considerable influence in the Scullard household and his career and personality contributed a good deal to the atmosphere of liberal Nonconformism which clearly did so much to shape his nephew's character. But his own parents were, not unnaturally, an even greater influence. It was a close family,

the more so as Howard had no brothers or sisters. The example of scholarly work was constantly before him from his earliest years, for his father was the author of several books on subjects of church history and theology, beginning with his study of Martin of Tours (the Hulsean Prize Essay of 1890); he was also a regular contributor to the *Hibbert Journal*, the *London Quarterly Review*, and other specialized periodicals. There was also a background of religious conviction and strict moral standards which impressed themselves on the boy and which he never questioned.

While Howard was still a small child, the family moved from Bedford to a house at 10 Wessex Gardens, Golders Green, following his father's appointment as Professor of Church History, Christian Ethics, and the History of Religions at Hackney College in the Finchley Road, London (later from 1926 Hackney and New College, then from 1936 to its dissolution in 1977 New College alone); this institution constituted a School of Divinity within the University of London. On reaching the appropriate age Scullard attended Hendon Preparatory School, where, according to his last school report, he 'developed strength of character and a deep sense of responsibility'—a description of the boy which accurately foreshadowed the later man. In December 1916 he moved to Highgate School, where he was a pupil until 1922. There the Headmaster, J. A. H. Johnston, found him 'slow but sure, a very satisfactory boy but rather quiet and reserved'. In 1922 he followed in his father's footsteps by winning an Open Exhibition to St John's College, Cambridge, to read classics.

His four years at Cambridge followed an uneventful pattern, common enough at any rate among undergraduates with his kind of background—regular reading, attendance at lectures and preparation of work for supervisions, with a good deal of tennis (and later some badminton) in the afternoons. His immediate response to what was offered in the Cambridge lecture rooms was to voice his strong inbred prejudice in favour of the *utile* and his suspicions of what was merely *dulce*; for many of the lectures he found 'very interesting and very useless'. This was especially true of the famous histrionic displays of T. R. Glover (at John's alas!) and J. T. Sheppard; and he was especially censorious when the latter spent a full hour analysing and elucidating a six-line epigram by Callimachus—'not very much use except for general education'. With his serious disposition Scullard was clearly already looking ahead to the Tripos, but it is only fair to add that in a letter written two years later he admitted that some of his early criticisms of Cambridge lecturers had been hasty and unjust and

spoke in warmer terms of many of his teachers, in particular C. F. Angus, M. P. Charlesworth, and F. E. Adcock. In sports he was a keen but not altogether successful performer. He seems to have entered every available tennis tournament with zest but he was usually eliminated at an early stage. The pattern of his life at Cambridge naturally included regular attendance at church and he was a member of the Congregational Society; but after attending one meeting of a more evangelical students' organization he reported in a letter home that he found its members 'narrow-minded' and he did not take any further part in its activities. Though fundamentally serious, the atmosphere of the Scullard household was humane and tolerant and he experienced an immediate feeling of antipathy towards anything that smacked of bigotry or extremism. He joined the League of Nations Union, but there is little indication that anything more directly political made much impression on him during his undergraduate years; after all, the 1920s were not a very political decade in English universities. In December 1923, in a letter to his mother, he wrote that 'if I am anything, I am a liberal, though by no means convinced. I have not joined the Liberal Club, though the tie is rather attractive.' Clearly, however, his views, though somewhat unformulated, were slightly to the left of centre, for a few months later he reports 'an excellent socialistic sermon from Carter'.

While at Cambridge Scullard made several good friends, in particular J. M. K. (later Sir John) Hawton, a fellow-classicist at St John's, who was to take a leading part in planning the first National Health Service under Aneurin Bevan, Owen Saunders (Sir Owen Saunders, FRS), a school friend of Hawton, who was reading Mathematics and Natural Science at Trinity (and was in later years to run across Scullard again on the Academic Council of the University of London), Francis Gray (the Revd G. F. S. Gray), another classicist, Hilary Wilson (the Revd H. A. Wilson), and L. S. B. Leakey, who was to achieve some fame as an archaeologist and anthropologist in East Africa. With many of these he maintained close links throughout his life, even after their ways had diverged. He seems to have had virtually no female friends. In the 1920s Cambridge was very much a man's university. There was of course a relatively small number of women undergraduates at Newnham and Girton but they tended to be isolated, even at lectures, and social contacts were restricted in all sorts of ways. Scullard was acquainted with one or two girls in the women's colleges, but apart from an occasional tea-party, with the statutory chaperone, or an afternoon on the river he had

little association with the other sex; and one of his friends from those days reports his surprise on learning that even as an undergraduate Scullard apparently took it for granted that his future life would be that of a bachelor—as indeed turned out to be the case.

During his Cambridge years he usually contrived to spend his long vacations in the company of one or other of his friends travelling on a low budget in Europe. In 1924, for example, he and Francis Gray took bicycles and a small tent to Switzerland, and that same summer he climbed the Rimpfischhorn (13,790 feet) from Zermatt as one of a party of six with two guides and seriously contemplated joining a group climbing the Matterhorn—but finally decided that he could not afford the cost, which would have been £5. A year later, despite a serious illness in the spring, he and Hilary Wilson took bicycles to Marseilles and cycled north from there to St Malo, taking in the Roman sites of Provence and many of the Chateaux of the Loire; on that occasion the programme as planned proved over ambitious and the itinerary had to be curtailed, partly because of what proved to be the heavy cost of living in France.

Scullard always worked hard and for long hours. He would sometimes 'sport his oak' and put up a notice on it listing the hours during which friends were requested *not* to drop in. However, in his first year examination he was disappointed to get only a II. 2; curiously, in view of his later distinction in that field, his lowest mark was in history. When in 1924 he just missed a First Class in Part I of the Classical Tripos, he resolved to take no chances with the rest of his degree course, but to spend two years over Part II. This decision was amply justified when in June 1926 he was able to graduate with a strong First Class and distinction in his special subject, Ancient History.

For some time now he had been quite certain that a scholar's life was what he most desired for himself (with school teaching as a second best). It was therefore an unexpected stroke of good fortune when, in the summer of 1926, even before the results of his Tripos were published, he was offered a Classical Tutorship at Hackney and New College, where his father had been a professor. Even so, for a time he hesitated: the work, teaching Latin, Ancient History, and New Testament Greek, would be at a low level and, though the salary of £300 was not unreasonable for those times, the post carried no provision for any increments. But academic appointments in classics were not abundant in 1926 and to lecture at his father's old college, where he had many friends, was clearly

attractive; he could also live at home. So finally he decided to accept the offer. He was to teach at Hackney and New College for nine years until, in 1935, he was appointed to the post of Reader in Ancient History at King's College, London.

Competition for this post was heavy. At that time ancient history was not well catered for in English universities, the only endowed chairs outside Oxford and Cambridge being those at Liverpool and Manchester; and no post in ancient history had been advertised during the nine years since Scullard joined the staff of Hackney and New College. Nevertheless, he had good reason to be optimistic. He had by now already taken a London Ph.D. at University College in 1930, with a thesis on Scipio Africanus; and in 1929 he had been awarded the Gladstone Memorial Prize and the Thirlwall Prize at Cambridge, the latter for a dissertation on *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War*. This had been published by the Cambridge University Press in 1930 (providentially for the writer of this memoir, who found it indispensable when studying the Second Punic War as a special subject for Part II of the Classical Tripos in 1931/2). Scullard's book was an excellent piece of traditional historical research, mainly military in emphasis and revealing the balanced judgement and mastery of the sources, ancient and modern, coupled with a willingness to suggest new solutions to old problems, which were to be the hallmark of all Scullard's later work. In preparation for it he had, with typical thoroughness, travelled in Spain with the aid of a college studentship and a grant from a travelling fund at Cambridge, in order to inspect and make up his own mind about the sites and tactics of Scipio's battles. Subsequently, in 1935, he paid a further visit to Spain, where he succeeded in locating the site of the battle of Ilipa (cf. *Journal of Roman Studies* 26 (1936), 19-23), and to North Africa to verify the topography of Scipio's campaigns in Tunisia. In fact he approached topographical problems with zest and a strong sense of reality, helped in part by his own experiences cycling, walking, and climbing on continental holidays. As a result, he tackled the ancient accounts of battles with a lively understanding of what could feasibly be accomplished in a particular terrain and a particular length of time; he was no armchair historian. His work on Scipio had also provided the opportunity to exercise another of his marked characteristics, his keen sense of curiosity. One of the odder episodes in the Second Punic War was Scipio's crossing of the inner lagoon to capture New Carthage (Cartagena) with the aid of an ebb-tide induced, it was alleged, by the divine influence of

Neptune. Scullard went into this episode in great detail, looking up local maps, studying tidal tables, and contacting local antiquaries; but in particular he was struck by some analogies between this incident and the Old Testament account of the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites, a story which also had a supernatural aspect. The result of that investigation was incorporated in his first article, published in the *Expository Times*: 'The passage of the Red Sea'.

By 1935 Scullard's work on Scipio did not constitute his only claim to consideration for a senior post, for in the early months of that year he had already published a second book, and one that was bound to weigh strongly with the selectors. In view of his earlier work he had been invited by Max Cary (who had been teaching Ancient History at Bedford College and University College London since 1908) to undertake the first Roman volume of a new *History of the Greek and Roman World* of which the publishing house of Methuen had recently appointed him General Editor. This Scullard agreed to do and early in 1935 this volume had appeared under the title: *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.* It was an impressive work of synthesis, cautious and conservative in its judgements, but one that brought together the results of much recent historical, philological, and archaeological research, not least by the Italians. In addition, it discussed the economic and social problems of early Rome and Italy and gave a brief but competent account of developments in Roman law, literature, and art during the period covered. It was a bold decision on the part of Max Cary to invite a young man at the start of his career to undertake a work of this magnitude and one so bedevilled by highly controversial problems. But the risk was fully justified by the success of the volume, which almost at once was generally accepted as a standard textbook. This Methuen *History*—and its good reception—no doubt carried a considerable responsibility in determining the pattern which much of Scullard's later writing was to follow. It also ensured his appointment to the Readership at King's College, where he was to remain for the rest of his teaching career, thirty-five years in all. In 1959, in recognition of his distinction and the quality of his published work, his Readership was converted into a personal Chair, a step which surprised most other scholars only by its tardiness. For this was no less than four years after his election, in 1955, to Fellowship of the British Academy; and by that date he had for several years been a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society.

Throughout his career Scullard was first and foremost a scholar and he tried to keep to a minimum the other commitments that are liable to fall to the lot of a university teacher. To this programme there were, however, certain notable exceptions. Probably through a sense of piety towards an institution where his father had taught and which had given him his first post, he always kept up his connection with New College as a member of the Board of Governors; and shortly before it closed down in June 1977 the Governors passed a resolution congratulating him on an association which had lasted half a century. He also maintained a close link with Dr Williams's Library, which he had joined as a student; and later he became a Vice-President of the Friends of Dr Williams's Library. It was a matter of considerable satisfaction to him that it proved possible to house the bulk of the New College library there in 1977. At various times he served as a member of the Council of the British Academy and of the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society. And though he resisted all suggestions that he should become President of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, a post to which his eminence and active membership clearly pointed, he remained one of the Society's most devoted supporters. As a Vice-President he was a regular attender at Council meetings, where his rare interventions in discussion were invariably to the point; and he could frequently be seen talking in the common room to new members and doing a great deal to welcome them and make them feel at home. His long-standing affection for the Roman Society was to be reflected in his will, in which he left to it his private library and the royalties from his many books. Together with the Hellenic Society, the Roman Society has now for many years shared premises and a convenient and amicable symbiosis with the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London; and despite his distaste for administration, Scullard served on many of the committees concerned with the running of the joint library and with relations between the Institute and the two societies—on the Joint Library Committee, on and off, from around 1940 onwards and on the Institute's own Library Subcommittee from 1967 to 1982. He was, moreover, always willing to stand in at short notice as Acting Chairman of these bodies or of the Joint Standing Committee of the two societies. In 1964, during the absence of the Director, Professor R. P. Winnington-Ingram, he agreed, exceptionally, to take on the Acting Directorship of the Institute of Classical Studies and both then and on other occasions he showed clearly that he possessed outstanding qualities as a chairman, being

both patient and firm and displaying great skill and tact in surmounting difficulties and getting the business through. His personal relations with the staff of the Institute were also exceptionally good and they still retain happy memories of his Acting Directorship; one member has described Scullard as the best chairman she ever encountered. But his modesty and unwillingness to be drawn away from the work in which he felt his greatest contribution was to be made, led him to evade all attempts to inveigle him into committee work on a more regular basis; and in the administration of King's College he took virtually no part.

Scullard habitually worked long hours but, as in his undergraduate days, he found relaxation in sport—no longer tennis and badminton as at Cambridge, but rather on the golf course. He was a member of the Hampstead Golf Club and played there constantly from about 1935 until 1981, apart from the war years 1941–4, when he was seconded to University College and evacuated along with it to Aberystwyth. He was a steady and reliable player, though a trustworthy source relates that on one occasion one of his drives ended up on the shoulder of a future Prime Minister, fortunately without inflicting serious damage. Throughout the whole of his teaching career Scullard never enjoyed a sabbatical leave, but he continued to devote some of his vacations to visiting classical sites and museums in Europe, in particular in Italy and Sicily, though now usually in the comfort of a Ford Zephyr, which he bought in 1961 and kept solicitously for twenty years. This car was normally treated with excessive care; indeed he would on occasion leave it in the garage and opt for some other mode of transport, if he had to go out in bad weather. But he retained what he regarded as a clear scale of priorities, which meant that he never hesitated to subject it to all manner of indignity, if that was the only way to reach an otherwise unapproachable Etruscan site.

Of Scullard as a teacher there are mixed reports. His meticulous scholarship and mastery of his material, whether ancient sources or modern bibliography, were recognized and appreciated and some students have described his lectures as the best they attended while at the university. But he never had much sympathy for the kind of popular approach against which, as an undergraduate, he had reacted so unfavourably in the case of Glover and Sheppard; and whether through reserve of character or through over-concentration on his material rather than his audience, he seems not to have found it easy to establish a relaxed relationship with

students—though any student taking a problem to him could be sure of welcoming and ungrudging help and the greatest readiness to try to smooth away any difficulties. It remains true, however, that his main teaching work was done in the basic first-year outline course in Greek and Roman history and only a minority of students opted to do more advanced work in ancient history.

Scullard's main achievement undoubtedly lay in his published work, of which there was a prodigious amount, most of it of a very high competence. At the time of his appointment to King's College he was already working at a piece of research concerned with the political careers of the Roman aristocratic families in the third and second centuries BC, following lines developed by F. Münzer in Germany. The results of this work appeared in *Roman Politics 220–150 BC*, published by the Clarendon Press in 1951, and perhaps his most original book. In it he examines the careers of the inner ring of senators who dominated the Roman senate, with the object of estimating 'the contribution made by individuals and groups of individuals towards moulding public life'. The innocuous phrasing of this programme covers an extraordinarily difficult task and what had become (and still is) a highly controversial subject, one which had already been brilliantly exploited by Ronald Syme for the late Republic in his *Roman Revolution* but which raised questions very hard to answer concerning the role of political family alliances, rival electoral groupings, and the way Roman elections really worked in the middle Republic. Though far more modest and scrupulous in his claims than Münzer, Scullard probably went rather beyond the evidence in the role which he assigned to gentile coalitions set up for electoral ends. His book was warmly praised for its breadth, scope, and thoroughness, but its main thesis was attacked by many reviewers, some of whom denied the existence of 'family-based politics' at that time, while others queried the particular coalitions which he had postulated. In a second edition published in 1973 Scullard added a Foreword in which he replied to his critics, making some concessions, clarifying certain definitions, but in general defending his concept of the nature of Roman political life in the middle Republic. *Roman Politics* was an important work which had to be taken into account in almost everything written on the political history of Rome during the middle Republic over the next twenty years. The questions it raised have still not received universally accepted answers.

This work on the Roman aristocratic families was Scullard's main concern during the years 1935–50, but by no means to the

exclusion of other things. In 1939 he had published a school edition of *Livy Book XXX* in collaboration with his colleague H. E. Butler; and he had taken on the Joint Editorship of a new Clarendon Press project, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. In this Scullard was to be responsible for the items dealing with Roman History and in fact he wrote some seventy of these himself. This editorial work was time-consuming, but he carried it out with ease and efficiency. The *Dictionary* appeared in 1949, and when, nearly two decades later, a revised edition was planned, he continued as editor, stepping up his own contribution to around 150 articles.

The success of the Methuen *History* now led Scullard to conceive what was in effect a continuation of that work, but one that stood outside the scope of the Methuen series. He had realized in the course of his teaching that there was a sharp need for a single textbook covering the period of Roman history most studied in English universities and the upper forms of such schools as still included ancient history in their curriculum—namely, the two centuries which lay between the Gracchi and the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The result was *From the Gracchi to Nero: a History of Rome 133 B.C.–A.D. 68*, which, from the date of its publication by Methuen in 1959, rapidly became the most popular Roman history textbook in use in English-speaking countries. Its merits were patent: a comprehensive account of the main problems accompanied by full reference to the relevant ancient sources and to the latest bibliography (including foreign works), all presented in a clear and lively fashion. The main emphasis was on political issues, including of course such economic and social problems as were inseparable from these, as was the case for the Gracchi themselves; but military history was not neglected and there were separate chapters dealing with economic and social issues more directly, both at Rome and in Italy and the provinces, and on art, literature, and intellectual life under the late Republic and the early Empire. *From the Gracchi to Nero* proved a resounding success and revised editions, each with the bibliography brought scrupulously up to date, appeared in 1963, 1970, 1976, and, finally, in 1982. In the year it first came out (1959) Scullard joined with A. A. M. van der Heyden in the production of an *Atlas of the Classical World*; this consisted of a collection of maps, supplemented by illustrations and accompanied by an explanatory text, and formed part of a series which had already included an *Atlas of the Bible* and an *Atlas of the Early Christian World*. A reviewer in the *Journal of Roman Studies* commented that 'it is hard to imagine a more exciting and illuminating picture-book introduction to

pagan antiquity'. Its success led the publishers to issue a shorter version of the same work, for which Scullard wrote the text—not an abridgement, but a freshly planned book designed to cater for schools in particular. In this *Atlas* Scullard exploited his undoubted skill in matching illustrations to the text and he also showed that he had an eye for a particular reading public. His recent work had all been done to satisfy an observed need and it was this facility, coupled with his editorial work for the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, that led to an approach from Thames and Hudson, which laid down the direction which his work was to take over the next two decades and indeed for the remainder of his life.

Early in the 1960s Dr F. R. Cowell, the author of a popular book on Cicero, and a friend of Scullard, laid a proposal before the publishing house of Thames and Hudson for a new classical series to be entitled 'Aspects of Greek and Roman Life', the various volumes of which were to be written by expert scholars for the general public and made attractive by the inclusion of a wide range of illustrations of the quality for which that firm was already famous. At the same time Cowell proposed Scullard as the General Editor. An approach was made and Scullard accepted; and from now onwards the greater part of his activity went into the commissioning, planning, and, in many cases, the writing of books for this series.

For some time Scullard had been interested in high-level *vulgarisation* and the idea behind the Thames and Hudson series captured his imagination. Once he had accepted the offer, his interest combined with his strong sense of responsibility and feeling of involvement ensured that he gave very full attention to each book at every stage. Working in close collaboration with Peter A. Clayton, the Archaeological Editor of Thames and Hudson, he took a close personal interest in each title, so that virtually all of them were substantially improved as a result of his sharp eye for relevant illustrations and his exceptional knowledge of the historical material, even when this was highly specialized. Moreover, his quiet and friendly manner enabled him to make suggestions to authors in a way which avoided friction and mostly led to their adoption. Between 1967, when the first four titles appeared—they were *Law and Life of Rome* by J. A. Crook, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* by A. M. Snodgrass, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* by Donald Earl, and, appropriately, one by Scullard himself, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*—and the time of his death in 1983 around forty volumes had been published and almost all of these met with a good reception. Scullard showed

great acumen and imagination in suggesting titles and commissioning authors and such was the success of the enterprise generally that he was able to persuade Thames and Hudson to take on several subjects which many publishers would have shrunk from including in a popular series.

This work kept Scullard fully occupied, but it was in no sense crippling to his own productive activity. Indeed, he used the series to publish several books that he personally wanted to write. His first contribution, on the Etruscan cities, was an attempt to look at the separate cities of Etruria in their historical and topographical setting. It was praised as a useful work of synthesis, drawing on a well-chosen selection out of a vast amount of archaeological material and providing the kind of handbook that any visitor to Tuscany would be glad to slip into his suitcase. Some critics felt that not enough attention had been given to the problems of Romanization after the cities had been taken over by Rome; but the general reaction to this book was very favourable.

In 1970 Scullard published a second book in the same series which fell a little flat. It was entitled *Scipio Africanus, Soldier and Politician* and was in effect an attempt to combine a revised edition of *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War* with those parts of *Roman Politics* which dealt with Scipio's later career. More than one reviewer not unfairly complained that the two halves never wholly coalesced. The first part, derived from the monograph on the Second Punic War, remained primarily an account of military events without adequately discussing, for instance, the motives behind Scipio's decision to fight in Africa, while the second half, cut off from the background material contained in *Roman Politics*, was a little obscure in places and, in contrast to the first part, omitted matters of military importance in the period after 200, such as the campaign leading up to the battle of Magnesia.

Four years later Scullard picked up some other early threads on a subject which had interested him since around 1950, when he had written a couple of articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1950 and 1951 (the second in collaboration with Sir William Gowers) on Hannibal's elephants. This theme he now expanded and developed and the outcome, in 1974, was a delightful study of *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World*. Besides a useful survey of the physiology, habits, and habitat of elephants in both the ancient and modern worlds—a topic on which most readers would need enlightening—the book assembled a great deal of recondite lore about the animal compiled from ancient sources and subjected to a critical look and—what was perhaps more useful to the

historian—offered a detailed analysis of those ancient battles from Alexander's fight with Porus onwards, in which elephants played a substantial part; finally, there was a brief account of the elephant's fate under the Roman Empire, when hundreds of these gentle animals were butchered in the arena.

In 1979 Scullard published a book for Methuen on a subject lying well outside his usual interests. This was a popular account of *Roman Britain, Outpost of Empire* and he wrote it partly because he had been invited to do so but, more especially, as he admitted to several of his friends, because he found the prospect of looking closely at what had hitherto been for him a neglected field of study, exciting. *Roman Britain* was primarily a book for the general reader and perhaps it tried to cram too much into fewer than 200 pages; but it was attractively written and well illustrated and the section on religion in Roman Britain was especially good. Ancient religion was, of course, a subject in which Scullard had always had an interest and it seemed very suitable that his last work, published in 1981, only two years before he died, was largely concerned with this aspect of Roman life; he called it *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. This book gives a vigorous description of the various public ceremonies, including religious festivals and games, which punctuated the Roman calendar. Its object was not so much to explain the origins of these ceremonies, as Warde Fowler had done in his classic study of *The Roman Festivals*, but rather to ask what kind of experience they offered to the Roman of the late Republic and how they were interpreted at that time. The book contained a succinct account of the forms of Roman religion and the Roman religious calendar and described the festivals as they came round month by month; in addition it dealt with triumphs, ovations, funerals, and other more secular occasions with some religious overtones, such as meetings of the Senate or the sovereign people. Roman religion is a subject which has often elicited wild speculation and there is no field in which the reader has greater reason to be grateful for Scullard's sceptical and balanced judgement.

This brief account of Scullard's books (several of which have been translated into foreign languages) falls far short, however, of giving a full picture of his remarkable output. For that one must add a considerable number of articles published in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, *Rheinisches Museum*, *Historia*, *The Classical Review*, *Greece and Rome*, the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (London), and elsewhere on a variety of subjects which included Charops of Epirus, Hannibal's elephant Surus,

the battlefield and burying-ground of Cannae (and some alleged archaeological discoveries there), the site of Carthage, the role of Scipio Aemilianus in second-century Roman politics, and the political career of a *novus homo*; well over a hundred reviews in professional journals (though he wrote fewer of these as he grew older and became more immersed in editorial duties); a large number of articles in *Colliers Encyclopaedia* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for which he wrote 110 articles in the 1960 edition alone and the comprehensive article on Roman History from 264 BC to AD 180 for the edition of 1966; over 250 notices in the *British Book News* between 1952 and 1980; an annual survey of work in Roman History for *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* from 1937 to 1950 (when the Classical Association decided to suspend publication of this work) and of work in ancient history generally in the Historical Association's *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* between 1949 and 1975; a revision of J. C. Stobart's *The Grandeur that was Rome* in collaboration with W. A. Maguinness (1961); a revised and partly rewritten edition of Max Cary's *History of Rome down to the reign of Constantine* (1975), which must have entailed almost as much work as if he had completely redone it; contributions to various collective works including the Ehrenberg *Festschrift, Ancient Society and Institutions* (1966), *The Times Atlas of World History* (1978)—with a shorter version of the same work in 1982, *A Companion to the Bible* ed. H. H. Rowley (1963) *et al.*; and finally chapters dealing with early Carthage and Rome and the Carthaginians in Spain in the new edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, not yet published.

It is not easy to evaluate the quality and effect of Scullard's scholarly output. On the one hand, one cannot point to any single book which dazzles the reader by reason of some brilliant or original theory or initiates a completely new way of looking at some aspect of the ancient world; even his *Roman Politics* represented the working out of an approach already delineated elsewhere. He was by temperament conservative—in his scholarship, that is, not in his political views—and his strength lay in the assembling of evidence, the balanced assessment of rival views and the use of cool common sense in arriving at his conclusions. He wrote not primarily for his fellow-scholars—though there can be few of those who have failed to profit from the reading of his work—but for the world at large, school-children, students, and the general reader. Even when they were sparked off by some special enthusiasm of his own, whether for Roman religion or for elephants, his books were always written with a purpose and with

a clearly envisaged public in mind; and since they were immensely reliable, comprehensive, and presented in a clear and lively style, they had a well-merited success. It is arguable that no scholar this century has been more influential in encouraging and furthering the study of Roman history in English-speaking schools and universities than he.

Scullard had a great many friends, who found his company entertaining and his personality congenial. He had a subtle sense of humour and often came out with unexpectedly dry and witty comments. But basically he remained a somewhat shy and private person, who liked his life to be ordered and not too eventful. Of his four years in Cambridge he spent three in the same lodgings, indeed in the same rooms; and apart from the wartime evacuation to Aberystwyth, he passed the whole of his life within a small radius centred on Hendon. So long as his father and mother were alive he lived at home. It was a somewhat protective environment which, even after his mother's death in 1949, continued virtually unaltered, since two old family friends, Professor William A. Davies and his wife Blodwen, generously offered him a new home with them, including a study where he could house his considerable library and write in comfort. William Davies had been a colleague of his father at New College and Howard always spoke of him as 'Uncle Bill'. After his death in 1966 and that of his wife a decade later, their house at 6 Foscoote Road remained Scullard's home, and he continued to live there, with the help of a devoted non-resident housekeeper, Daria Labanca, until his own death.

He was not much given to attending conferences, especially those abroad, though from an early age he enjoyed what was then the high honour of being invited to the Norman Baynes weekends, when a select number of distinguished ancient historians such as Baynes himself, Hugh Last, and F. E. Adcock along with a privileged handful of younger men foregathered at Tring or (later) Bedford—this was before the more democratic days of Wellingborough—and strolled in a leisurely fashion around the zoological gardens or along the banks of the Ouse, discussing their research or whatever took their fancy. He also attended the joint meetings organized triennially by the several classical societies (for which the original initiative had come in the dark days of the war from Miss M. V. Taylor, the indomitable Secretary of the Roman Society). And in his last years he derived considerable pleasure from attending the courses on the Roman Army organized by Dr Brian Dobson in the Extra-Mural Department of the University of Durham.

Throughout his life Scullard was a regular churchgoer and a member of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Free Church. He took a full part in the activities of the congregation and regularly shouldered such duties as helping to clean the church or assisting with children's events. Many of his fellow-worshippers had no idea of his private life and academic distinction and he would of course have been the last man to enlighten them on that subject. Modest and unassuming, he performed many acts of private generosity which it would be improper to detail here; suffice it to say that whenever he saw a need, he would give freely of his money and his time, asking no recompense. So long as his parents lived, he was devoted to them; and he displayed a similar affection for the Davies's. Indeed, during the last few years when Mrs Davies was in hospital, he visited her regularly there once and sometimes twice a day.

When Howard Scullard celebrated his eightieth birthday on 9 February 1983, he was already suffering from a terminal illness. A small deputation of friends and colleagues from King's College (of which after his retirement he had been made a Fellow) visited him at his home to present him with a commemorative scroll inscribed in 'Pompeian' lettering and an advance copy of the Bibliography of his publications which it was proposed to print in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*. It was a warm and happy occasion and Scullard spoke briefly about his life and those who had helped and influenced him. He died seven weeks later on 31 March 1983. His work assures him a place in the annals of classical studies; he was a good man, who knew clearly what he wanted out of life and very largely achieved it.

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