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Hirundo is the Latin word for martlet, a mythical bird without legs, always shown in flight, unceasing in its quest for knowledge. The McGill coat-of-arms has three martlets.

Front picture was taken by Parrish Wright and the back picture was taken by Hillary Karsten. The cover photo features the Portico of Octavia in Rome. The back cover picture features the Temple of Apollo in Ancient Corinth.

Hirundo accepts essay contributions from undergraduate students of McGill University, at least 2,000 words in length, which relate to the ancient Mediterranean world. Hirundo is published once a year and uses a policy of blind review in selecting papers. It is journal policy that the copyright to the contents of each issue belongs to Hirundo. Essays in either French or English should be sent to the Editor-in-Chief at:

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Editor's Preface:

I am honoured to introduce this Ninth edition of *Hirundo*, especially in the inaugural year of the Department of History and Classical Studies. I believe that *Hirundo* is a wonderful manifestation of the tremendous enthusiasm for Classics in both the McGill faculty and student body. This year's *Hirundo* exemplifies the breadth of disciplines throughout the spectrum of Classics which students have engaged in, as well as an impressive level of scholarship.

In this edition, Nicholas Melling opens with a nuanced look at the causes of the Third Punic War. Sarah Binns then takes us on a more literary route, examining the reversals in familial and gender roles in *Oedipus at Colonus*. Following in the theme of Greek tragedy, David Whiteside presents one solution to a common problem in Classics - how to best to capture the spirit of the Ancient Greek in our English translations of tragedy. Next, Brahm Kleinman, using innovative comparative evidence, seeks to understand the complicated union of Corinth and Argos in the 4th century B.C. Jill Simmons delves deep into the nature and origins of the cult of Vesta, looking past the often-studied sexual nature of the cult. From there, Amanda Barile applies an art historical approach to understand the conception of the cosmos and afterlife in both Han China and Classical Athens. Theo Lyons then presents us with an analysis of both the relationship between philosophy and rhetoric as well as love and lust in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Back in Rome, Kylie Flynn weighs in on contradictory theories concerning the summoning of the Magna Mater to the city in 205 B.C. Then, Tzveta Manolova opens our eyes to the original environment of the Homeric poems within the Epic Cycle, which is largely overlooked and obscured by their prominence. Hinda Young, in a detailed study of both language and meter, presents advice on conveying the character of Cassandra on stage. Ben Nikota explores and finds parallels in emperor worship in both the Roman and Chinese Empires. Finally, Vincent Limoges concludes this year's edition with a investigation into the evolution of Caesar's designs on his power in Rome.

I would like to thank Professor Michael Fronda, *Hirundo*'s academic advisor, for his support, honest advice and most of all, his encouragement. I would also like to give thanks to our patrons and supporters: the Department of History and Classical Studies, the Dean of Arts' Development Fund, the Classics Students' Association of McGill, the Student Society of McGill University and the AUS. Without your support, this year's Hirundo would never have been possible.

Most of all, I want to thank *Hirundo*'s editorial board and layout editors. I was constantly impressed by your dedication to *Hirundo* and the level of discussion and debate during our selection meetings. I cannot tell you all how much I appreciate the amount of reading and effort you all put in. An additional thanks goes to the layout editors, who dealt magnificently with my imperfect knowledge of design software. You all put in work above and beyond anything I expected and I am eternally grateful. The journal you hold in your hands is the result of the dedication, creativity and patience of the entire editorial board, all of who have made this an incredibly exciting and rewarding experience for me.

Parrish Wright
Editor-in-Chief

Disputed Causes of the Third Punic War

In 149 B.C., the Roman consul Lucius Marcius Censorinus informed the Carthaginian envoys that the senate had resolved to raze the city of Carthage to the ground. In Appian's telling, Censorinus' announcement was terse and dispassionate – he declared himself unwilling to "multiply words"[1] – but the Carthaginian emissary Banno responded with emotion. In the course of a lengthy speech, Banno emphasized both the iniquity and the uniqueness of Censorinus' proposed course of action. "No one," Appian records Banno as saying, "has ever destroyed a city whose people had surrendered before the fight, and delivered up their arms and children, and submitted to every other penalty that could be imposed upon men."[2] For Banno, Rome's decision was not just draconian, but incomprehensible.

Subsequent commentators less directly affected than Banno have been similarly puzzled by the severity of Rome's policy toward Carthage during the Third Punic War. When compared to the Romans' stated reason for declaring war – the Carthaginians' campaign against Massinissa in violation of the peace treaty of 201[3] – the senate's resolution to destroy Carthage, despite its near-total capitulation, struck many ancient authors as disproportionate. Indeed, both Polybius and Appian, whose writings contain the most detailed accounts of the prelude to the Third Punic War, state that the Carthaginian-Numidian War of 150 was only a "pretext" or "excuse" for Rome's aggression.[4] In a similar vein, Plutarch does not even mention the Carthaginians' treaty breach when setting out the reasons why Cato "instigated" the war against them, referring instead to arguments and events that predated the violation.[5] Of the other ancient historians who wrote significant histories of the Third Punic War, only Livy and Cassius Dio, heirs to a pro-Roman annalistic tradition,[6] present Carthaginian treaty-breaching as the actual cause of the conflict;[7] Diodorus Siculus' account of the war is ambiguous as to the true reasons behind it.

If the violation of the treaty of 201 was not the motive – or at least not the primary motive – behind Rome's decision to destroy Carthage, then what was the actual purpose? The ancient sources give us no unanimous answer, and it is perhaps for this reason that modern commentators have likewise failed to reach a consensus. Most scholars have concluded that the Roman reaction to Carthaginian military potential played at least some role in the decision, but they disagree as to whether it was in the nature of a well-founded fear or mere paranoia.[8] There are also several other theories, some more credible

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1 App. *Pun.* 81
2 App. *Pun.* 85
3 See App. *Pun.* 74
4 Polyb. 36.2; App. *Pun.* 74. Donald Baronowski has put forward a slightly more nuanced version of the "pretext" for the Third Punic War, suggesting that, in Polybius' account, it consisted *both* of the Carthaginian-Numidian War of 150 *and* of the failure of the Carthaginians to surrender immediately in 150 (Donald Walter Baronowski, "Polybius on the Causes of the Third Punic War," *Classical Philology* 90 (1995), 20). To debate the precise nature of the Roman pretext is beyond the scope of this paper, which focuses on the underlying causes for the war. For the purposes of this analysis, I will proceed from the position that Hasdrubal's campaign against Massinissa was the principal – though not necessarily the only – excuse on which the Romans relied.
5 Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 27
6 Baronowski, 21
7 Liv. *Per.* 49; Cass. Dio 21.26
8 Adrian Goldsworthy is perhaps the loudest voice arguing that the Third Punic War was unnecessary (Adrian

than others, which touch on subjects from the Roman economy to the dictates of the Roman psyche.

This paper will engage in this ongoing debate by evaluating the various explanations for the Third Punic War which are contained both explicitly and implicitly in the ancient authors. Unlike scholars such as Donald Baronowski, I will not make a detailed analysis of Rome's "pretext" for destroying Carthage; rather, I will focus entirely on the underlying causes. Beginning with a timeline of the events leading up to the war, I will move on to a discussion of possible reasons behind Rome's actions. First, I will explore at some length the questions of whether Rome feared Carthaginian land and naval power, and then whether that fear was justified. Second, I will examine two supplementary issues that likely motivated Rome to go to war: the ambition to achieve regional supremacy, and the economic interests of the Roman elites and citizens. My thesis is not a revolutionary one: ultimately, the most likely explanation for the war is a combination, to greater or lesser degrees, of all of these factors.

One more preliminary point deserves to be mentioned. As with any study of Republican Rome, this analysis rests on problematic sources, many of which were written long after the events they describe, and which inevitably reflect the biases of their authors (and the authors of their own sources). However, it would be wrong to suggest that all ancient descriptions of the Third Punic War are equally unreliable. Of the six Greek and Roman historians who comprise the main sources for this study, Polybius generally merits the greatest confidence, not only because he was an eyewitness to at least part of the war, but also because his account of its progress displays a considerable attempt at objectivity. Notably, despite his great admiration for Rome,[9] and his attachment to the victorious general Scipio Aemilianus, (whose friendship with Polybius the latter described in terms of familial or even paternal affection)[10] Polybius does not write an apologetic history of Rome's actions in the conflict. Appian, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus probably all draw from Polybius' account of the war,[11] but their writings are considerably more remote in time. Nevertheless, they are useful for their contrasting perspectives, as well as for their capacity to fill in the many gaps in the Polybian manuscripts that have come down to us. Livy, whose account of the Third Punic War survives in the *Periochae* (an interpretive problem in itself), is a somewhat less trustworthy source. Not only did he write a century after the events he describes, but he has a tendency to celebrate Rome's successes while minimizing her culpability in his accounts of Roman foreign policy.[12] The same critique can be made of Dio, who depended on Livy in writing his own account of the Third Punic War.[13] Ultimately, however, none of the sources is so complete or reliable that we can afford to ignore any of the others.

Given the complex succession of diplomatic exchanges, secret orders, and military maneuvers that preceded the outbreak of open fighting in the Third Punic War, issues of timing are essential for understanding the causes of the conflict. However, the ancient authors do not all agree on the chronology. Polybius maintains that at the time of the Carthaginian-Numidian War in 150, the

Romans had already "long ago made up their minds" to attack Carthage, but "were looking for a suitable opportunity and a pretext that would appeal to foreign nations."[14] Appian gives a more specific account of the decision-making process, situating Rome's decision to go to war at the moment (in 152) when Cato returned from Carthage and declared in the Senate that "the liberty of Rome would never be secure until Carthage was destroyed."[15] Plutarch tells a similar story in the *Life of Cato the Elder*; however, his reference to subsequent debates between Cato and Scipio Nasica in the senate suggests that the final decision to go to war with Carthage may not have been reached until some time after Cato's return. Livy, for his part, goes even further than Plutarch, suggesting that the senate did not decide between Cato's and Scipio Nasica's proposals until the Carthaginians had "earned … war from the Romans" by attacking Massinissa.[16] Neither Dio nor Diodorus Siculus offer any guidance on this question.

Although there is no way to be sure, the most likely scenario is that the Roman senate did resolve to go to war in 152, or else very soon thereafter. This theory accords best with Polybius' observation that the decision had come long before 150, as well as Appian's statement that the senate agreed on war directly after Cato made his report. Moreover, this version of events does not require us to ignore the debates mentioned by Plutarch and Livy; it merely suggests that the discussion did not go on for years. While this interpretation does contradict the rest of Livy's version of this episode, there are strong indications that Livy's account is the least reliable of the four available sources. Not only does Livy diverge from the others in presenting a narrative decidedly more favourable to Rome, but he also incorrectly gives the date of the formal declaration of war as 150, rather than 149.[17] Accordingly, this analysis will focus on the factors that would have been apparent and relevant to the Romans in 152, though it refers to subsequent developments when they shed light on the earlier situation.[18]

Of all the potential motives behind the senate's decision to attack Carthage, perhaps the most obvious was Rome's fear of Punic military capabilities. Among the six ancient sources mentioned, only Diodorus Siculus does not allude to Carthage's resurgent strength or the Roman government's trepidation about it. Plutarch makes the point most directly, stating that before 152 the Romans had scorned Carthaginian power, but that Cato discovered that "the city was teeming with young men of military age, overflowing with money, bristling with all kinds of weapons and military equipment, and therefore far from unconfident in itself."[19] Appian recounts similarly that the people of Rome

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Goldsworthy, The Fall of Carthage (London: Cassell, 2003), 331), while Ursula Vogel-Weidemann and others suggest that Rome's fears were well founded (Ursula Vogel-Weidemann, "Carthago Delenda Est: Aitia and Prophasis," Acta Classica 32 (1989), 87).

9 See especially Polyb. 1.1-2

10 Polyb. 31.25

11 Baronowski, 18, 24

12 Michael Fronda, *Between Rome and Carthage: Southern Italy during the Second Punic War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 6

13 Baronowski, 20-21

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14 Polyb. 36.2

15 App. *Pun.* 69

16 Liv. *Per.* 48

17 Liv. *Per.* 49. Baronowski suggests that Livy adopted this chronology so that the Romans would seem to have declared war directly after threatening to do so, rather than having prevaricated for a year (Baronowski, 1995, 23).

18 Although one could argue that the senate's decision to go to war with the Carthaginians need not have been made at the same time as its decision to destroy Carthage itself, the point is essentially academic for the purposes of my argument, which focuses on the reasons for the war as a whole. Additionally, there are strong reasons to believe that the decisions were in fact concurrent. Cato advocated the destruction of Carthage, not merely war with Carthage, and both Appian and Plutarch both suggest that Cato was the principal architect of the Senate's policy in this regard (App. *Pun.* 69; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 27). At a minimum, the decision to destroy Carthage must have been made by the start of the campaigning season in 149, when, according to Appian, the senate gave secret orders to the consuls to raze the city (App. *Pun.* 75).

19 Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 26

responded to the news of the fall of Carthage "like people just now delivered from some great fear."[20] Polybius, for his part, states that some among the Greeks praised the Roman senate, since it had been able to "remove the fear which had constantly hung over them and destroy the city which had repeatedly disputed the rule of the world with them *and was quite capable of doing so again if the opportunity arose*."[21] Even Scipio Nasica, who opposed the Third Punic War, reputedly only did so in order to use the "fear of Carthage as a bridle to curb the rashness of the masses."[22] Clearly, the discourse of Carthage's threat to Rome was very much alive at the time of the Third Punic War.

Of course, none of these statements, even if true, prove definitively that Rome attacked Carthage out of fear. Cato's rhetoric could have been exaggerated to justify a campaign he desired for other reasons, while the statements of Appian, Polybius, and Scipio Nasica refer to the opinions of people who were uninvolved in Rome's decision to go to war. There is, however, further indirect evidence that members of the Roman elite were apprehensive about Punic power at this time, both on land on sea. With respect to the threat posed by the Carthaginian army, the writings of Cassius Dio provide what might be the two clearest examples of Roman trepidation. Dio notes that the Romans only officially declared war when they received information "that the Carthaginians had been worsted in a great battle by Masinissa", and later states that the Roman officials who were assigned to negotiate with the Carthaginian envoys "did not unmask all their demands at once, for they feared that if the Carthaginians understood them in season they would plunge into war with resources unimpaired."[23] Since Dio generally celebrates the glories of Rome in his accounts of this period, these descriptions of Roman fearfulness and subterfuge merit careful attention. While it is true that both of the incidents occurred after Rome had already decided to declare war, Dio's retelling of them nonetheless suggests that Roman decision makers of the period did not consider Punic power to be negligible.

As for Rome's fear of Carthaginian naval power, the best supporting evidence is probably the final condition that the Roman consuls tried to impose on the Carthaginian envoys: namely, that the people of Carthage should abandon their city and move to an inland site. According to Appian, the consul Censorinus justified the measure by telling the Carthaginians that "the sea reminds you of the dominion and power you once acquired by means of it. It prompts you to wrongdoing and brings you to grief." He advised his foes to yield dominion of the sea to the Romans if they "honestly desire peace."[24] Although the speech itself is likely a literary fabrication, it speaks to deep-seated uneasiness among the Romans about Punic maritime power that may well have been passed down to Appian through successive retellings. The subtext of Censorinus' argument – that there could be no lasting peace if Carthage remained a viable seafaring power – may well have reflected the views of other Roman decision makers of the period; Cato famously used a ripe fig to demonstrate the quickness of

20 App. *Pun.* 134
21 Polyb. 36.9, emphasis added.
22 Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 27. It is possible, of course, that Plutarch's and Appian's statements about Rome's fear of Carthage were anachronistic retrojections. Given the tendency of certain late Republican and Imperial historians to attribute the decline of Republic to the removal of the Carthaginian threat, there is reason to be skeptical of *ex post facto* assessments of the terror in Rome. However, the contemporary corroborating evidence provided by Polybius justifies a greater degree of confidence in these statements than would otherwise be appropriate.
23 Cass. Dio 21.26
24 App. *Pun.* 86, 88

the voyage between Carthage and Rome.[25] Of course, one must be cautious about relying too heavily on such stylized accounts. With respect to the final condition imposed on Carthage, for example, it might have been the case that Rome did not really intend to reconstitute Carthage as a terrestrial power: rather, the consuls simply presented the Carthaginian envoys with a condition that they knew would be refused so as to gain an excuse for war. Ultimately, the best that can be said is that the evidence for Roman fear of Carthaginian sea power is persuasive, but by no means conclusive.

If Rome was indeed alarmed about Carthaginian terrestrial and maritime power, a second inquiry presents itself: was this fear actually justified? At stake is the question of whether the Third Punic War owes its genesis to a reasoned calculation of risks on the one hand, or to sheer paranoia on the other. With respect to Carthaginian land power, there is evidence pointing in both directions. The actual quantity of arms that Carthage surrendered to Rome, which three of the sources (the later two probably following Polybius) reckon at 200,000 weapons and 2000 catapults,[26] suggest a potent threat. Even supposing that these numbers were inflated, they still convey the impression of a fearsome and well-equipped Carthaginian land force. Moreover, the prodigious rate at which the Carthaginians reputedly manufactured new weapons after giving up their existing stocks likewise suggests significant productive capabilities.[27] Perhaps even more dangerous than Carthage's weapons industry, however, was her treasury. Since, as Polybius writes, the Carthaginians relied primarily on mercenaries to fill their armies,[28] the Romans might reasonably have measured their former foes' terrestrial military potential on the basis of their financial capacity. With the expiry of the Carthage's annual indemnity payment to Rome, which Plutarch notes was intended "to keep [the Carthaginians] under control,"[29] together with the city's natural increase in wealth during the previous half-century of peace,[30] the Romans would have been justified in believing that the Carthaginians could muster a powerful military.

Yet despite all these indications of Carthaginian potential, the fact remains that Carthage lost its land war against Massinissa, and subsequently went to enormous lengths to avoid a confrontation with Rome - hardly outcomes one would expect from an ascendant military power. Though the senate may have worried in 152 that Massinissa's impending death (he was 86 at the time)[31] would fragment Numidia and allow Carthage to become an African hegemon once again, there is little evidence beyond conjecture to support this idea.[32] Considering all the evidence, Rome's fear of Carthaginian land power on the eve of the Third Punic War seems somewhat farfetched.

25 Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 27
26 Polyb. 36.6; App. *Pun.* 80; Diod. Sic. 32.6
27 Appian records the daily production in Carthage as "100 shields, 300 swords, 1,000 missiles for catapults, 500 darts and javelins", as well as an unstated number of catapults (App. *Pun.* 93). While it is questionable where Appian would have acquired precise information about the manufacturing output of a besieged city, the Carthaginians' impressive military effort during the subsequent war itself corroborates the theory that they were able to rebuild their arms stocks quickly.
28 Polyb. 6.52
29 Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 26
30 App. *Pun.* 67
31 App. *Pun.* 106
32 Vogel-Weidemann presents another version of this argument, suggesting that Massinissa's advanced age and his multiple sons may have led the Romans to fear a succession crisis in Numidia, which could have influenced their policy toward Carthage in the 150s, 85

The evidence is divided again in terms of the actual power of the Carthaginian naval force. On the one hand, there are several indications that Carthage may have been attempting to build up her navy in the years before the war. Livy refers to accusations made by members of Massinissa's family, to the effect that the Carthaginians were gathering timber and constructing ships in the 160s and 150s.[33] And although such reports may seem suspect – both the Numidians at the time and the Roman apologist Livy a century later had ample incentive to embellish this point – they are corroborated, at least to a certain extent, by archeological excavations of Carthage's port-area,[34] as well as by Dio's statement that the Carthaginians surrendered their triremes to the Romans along with their other weapons.[35] Appian provides somewhat weaker support for Livy's version in his description of the siege itself, where he notes that the defenders built triremes and quinqueremes from "old material."[36] Though Appian does not specify, it seems possible that the material in question might have consisted of components from previously dismantled ships, which would suggest that the Carthaginians had indeed made earlier efforts to expand their fleet.

However, there is no mention of Carthage building up a substantial fleet before the outbreak of the Third Punic War, in the other ancient sources. The Carthaginian envoys, as Appian recounts, reflected that their city "had not a ship, not a catapult, not a javelin, not a sword" following the surrender of their weapons to the Romans.[37] But whereas Appian gives a fairly lengthy description of the catapults, armour, and missiles that the Carthaginians delivered,[38] he never alludes to the relinquishing of any ships. The same is true of the narratives of Polybius and Diodurus Siculus.[39] Plutarch asserts that Cato observed weapons, money, and young men in his visit to Carthage, but likewise makes no mention of any naval equipment. These omissions are all the more striking considering Carthage's longstanding reputation for maritime dominance. Polybius himself wrote earlier that "the Carthaginians naturally are superior at sea both in efficiency and equipment, because seamanship has long been their national craft, and they busy themselves with the sea."[40] Surely, if Carthage had made efforts to reclaim its naval supremacy before the Third Punic War, Polybius and the other Greek historians would have considered it worthy of mention. In light of this silence, as well as the lack of any uncontroverted evidence that the Carthaginians had reconstituted their navy, it is tempting to side once again with Goldsworthy in arguing that the Roman senate had little reason for its alarm.[41]

Though Rome's (likely unjustified) fear of Carthaginian military power is perhaps the most significant cause of the Third Punic War, Roman desire for unchallenged global dominance probably also played a role. Scholars such as W.V. Harris have argued that Rome's actions towards Carthage in the 140s were driven by extreme power-hunger.[42] Though he states this position too strongly, there are indications in some of the ancient sources that by the middle of

33 Liv. *Per.* 47, 48, 79
34 Vogel-Weidemann, 87
35 Cass. Dio 9.26
36 App. *Pun.* 122
37 App. *Pun.* 82
38 App. *Pun.* 80
39 Polyb. 36.6; Diod. Sic.32.6
40 Polyb. 6.52
41 Goldsworthy, 331
42 W.V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 240

the second century B.C. Rome had begun to pursue a more domineering strategy in foriegn policy. Polybius, for example, asserts that the Romans "had struck the first note of their new policy by their conduct to Perseus, in utterly exterminating the kingdom of Macedonia, and they had now completely revealed it by their decision concerning Carthage."[43] Likewise, Diodorus Siculus explains that the Romans used to exercise a restrained and merciful foreign policy, but that "once they held sway over virtually the whole inhabited world, they confirmed their power by terrorism and by the destruction of the most eminent cities", including Corinth and Numantia.[44]

Of course, these statements are not neutral facts, but rather *post facto* interpretations of historians. Still, the arguments are persuasive, particularly regarding the connection to Macedonia and other theatres in the Mediterranean world. The Romans fought the Third Macedonian War in order to defeat an enemy that they had crushed only thirty years before. In the following decade, Rome was again obliged to send troops to fight a previously conquered foe, this time the Celtiberians. It could well be, as Polybius implies, that these experiences convinced the Roman senate that it should eradicate potential threats in advance, rather than temporarily tame them - a policy maintained in the 140s with the destruction of Corinth and the reorganization of Macedonia as a Roman province. From this perspective, the destruction of Carthage might be viewed as a similar attempt to prevent a future challenge to Roman hegemony. If Appian is to be believed, this was certainly the perspective of the Roman people: in addition to their relief at being liberated from a great fear, the people rejoiced at being "now confirmed in their worldwide supremacy."[45]

Discussions of Rome's fear of Carthaginian military power and her desire for unchallenged supremacy implies that the Third Punic War was fought in the interests (whether real or imagined) of the Roman state. However, it is also likely that there were other, more personal factors behind the decision to go to war. Of these, one of the most popular among modern scholars is the idea that the members of the senatorial class were seeking to advance their own interests as landowners. As Baronowski notes, Cato may have shown an African fig to the senators not only to remind them of Carthage's dangerous proximity to Rome, but also to tempt them with the prospect of acquiring such rich soil for themselves.[46] Jean-Paul Brisson makes a slightly different point, suggesting that the landholding class cared less about obtaining new lands than about eliminating competition to their own agricultural enterprises.[47]

However, there are a few key pieces of evidence in the sources that call both theories into question. Notably, Baronowski's idea that Roman aristocrats went to war to seize land can be reputiated by the Roman's lack of enthusiasm in exploiting the territory they had conquered: the colony that Gaius Gracchus supervised on the site of Carthage was not founded until twenty years after the fall of the city.[48] The "land-grab" hypothesis also does not explain why Rome initially offered to preserve Carthage as a non-maritime agricultural power, unless one accepts that these terms were never actually genuine. Nor does it accord with the senate's eventual decision to give

43 Polyb. 36.9
44 Diod. Sic. 32.4; it seems likely that Diodorus Siculus took this idea directly from Polybius.
45 App. *Pun.* 134
46 Baronowski, 27-28
47 Jean-Paul Brisson, *Carthage ou Rome?* (Paris: Fayard, 1976), 352
48 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 30 (9)

the territory of Carthage to Utica after the war.[49] Brisson's idea that Roman plantation owners consciously set out to destroy their competition is better fitted to the evidence – moving the Carthaginians away from the sea may have been intended to render them unable to export food – but this too leaves questions unanswered. Specifically, if Roman landowners were worried about agricultural competition from Africa, why did they focus their efforts solely on Carthage? Appian records that Numidia had brought significant areas under cultivation during Massinissa's reign.[50] The Numidians had demonstrated their agricultural abilities during the Second Macedonian War, when, according to Livy, they had supplied two hundred thousand measures of wheat and another two hundred thousand of barley to the Roman army – a thousand times the amount that Carthage had provided.[51] Although production ratios may have shifted by the middle of the second century, there is still no reason to believe that Carthage represented a particular economic threat.[52] In sum, therefore, both of these theories suggest possible, but relatively unlikely, motivations for the war.

More persuasive, perhaps, is the idea that the Romans attacked the Carthaginians in order to win booty. Carthage's prosperity on the eve of the Third Punic War was legendary - Polybius notes that it was considered the wealthiest city in the world at the time.[53] Cato, in Plutarch's narrative, remarked upon Carthage's richness as well as its military preparedness. This impression is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus' catalogue of the treasure that was taken from city after its fall, including high-quality statues, portraits, and religious offerings crafted in precious metals.[54] It would not be surprising, therefore, if Romans of all social classes had welcomed the opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of such an affluent enemy. As Baronowski suggests, the prospect of spoils may have been a factor in attracting so many citizens to the ranks of the expeditionary force.[55] In all likelihood, it was also a consideration for the highest Roman decision makers. No senator in 152 could have been ignorant of Rome's vast expropriation of treasure following the Third Macedonian War, which had effectively eliminated the need for public taxation.[56] Following a difficult and unprofitable war against the Celtiberians, the senate may have come to the conclusion that an attack on a more prosperous foe could yield similar benefits, particularly since that foe would very shortly finish its annual indemnity payments to Rome.[57] If the lure of plunder was a motivating factor in the First Punic War, as Polybius suggests,[58] there is no reason to suppose that it was less of an incentive in the Third, when Carthage was

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49 App. *Pun.* 135
50 App. *Pun.* 106
51 Liv. 31.19
52 Of course, it is an oversimplification to assess economic competition strictly in terms of quantity. It might have been the case, for example, that Roman plantation owners were concerned about over-production of certain crops more than others, or that Numidian produce was sent to markets where it did not compete with Roman harvests. Brisson does not, however, provide any such details to support his thesis, and it is therefore difficult to put much faith in his argument.
53 Polyb. 18.35
54 Diod. Sic. 32.25
55 Baronowski, 28, citing App. *Pun.* 75
56 Plut. *Aem.* 38
57 Polyb. 15.18. As a condition of the peace treaty of 201, Carthage had agreed to pay an annual indemnity to Rome for a period of fifty years.
58 Polyb. 1.10

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reputed to be "overflowing with money,"[59] and when Rome's chances of victory were far more certain.

In setting out the framework for his historical work, Polybius states that "neither the rulers themselves, nor the historians who judge them should see the act of conquest or the subjection of others to their authority as the sole object of a policy."[60] Polybius was probably speaking in a normative sense, discouraging kings and their critics alike from either initiating or applauding conquest for its own sake. However, the statement can also be interpreted as a directive to historians to be more perceptive: to undertake nuanced examinations of the causes of conflicts, rather than viewing them simply as attempts of different nations to dominate each other.

This study is far too short to do justice to Polybius' instruction. Nevertheless, in examining the causes of the Third Punic War, I have tried to look at reasons that go beyond the simple fact of a strong military power choosing to destroy a weaker entity. Some of the scholars who have written about the war have devoted more effort to condemning Rome's conduct as reprehensible and unjustified[61] than to making a dispassionate analysis of the reasons behind it. This is unfortunate, because the motivations for Rome's attack on Carthage provide valuable clues about the nature of Roman foreign policy as a whole during this period.

Ultimately, the evidence suggests that Rome initiated the Third Punic War primarily for offensive reasons. While it is probable that the Romans were indeed alarmed by Carthaginian military potential, both on land and at sea, there are few strong indications that this fear was well-reasoned or justified. In all likelihood, the experiences of the Third Macedonian and Celtiberian Wars, as well as the previous wars with Carthage herself, had conditioned the senate to view even modest threats posed by former enemies as potentially serious, and to take aggressive preemptive action against them. In this sense, the theory that Rome went to war out of fear overlaps to a large extent with the notion that she went to war to secure her own supremacy. Economic factors likely had a supplementary impact on Rome's decision. While there is little evidence that Roman elites were motivated by a desire to secure additional farmland or eradicate agricultural competition, there is a strong probability that considerations of plunder helped to persuade both the senate and the people to attack their old foe once again, and to pursue the utter destruction of Carthage once the fighting had begun.

From this perspective, the history of the Third Punic War appears to confirm the theory expressed by Polybius and Diodorus Siculus: namely, that Rome was beginning to pursue a more offensive and brutal foreign policy during this period. As already mentioned, the razing of Carthage was echoed by Roman actions across the Mediterranean in the sack of Corinth and the incorporation of Macedonia into the Roman Empire. In a sense, this preemptive policy was successful: Rome never fought another Punic War. Still, this triumph did nothing to assuage the misgivings of the victorious general Scipio Aemilianus, who told Polybius after the siege: "I have a dread foreboding that some day the same doom will be pronounced on my own country."[62]

Nicholas Melling

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59 Plut. *Cat.Mai.* 26
60 Polyb. 3.4
61 This phrase is borrowed from Brisson, who characterized the Third Punic War as "unique et assez peu justifiable," (Brisson, 1976, 352).
62 Polyb. 38.20

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Reversal and *Threptra* in *Oedipus at Colonus*

     Reversal is a very important theme in *Oedipus at Colonus*. The tragedy overturns many disastrous conventions and practices observed in *Oedipus Tyrannus* that lead to Oedipus' pollution and, consequently, his downfall. The repayment of *threptra* is the most important reversal in *Oedipus at Colonus*. The concept of *threptra* is an ancient one, appearing first in Homer and Hesiod. *Threptra*, the Homeric word for the concept, is defined as "return for rearing."[1] It is the important and obligatory custom in which sons sustain their parents in old age and repay them for their nurturing. Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* is unique in that Oedipus' daughters Antigone and Ismene repay the *threptra* of their brothers Polynices and Eteocles exemplifying an unprecedented reversal of convention.[2] Through analysis of the use of *threptra* in Greek literature and in archaic Athenian history, we see its traditional role and obligations in Greek society. Antigone and Ismene fulfill the *threptra* that should be their brothers', an undermining of Greek practices as expressed in Hesiod and Herodotus. The roles of Ismene and Antigone in *Oedipus at Colonus* are important, and Sophocles presents their relationship to Oedipus as incestuous. This incest, however, is yet another reversal from *Oedipus Tyrannus* that leads to positive results both for Oedipus and civic society, as represented by Athens.

     Although *threptra* is a common concept in Greek literature, usage of the word itself and its later forms is rare. The earliest uses of the word *threptra* appear in Homer's *Iliad* in reference to the death of young warriors. In Book 4, it is used in relation to Sinoeisius who is killed by Telemonian Ajax: "For this cause they called him Simoeisius; yet paid he not back to his dear parents the recompense of his upbringing, and but brief was the span of his life, for that he was laid low by the spear of great-souled Ajax."[3] Later in Book 17, *threptra* appears following the death of Hippothus: "and hard thereby himself fell headlong upon the corpse, far from deep-soiled Larissa; nor paid he back to his dear parents the recompense of his upbringing, and but brief was the span of his life, for that he was laid low by the spear of great-souled Aias."[4] Both Sinoeisius and Hippothus died before their parents and were therefore unable to repay them for their upbringing. Homer used *threptra* formulaically to make the deaths of these young men particularly pathetic.[5]

     In the *Iliad* we also find the first instance of *threptra* being repaid by someone other than the father's son, through the interactions of Priam and Achilles. Priam's son Hector dies young when he is killed by Achilles and thus is unable to repay his *threptra* to his father. Achilles, though

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1   H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon Founded Upon the Seventh Edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 369.
2   See H. D. Cameron, "The Debt to Earth in the Seven against Thebes." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 95 (1964) 1-8., Nathanial O. Wallace, "Oedipus at Colonus: The Hero in His Collective Context." Quaderni Urbinati di Clutura Classica 3 (1979) 39-52., James Daly, "Oedipus Coloneus: Sophocles' Threpteria to Athens, I." Quaderni Urbinati di Clutura Classica 22 (1986): 75-93., James Daly, "Oedipus at Colonus: Sophocles' Threpteria to Athens II." Quaderni Urbinati di Clutura Classica 23 (1986): 65-84.
3Hom. *Il*. 4.477-479.
4   Hom. *Il*. 17.301-303
5   Cameron, "Seven against Thebes," 2.

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   Although *threptra* is a common concept in Greek literature, usage of the word itself and its later forms is rare. The earliest uses of the word *threptra* appear in Homer's *Iliad* in reference to the death of young warriors. In Book 4, it is used in relation to Sinoeisius who is killed by Telemonian Ajax: "For this cause they called him Simoeisius; yet paid he not back to his dear parents the recompense of his upbringing, and but brief was the span of his life, for that he was laid low by the spear of great-souled Ajax."[3] Later in Book 17, *threptra* appears following the death of Hippothus: "and hard thereby himself fell headlong upon the corpse, far from deep-soiled Larissa; nor paid he back to his dear parents the recompense of his upbringing, and but brief was the span of his life, for that he was laid low by the spear of great-souled Aias."[4] Both Sinoeisius and Hippothus died before their parents and were therefore unable to repay them for their upbringing. Homer used *threptra* formulaically to make the deaths of these young men particularly pathetic.[5]

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3Hom. *Il*. 4.477-479.
4 Hom. *Il*. 17.301-303
5 Cameron, "Seven against Thebes," 2.

he does not die in the Iliad itself, knows that he will die at Troy and will never be able to give his *threptra* to his father Peleus. Since Achilles can't repay his true father, he uses Priam as his surrogate father, giving him the *threptra* he cannot grant to Peleus. Achilles offers Priam protection in the form of a twelve-day truce while the Trojans perform funeral rites for Hector. Achilles' protection of Priam repays his *threptra* to Peleus, while also paying Hector's *threptra*. The ability of someone other than the father's son to repay his *threptra* will become a central theme in *Oedipus at Colonus*.

The next use of the word *threptra* is in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The word used by Hesiod is *threpteria,* which has a slightly different meaning: the reward made by children to their parents for their rearing.[6] Describing the laborious and sorrowful fifth age of men Hesiod says:

> And Zeus will destroy this race of mortal men also when they come to have grey hair on the temples at their birth. The father will not agree with his children, nor the children with their father, nor guest with his host, nor comrade with comrade; nor will brother be dear to brother as aforetime. Men will dishonour their parents as they grow quickly old, and will carp at them, chiding them with bitter words, hard-hearted they, not knowing the fear of the gods. They will not repay their aged parents the cost of their nurture, for might shall be their right: and one man will sack another's city.[7]

Here, *threpteria* denotes the obligation of the young men to repay their parents for the cost of their nurturing. This passage discusses the decline of moral character that has taken place in the fifth age. It is this period of immorality in which *Oedipus at Colonus* is set. Hesiod puts particular importance on the decline of familial relationships that are so prevalent in the Oedipus cycle.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter, threpteria* is used to express the reward paid by parents to the nurses of their children. While trying to rescue her daughter Persephone from Hades, Demeter travels to Eleusis where she disguises herself as an old woman and asks King Celeus for work. He replies that she can be the nurse of his son, Demophon, and that "if you could bring him up until he reached the full measure of youth, any one of womankind who should see you would straightway envy you, such gifts would our mother give for his upbringing."[8] Metanira, the mother of Demophon, reiterates this notion, telling Demeter "if you should bring him up until he reach the full measure of youth, any one of woman-kind that sees you will straightway envy you, so great reward would I give for his upbringing."[9]

The concept of *threptra* is not only literary. *Gerotrophia*, the obligation to care for one's parents in their old age, was a component of Solon's reforms.[10] Under this law, Athenians had a legal obligation to repay their parents for their education and nurturing. They believed that children incurred a debt to their parents that could only be repaid by the child's caring for them in their old age. Failure to do so was punished with disenfranchisement.[11] Plutarch's

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6　Liddell and Scott, *Middle Liddell*, 369.
7　Hes. *Op*. 174-189.
8　*HH* 2 166-168.
9　*HH* 2 221-223.
10　Cameron, "Seven Against Thebes," 1.
11　Cameron, "Seven Against Thebes," 1.

Life of Solon provides some exceptions to this law. Sons born out of wedlock were exempt from supporting their fathers, as were sons whose fathers failed to teach them a craft.[12] From both the legal and literary evidence presented, it is clear that *threptra* was considered by the Greeks to be a debt that sons were morally and legally obligated to repay to their parents.

In Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus,* there are obvious issues with the repayment of *threptra*. Oedipus, having blinded himself upon learning that he had unwittingly killed his father and married his mother, thus causing her death, is now an old man. He resembles a beggar: gaunt, frail, and dressed in rags. His situation exemplifies the decline of moral character and family relationships described by Hesiod. Oedipus is an exile from his home of Thebes, banished by his two sons who learned of his pollution. His only constant companion is his daughter Antigone, who has remained at her father's side for the past twenty years. Polynices and Eteocles have abandoned their father in his old age and failed to repay their *threptra*. Antigone and her sister Ismene, contrary to convention, have taken full responsibility for the well being of their father in his old age.

Sisters repaying their brothers' *threptra* is very unusual, and it is one of the aspects that makes *Oedipus at Colonus* unique. Inextricable from this is the pattern of reversal that persists throughout the play as noted by Nathaniel O. Wallace.[13] The first instance of neglect of *threptra* by sons occurs at line 337, after the arrival of Ismene, and overlaps with one of the key instances of reversal in the play. She brings the news that her brothers remain in Thebes. To this Oedipus laments:

> Oh what miserable and perfect copies
> they have to be of the Egyptian ways!
> For there the men sit at home and weave
> while their wives go out to win the daily bread,
> as you do, my daughters.
> Just so your brothers, who should be
> the very ones to take this load upon them.
> Instead they sit at home like girls
> and keep the house,
> leaving the two of you to face my troubles
> and make life a little easier for me.[14]

This idea of the "Egyptian ways" is better explained in book two of Herodotus:

> Just as the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to themselves, and their river is different in its nature from all other rivers, so, too, have they instituted customs and laws contrary for the most part to those of the rest of mankind. Among them, the women buy and sell, the men stay at home and weave; and whereas in weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards... No woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess; men are dedicated to all deities male or female. Sons are not compelled against their will to

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12　Plut. *Sol*. 22.3-4.
13　Wallace, "Oedipus at Colonus," 43.
14　Soph. *OC* 337-345. All translations are by Paul Roche unless otherwise noted.

support their parents, but daughters must do so though they be unwilling.[15]

The explanation provided by Herodotus makes the irony in *Oedipus at Colonus* more apparent. The seemingly backwards customs of the Egyptians have been instituted in the house of Thebes. Polynices and Eteocles remain at home in Thebes, struggling for the kingship, while their sisters wander with their helpless father. While Herodotus notes that Egyptian daughters must support their parents even if they are unwilling, Oedipus' daughters support him willingly and at great cost to themselves. The selflessness of Antigone and Ismeme's actions serve to further underscore the moral corruption of their brothers.

Another convention that is reversed is that of fathers protecting and caring for their daughters. In *Oedipus at Colonus,* the daughters protect and care for their father. Reversal can also be seen in the situation at Thebes. Eteocles, the younger brother, has overpowered Polynices, the elder. Reversal is also apparent in Ismene's statement at line 394: "Yes, for the gods now raise you up; but before they worked your ruin." She is referencing the recent Delphic oracle, which stated that whichever city possessed the body of Oedipus would be protected by it. Oedipus is now a hero instead of an outcast. His fortune also reverses with regards to citizenship. He begins the play *apolis*, "without a city," yet by the time the play ends, Theseus has offered him Athenian citizenship. This reversal is tied to the delinquency of his sons in regards to their *threptra*.

A second example of neglect of *threptra* comes again from a speech of Oedipus:

> They they could have helped
> my two boys, their father's sons-
> then they could have stirred themselves.
> They could. They did not a thing.
> For lack of a little word from them
> I was cast out
> to drag away my life in wandering beggary.
> Shelter, devoted care, my daily bread,
> everything within a woman's power to give,
> these I owe to my two daughters here.
> Their brothers sold their father for a throne,
> exchanged him for a sceptre and a realm."[16]

Here, Oedipus rebukes his sons for their part in his expulsion from Thebes. Had they only spoken in his defense, he would not be wandering in his current predicament. However they remained silent on the matter, and he was thus banished, leaving the throne vacant for them. Oedipus also praises his daughter for providing him with daily sustenance. Oedipus's praise for his daughters in this passage shows how his daughters, rather than his sons, have fulfilled the customs of *threptra*.

The third instance of role reversal is admitted by Polynices himself in his opening speech. He takes in his father's current miserable state and admits, "Ah too late! I see it all too late. I pronounce

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15 Hdt. 2.35.2-4.
16 Soph. *OC*. 442-449.

that this neglect of you brands me as the most delinquent thing on earth."[17] Here, Polynices admits that his father's state stems from his own disregard for *threptra*. He and Eteocles had driven Oedipus from Thebes for fear of his pollution, and forced him to wander with Antigone and Ismene for 20 years. This deed spurns Oedipus to call Polynices "trash- no son of [his],"[18] and to curse him by saying "there is no way you can ever overthrow [Thebes]. Before that you will fall polluted by bloodshed and so too your brother."[19] Since Polynices has failed his father, Oedipus retaliates by cursing him to fail his city. As he says just a few lines later, "let [the curses] teach you reverence for those that gave you birth. Let them teach you what contempt is worth of an eyeless father who has such worthless sons...instead you die, die by a brother's blow and make him dead by yours who drove you out."[20] The curse that imposes on his sons is directly correlated with their failure to repay their *threptra*. Because they have failed to do so, their father declares that they are condemned to kill each other.

Oedipus at Colonus is unique in the way that it addresses the relationship between a father and his daughters, in addition to that of a father and his sons. Even more unusual, especially for tragedy, is that this father-daughter relationship is a seemingly positive one. The daughters willingly support their father, and have sacrificed their childhood to care for him since Polynices and Eteocles have neglected to fulfill their *threptra*. The actions of Antigone and Ismene reveal how thoroughly they have filled their brothers' duties, undermining convention. They had done far more than daughters were required to do for their fathers, overstepping the traditional boundaries of the father-daughter relationship.

Antigone is her father's main caregiver: she has remained at his side for twenty years, and has sacrificed her life for him. Having been forced out of Thebes, Oedipus is all that she has, and now her brothers and sister remain in Thebes. She acts as her father's eyes, telling him where to walk and sit, and most importantly, who approaches them. This is evident from the first two lines of the play: "My child, child of the old blind man- Antigone, where are we now? What city of men?"[21] Beginning the play with Oedipus relying on Antigone, and him asking her what she sees, stresses the importance of her role within the play. Indeed, relying on her eyes, Oedipus consequently trusts her judgment. This also underscores the intensity of their commitment, as Oedipus blindly trusts her to see and interpret the world for him. In the beginning when they meet the countryman, Oedipus introduces Antigone by saying "my daughter here whose eyes are mine as they are hers."[22] Antigone is integral to Oedipus' survival.

Antigone also acts as physical support for her father, as Oedipus relies on her to guide his walking and "leans his weight on frail support."[23] Though he is a heavy burden because of his pollution, he is a burden she is always willing to bear, telling him, "step by step, we together, young and old, weak and strong; lean your loving weight on mine."[24] In this way, Antigone can be seen as part of the Sphinx's riddle.[25] In old age men walk with three legs, the third usually interpreted as a cane.

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17 Ibid. 1265-1266.
18 Ibid. 1369.
19 Ibid.. 1372-1374.
20 Ibid.. 1375-1390.
21 Ibid.. 1-2.
22 Ibid. 34
23 Ibid
24 Soph.*OC*. 200-201.
25 Diod. Sic. 4.64.4. "What is it that is at the same time a biped, a triped, and a quadraped? And while all the rest were perplexed, Oidipous declared that the animal proposed in the riddle was 'man', since as an infant he is

In the case of Oedipus, Antigone is his third leg, since he physically leans on her for support. Creon also remarks upon this in line 969 when he refers to Antigone and Ismene as crutches for Oedipus.

Oedipus is not the only character in distress in the play: Antigone is not without suffering herself. She has sacrificed much to be with her father, most importantly her chance at marriage. As Creon remarks, she is a "poor thwarted creature, fallen lower than I'd ever dream she'd fall, dragging out her gloomy squalid life caring for [Oedipus]: well ripe for weddings but unwed and waiting."[26] The chorus often pities her, since the only companion she has is her old, blind father. Oedipus knows that his daughter has sacrificed much for him, and discusses it immediately after bemoaning that his sons have adopted the Egyptian ways:

> Antigone, from the time she left her childhood behind
> and came into full strength, has volunteered for grief,
> wandering with me, leading the old misery, hungry,
> feet cut through the bristling woods...
> an eternity- worn down by the drenching rains,
> the scorching suns at noon. Hard labour,
> but you endured it all, never a second thought
> for home, a decent life, so long as your father
> had some care and comfort.[27]

Antigone has endured many physical hardships with her father, but is sustained by the fact the she is able to provide comfort and care to him. She thinks not of her own needs, but of his. As Oedipus notes, she uses all her resources to make sure he is fed and safe, thus fulfilling all the actions required by kinship.[28] It is evident that the Egyptian ways described by Herodotus are the ones functioning in this play, for it is not the sons that repay their *threptra* but the daughters, and they do so willingly. To fulfill their brothers' *threptra,* Antigone and Ismene have to act outside of their traditional roles, and in doing so, transgress the boundaries of the father-daughter relationship.

Ismene, Oedipus' youngest daughter, is his secondary caregiver. Though she remains in Thebes, Ismene provides her father with news of home, especially news concerning his sons. She has been his "faithful spy"[29], and slipped past the Theban guards to go to Delphi for an oracle. If Antigone acts as her father's eyes, Ismene acts as his ears. She hears from pilgrims who have come from Delphi, "that soon the men of Thebes will seek [him] out, dead or alive: a talisman for their salvation,"[30] and that whichever city possesses the body of Oedipus will be granted protection. By reporting this oracle, she gives him power and strength, since he now knows what a valuable commodity he has become.

Ismene also helps her father through her piety. She risks her life to hear the oracle that will make him a hero and savior. When Oedipus pollutes the sacred ground of the Eumenides, he is told by the

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a quadruped, when grown a biped, and in old age a triped, using, because of his infirmity, a staff."

26 **Soph.** *OC*. 748-75.3
27 **Ibid.** 376-384. **Fagles.**
28 **Ibid.** 500-50.
29 **Ibid.** 335.
30 **Ibid.** 389-390.

chorus to recite a prayer to appease them.[31] He says that he is, regrettably, too weak, and that someone pure of heart and free from pollution must carry out the ritual on his behalf. Ismene volunteers to perform the ritual so that her father will not incur the wrath of still more gods. Like her sister, Ismene performs all her actions quite willingly, believing that "no trouble is too much for a parent anywhere."[32]

Oedipus' death, as described by the messenger, gives us further insight into his relationship with his daughters. This scene shows not only how Antigone and Ismene tend to Oedipus, but also the depth of their love for him. Since he is unable to perform some of the rituals to prepare himself for death, they perform them for him. They wash him in the spring and pour water in ritual for the dead. After bathing, him they dress him fittingly. They fall weeping to their knees and beat their breasts.[33] Oedipus is moved by their reaction and takes them in his arms and tells them, "your double burden of me is done. It was not easy, children, that I know, and yet one little word can change all pain: that word is love, and love you've had from me more than any man can give."[34] The relationship with his daughters has produced no negative consequences, unlike the relationship with his sons. Antigone and Ismene continued to care and love their father until he died, and even afterwards. With this speech, he also reveals the true depths of his love for them. Antigone and Ismene are touched by this confession and continue to cry and cling to him until a voice calls out telling him it is time to die.

Antigone and Ismene's reactions to their father's death also reveals the true nature of their feelings towards him. Antigone questions how she can go on living without her father and Ismene exclaims, "Come, blood-dripping Death, and carry me down and lay me by my ancient father's side. So I should live the unlivable life to come."[35] They are lost without him. The chorus tries to comfort them, but cannot help. They still question what their fate will be now that their father is dead and discuss going to his tomb, though he has none, and killing themselves there. They believe that he alone made their suffering bearable, and now that he is gone, they can no longer tolerate the pain of what he has done. This reaction shows once again how the relationship between Antigone and Ismene has transgressed the boundaries of a healthy father-daughter relationship.

The relationship between Oedipus and his daughters is one of the most important aspects of the play. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, like in *Oedipus Tyrannus,* Oedipus is very close with the women in his life and hostile towards the men. Some scholars regard this unusual love for his daughters, best exemplified before his death, as having sexual overtones.[36] Before death, Oedipus is entwined with his daughters, and his last contact is with them. His reaction to their return after Creon has kidnapped them is also suggestive. Upon hearing they have been returned, his first request is to touch and embrace them, for he never thought he would feel them or hold them again. He then kisses them, calling them his "dearest sweet young girls."[37] He exclaims that if he were to die now, he would not be destroyed, since he is beside his daughters and presses them close. Dorothy Willner sees the relationship

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31 **Ibid.** 524-525.
32 **Ibid.** 508-509.
33 **Ibid.** 1821.
34 **Ibid.** 1829-1833.
35 **Ibid.** 1916-1918.
36 Wallace, "Oedipus at Colonus," 45, and Willner, Dorothy. "The Oedipus Complex, Antigone, and Electra: The Woman as Hero and Victim." *American Anthropologist* 84 (1982): 58-63.
37 **Soph.** *OC*. 1256. **Fagles.**

between Oedipus and his daughters as one of metaphorical incest, and this seems to be a correct interpretation. She posits that Oedipus seeks to bind his daughters to himself and displace his sons.[38] By caring for her father for so long, Antigone has sacrificed her eligibly for marriage and motherhood by remaining with him.[39] In fact, Antigone's role as a companion and caregiver for her father can be seen as that of a surrogate wife. Oedipus binds his daughter to himself to serve his needs and repay her brother's *threptra*. The normal boundaries between family members have become blurred.

     Unlike the incest that occurs in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the metaphorical incest in *Oedipus at Colonus* is a positive thing. In *Oedipus Tyrannus,* Oedipus' incest, through marriage to his mother, incurs great pollution and was his downfall. When his actions are revealed, his mother kills herself, Oedipus blinds himself, and is then subsequently banished from Thebes. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Oedipus' incestuous relationship with his daughters is what sustains him. He has alienated his sons, who would otherwise fulfill their *threptra* by acting as his caregivers in old age, and has instead cultivated a very close relationship with his daughters who act as his caregivers in their brothers' stead. There are no harsh consequences for his incestuous relationship with his daughters, as there were for his incestuous relationship with his mother.

     Oedipus at Colonus provides redemption for Oedipus by reversing many of the disastrous events of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Oedipus' daughters repay the *threptra* of their brothers, and through the care of their father, though untraditional in Greek literature and Athenian history, they assume the role of wife. Oedipus thus begins another incestuous relationship, though it is one that brings salvation instead of damnation. This relationship is the key reversal between the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Oedipus at Colonus*. The incestuous relationship with his daughters allows Oedipus to complete his transition from an exile of Thebes to a hero of Athens.

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38   Willner, "The Oedipus Complex," 59.

39   Ibid 63.

Prosody and Meter in Translating Tragedy

Socrates: *" . . . he speaks with meter, rhythm, and harmony, for if you strip a poet's works of their musical colorings and take them by themselves, I think you know what they look like. You've surely seen them.*
Glaucon: *I certainly have.*
Socrates: *Don't they resemble the faces of young boys who are neither fine nor beautiful after the bloom of youth has left them?*
Glaucon: *Absolutely."*

--Republic, Book X[1]

Plato points out what made poetry poetry for the ancient Greeks: meter. Meter, moreover, of an exceptional, quite literally musical fluidity.[2] But Plato isn't the only one to recognize such rhythmic resources. Praise of Greek prosody can approach the hyperbolic in contemporary commentaries. According to A.M. Dale, Greek lyric meter "has a variety enormously exceeding that of any known body of verse in any language."[3] John Herrington states that "if all poetry in all languages is… a glorious game with patterns of sound, the early Greek poets enjoyed exceptional opportunities for playing that game to the limit."[4] And Edith Hamilton is not one to be left out:

"To each age its own poetic license. Modern poets may vary the number of syllables and the position of the initial accent; the Greek was free to vary his rhythmic measure. There is nothing in the poetry we know to help us to understand this usage."[5]

It seems impossible to find a parallel to Greek meter in contemporary poetry, or to render some approximation of it in translation into modern English. Meter is one aspect of Greek poetry which makes its translation such a vexed affair, and one which comes to the fore in translations of tragedy, since such a wide variety of metrics are all mixed together. Attempts to convey the rhythmical complexity of choral odes and the stately regularity of dialogue have generally skirted the issue entirely by either following "routine" verse translation which adapts its source text to the contemporary poetic conventions,"[6] or becoming some sort of free verse with vaguely rhythmic

qualities. The former is exemplified by a snippet from Robert Potter's 18th-century translation of the *Agamemnon*; it is a rendering of the third strophe from the choral ode around lines 438-41:

Thus in the dire exchange of war
     Does Mars the balance hold;
Helms are the scales, the beam a spear,
     And blood is weigh'd for gold.
This, for the warrior, to his friends
     His soul remains, a poor return
Sav'd from the sullen fire that rose
     On Troy's curst shore, he sends
Plac'd decent in the mournful urn.[7]

An example of the free-verse sort of translation can be found in nearly any contemporary edition of tragedy. By way of example, these are the same lines from David Greene and Wendy O'Flaherty's *Oresteia*, though many other texts would serve just as well.[8]

The war god is a money-changer;
Men's bodies are his money.
He holds the scales in the battle of the spear.
From Ilium he sends back to those who loved them
The scrapings of dust made heavy with their tears.
He loads the elegant urns with the dust that was once a man.

Both of these translations seem to me to be deficient. The sing-song meter in Potter's effort is both ill-suited to the mournful content (so important in establishing the citizen's wrath in the antistrophe), and it seems to force odd syntactical choices that obscure his meaning. The Greene and Flaherty is much more *speakable* (their translation is intended for performance after all), but loses the compression and precision of the Greek in its expansiveness.

Certainly, the critics and translators cited above make a fair point about the unique status of Classical meter, which might justify how meter is treated in most translations of tragedy, including the two above. Greek verse, as is widely noted,[9] is a quantitative affair. It is built out of alternation of short and long syllables in specific, only somewhat variable patterns. The rules

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1   Pl. *Resp.* 10.601
2   For a discussion of "song culture" and Greek poetry as a performing art, see John Herrington, *Poetry into Drama: Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 3-40, in particular his discussion of choral lyric as musical performance, 20-31.
3   As quoted in Herrington, 242.
4   Herrington, 72.
5   Edith Hamilton, *Three Greek Plays: Prometheus Bound, Agamemnon, The Trojan Women* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1965), 146-147.
6   Said in reference to Robert Potter, author of the first popular edition of Aeshylus in the 18th century, and other early translators of Greek drama, in "Aeschylus" in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in Translation,* ed. Peter

France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 357.
7   As reproduced by Peter Burian in "Aeschylus" in *The Encyclopedia of Translation into English*, Vol. I ed. Olive Classe (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publichers, 2000).
8   David Greene and Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, trans., *The Oresteia*, by Aeschylus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). For other examples of free-verse choruses, cf. Reginald Gibbon's *Bakkhai* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)*;* Alan H. Sommerstein's *Oresteia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Kenneth Cavander's *Iphigeneia at Aulis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), among many others.
9   cf. Thomas G. Rosenmayer, Martin Ostwald, and James W. Halporn, *The Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry,* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, 1963), 4; Herrington, 1985, 72.

for determining short and long syllables are (for the most part) immutable.[10] The alternation of short and long makes Greek poetry inherently musical—it has been likened to a rhythmic exercise using quarter- and eighth-notes.[11] The wealth of metrical patterns and the fluidity with which they can be combined make Greek metrics an incredibly expressive poetic form.

Moreover, Herrington and Hamilton, among others, believe that by the fifth century, the metrics the tragic poets had to work with were so associated with specific genres that audiences might well have attached a precise emotional tenor to each of several metrical forms.[12] Herrington, for instance, points to an ancient scholion on Aeshylus' *Prometheus* which notes the "anacreontean, anaclastic" rhythm "for an effect of lamentation."[13] And when Plato's Socrates discusses imitative poetry in *Republic* Book III, he suggests that he and Glaucon "consult with Damon as to which metrical feet are suited to slavishness, insolence, madness, and the other vices, and which are suited to their opposites."[14] Metering capable of suggesting virtue and vice must certainly have aided dramatic poets in their characterization.

English (and most other modern languages) is at a disadvantage in both of these respects. First, English meter is a predominantly qualitative, rather than quantitative, affair. In English meter depends on stress accent, which is highly context-dependent.[15] This makes it difficult to vary the metrical pattern, since both performer and audience (in a performance context) can lose the 'thread' of the meter. That is, it can be difficult to recognize a variation on a dominant meter, or a transition into a new meter. Second, not only do scholars disagree about the scansion of English meter,[16] but, as Reginald Gibbons points out in the foreword to his translation of the *Bakkhai*, modern audiences are limited in their "knowledge of and responsiveness to verse forms and poetic structures."[17] Gibbons uses this to justify his decision not to render the meter of the Greek lyric passages in any formal way in his translation, and to work passages of dialogue into loose blank verse.

Even keeping these points in mind, Hamilton with her passion for the spirit of Greek poetry (she refers to "the translator trying to communicate an incommunicable beauty"),[18] and Herrington with passion for the origins of tragedy, and even perhaps because of Gibbons' passion for the "Greekness" of Attic drama,[19] overstate their cases. First, there is extant non-Greek poetry, which, although not as extensive in quantity or even perhaps in quality, is

10 One exception seems to occur in the tragic poets' work, in which a *muta cum liquida* can make its preceding vowel short or long according to metrical exigency; cf. Rosenmayer, *Meters*, 5; Seth L. Schein, preliminary notes to *The Iambic Trimeter in Aeschylus and Sophocles: A Study in Metrical Form* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979).
11 Herrington, 1985, 73.
12 For a discussion of the revolution tragic poets brought about in combining different forms of poetry from all over the Greek world, see Herrington, *Poetry into Drama*, 74-75; for Hamilton's take on a Greek audience's emotional response to various metrical forms, see Hamilton, 1965, 148.
13 Herrington, 1985, 110.
14 Pl. Resp. 3.400
15 For an illustration of just how context-dependent English word and sentence stress can become, see James Bailey, *Toward a Statistical Analysis of English* Verse (Lisser, Netherlands: Peter de Ridder Press, 1975), 19-27.
16 Harvey Gross gives an analysis of what he calls the English "scansions" (plural) and attendant debate in *Sound and Form in Modern Poetry* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965), 24-41.
17 Reginald Gibbons, translator's note to *Bakkhai,* by Euripides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 37.
18 Hamilton, 1985, 16.
19 Gibbons, 2001, 39.

able to come close to the expressiveness and rich variability of Greek metrical forms. And second, all this trepidation about English's limited metrical capacity results in translations of tragedy which lose a measure both of specificity of content and of beauty of form.

A fruitful example is the *El estudiante de* Salamanca, by José de Espronceda, recognized king of Spanish Romanticism.[20] *El estudiante* is one work that proves that prosody lives on in modern languages (or at least, that it did in the 19th century). In the *Parte Primera* of his extended narrative poem, Espronceda manages to pack in no fewer than six different metrical forms, each reinforcing the distinct mood of the content of its words. I reproduce three of the meters here. Even for the reader who has no Spanish, the metrical variation is visually striking.

> Se desliza
> y atraviesa
> junto al muro
> de una iglesia
> y en la sombra
> se perdió.
>
> Una calle estrechas y alta,
> la calle del Ataúd
> cual si de negro crespón
> lóbrego eterno capuz
> la vistiera, siempre oscura
> y de noche sin más luz
> que la lámpara que alumbra
> una imagen de Jesús,
> atraviesa el embozado
> la espada en la mano aún,
> que lanzó vivo reflejo
> al pasar frente a la cruz.
>
> Cual sule la luna tras lóbrega nube
> con franjas de plata bordarla en redor,
> y luego si el viento la agita la sube
> disuelta a los aires en blanco vapor . . . [21]

The contrast between abrupt and smooth rhythms, short and long lines, heightens the drama of the poem. Don Félix's sneaky passage through a dark alley is couched in broken, confusing tri- and tetra-syllabic lines. The lyrical description of the cloud-shrouded moon, on

20 As Benito Varela Jácome puts in the forward to the Catedra edition of *El Estudiante*, "José de Espronceda es por su vida apasionante, los rasgos legendarios de su biografía, la diffusion de algunas composiciones líricas, y la densidad de sus poemas largos, el poeta más brillante y popular del Romanticismo español." (José de Espronceda, *El Estudiante de Salamanca*, ed. Benito Varela Jácome (Madrid: Catedra, 1992), 11.)
21 José de Espronceda, 1992, 60-61.

the other hand, occurs in flowing quatrains of dactyls. Even a reader approaching the text with no knowledge of Spanish metrics can hear and feel the difference in the meter. The *point* of meter is that you can hear and feel it; you don't have to have formal knowledge to respond to it.

Of course, Espronceda has the advantage of composing in a Romance language. He has at his use long words with built-in meter: *lóbrega*, *mística*, *lánguida* are all perfect dactyls; *illusión*, *reñidor* are perfect anapests. And it could be argued that Espronceda does not transition between rhythms with fluidty, as the Greek lyric poets do. Metrical breaks occur at stanza breaks. But Espronceda inevitably calls to mind Byron. A single poem of Byron's, *Prometheus*, shows us just how close a (comparatively) modern English poet can come to the subtlety of Greek lyric meter. I reproduce the first stanza of the poem here (see Appendix 1 for text with scansion):

> Titan! to whose immortal eyes
> The sufferings of mortality,
> See in their sad reality,
> Were not as things that gods despise;
> What was thy pity's recompense?
> A silent suffering, and intense;
> The rock, the vulture, and the chain,
> All that the proud can feel of pain,
> The agony they do not show,
> The suffocating sense of woe,
> Which speaks but in its loneliness,
> And then is jealous lest the sky
> Should have a listener, nor will sigh,
> Until its voice is echoless.[22]

This poem seems to me to come quite close to the subtle transitions, interruptions, and resolutions of meter, which the Greeks achieved. I do not suggest that Byron was intentionally mimicking Greek meter, although, given the content of the poem, it is not out of the question. But one cannot, on a casual reading, cite any particular meter as dominant in the work. Iambic tetrameter comes and goes, happily corrupted with dactyls and spondees. The transitions between feet of different types are so smooth that the stanza achieves a musicality rare in English verse. When it is read aloud with English stressed and unstressed syllables substituted for the longs and shorts, it calls to mind what a choral ode from a tragedy should sound like.

It seems then, that "glorious game with patterns of sound" can be played just as well by modern poets as it was by the ancients. I think that there is much to be gained from the translation of Greek tragedy into some approximation of the Greek meter. The most effective way to get our translations of Greek poetry, as Plato says, to look like a beautiful boy, to communicate "incommunicable beauty," and to suggest something of the "Greekness" of the original is to follow the Greeks' own advice: to express ourselves with meter, rhythm and harmony. Meter is not just an aesthetic and cultural indicator, but a vessel for content. Strophe and antistrophe correspond not just in

rhythm, but also in idea. If we want modern audiences to see the correspondences the authors intended, we should reproduce in some way the metrical subtleties that communicate them. Finally, in response to Gibbons, I do not think that one needs have knowledge of meter in order to respond to it. Meter depends on things felt and heard and these two most basic senses do not depend on intellectual capacity.

In order to demonstrate how to achieve an English translation of Greek tragedy which respects the beauty and the structural role of meter I include here my own translation of 60 lines from the *Agamemnon,* comprising a choral strophe, antistrophe, epode, and a section of dialogue.[23] I will comment on my translation's aims and inspirations below (see Appendix 2 for text with scansion).

CHORUS

And Ares, who deals in bodies and gold,	*strophe*
who weighs spears in battles' scales,	
from Ilium back to beloved sends	440
cried-over, burnt ash.	

He packs his orderly urns
with a dust that replaces men,
And they groan praising their husbands,
this one as sharp in battle,   445
    and that one fell bravely in

    the murderous clash
    for another man's woman!
For some men secretly shout things like these; and from under their grief,
    hatred creeps against Atreidan Kings;
450

    and there beneath the walls,
    men clutch Ilian-earth tombs with
    noble corpses. Hateful earth conceals
    the very men
    who conquered her.   455

The rumor is heavy with rage in the town,	*antistrophe*
and pays debt for the peoples' curse;	

    We still have to hear about one of my
    worries that Night hides: 460
The gods are not unconcerned
    with the butcher of many men;
    and the Black Furies, in time,
    tangling his fate and gnawing
    away his life, render   465
    forgotten the man

---

22   Lord Byron, *Selected Poetry,* ed. By Leslie A. Marchand (New York: Random House, 2001), 223.

23   I have based my translation on the Denniston and Page edition of the *Agamemnon*, 18-20.

who wins out without Justice.
There is no remedy, once you've been counted among the unseen.
Praise beyond what's due brings grief—
a clap of thunder sent from Zeus.   470
I choose happiness unenvied.
Never let me be a city's sacker,
or look upon
my conquered life.
The happily-newsed fire has jogged   *epode*   475
a swift report throughout
the city. But if it's true,
who knows? Or whether the news is divine or a lie?
Who is so childish, after once he's been knocked senseless
from the flame's report, as to let his   480
heart, already singed,
feel pain at the second dispatch?
It's clear that with her woman's temper
she yielded favor to appearances.
The credulous female mind is all   485
too quickly overcome, but the rumor
she proclaims dies short-lived.

KLUTAIMESTRA

But soon we'll see the flaming torches' flares,
The fire's exchanges, if they're really true   490
or if like dreams this happy light that's come
has tricked our hearts and minds. The herald from
the shore! I see him stacked with branches from
an olive. Thirsty dust, a sister to
our own wet earth, will testify to this
495
for me: he's not a speechless man, and won't

make smoke-signs out of flames by lighting up
a mountain forest fire. No, no! With words
he'll say what's more than welcome—and I'll hate
a speech that's not. Additions to these good
appearances—better they be good! But if   500
a man who lives here prays for other things,
he'll reap his crop of wrongful thought alone.

It is clear that I am not directly reproducing the Greek meter. I do not think that that is a fruitful path. First, it is difficult to be true to the literal meaning of the text if an ideal English word or phrase is prohibited by the meter. Second, English and Greek are very different languages. Greek

is highly inflected. Even words with monosyllabic roots easily become four or five syllables when conjugated or declined. English has lost almost all inflection, and in conjunction with its Germanic heritage, this makes for very terse phrases. ὀνειράτων δίκην at line 491 of the Greek text, for instance, becomes, quite literally translated, "like dreams." Thus, I have chosen to replicate the regular meter of the dialogue using English iambic pentameter. Trying to reproduce the Greek trimeter would only tempt me to use Latinate diction and roundabout syntax to match the syllable count.

I did not follow the Greek scansion in the ode and epode, for similar reasons. As has been well noted, the prosody of the two languages is quite different, and again, being overly true to the meter restricts semantic fidelity. But I have tried to avoid both "'routine' verse translation" and free verse at all costs. I do not wish to reduce the rich metrical variation of strophe and antistrophe to a single English metrical form, such as quatrains of rhyming couplets. But I do want a reader of the passage or viewer of its performance to recognize that there is a metrical formality to the lines. This is, as I have mentioned, for the sake of beauty and "Greekness," as well as for clarity of meaning. The rhythm of the language helps to organize the thoughts. Thus I have worked with dactyls, iambs, spondees, and trochees throughout; and I have tried to establish a dominant meter in each semantic chunk of strophe and antistrophe, and then varied it, for dramatic and semantic effect.

The dactyls of the first line of the two stanzas, for instance, are immediately cut short by spondees in the second line— "weighs spears," "pays debt." I have relied on the spondaic effect of subject-verb statements a second time in the fourth to last line, (str. "men clutch," ant. "I choose"), again to signal a powerful shift in imagery and idea. This suggests the violence of Ares (in the strophe) trading bodies for gold, and of the townspeople (antistrophe) muttering against their kings. Similarly, in the middle of each stanza, the meter vacillates between dactyls and iambs, almost falling apart at, "this one as sharp in battle,/and that one fell bravely/in the murderous clash/for another man's woman!" and the corresponding lines in the antistrophe. This is a reflection of the turmoil of the "murderous clash," and the citizen's rage. I believe these variations make the meter both aesthetically pleasing, and reinforce the meaning of the text.

I have made the meter of strophe and antistrophe as identical as possible. This, again, is to remind the reader/viewer that strophe and antistrophe are a pair. I think the long choral odes of the *Agamemnon*, in particular, can be made more comprehensible and more entertaining for an audience by these kinds of auditory clues. Again, the audience doesn't need to explicitly recognize dactyls, iambs, and spondees. Hopefully, they can recognize repeated rhythms in the text the same way they would in the verses of a pop song. I also imagine that this kind of strict metrical repetition would help the organization of the choreography of the chorus: if the dance follows the words, and the words follow the meaning of the text, the dance too will reflect changes in emotional mood and tempo.

I do not suggest that my translation of these 60 lines of the *Agamemnon* is authoritative. I do think, however, that many critics overstate the impossibility of understanding or translating Greek meter in modern languages. I hope that my translation and ideas will be used by some as an example of how to work around these difficulties.

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Appendix 1
Lord Byron, *Prometheus*

Key: - unstressed syllable
    ^ stressed syllable

```
^   -   -   ^   -  ^   -   ^
Titan! to whose immortal eyes
              -   ^   -  -   ^   -  ^ - -
          The sufferings of mortality,
              ^   -   -   ^   - ^ - -
          See in their sad reality,
    -   ^   -   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
Were not as things that gods despise;
   ^    -   -   ^  -   ^   -   -
What was thy pity's recompense?
 -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
A silent suffering, and intense;
   -   ^   -   ^   -  ^   -   ^
The rock, the vulture, and the chain,
   ^   -   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
All that the proud can feel of pain,
   -   ^  -  -   -   ^   -   ^
The agony they do not show,
   -   ^   - - -   -   ^   -   ^
The suffocating sense of woe,
   -      ^    -   - ^ -  ^   - -
Which speaks but in its loneliness,
              -   ^   -  ^  -   ^   -   ^
          And then is jealous lest the sky
              -   ^  - ^  -   -   ^   -   ^
          Should have a listener, nor will sigh,
 -  ^  -   ^   -   ^ -  -
Until its voice is echoless.
```

Appendix 2
Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, ll. 438-502

CHORUS
```
   -   ^  -   -   ^   -  -   ^   -   -   ^
And Ares, that dealer in bodies and gold,          *strophe*
  -    ^   -   ^  -  ^   -   ^
who weighs spears in battles' scales,
         -   ^ - -   ^   -   -  ^  -  -
     from Ilium back to beloved sends           440
         ^   -   -   ^   ^
     cried-over, burnt ash.
```

```
 -   ^   -   ^ - - ^
He packs his orderly urns
      -  -  ^  -  - ^ - ^
   with a dust that replaces men,
      -   -   ^   ^    -   ^   -
   And they groan praising their husbands,
     ^   -   -  ^  -  ^  -
   This one as sharp in battle,
    -   ^   -   ^  - -
   And hat fell bravely in
    -  ^  -  -   ^
   the murderous clash
          -  - ^ -   -    ^ -
       for another man's woman!
 -   ^  -  -   ^  -  -  ^   -   -   ^   -   -   ^  -
For some men secretly shout things like these; and from under
      -   ^   ^ -   ^   - ^
   their grief, hatred creeps against
      -  ^  -   ^   -  -  ^   -  ^   - ^
   Atreidan Kings; and there beneath the walls,
      ^   ^   ^ - - -  -   ^   -
   men clutch Ilian-earth tombs with
          ^  -  ^  -   ^   -  ^  -  ^
       noble corpses.  Hateful earth conceals
          -  ^ -  ^
       The very men
          -   ^  -  -
       who conquered her.
 -  ^  - -  ^  -  - ^ -   ^
The rumor is heavy with rage in the town,
    -   ^   ^   -  - ^  -  ^
  and pays debt for the peoples' curse;
        -   ^  -  -   ^ -  -  ^  -  -
     We still have to hear about one of my
        ^  -  -   ^   ^
     worries that Night hides:


  -   ^   -  ^  -   -  ^
The gods are not unconcerned
       -   -    ^  -  -   ^ - ^
    with the butcher of many men;
       -   -   ^   ^  -  -  ^
    and the Black Furies, in time,
     ^   -   -   ^  -  -  ^ -
    tangling his fate and gnawing
     -  ^  -  ^  - -
    away his life, render
```

445

450

antistrophe

460

```
    -   ^  -   -  ^
   forgotten the man
       -   -  ^ -   -   ^ -
   who wins out without Justice.
  -   ^  -  ^ - -   ^   -   -  -  ^  -  - ^  -
There is no remedy, once you've been counted among the
       -  ^   -   ^  -  ^  -   -  ^
   unseen.  Praise beyond what's due
       -   ^  -  ^  -  -  ^  -  -   -  ^
   brings grief— a clap of thunder sent from Zeus.
          ^   ^   ^  -  -  - ^  -
       I choose happiness unenvied.
          ^ -  ^ -  ^ - ^-   ^  -
       Never let me be a city's sacker,
       -   ^  -  ^
       or look upon
          -  ^  -   ^
       my conquered life.
  -   ^   ^   ^  - ^
The happily-newsed fire has jogged
     -  ^  -   -  ^   -  ^
   a swift report throughout
     -  ^ -  -  ^  -  ^
   the city.  But if it's true,
     -   ^   -  ^  -  -  ^  -  - ^  - ^
   who knows?  Or whether the news is divine or a lie?
 ^  -  -  ^  - ^ -  -   -   ^   -   ^  -
Who is so childish, after once he's been knocked senseless
       -   -  ^  - ^  - - ^ -
      from the flame's report, as to let his
       ^   ^  - -  ^
      heart, already singed,
        -  ^  -  -  ^  -  ^
      feel pain at the second dispatch?
  -   ^  -  ^  -  ^  -   ^
It 's clear that with her woman's temper
         -  ^  -  -  ^  -  -   ^  - -
       she yielded her favor to appearances.
          -  ^  -  - ^  -  ^  - ^
       The trusting female mind is all
          -   ^  - ^ - ^   -  - ^ -
       too quickly overcome, but the rumor
          -  -  ^   -   ^   ^   -  ^
       she proclaims dies short-lived.
```

465

470

epode 475

480

485

KLUTAIMESTRA

    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
But soon we'll see the flaming torches' flares,
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
The fire's exchanges, if they're really true   490
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
or if like dreams this happy light that's come
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
has tricked our hearts and minds. The herald from
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
the shore! I see him stacked with branches from
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
an olive. Thirsty dust, a sister to
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
our own wet earth, will testify to this   495
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
for me: he's not a speechless man, and won't
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
make smoke-signs out of flames by lighting up
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
a mountain forest fire. No, no! With words
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
he'll say what's more than welcome—and I'll hate
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
a speech that's not. Additions to these good
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
appearances—better they be good! But if   500
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
a man who lives here prays for other things,
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
he'll reap his crop of wrongful thought alone.

The Union of Corinth and Argos: Foreign Policy, Citizenship and Ethnicity

  The often-discussed union and dissolution of Argos and Corinth between 392 and 386 B.C. still provides many problems for scholars.[1] Xenophon, our main source for the event, writes that in summer 392, during the midst of the Corinthian War, the best elements of the Corinthian state began to desire peace with Sparta and to abandon their Boeotian, Athenian and Argive allies, since Corinth was suffering the most in the war.[2] Accordingly, the Argives, Athenians and Boeotians, along with those Corinthians who were still in favour of the war, organized a massacre on the last day of the festival of Artemis Euclea and drove the pro-Spartan Corinthians out of the city.[3] Xenophon describes the state of Corinth from the perspective of the exiles:

> They soon saw that the men in power were behaving like tyrants; it was evident, too, that their state was being abolished as a separate entity; boundary stones had been removed, while their fatherland was now called Argos instead of Corinth, and while they were forced to enjoy the rights of Argive citizenship, which they did not want, they had less influence in their own city than did the resident aliens.[4]

Discussing the dissolution of the league in 386 after the King's Peace, Xenophon writes:

> The Corinthians, however, still kept the Argive garrison in their city. Agesilaus (king of Sparta) now announced his intentions here also. He would make war, he said, on the Corinthians, if they failed to send away the Argives, and on the Argives, if they did not leave Corinth. Both parties were frightened by this prospect, and so the Argives left Corinth, and Corinth once again became a separate independent state.[5]

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1 All dates are B.C. unless otherwise marked. The following abbreviations will be used: *CEG 2*= Petrus A. Hansen (ed), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca. Saeculi IV A. Chr. N* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989); GHI=Marcus N. Tod (ed), *Greek Historical Inscriptions. From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C*, II vols (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1985); *IG* II.2= Ulricus Koehler (ed), *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora*, vol. II.2, *Tabulas magistratuum, catalogos nominum, instrumenta iuris privati continens*, (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1883); *SEG*= H.W. Pleket and R.S. Stoud (eds), *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, vols. 35, 40 (Lugduni Batavorum, 1985, 1993); SGHI= Russel Meiggs and David Lewis (eds), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
2 Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.1; on the outbreak of the Corinthian War, see Diod. Sic. 14.82.1-4; Xen. *Hell*. 3.5; S. Perlman, "The Causes and Outbreak of the Corinthian War," The Classical Quarterly, New Series vol. 14, no. 1 (May, 1964); J.B. Salmon, Wealthy Corinth. A History of the City to 338 B.C. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 343-354.
3 Ibid. 4.4.2-5; Diod. Sic. 14.86.1-2 provides a condensed but similar narrative, though he claims that the Corinthians began the revolution and that the allies simply joined in afterwards to maintain cohesion.
4 Ibid. 4.4.6.
5 Ibid. 5.1.34.

KLUTAIMESTRA
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    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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But soon we'll see the flaming torches' flares,
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    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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The fire's exchanges, if they're really true   490
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    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
```
or if like dreams this happy light that's come
```
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
```
has tricked our hearts and minds. The herald from
```
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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the shore! I see him stacked with branches from
```
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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an olive. Thirsty dust, a sister to
```
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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our own wet earth, will testify to this   495
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    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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for me: he's not a speechless man, and won't
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```
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```
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```
he'll say what's more than welcome—and I'll hate
```
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
```
a speech that's not. Additions to these good
```
    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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appearances—better they be good! But if   500
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    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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a man who lives here prays for other things,
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    -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^   -   ^
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4 Ibid. 4.4.6.
5 Ibid. 5.1.34.

Although Xenophon's account is problematic, particularly with regard to the date at which the union occurred, the historicity of the union and dissolution of the Corinthian-Argive state is sound.[6] The motivations behind the unification, however, remain unclear. This last passage from Xenophon implies that the union was more complicated than a simple military domination by Argos with a few Corinthian collaborators, since he suggests that Agesilaus had to threaten the Corinthians to dissolve the arrangement.[7] However, its uniqueness is rather remarkable and has yet to be satisfactorily explained, particularly in light of recent developments in the study of Greek ethnicity.[8] The purpose of this paper will therefore be to ascertain the nature of this union and the reasons for its unification and collapse.

This paper will consider various explanations offered by modern scholars. Some, such as Griffith, Kagan and Robinson, argue that the desire for a change in government at Corinth towards democracy largely motivated the revolution and they contextualize the union with the narrative of constitutional *stasis*.[9] Others, like Perlman and Salmon, emphasize factional politics and the Corinthian fear of Sparta as causes for the Argive alliance.[10] Finally, Robinson has suggested that although our sources do not mention ethnic identity as a reason for the union, the construction of a common Argive-Corinthian identity may have at least facilitated the unification.[11] Although many of these arguments are compelling, it seems impossible to determine the reasons for the unification based on the sparse and problematic evidence we possess. For that reason, this paper, after discussing these theories concerning the Corinthian-Argive alliance, will employ a comparative methodology and compare this affair with other examples of unification and dissolution of interstate governments in the northern Peloponnese during the first half of the fourth century. This paper will examine the Triphylian league, the integration of Kalydon into the Achaean league and the dissolution of the Arcadian league. I will then apply to the problem of Corinth and Argos noted general trends and conclusions in the northern Peloponnese, and argue that foreign policy considerations were the most important factors in the unification of Corinth and Argos. I will also argue that the experimental granting of citizenship through *isopoliteia* and the construction of an Argive-Corinthian ethnic identity were the tools used to ensure cooperation between the two.

6   For other references to the revolution or the union aside from Xenophon and Diodorus, see And. *De Pace* 26, 32; *Hell. Ox.* 7.2-3; Plut. *Ages.* 21. Problems with Xenophon's narrative will be dealt with later in the paper, but for the major issues see Christopher Tuplin, "The Date of the Union of Corinth and Argos," *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* vol. 34, no. 1 (1982), 75-83 and contra, Michael Whitby, "The Union of Corinth and Argos: A Reconsideration," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* vol. 33, no. 3 (3rd Qtr., 1984), 295-308.

7   For the view that Argos simply dominated Corinth, see Charles D. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories*, Politics and Diplomacy in the Corinthian War (Ithaca-London: Cornell UP, 1979), 276; against this argument, Salmon 1984, 361; it will thus be important to determine whom Xenophon refers to in this passage as the "Corinthians."

8   A short but inconclusive discussion with regards to ethnicity is offered in: Eric Robinson, "Ethnicity and Democracy in the Peloponnese, 401-362 BCE," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. Peter Funke and Nino Luraghi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2009), 142.

9   G.T. Griffith, "The Union of Corinth and Argos (392-386 B.C.)," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* vol. 1, no. 2 (1950), 241; Donald Kagan, "Corinthian Politics and the Revolution of 392 B.C.," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* vol. 11, no. 4 (Oct., 1962), 452-453; Robinson 2009, 142.

10   Perlman 1964, 68-70; Salmon 1984, 355-356; Françoise Ruzé, *Délibération et pouvoir dans la cité grecque de Nestor à Socrate* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), 288.

11   Robinson 2009, 142-143.

Before discussing the nature of the union, it is necessary to examine some of the flaws in Xenophon's narrative and to determine whether the unification took place in 392 or in 390.[12] As Cawkell notes, Xenophon's sources for the revolution likely included men like Pasimelus, a leader of the exiled Corinthians in the campaigns against the Corinthian-Argive alliance whose evidence was more emotive than accurate.[13] Moreover, Xenophon's narrative is contradictory. Although he states in the passage cited above that as of 392 Corinth and Argos formed one state, he writes that at the conference of Antalcidas in 392/391 the Corinthians and Argives individually sent ambassadors.[14] Indeed, Diodorus suggests that there were two stages to the integration: the revolution in 392, in which allied troops garrisoned the city, and the union in 390, following the exiles' temporary recapture of Corinth from the Athenian commander Iphicrates.[15] Xenophon's narrative further supports this; in explaining Iphicrates' later presence at Athens, he implies that Iphicrates had angered the Argives by putting some Corinthians of the pro-Argos faction to death, causing the Argives to then incorporate Corinth into Argos.[16] Finally, our most contemporary source, the speech *De Pace* which was written by the Athenian logographer Andocides and has been dated to 392/391, references Corinth and Argos as separate political entities.[17] A full union therefore did not occur in 392, and instead it is most likely that Corinth and Argos united at least by the summer of 390, when the Argives attempted to make the sacrifice to Poseidon to begin the Isthmian games, usually the responsibility of the Corinthians, before Agesilaus stopped them.[18]

12   Whitby 1984 conclusively rebuts Tuplin's (1982) argument that the union took place in 392.

13   G.L. Cawkell, "Introduction" to R. Warner (tr.)," in *Xenophon: A History of My Times* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 25-26; on Pasimelus, see Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.4ff., 7.3.2.

14   Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6 for his claim that the union occurred in 392; 4.8.13 for the Conference of Antalcidas. This passage itself would not prove a later date for the union, in light of its nature (discussed below), but since Xenophon claims that the two cities were one state as of 392, it does weaken the credibility of his narrative. In conjunction with the other evidence this passage thus shows that the union did not take place in 392.

15   Diod. Sic. 14.86.1-3, 14.91.2-92.2: "After these events had taken place, the Argives took up arms in full force and marched against Corinth, and after seizing the acropolis and securing the city for themselves, they made the Corinthian territory Argive."

16   Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.34: "For after the Argives had incorporated Corinth in their own city they said they had no further need of Iphicrates' men (he had, in fact, put to death some of the pro-Argos party). He had then returned to Athens and happened to still be there." C.f. Whitby 1984, 300.

17   And. De Pace, 26, 27, 41. Note the wording at 27: "[Argos] expects to annex Corinth by prolonging the war, and after gaining control of the state which has always controlled her, she hopes to extend her influence over her partners in victory as well." Thus it is unlikely that Argos had already integrated Corinth into itself, since Andocides anticipates their attempt, though of course his speech may have been re-edited after the later unification. Still, the continual references to Corinth and Argos as separate states and the fact that Andocides never refers to them as a single entity seem to disprove Tuplin's (1982, 79) statement that Andocides' references are simply illogical mistakes. Xen. Hell. 4.8.15 further implies that Andocides is correct since he claims that the Argives rejected an autonomy clause at the Sardis peace conference, which most likely took place in late 392, because "if peace was concluded on those lines, they would not be able to continue with their cherished plan of holding Corinth as a part of Argos."

18   Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.1-2; Diod. Sic. 14.86.5; Plut. *Ages.* 21.2-3. Paus. 3.10.2 alone records that the Corinthians attempted to celebrate the games, though he does note that the Argives did so with them. It is likely that whatever way the authors formulate the event that both poleis simply performed the sacrifice together.

This attempted sacrifice is one of the most crucial pieces of evidence for the nature of the Corinthian-Argive union. This event proves that as of 390 there was some arrangement greater than a simple military domination between Argos and Corinth, since the sacrifice at the Isthmian games was a fairly significant Corinthian religious rite. Following Griffith and Xenophon's statement that the Corinthians "were forced to enjoy the rights of Argive citizenship," most scholars have argued that the two *poleis* entered an *isopoliteia* agreement, defined as the mutual conferral of citizen rights between different *poleis*.[19] Although *isopoliteia* was a rare method for state integration in the fourth century, and would not even have been called *isopoliteia* until the third century, it did possess some precedent, as shown in the decree describing the granting of Athenian citizenship to all citizens of Samos in 405.[20] As Tomlinson points out, due to Spartan fear of the union and the fact that Argive troops were constantly stationed in Corinth because of the war, this agreement was likely of deep significance and not just a symbolic exchange of voting rights, as later *isopoliteia* agreements in the Hellenistic period were.[21]

Still, it is unclear from his Corinthian sources whether Xenophon's statement that Corinth was being called Argos is historical or simply propaganda. If he is to be believed that in 386 many Corinthians did not want to dissolve the union, it is unlikely that Argos totally assimilated Corinth in such a way that Corinth ceased to exist.[22] Peter Funke has also proposed that the arrangement was a *sympoliteia*, under which the two *poleis* would have merged into one state, but would have also retained some autonomy.[23] Funke, however, does not elaborate on this statement, and aside from Xenophon's claim that "the boundary stones (between Corinth and Argos) had been removed,"since most scholars have taken this as propaganda, there is little reason to think that a *sympoliteia* agreement took place.[24]

Similarly, Tomlinson's theory that the arrangement contained some elements of a proto-federal state is too conjectural given the available evidence. Tomlinson argues that precedent for the union can be found in the arrangement between Argos and the Cretan *poleis* Knossos and Tylissos

in approximately 450 B.C., recorded partially in two inscriptions: one found at Tylissos and the other at Argos.[25] According to the Tylissos inscription, neither Argos nor Tylissos could pass certain decrees or laws, including treaties, except by the agreement of the assembly. A third of the votes at the assembly at Argos would have to be from Tylissan representatives, and a third of the votes for that at Tylissos would have to be from Argive representatives. The inscriptions dictate that Argos should maintain a garrison at Tylissos and Knossos, as the Argives did in Corinth throughout the remainder of the Corinthian War. The treaty also emphasizes religious cooperation, which might provide precedent for the joint Corinthian-Argive participation in hosting the Isthmian Games. Still, it is clear that in the Cretan treaty Argos is the dominant *polis*, since there are many more provisions allowing for the Argives to interfere in Crete than for Knossos and Tylissos to enjoy their rights at Argos. The Argive garrisons in Crete thus asserted Argive control and were used as a patron army by Knossos and Tylissos to further their own interests. This is not analogous to Corinth and Argos, both of which were among the largest *poleis* in the Greek world. An Argive garrison was likely stationed at Corinth independently of any interstate integration, but rather due to the amount of fighting that took place in the land surrounding Corinth throughout the whole Corinthian War; indeed, Boeotian and Athenian garrisons were also kept in Corinth.[26] Although certain elements of these Cretan treaties may have acted as antecedents for the integration of Corinth and Argos, there are enough differences that we cannot assume that the Argives defined this union in similar terms, such that to pass a decree at Corinth the assembly needed to be a third Argive. An *isopoliteia* enactment, even if it was not called that, is the most likely solution. Citizenship was thus a major method used to ensure this interstate cooperation.

Many scholars, and most recently Robinson, have concluded that by emending a corrupt passage of Diodorus, a Corinthian desire for democracy can partially explain the integration of the two states.[27] According to this interpretation, Diodorus describes that "*ev de tei Korinthoi tines ton epithumounton demokratias sustraphentes agonon onton en toi theatroi phonon epoiesan kai staseos eplerosan ten polin*."[28] Indeed, although our knowledge of Corinth's constitution is minimal, it is likely that Corinth was normally governed as an oligarchy; Plutarch writes that in the mid fourth century "the Corinthians had a polity which leaned towards oligarchy," and that they transacted little public business in their assembly of the people.[29] Thus the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*'s description of the revolutionaries as men "*ton de Korinthion hoi metastesai ta pragmata zetountes*" would refer to Corinthians who wanted to overthrow the oligarchy and impose a democracy,

19 Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.6; Griffith 1950, 247-248; Salmon 1984, 358-359; on isopoliteia, see Emily Mackil, "Wandering Cities: Alternatives to Catastrophe in the Greek Polis," *American Journal of Archaeology* vol. 108, no. 4 (Oct., 2004), 504, 510; Peter J. Rhodes, "Isopoliteia," in Brill's New Pauly, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Brill, 2010a).
20 GHI I.96, II.97; Griffith 1950, 248.
21 J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States. Their Institutions and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 202-203; R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid. From the End of the Bronze Age to the Roman Occupation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1972), 133-136; contra Salmon 1984, 358-362.
22 Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.6, 5.1.34. Kagan (1962, 453) argues from Xenophon that Corinth did give up its autonomy; however Tomlinson (1972, 133) and Salmon (1984. 361) argue convincingly against him based on 5.1.34. Regarding this passage, it is unlikely that Xenophon only refers to the leaders of the revolution when he states that Agesilaus had to threaten the Corinthians with war to force them to expel the Argive garrison, since Xenophon, who was in favour of the exiles, would probably have referred to the leaders specifically. Admittedly, however, this passage is too vague for definite claims on who in Corinth wanted to maintain the Argive garrison and alliance.
23 Peter Funke, "Between Mantinea and Leuctra. The Political World of the Peloponnese in a Time of Upheaval" in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. Peter Funke and Nino Luraghi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2009), 10. On sympoliteia, see Larsen 1968, 202-207; Mogens H. Hansen and Thomas H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 117; Peter J. Rhodes, "Sympoliteia," in *Brill's New Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Brill, 2010b).
24 Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.6; on this propaganda, see Cawkell 1979, 25-26; Whitby 1984, 296.

25 *SGHI* 42.
26 Xen. *Hell*. 4.4.1: Even before the revolution Athenian, Boeotian and Argive garrisons were kept in Corinth. Diod. Sic. 14.86.1-4 provides similar evidence. For an account of warfare around Corinth, see Xen. Hell. 4.4-5.
27 Griffith 1950, 241; Kagan 1962, 449-450, 452-453 with reservations; Robinson 2009, 142.
28 Diod. Sic. 14.86.1: "But in Corinth some of the men were desiring democracy and, having been rallied when contests were being held in the theatre, committed murder and filled the city up with civil strife." The translation here is my own. The original text given by the manuscripts reads "*en de tei Korinthoi tines ton epithumiai kratounton*," which can be translated as "but in Corinth some of them men were prevailing with/by desire;" as Robinson (2009, 142 n. 25) notes, the manuscript text is nonsensical.
29 Plut. *Dion*, 53.2; for a summary of the evidence on Corinth's constitution, see Salmon 1984, 231-239, however, the majority of the evidence is for the Hellenistic Period; c.f. Ronald P. Legon, "Megaris, Corinthia and Sikyonia," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* eds. Mogens H. Hansen and Thomas H. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 467.

perhaps through a merger with democratic Argos.[30] Robinson adds that Xenophon refers to this constitutional conflict by calling the exiles the "*beltistoi*" in favour of "*eunomia*," words with oligarchic connotations.[31] Political ideology as a motive for the revolution and union further fits into the general narrative of *stasis* in Greek history, as first famously described by Thucydides during his account of revolution at Corcyra in 433.[32] However, this approach to the union of Corinth and Argos is problematic, both because it relies on numerous assumptions and because it is framed by what was generally an ideological rather than constitutional conflict in fourth century Greece.

As Salmon argues, there is little reason to make such a large emendation to the Diodorus manuscript as to include the word "*demokratias*".[33] The statement from the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* that the revolutionaries wanted a "change in policy" is vague and only seems to refer to democracy once the emendation has been made to Diodorus, yet the emendation to Diodorus has been made due to this passage from the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*; thus Robinson's argument is circular. Buckler also points out that this emendation "would constitute the first and only mention of an organized democratic group at Corinth."[34] Indeed, it is suspicious that if a desire for democracy caused the *stasis* in 392, we do not hear about conflicts between democrats and oligarchs after the end of the union in 386, and it is worth remarking that the Corinthian *politeia* was remarkably stable in the 5th and 4th centuries, aside from the revolution of 392 and the tyranny of Timophanes in the 360s.[35] Buckler further notes that the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* never uses the word "*pragma*" as used in this passage to refer to constitutional revolution, and therefore that "*pragma*" should be defined as simply a change of policy towards Sparta.[36] And Xenophon himself does not characterize the conflict in terms of democracy and oligarchy. Thus, the *eunomia* that the exiles wanted could refer to a state governed by the exiles instead of a return to oligarchy. Salmon's emendation, that "*tines ton kratounton epi thusiai sustraphentes,*" is therefore possible, but Butler's, that "*tines ton epithumounton kratous,*" changes the manuscript less dramatically and seems to be the most likely

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30   *Hell. Ox.* 7.3: "those of the Corinthians who wished to bring about a change in policy." Tomlinson 1972, 130; Marcel Piérart, "Argolis," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* eds. Mogens H. Hansen and Thomas H. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 603; Marcel Piérart, "Argos. Une Autre Déomocratie," in *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History*, eds. P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen, L. Rubinstein (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 297-310.
31   Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.1, 6.
32   Thuc. 3.82.1: "Later on, one may say, the whole Hellenic world was convulsed; struggles being everywhere made by the popular chiefs to bring in the Athenians, and by the oligarchs to introduce the Lacedaemonians. In peace there would have been neither the pretext nor the wish to make such an invitation; but in war, with an alliance always at the command of either faction for the hurt of their adversaries and their own corresponding advantage, opportunities for bringing in the foreigner were never wanting to the revolutionary parties; for general comments on *stasis* in the Peloponnesian War and concerning Corcyra in particular, see Andrew Lintott, *Violence, Civil Strife and Revolution in the Classical City, 750-330 BC* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1982), 103-109; Martin Ostwald, *Oligarchia. The Development of a Constitutional Form in Ancient Greece* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000a), 24-25; on *stasis* in general, c.f. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 124-129.
33   Salmon 1984, 355-357; similarly, c.f. Ruzé 1997, 307-309. For the evidence, see again n. 22, 24, 25.
34   John Buckler, "A Note on Diodorus 14.86.1," *Classical Philology* vol. 94, no. 2 (Apr., 1999), 211.
35   Salmon 1984, 236 on this stability. See Plut. *Tim.* 4.4-7 for the short and violent tyranny of Timophanes.
36   Buckler 1999, 211. For a similar use of *pragma*, see *Hell. Ox.* 18.1-2.

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solution.[37] This does not deny that a desire for some constitutional change may have at least resulted from the revolution, but the evidence is not explicit enough to frame the conflict in those terms.

Furthermore, as Ostwald observes, "at the end of the fifth century democracy and oligarchy became little more than ideological footballs in party political conflicts, with the result that both tend to lose any significance as genuine principles in practical politics."[38] The battle between oligarchy and democracy in the Greek world during the fourth century was ideological, and the terms were used as a means to change the men in power rather than the institutions of the city. So, Lysias claims that "no human being is naturally either an oligarch or a democrat: whatever constitution a man finds advantageous to himself, he is eager to see that one established."[39] Similarly, Thucydides' account of Pisander's argument for changing the government of Athens to an oligarchy in 411 shows that debate was not about the form but the preservation of the state.[40] Even if the revolution at Corinth overthrew the oligarchy and set up a democracy, it remains unclear how much this constitutional change would have affected institutions and political participation. The extent of any institutional change is particularly doubtful since Corinth was likely a "moderate" oligarchy in that either a large portion of the citizen body held sufficiently high property status to participate in government or that those who did take part in government seem to have governed in the interests of poorer Corinthians.[41] It is unlikely that, as Robinson puts it, "political ideology… played a major role in the upheaval at Corinth."[42]

Rather, it is profitable to view the revolution and the later integration in the context of aristocratic factions and foreign policy, especially with regards to Sparta.[43] Corinth had traditionally allied itself with Sparta, although tensions between the two had arisen as of the Peloponnesian War. For example, in 421, the Corinthians were unhappy with the Peace of Nicias and approached the Argives to form a military pact against Athens and Sparta.[44] Similarly, in 404, the Corinthians became

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37   Diod. Sic. 14.86.1, and Salmon 1984, 356 for the emendation and translation: "In Corinth some of those in power gathered together at a sacrifice while contests were taking place in the theatre…" Butler 1999, 211: "In Corinth some of the men were desiring power, and having been rallied when contests were being held in the theatre…"
38   Ostwald 2000a, 26; Hansen and Nielsen (2004, 124-125) argue for three types of *stasis*, one of which involved constitutional change.
39   Lys. 25.8.
40   Thuc. 8.53.2; similarly, the descriptions of oligarchies and democracies by the fourth century orators are devoid of any institutional information, and are merely presented as representing bad and good government (respectively): Ostwald 2000a, 29. for examples, see the descriptions of democracy and oligarchy at Dem. *Timocr.* 76; Aesch. *Tim.* 4-5; Dem. *Lib. Rhod.* 19; for a pro-oligarchic account, see Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 1.3.
41   Salmon 1984, 236; for the ancient evidence on different types of oligarchies and property qualification, see Thuc. 3.62.3-4; Arist. *Pol.* 1279b, 1293a. Martin Ostwald, "Oligarchy and Oligarchs in Ancient Greece," in *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History*, eds. P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen, L. Rubinstein (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000b), 390-394 defines two types of oligarchy, egalitarian and restrictive oligarchies, though he notes that we are simply ignorant concerning the institutional differences between democracy and oligarchy. On both democracies and oligarchies being ideologically *isonomoi*, see Paul Cartledge, "Boiotian Swine F(or)ever?" in *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History*, eds. P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H. Nielsen, L. Rubinstein (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 407-411.
42   Robinson 2009, 142.
43   Buckler 1999, 211-212; Salmon 1984, 356-357.
44   Thuc. 5.27-31.

more hostile to Sparta because the Spartans forbade them to sack Athens and because the Spartans would not give the Corinthians the plunder or power they desired, causing the Corinthians to refuse to march against the Piraeus, and later in 400 against Elis, with the Spartans.[45] As Buckler points out, these same tensions caused Corinth's final rupture with Sparta before the Corinthian war, and foreign policy, as opposed to political ideology, caused the destruction of the alliance between the two states.[46]

The fact that those who committed the *stasis* were oligarchs themselves who only became hostile to Sparta after the Peloponnesian War supports this. Of those who led the revolution, the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* writes that "most, [like] the Argives and Boeotians, were hostile towards the Spartans, but Timolaus alone was opposed to them on private grounds, [though] formerly he had been very well-disposed and an outstanding pro-Spartan."[47] Xenophon expands on this statement by claiming that the revolutionaries were "those Corinthians who had taken money from the (Persian) King and those who had become most clearly responsible for the war," whom he names in his earlier narrative of the Persian bribe money as the same Timolaus and a certain Polyanthes, who, according to Pausanias, had Argive sympathies.[48] Polyanthes had commanded a naval squadron in 413 on the same side as Sparta, and as has been previously noted, Timolaus had been a supporter of Sparta until he switched sides for personal reasons.[49] There is no evidence that Polyanthes, Timolaus or their allies were democrats, aside from the problematic emendation to Diodorus, and it is instead more likely that they were oligarchs angered by Spartan foreign policy and the lack of money and power they had received in their alliance with Sparta. Their enemies, the eventual exiles led by Pasimelus, were simply other oligarchs who became pro-Spartan in approximately 392, since, according to Xenophon, that year is when they "began to desire peace."[50] He therefore implies that they had initially endorsed the Corinthian War and the anti-Spartan alliance. Pasimelus' peace policy was likely becoming more popular due to the devastation of Corinthian land. Timolaus and his allies, who had therefore been both powerful since the beginning of the Corinthian War and the chief architects of the Corinthian alliance with Argos, Boeotia and Athens, carried out the massacre to maintain their own power and the anti-Spartan policy.

Indeed, the foreign policy explanation fits in light of modern theories on Greek interstate relations. Strauss has noted that a bandwagon effect governed international relations among the Greeks, such that less powerful states would ally with one another to balance the power of a more powerful state or hegemon.[51] Examples of this phenomenon are common throughout Classical Greek history, caused by the constant interstate environment of fear and envy; although this environment generally created distrust amongst allies and made cooperation difficult, a pressing need for defensive

military action could allow two or more *poleis* to unite against another one.[52] Due to the amount of fighting that occurred around Corinth during the war, the Corinthians may have welcomed Argive, Boeotian and Athenian garrisons to a certain extent, and would have been willing to seek closer ties with one of those *poleis*. Since, as previously mentioned, Corinth had already attempted to co-operate with Argos during the Peloponnesian War and since Timolaus and Polyanthes had Argive sympathies, it makes sense that they would have chosen to integrate with Argos.[53] Further, Argos was geographically closest to Corinth and an important road connected these two *poleis*, thus simplifying military coordination.[54] As for the Argives, they likely wanted to gain more control at Corinth than the Athenians and Boeotians possessed and to ensure that an Athenian like Iphicrates could not act against their interests.[55] It is true that an *isopoliteia* agreement would have been abnormal for two large *poleis* attempting to create ties with each other, but both Corinth and Argos were probably attempting to ensure that their alliance did not collapse in the face of Sparta, as so many Greek alliances did for one reason or another.[56] Foreign policy was thus a major factor in this interstate cooperation between Corinth and Argos, and the granting of citizenship was an experimental way to strengthen the alliance.

The remaining key to the puzzle may be ethnicity, which could have acted as both a cause for and a means of integration. Before commenting specifically on ethnicity in this case, it is necessary to make a few remarks on recent scholarship on Greek ethnicity.[57] Traditionally, scholars and ancient historians have viewed the *ethnos* as a Bronze Age tribal organization that was eventually supplanted by the *polis*. According to this evolutionary model, *ethne* would be passed on from one generation to the next. That is, there may have been a tribal proto-race called the Dorians, who, initially connected by kinship alone, would have settled in one area (in this case the Peloponnese) and thus become defined by territoriality, shared a common language, and who would have eventually separated into different *poleis*, such as Sparta and Argos, although they would remain part of the exclusive Dorian tribe.[58] Foustel de Coulanges, writing in the 19th century, summarizes this argument. He argues that society evolved first from the *gens* to the phratry to the tribe to the *polis*, each of which was organized around unique religious rituals. He argues:

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45 Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.19, 2.4.30, 3.2.25, 3.5.5, 3.5.12, Just. *Epit.* 5.10.12; Paus. 3.8.3.

46 Diod. Sic. 14.82.2-3; And. *De Pace,* 3.21; Perlman 1964, 68-69; Buckler 1999, 212.

47 *Hell. Ox.* 7.3.

48 Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.1, 4.4.2; Paus. 3.9.8.

49 Thuc. 7.34.2; Hans Beck, "Polyanthes," in *Brill's New Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Brill, 2010).

50 Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.2.

51 Barry S. Strauss, "Of Balances, Bandwagons, and Ancient Greeks," in *Hegemonic Rivalry: from Thucy-dides to the Nuclear Age*, eds. Richard N. Lebow and Barry S. Strauss (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 202-203; on the unclear definition of *hegemon* in the early fourth century, see John Buckler and Hans Beck, *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 128-139.

52 Dem. *3 Phil.* 23-24 notes the Greek tendency to unite against an ascendant *polis*, and cites Athens, Sparta and Thebes as examples.. Examples: Thuc. 2.8.4-5 on the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, where he argues that most Greeks were for the Spartans since they were apprehensive of Athenian power; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.8-15 records a Theban speech which reflects similar sentiments before the Corinthian War; see also *Hell. Ox.* 7.2-3, 18.1-2, Diod. Sic. 14.82.2-3. On interstate relations, fear and defensive cooperation, see Arthur M. Eckstein, *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War and the Rise of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 68-72.

53 See above, n. 44 and 48.

54 Strab. 8.6.19; Marcel Piérart, "L'attitude d'Argos à l'égard des autres cités d'Argolide" in *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*, ed. Mogens H. Hansen (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters, 1997), 321.

55 See n. 15-16.

56 Eckstein 2006, 71-72.

57 I do not here refer to a pan-Hellenic ethnicity, but rather to local and regional groupings. For a summary of scholarship on Greek ethnicity, see Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1-16.

58 E.g. Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City* (London-Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1980), 101-112, 118-122.

The tribe, like the family and the phratry, was established as an independent body, since it has a special worship from which the stranger was excluded. Once formed, no new family could be admitted to it. No more could two tribes be fused into one: their religion was opposed to this.[59]

Yet recently scholars have challenged these arguments, along with the revisionist attempt to discount ethnicity entirely as a factor in Greek political decisions.[60] According to this new model, the *polis* did not replace the *ethne*, for as Morgan argues, many non-*polis* settlements such as Pherai and Aigion fulfilled many of the same functions as traditional *poleis* with few differences.[61] More importantly, Jeremy McInerney has noted that *ethne* retained its importance for Greek self-identity in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, that these ethnic identities were dynamic and malleable, and that the Greeks asserted *ethne* "because tribal identities served some useful purpose in the present."[62] By creating new genealogies and altering borders, myths and histories, *poleis* and groups of Greeks could shift their ethnic allegiances. A Greek was not made a Dorian through his DNA or because his ancestors had similar funeral rites to other Dorian Greeks, but because he proclaimed that he was Dorian, often for political purposes, such as to attach one's city to a stronger, well established ethnic group.[63] For example, Ulf argues that the Spartans only adopted the Dorian ethnicity during the fifth century in an attempt to claim leadership among the Dorians of the Peloponnese, and before that, the Spartans were associated with the Tyndarids.[64] Thucydides finally associates the Spartans with the Dorians at the end of the fifth century.[65] The Spartans might use different ethnicities to suit their purposes; they could create genealogies showing their descent as Dorians in an effort to solidify their Peloponnesian League, but a Spartan king like Cleomenes could also claim to be Achaean in order to show his superiority to these same Dorians.[66] The Greeks changed ethnicity flexibly to suit political purposes.

This recent understanding of ethnicity sheds light on the problem of the union of Corinth and Argos, by showing the methods through which two independent and large *poleis* could unify.

59 Fustel de Coulanges 1980, 118-119.
60 E.g. Denis Roussel, *Tribu et cité* (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1976), 5.
61 Catherine Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (New York-London: Routledge, 2003), 74-85. Re-affirmed by Christopher Ulf, "The Development of Greek *Ethne* and their *Ethnicity*," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. Peter Funke and Nino Luraghi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2009), 227.
62 Jeremy McInerney, *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 9.
63 Hall 1997, 50-51, 182; McInerney 1999, 25-35; Ulf 2009, 231-233. On intentional histories, see Hans-Joachim Gehrke, "Myth, History, and Collective Identity; Uses of the Past in Ancient Greece and Beyond," in *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, ed. Nino Luraghi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 286: He writes that a society's "intentional history is of fundamental significance… for the way a society interprets and understands itself, and therefore for its inner coherence and ultimately its collective identity."
64 Ulf 2009, 231-233; for a different interpretation which posits the fusion of a Spartan-Dorian identity in the 8th century, c.f. Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 82-89.
65 Thuc. 1.107.2-3 calls Doris the homeland of the Spartans and implies that this could explain why they aided other Dorians; similarly see Thuc. 3.92
66 Hdt. 1.67-68; Paus. 3.3.5-7, 8.54.4; Ulf 2009, 231-233;

Robinson has recently shown that several references to a common Argive-Corinthian ethnicity in Greek literature may confirm an attempt to revise myths at the time of the union to assert or reassert an Argive-Corinthian identity, both through the ethnic identity marker of being Dorians and through common territoriality.[67] So, in the Catalogue of Ships, Homer refers to the Argives as "they that held… wealthy Corinth."[68] Later, he states that Ephyre, another name for Corinth, "is in the heart of Argos."[69] More importantly, Pausanias, writing in the 2nd century A.D., claims that "the Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus and writes:

> That Bellerophontes (ruler of Corinth) was not an absolute king, but was subject to Proetus and the Argives is the belief of myself and of all who have read carefully the Homeric poems. When Bellerophontes migrated to Lycia it is clear that the Corinthians none the less were subject to the despots at Argos or Mycenae.[70]

It is possible that this is an example of Argive intentional history from the 4th century, and that Pausianias reflects the attempts by Argos and Corinth to use ethnicity to strengthen their union.[71] Indeed, the attention he pays to Corinth's founding genealogy reveals a competing narrative in which Corinth's early history was more independent of Argos, increasing the likelihood that the former passage is a later construct.[72] Ethnicity may provide an ideological cause for the *isopoliteia* agreement, but the evidence remains inconclusive.

This paper has argued that the complete union between Corinth and Argos took place in 390, that it was an *isopoliteia* agreement, and that foreign policy, aristocratic rivalry, citizenship and ethnicity were main causes of and factors for the integration. This argument is certainly weakened by the fact that none of our historical sources mention ethnicity as a reason for the unification, and are not explicit about the reasons for the union in general. For this reason, this paper will now turn to other examples of *polis* integration in the Northern Peloponnese during the 4th century to examine, based on comparative evidence, to what extent political ideology, foreign policy, citizenship and ethnicity were factors and methods for unification in general and for Corinth and Argos in particular. This paper will examine three case studies: The formation of the Triphylian

67 Robinson 2009, 143.
68 Hom. *Il.* 2.569-570.
69 Ibid.. 6.152-154.
70 Paus. 2.1.1, 2.4.2.
71 Hall 1997, 67-69 on Pausanias' use of myth and genealogies as examples of how ethnic identity was constructed; Gehrke 2001, 286 on intentional history's importance to creating collective identity.
72 Robinson 2009, 143; see Paus. 2.1.1: "The Corinthian land is a portion of the Argive, and is named after Corinthus. That Corinthus was a son of Zeus I have never known anybody say seriously except the majority of the Corinthians. Eumelus, the son of Amphilytus, of the family called Bacchidae, who is said to have composed the epic poem, says in his Corinthian History (if indeed the history be his) that Ephyra, the daughter of Oceanus, dwelt first in this land; that afterwards Marathon, the son of Epopeus, the son of Aloeus, the son of Helius, fleeing from the lawless violence of his father migrated to the sea coast of Attica; that on the death of Epopeus he came to Peloponnesus, divided his kingdom among his sons, and returned to Attica; and that Asopia was renamed after Sicyon, and Ephyraea after Corinthus."

League; the ethnic identity of the *Trupholoi* from 400 to 369, and its absorption into the Arcadian league. Then this paper will examine the integration of Calydon into the Achaean league before 389, and the collapse of the Arcadian confederacy in the 360s. These comparisons are not exact, since all three of these case studies involve federal leagues rather than *isopoliteia*. Still, the general trends of the Northern Peloponnese may provide answers for the problem of Corinth and Argos.

In approximately 400, after concluding a war against the *polis* of Elis, the Spartans forced the Eleans to give up their *perioikoi* and grant these communities autonomy.[73] These communities were located between the Alpheios and Neda rivers, in an area which is called by all our fourth century sources "Triphylia."[74] Two inscriptions shed some light on how these *perioikoi* states organized themselves after they were granted autonomy. One is a bronze diskos awarding Triphylian citizenship to an individual, likely in the village of Krestena, between 400 and 369; the second, more interestingly, grants Triphylian citizenship to individuals at Makistos, but stipulates that the recipients would maintain citizenship and continue to possess their citizen rights at Makistos.[75] As Nielsen correctly argues, based on Xenophon's references to Triphalian cities as independent *poleis*, the Triphylian state was likely a federal league which allowed for both local and regional citizenship to integrate its communities.[76] Indeed, the inscriptions attest to federal institutions, such as *toi Tripulioi*, which may have been an assembly, and *damiorgoi*, some sort of Triphylian executive magistracy or board probably similar to the *damiorgoi* in the Arcadian league.[77] This Triphylian organization conducted warfare, as a contingent of approximately 3,000 troops are named as being at the battle of Nemea in 394 as Triphylian.[78] Although the lack of evidence makes it difficult to assess how this Triphylian league functioned, it seems to have matched Xenophon's informal definition of a federal state, in that federal citizenship was crucial to the integration of individual *poleis* and that the power of the league seems to have superseded the autonomy of the city-state.[79] The role of citizenship in the uniting of Triphylia is therefore noteworthy, just as it is in the case of Corinth and Argos. Yet by as late as 369, following Sparta's defeat at the battle of Leuctra in 371, Xenophon claims that the Triphylians now claimed to be Arcadian, and the Arcadian league likely had incorporated Triphylia by this time.[80] Foreign policy and ethnicity were the main factors behind both the creation and disintegration of the Triphylian league.

Foreign policy and practical politics were likely the main reasons for the union of the Triphylian city-states. Siewert argues that the Spartans created the Triphylian league in order to more efficiently organize these *poleis*' armies to fight against Elis; this would explain why the league

73 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30-31; Paus. 3.8.5; Diod. Sic. 14.17.4, 14.34.1.

74 James Roy, "The *Perioikoi* of Elis," in *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*, ed. Mogens H. Hansen (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters, 1997), 282-285. See Lepreon as an example, which fought against the Persians during the Persian Wars: Hdt. 9.28.4.

75 *SEG* 35.389; 40.392.

76 Thomas H. Nielsen, "Triphylia. An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organization," in *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis,* ed. Thomas H. Nielsen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 148-149.

77 Larsen 1968, 187; Nielsen 1997, 149.

78 Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16.

79 Hans Beck, "'The Laws of the Fathers' versus 'the Laws of the League': Xenophon on Federalism," *Classical Philology* vol. 96, no. 4 (Oct., 2001), 369-371.

80 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26; see below for further evidence and discussion.

collapsed after Leuctra, as Sparta could no longer exert enough control to maintain the league.[81] However, it is more likely that the initiative for the league came from the Triphylian cities themselves, since Elis continued to attempt to subjugate them and each of the cities would therefore have had reason to unite and would be able to field larger military contingents.[82] Indeed, Nielsen correctly points out that if the Triphylian league's main foreign policy goal was to protect itself from Elian expansionism, Triphylia's entry into the Arcadian confederacy after Leuctra is understandable, since Sparta would no longer have been able to offer protection. Once again, it does not seem that constitutional debates caused the formation of the league or its integration into Arcadia at all, except for where these debates interacted with foreign policy. Robinson argues from the limited evidence that due to the lack of words like "*demos*" or "*aliaia*" in the inscriptions and the use of "*oi Triphuloi*" instead – a more common formula in oligarchic *poleis* - Triphylia may have been an oligarchy.[83] However, it is likely that this constitutional arrangement was once again the equivalent of an ideological football, an attempt to create differences between democratic Elis and the Triphylian *poleis*, and one which likely had little impact on actual institutions or means of government. Foreign policy and Peloponnesian power politics in general drove the integration and the subordination of the Triphylian state.

Ethnic identity contextualized these processes and was an important factor in Triphylia's unification and its acceptance into the Arcadian league. Although several of our sources refer to Triphylia as an ethnic construct before the fourth century, Ruggeri has recently shown that the *poleis* of Triphylia constructed a common ethnic identity only after Sparta granted them autonomy, when they united politically.[84] The name "*Triphuloi*", "those of the three tribes," itself suggests that Triphyila was a later ethnic construct which combined at least three *ethne*.[85] Importantly, the term Triphylia and its variants are found in no source written before the fourth century, and founding legends for the region refer only to individual cities or the label "Minyan."[86] The creation of the Triphylian league also likely led to the creation of a new mythic genealogy for the region, one at odds with past foundation myths, shown in an inscription from 369 that records an eponymous hero for the league, Triphylos.[87] Finally, an Athenian funeral inscription shows that by the later fourth century, *Triphulios* could become part of a person's name, attesting to the emergence of the ethnic identity of *Triphulos* along with the area's new mythic foundation and common ancestor.[88] Triphylia

81 P. Siewert, "Triphylien und Akroreia. Spartanische 'Regionalstaaten' in der westlichen Peloponnes," *Praktika. Parartema,* vol. 13 (1987-1988), 7-12.

82 Nielsen 1997, 151-155; see Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2 for an example of Elian policy concerning the Triphylian cities: In 370, they still claimed that these cities belonged to them; indeed, it seems likely that after Leuctra the Eleans began to reconquer the *perioikoi*.

83 Robinson 2009, 140; *SEG* 35.389; 40.392.

84 Claudia Ruggeri, "Triphylia from Elis to Arcadia," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. Peter Funke and Nino Luraghi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2009), 52-58.

85 It is unclear which three tribes this name refers to, or how literally we should take the name. Note Strabo's confusion at 8.3.3; either the Triphylians were the Epeians, the Minyans and the Eleans, or the Epeians, Arcadians and Eleans. Ruggeri (2009, 56) comments on the improbability of the Eleans being one of the tribes referred to.

86 E.g. Hdt. 4.148.4.

87 *CEG* 824.

88 *IG* II.2 10461.

seems to provide a perfect example of the role creating ethnicity could play in uniting *poleis*.[89] It is further possible to see how the Arcadian takeover of Triphyila further affected the construction of this ethnicity. In the inscription cited above, dated after Triphylia entered the Arcadian league, the hero Triphulos is included among the sons of Arcas along with Apheidas, Elatos, Azan and Erasos, who each represented a tribe of the Arcadians.[90] This inscription, in conjunction with Xenophon's statement that the Arcadians treated the Triphylians with respect because "these people claimed to be Arcadian" and the fact that the Arcadians sent a citizen of Lepreon, one of the Triphylian *poleis*, as ambassador to the king of Persia, shows that the Arcadians had by this time absorbed the Triphylian ethnicity.[91] The Triphylian league therefore provides an example that I argue somewhat parallels the case of Corinth and Argos and provides validation for the theory that foreign policy and the construction of ethnicity were the two foremost factors for state integration and collapse.

The second case study is that of the city of Calydon, a *polis* on the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth. Although Xenophon does not provide context or an explanation for how the integration took place, he states that in 389, "the Achaeans were in possession of Calydon, which in the past had belonged to Aetolia, and they had made the people of Calydon Acheaen citizens" and that the Achaeans "were obliged to keep a garrison in the place because the Acarnanians, supported by some Athenians and Boeotians… were bringing up an army against it."[92] The parallels to the union of Argos and Corinth are clear. Once again, citizenship was employed as a means to integrate two states, though in this case into a federal league rather than through *isopoliteia*, and both the Argives and Achaeans kept garrisons in Calydon and Corinth respectively, raising the possibility of simple military domination.[93] Indeed, although the Achaeans remained relatively inactive with regard to Peloponnesian military and political developments during the early fourth century, they consistently attempted to control the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth. This was a strategic region, as evidenced by their similar control of neighbouring Naupaktus and their attempts to conquer Acarnanian cities; the role of the Calydonians may have been passive.[94] After all, according to Xenophon and Homer, Calydon had once been Aetolian, but Thucydides remarks that in 426 the Spartans withdrew to Calydon, in an area called Aeolis, and distinguishes this region from Aetolia.[95] In approximately 366, after Thebes had become

the most powerful state in Greece, Epaminondas of Thebes removed the Achaean garrison from Calydon and "freed" the city, along with other cities under Achaean control in the area, and may also have given control of these cities to the Aetolians.[96] This narrative suggests that larger Greek states simply dominated Calydon throughout its history, with little active involvement from the Calydonians.

But scholars have challenged this depiction of a passive Calydon. The fact that the Achaeans granted citizenship to the Calydonians, a relatively unprecedented action for what was, at the time, a proto-federal league, suggests that the Achaeans were experimenting with ways to integrate other *poleis*, particularly since it is likely that the Calydonians also retained local citizenship, as in the case of Triphylia.[97] Indeed, dual citizenship became the normal means for Achaean integration beginning in the fourth century and more commonly in the third, as an Athenian honorary decree from 399 shows: it is dedicated to Aristeas, who is "*ton Akhaion ton Aigia*."[98] Thus there was incentive for the Calydonians to join the Achaean federation, particularly in light of their foreign policy problems.

It seems likely that even if they had lost control of the region during the fifth century, the Aetolians still consistently aimed to control Calydon and pressured the region. For example, Xenophon claims that in 389, the Aetolians allowed Agesilaus and the Spartans to march through their land, "since they hoped that he would help them recover Naupactus," the neighbouring city in that area which the Achaeans either did or soon would control.[99] And it is clear that, whether Calydon joined the Achaean league before or after the outbreak of the Corinthian War, their strategic position would necessitate their involvement and cause larger states to attempt an attack on them, as the Acarnanians, Athenians and Boeotians did in 389. Like Corinth in 392, there was reason for Calydon to cooperate with other *poleis,* especially more powerful ones, for defensive benefits.[100] Due to the seriousness of the Acarnanian campaign of 389, which required the intervention of Sparta, it is further understandable that Calydon would require an Achaean garrison for the remainder of the Corinthian War, though the Achaeans were likely exerting their own dominance as well.[101] Like the Corinthians and Argives, Freitag notes that the Calydonians and Achaeans had had previous cultural and economic relations that explain why Calydon would choose to become members of the Achaean league rather than join another *polis* or federation.[102] For example, in the mid fifth century the Acaeans had already marched against enemies of the Calydonians, the city of Oeniadae in Acarnania, suggesting they had held interests in the region for a while.[103]

Once again, there is also evidence of constitutional change in Calydon with regard to these developments, in particular during the dissolution of its union with Achaea in 366. Xenophon writes that the Thebans sent governors to all the Achaean cities who "drove out the aristocrats with the aid of the people and marched against each one of the cities in turn" before the exiles quickly

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89   Hall 1997, 50-51, 182; McInerney 1999, 25-35; Ulf 2009, 231-233.

90   *CEG* 824; Ruggeri 2009, 61.

91   Xen. *Hell.*7.1.26, 7.1.33 on Antiochus, the Arcadian ambassador; see Paus. 6.3.9 for clarification that he was from Lepreon.

92   Ibid. 4.6.1; for more on this attack against Calydon, see Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.14. On the Achaean league, see Larsen 1968, 80-89.

93   Robinson 2009, 144.

94   On the attempts of the Achaeans to control this area, see Klaus Freitag, "Achaea and the Peloponnese in the Late Fifth-Early Fourth Centuries," in *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. Peter Funke and Nino Luraghi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2009), 18, and c.f. Irwin L. Merker, "The Achaians in Naupaktos and Kalydon in the Fourth Century," *Hesperia* vol. 58, no. 3 (Jul.-Sept., 1989), 303-311. See Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.13, where the Achaeans complain because Agesilaus had not conquered any Acarnanian cities for them.

95   Hom. *Il.* 2. 635-640; Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1; Thuc. 3.102.5. Bommeljé discusses the debated significance of this passage from Thucydides and argues that it is possible this reference to Aeolis is actually evidence for Achaean control of Calydon as early as the fifth century: Sebastiaan Bommeljé, "Aeolis in Aetolia: Thuc. 3.102.5 and

the Origins of the Aetolian 'ethnos,'" *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* vol. 37, no. 3 (3rd Qtr., 1988), 297, 314-316.

96   Diod. Sic. 15.75.2; Xen. *Hell.*7.1.43; Merker 1989, 305-306.

97   Merker 1989, 303-304; Freitag 2009, 17-18.

98   Freitag 2009, 18; *SEG* 40.54.

99   Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.14; Merker 1989, 304-305.

100   Eckstein 2006, 68-72

101   For the narrative of Acarnanian invasion, see Xen. *Hell.* 4.6-4.7.1.

102   Freitag 2009, 18-19; Merker 1989.

103   Thuc. 1.111.2-3.

marched against each city and recaptured them in turn.[104] As Robinson argues, the phrase "with the aid of the people" suggests that there was support for democracy in Calydon and, therefore, that the Achaean garrison served to strengthen the power of an oligarchy.[105] As such, there may have been some actual constitutional conflict in the Achaean cities, including Calydon, as opposed to the aristocratic infighting carried out in the ideological names of democracy and oligarchy. Still, as usual, our sources remain silent regarding institutional changes. The ease with which the oligarchs seem to have retaken these cities further implies that they also had considerable support. One could then argue that the Thebans likely simply installed in these cities other aristocrats who were favourable to them and whom the majority then rejected, especially since Xenophon claims that the oligarchs who returned became strictly pro-Spartan. Foreign policy disagreements may have driven the *stasis,* a fight between aristocrats eager to secure the backing of a foreign state. But Xenophon's generalizing is also problematic. It is hard to imagine that events followed the same course in all Achaean cities, and unless we take Diodorus' remark that the Thebans liberated Calydon as a reference to democracy, nothing proves that constitutional *stasis* took place at Calydon at all.[106]The evidence does not conclusively state whether many Calydonians accepted the collapse of their union with Achaea more easily due to the implementation of democracy.

Likely, however, Calydon had already ethnically grounded itself as Achaean through the establishment of these ties.[107] Achaea possessed its own ethnicity, which it had politicized through the creation of its league and which it likely encouraged its members to embrace.[108] As for Calydon, the sources reveal hints of its Achaean identity. As Freitag argues, the use of the vague name "Aeolis" to describe the region in the fifth century shows that the inhabitants of the region were likely attempting to negotiate their own identity so as to enable cooperation with larger, neighbouring *poleis*, while distinguishing themselves absolutely from Aetolia.[109] An example of this negotiation is provided by Thucydides, who describes the *polis* of Zacynthus, which neighboured Calydon on the Gulf of Corinth, as being descended from the Achaeans, a statement at odds with Homer's description of the region and city as ethnically Aetolian.[110] Robinson also argues plausibly that if Xenophon is correct in narrating a general movement in 366 in which oligarchs were able to easily recapture Achaean cities which the Thebans had tried to control by installing democracies, the oligarchs would have used ethnic propaganda to rally their citizens to their side.[111] In conclusion, it remains possible that Achaean military dominance factored into Calydon's acceptance of Achaean citizenship, and it is impossible to determine whether a desire for democracy did motivate the Calydonians to abandon the Achaean league and thus be "liberated"

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104   Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43.
105   Robinson 2009, 144-145.
106   Diod. Sic. 15.75.2: "Epaminondas, the Theban, entered the Peloponnese with an army, won over the Achaeans and some cities besides, and liberated Dyme, Naupactus and Calydon, which were held by a garrison of the Achaeans." Diodorus does not mention any counter-campaigns or constitutional changes.
107   Freitag 2009, 18-19.
108   Catherine Morgan and Jonathan Hall, "Achaia," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* eds. Mogens H. Hansen and Thomas H. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 472-477.
109   Freitag 2009, 18-19.
110   Thuc. 2.66.1; Hom. *Il.* 2.635-640.
111   Robinson 2009, 144-145.

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by Thebes. However, I instead argue that, just as in the case of Corinth and Argos and Triphylia, foreign policy considerations largely motivated the union in light of unstable interstate relations, and the two only separated due to the foreign military pressure of the hegemonic Thebans. Citizenship and ethnicity then were the two most important tools used to fuse Calydon and Achaea together.

The collapse of the Arcadian confederacy in 362 highlights the extent to which common ethnicity could unify different *poleis* and how the collapse of this ethnic identity could cause *stasis* and undermine leagues and other interstate arrangements. The complicated reasons for the creation and collapse of the confederacy extend far beyond the scope of this case study, but a brief narrative will be provided as context and to emphasize the role of ethnicity in these developments. The confederacy was founded after Sparta's loss at Leuctra in 371, when the recently unified Mantineans united with Tegea, after it had undergone *stasis* in which pro-federal democrats defeated pro-Spartan oligarchs who wanted Tegea to remain autonomous.[112] No doubt the league gained more members due to the Peloponnesian campaign of the Boeotians in 370-369, which resulted in the immediate liberation of Messenia and the eventual dismantling of Sparta's Peloponnesian League a few years later.[113] In 364 tensions between league members increased when the confederacy began to expend the sacred treasure of Olympia to pay for their army, resulting in conflict with the Mantineans.[114] As a result of this quarrel, in 363-362 the confederacy split in two, as Tegea and the federal capitol Megalopolis allied themselves with the Boeotians, who soon invaded, while the Mantineans and other Arcadian *poleis* received help from the Athenians and Spartans, leading to the battle of Mantinea in 362.[115] Although the Arcadian confederacy was democratic and some scholars have stressed the importance of democratic ideology in the formation, foreign policy, and disintegration of the league, others have long doubted whether there conflict ever existed between democracy and oligarchy in the league or whether all the factions fought under the essentially meaningless name of democracy.[116] In particular the institutional framework of the league seems to have tended towards a more oligarchic than democratic nature.[117] These cases of *stasis* were once again probably civil wars for the control of cities caused partially by disagreements on foreign policy, not forms of government.

Although Arcadia had never seen a federal or tribal organization, with the exception of Sparta's Peloponnesian League, by the fourth century a secure and longstanding Arcadian ethnicity existed. The aforementioned monument and inscription at Delphi from approximately 369 listing

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112   Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6-9 for the infamously concise narrative; also Diod. Sic. 15.59, who provides the institutional detail that the Arcadian confederacy was governed by a "common council to consist of ten thousand men empowered to decide issues of war and peace." See Larsen 1968, 183-184; John Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony, 371-362 BC* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1980), 70-73; Beck 2001, 355-356 on Xenophon's narrative.
113   Diod. Sic. 15.66; Larsen 1968, 186
114   Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.33; Diod. Sic. 15.82.1-5. Diodorus and Xenophon contradict each other over the role of Mantineia; Xenophon claims they did not want to use the sacred treasure and thus attempted to make peace with Elis whereas Diodorus claims they were the ones using the treasure and who most wanted to continue a war against the Eleans. The contradiction is irrelevant to the purpose of this paper, so it should simply be noted that the matter of the sacred treasury caused great conflict in the league.
115   Ibid. 7.4.33-7.5.25; Diod. Sic. 15.82-88.
116   For the democratic interpretation, e.g. Robinson 2009; *contra*, Wesley E. Thompson, "Arcadian Factionalism in the 360's," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* vol. 32, no. 2 (2nd qtr., 1983), 149-150 and n. 5.
117   Larsen 1968, 193-195 argues that ideology here likely trumped constitutional differences.

the sons of Arcas, the eponymous hero of the Arcadian league, exemplifies this.[118] Each of the sons represented a tribe of the Arcadias, some of them more traditional than others. Apheidas, for example, was a king of Tegea. Still, the fact that the inscription also includes Triphulos right after the absorption of Triphylia shows that the Arcadians were willing to reconstruct their identity to include new members of the confederacy and thus be ethnically unified. Pretzler has further noted the extent to which Sparta shaped Arcadian identity as of the formation of the confederacy. She argues that "in general, group identities depend on the existence of the 'other' which is perceived as being outside the group, and… conflict with such an opponent will usually increase the group cohesion."[119] Polybius shows the importance of anti-Spartan rhetoric to Arcadia even centuries later when he justifies the decision of some Arcadians to fight for Philip of Macedon, arguing that they were fighting against the Spartans, their consistent enemy.[120] Partially due to this anti-Spartan ethnic identity and the resulting anti-Spartan foreign policy, the Arcadians were able to maintain the unity of the league.[121]

Once the Thebans had dissolved the Peloponnesian League and freed Messenia, however, the Spartans were no longer a threat to all Arcadians. New enemies, like the Eleans and the Thebans, could not unify Arcadian ethnic identity to the same extent, leading to petty squabbles between cities such as Mantinea and Tegea, disagreement over Arcadia's foreign policy, and the collapse of the confederacy.[122] Common ethnicity, based partially on hatred of Sparta, arguably proved the most important factor for the cohesion of the league. When this ethnic identity failed, so too did the confederacy.

Several trends emerge from these case studies which shed light on the problem of Corinth and Argos. For smaller states to integrate themselves with other *poleis* or unify in order to defend themselves against a hegemon or more powerful states was not rare. Instead, the common trend in the North Peloponnese in the first half of the fourth century was to attempt to experiment with multi-state cooperation and government more effectively through the granting of citizenship. This was done in order to balance other increasingly powerful Greek states while avoiding the fragility that such interstate alliances usually entailed in the Greek world. With the exception of the ambiguous case of Calydon, it is unlikely that feuds between democrats and oligarchs caused either interstate unification or disintegration. These unions could cause *stasis*, since they invariably benefited some men more than others and led to civil strife between aristocrats. In all cases, however, these experiments were facilitated by the construction of new ethnicities that provided ethnic arguments for states to unite, though these ethnicities were constantly changing, matching the political interests of the states which used them. So, Triphylia created an eponymous hero and new genealogies to unite the old *perioikoi* of Elis, before Arcadia absorbed this genealogy into its own mythology to make the Triphylians Arcadian. And in

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118   See no. 89; also Paus. 8.4.1 on Arcas.
119   Maria Pretzler, "Arcadia. Ethnicity and Politics in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BCE," *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League*, eds. Peter Funke and Nino Luraghi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2009), 100-106.
120   Polyb. 18.14; Maria Pretzler, "Myth and History at Tegea- Local Tradition and Community Identity," in *Defining Ancient Arkadia*, eds. Thomas H. Nielsen and James Roy (*The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters*, 1998), 116-118 comments on this Polybian passage and also notes that by Pausanias' time, the Tegeans had begun to define their historical relations with Sparta as purely hostile, although the two had certainly had friendly relations at points throughout their histories.
121   Examples of this hostile foreign policy
122   Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.33-7.5.3; Pretzler 2009, 102-103.

gaining Achaean citizenship Calydon too became part of the Achaean *ethnos*. Finally, the narrative of the Arcadian league shows the integrality of the maintenance of a common ethnic identity to the cohesion of a league. This is not to claim that these methods worked perfectly; unions and leagues still collapsed due to foreign pressure, policy changes and internal bickering. Yet foreign policy, citizenship and ethnicity remained the keys to effective interstate cooperation, and their presence in these case studies reinforces the argument that they were major factors for the unification of Corinth and Argos.

The narrative of the union of Corinth and Argos would thus be as follows. In 392, in order to protect their own power and maintain their alliance with the Athenians, Boeotians and Argives, Timolaus and his supporters committed *stasis*. The allies maintained foreign garrisons in Corinth due to the amount of fighting that took place around the city. Due to the close relations between Argos and Corinth in particular, and operating on the same principles as federal leagues, Corinth and Argos enacted an *isopoliteia* agreement, or something similar to it. They granted citizenship to each other and became, in this sense, one city, as the joint sacrifice at the Isthmian games shows, but they remained separate *poleis*. Argos could now also exert more control in Corinth than Athenians like Iphicrates, who had acted contrary to Argive interests. These citizenship grants were meant to tie the two states even closer together and to ensure continued opposition to Sparta and, in Corinth's case, continued defensive cooperation. Thus Xenophon is incorrect to claim that "the boundary stones had been removed" and that Corinth was being called Argos, and scholars like Robinson are mistaken in amending Diodorus to include the word "*demokratia*" and thus claiming that a desire for democracy caused the *stasis* and the union. In order to further ensure collaboration and to strengthen the unification, the Argives and the Corinthians turned to ethnic arguments and constructed a common Argive-Corinthian intentional history and identity replete with Dorian undertones. This ethnic identity is reflected in the mythology of the works of Pausanias. The union thus lasted until 386, when after the King's Peace and the reassertion of Spartan power, Agesilaus forced both the Argives and the Corinthians to dissolve the *isopoliteia* agreement and for Argos to remove its garrisons from Corinth. What is exceptional about the union of Corinth and Argos is therefore not the methods by which the two were integrated or the reasons for which the unification occurred. As this paper has shown, citizenship and ethnicity were two common means of uniting *poleis,* and foreign policy considerations formed the main cause for interstate cooperation. Rather, Corinth and Argos are exceptional because they provide an unprecedented example of two of the largest *poleis* in the Greek world experimenting with these relatively new methods of interstate collaboration, an experiment that, due to the external pressure of power politics in the Greek world, ultimately failed.

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Flammam Vivam: Fire and Fertility in the Vestal Cult

Humans, as a species, have a deep-rooted fascination with sex and sexual roles, which has only intensified as the global community moves towards liberal attitudes and sexual saturation in the media. It is not surprising that, in examining ancient societies, modern scholars are drawn to the study of human sexuality. One of the most unusual sexual institutions in the ancient world is the cult of the goddess Vesta, largely because of the prominence of the specifically asexual nature of the priestesses of that deity. The famous chastity of these women, the Vestal Virgins, was directly tied to their political symbolism within Rome, a role which Holt Parker has defined them as "a metonymy for the untouched city of Rome."[1] Because recent scholarship has focused so heavily on this aspect of Vestal worship, there has been a nearly complete omission of other aspects of the cult from consideration in current study. In fact, Vestal sexuality, or lack thereof, was a secondary characteristic of the cult, itself built on the basic nature of worship of Vesta. Central to her worship were the mysterious and divine powers within fire, earth and water; Vesta is an entirely elemental goddess. Her cult was based in fire worship and the unusual cult that we now strive to understand is sprung from the deep reverence for fire in antiquity. Eventually, as Rome grew into an empire, the relationship between various aspects of the cult expanded so that each of three particular parts – Vesta, her priestesses, and the Vestal flame – took on their own meaning. This paper seeks both to define the relationship between the cult of Vesta and the flame and to explore how the adoption of the Vestals into this cult represents an extension of this basic relationship.

A further discussion of ancient views on fire will be entertained later in this paper, but a brief discussion of the subject is also necessary here. Fire is associated directly with divinity in classical mythology. One notable example lies in the Greek myth of Prometheus. Having stolen fire from the gods, Prometheus was punished for his audacity in bringing the property of the immortals down to earth. Before this, the power to control fire was attributed to Zeus, in the form of the lightening rod that he wielded in his capacity as king of the gods. Fire was also associated with other divine figures in a variety of manifestations, such as the Greek smith-god, Hephaestus, or the Hindu fire-deity, Agni. Fire was also immensely important in classical societies for its use in altars, crucial for allowing sacrifice to the gods, in the hearths of individual homes, and in the hearth of cities. Most urban centres of a modest size had a designated hearth that burned as a symbol of the strength of the citizens, and of the city itself. In the Greek world, new colonists would take a torch from their home city with which to ignite a hearth within the walls of their new colony.[2] This fire had divine associations unique to whichever city it protected and guaranteed the favour of the gods and the strength of the race. In the case of Rome, this fire was guarded by Vesta.[3] She embodied the flame and, through it, offered protection to the city. The principle of the hearth fire and its importance to the stability of a city were directly tied to Vesta's role as the goddess of Rome's hearth.

Vesta's symbolic nature is important in other areas as well. As a goddess and an object

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1 Holt Parker, "Why Were the Vestals Virgins? Or the Chastity of Women and the Safety of the Roman State," *The American Journal of Philology* vol. 125, no 4 (Winter, 2004), 563.

2 Irad Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1987), 114.

3 Jean-Joseph Goux, "Vesta, or the Place of Being," *Representations* vol. 1, no. 1 (February, 1983), 91.

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of worship, Vesta embodied not just fire, but the elements and the world, particularly in her most original forms. In seeking to understand this, one may begin with an examination of the similarities between the Vestal cult and other ancient belief systems. One of the most immediate issues concerning Vesta is her association with the Greek goddess Hestia. Many characteristics of the Vestal cult can be directly compared to worship of Hestia as the hearth goddess of Greece. Like Vesta, Hestia was a virgin goddess, and was worshipped as a force of procreation and of protection. She had no physical presence outside of her manifestation in the hearth, which served equally as her altar.[4] However, one must be wary of assuming that the two goddesses are cross-cultural manifestations of the same ideal, despite the fact that the ancients themselves believed precisely this.[5] Hestia's role in Greek society was minor in comparison to that of Vesta in Rome,[6] and whereas Hestia has a traditional back-story within the context of Greek creationism, Vesta's origins are mysterious and underdeveloped.[7] Linguistic interpretations of their two names reveals an underlying truth about the connection between these two goddesses. The word *vesta* seems be cognate with the Greek ἑστία, indicating a certain overt connection between the cults. Walter Burkert, however, has written that "the relationship *hestia-histi-Vesta* cannot be explained in terms of Indo-European linguistics; borrowings from a third language must also be involved."[8] Michiel de Vaan also suggests that, while *Vesta* may be cognate with ἑστία, or its Ionic form ἱστίη, there is a strong possibility that the Latin word was influenced by another linguistic group.[9] Thus the oft-cited similarity between Vesta and Hestia actually leads away from a direct association of the two. This is important because it points to foreign influence on the Vestal cult outside of the expected Greek/Roman dialogue, not only linguistically but also in the basic nature of the cult.

Most notably, Vesta corresponds strongly with ancient Eastern religious and linguistic conceptions of fire. A prime example is the Hindu god of fire, Agni. The name Agni is cognate with the Latin *ignis,* as are many near-Eastern linguistic words related to heat, coal and the hearth.[10] One might infer that cross-cultural similarities in the language used to describe something further imply similar attitudes towards that thing. There is no need to rely on inferences, however: Agni is directly associated with the earlier Vedic practice of worshipping fire itself as a god, which echoes the worship of Vesta as an incarnation of flame. Furthermore, Georges Dumézil notes strong correspondence between the physical organisation of Hindu temples and those at Rome. Most key to Dumezil's connection of the two structures are altar fires whose directional placement in Rome echoes the strict organization of hearths in Hindu temples.[11] Another similar character to

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4 Walter Burkert and John Raffan, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 1985), 170.

5 Cicero, *The Nature of the Gods, ii.67.*

6 Burkert and Raffan, *Greek Religion*, 170.

7 In terms of their origins, the two goddesses differ dramatically. Hestia was one of the original 12 Olympians, and has a clear role in the creation myths of Greece as the eldest (and, simultaneously, the youngest) daughter of Kronos. Vesta's origins are much more mysterious, seemingly based in the early chaos of creation, as in the case of the god Janus. Burkert and Raffan, *Greek Religion*, 170.

8 Burkert, *Greek Religion,* III.3.1 note 2.

9 *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, 1st ed., s.v. "vesta."

10 Ibid. s.v. "ignis."

11 Georges Dumezil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1966), Pt. 2, Ch. 2.

Vesta is found in the Zoroastrian deity Atar, a figure representative of heat and fire. Atar had power over hearth fires, a role that has echoes in the position of Vesta as keeper of the hearth. Agni was invoked at the beginning and end of Hindu prayers, and similarly, Atar was invoked last in prayer.[12] This parallels Vesta's incarnation as Vesta Extrema, in which she was invoked last in any ritual formulae involving multiple gods. Just as Janus was invoked at the beginning of all sacrifices for his ability to open and close connections to the gods,[13] Vesta was involved in all divine rituals because of her role in guarding every kind of sacrificial fire. Through these foreign comparisons it can be seen that the role of Vesta, as she relates to fire, is by no means unique in the ancient world.

  The fact that Vesta, Atar, and even Agni were given final roles in prayer highlights a pattern; these gods were given presiding positions because of their associations with beginnings and endings. They represented the powerful destructive and creative capacity of fire. Particularly in the Vedic religion, fire was seen as a symbol of destruction, which was necessary as a condition for the subsequent creation of new life. Latin writers also understood this. Plutarch, for example, claimed that flame represents an untapped power for creation, as "fire produces more motion than anything else in nature, and all birth is a mode of motion."[14] Greek and Roman mythological tradition solidified fire not only as a destructive force, but also as a creator. In the myth of Althea and her son, Meleager, fire dictated the length of the hero's life.[15] In the legend of the baby Triptolemus, Demeter used fire as the medium for bestowing immortality on the young hero.[16] Plutarch even related an alternate origin myth for the birth of Romulus, in which a young virgin had intercourse with a mysterious ash-phallus that rose out of the hearth of the Alban king, Tarchetius.[17] Likewise in the *Fasti*, Ovid attributed the birth of the king Servius Tullius to the appearance of a hearth-penis in the *ara* of Vulcan.[18] The mysterious power of fire was heavily associated with life in antiquity. In Latin literature too, fire was connected not only to physical creation, but also to the forces that ignited the soul. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, the hero's father, Anchises, describes the soul as being seeded by "the strength of fire."[19] At its origin the soul is formed with fire and, in death, it is purified by the elements. Evil is blown away in the afterlife by the winds, washed away "*sub gurgite uasto*," or burnt out by flame.[20] The nature of life and of the soul is bound up in the elements, particularly in their most pure forms. Vesta, too, is elemental in her most pure form.

  In fact, one of the keys to understanding the nature of Vesta lies in an examination of her representation in flame. The flame was not only symbolic of Vesta's power as a centre of Roman religion, but it was as close to a physical manifestation of Vesta herself as is possible in human

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12 Mahabharata. 14.291-292, 2.1124-1163.
13 Ov., *Fast,* 1.126-30.
14 Plut. *Cam*. 20.4.
15 Ov., *Met.*, 8.440-520.
16 K.R. Prowse, "The Vestal Circle," *Greece & Rome* vol. 14, no. 2 (October, 1967), 183.
17 Plut. *Rom*. 2.3-5.
18 Ov., *Fast.,* 631-34.
19 Verg., *Aen.,* 6.730.
20 "*Ergo exercentur poenis ueterumque malorum / supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes / suspensae ad uentos, aliis sub gurgite uasto / infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni: / quisque suos patimur manis.*" Verg., *Aen.,* 6.739-743.

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understanding. Ovid wrote that, "neither Vesta nor the fire has a single likeness."[21] Because she had no shape, no statues were ever built to Vesta. Most importantly this indicates that Vesta had no physical form in the way most anthropomorphized Roman gods did. Like Janus, another primeval god, she was related directly to the chaos of creation, and especially to "the clear air and the other three elements – fire, water, earth."[22] According to Ovid, it was only when these elements had settled in place that Janus took on a "face and figure."[23] Contrastingly, Vesta's nature was so bound up in the elements that she remains eternally elemental herself – she is simply "*flammam vivam*."[24] Vesta could not be separated from her basis as a personified fire deity. The foreign parallels and the definite boundaries of Vesta's physicality make it evident that the concept of fire worship was at the core of Vesta's role as a divinity.

  Though primarily symbolized by fire, Vesta's nature was also related directly to the other elements. Water played a prominent role in Vesta's cult. Frequently this was because of its adverse relationship to fire: because of the threat unchecked water might have posed to the sacred flame in Vesta's temple, the use and the carrying of water inside the temple was highly regulated. Another striking demonstration of the importance of water in the cult of Vesta lies in the story of the Vestal Virgin, Tuccia. Accused of unchastity, Tuccia invoked the goddess' help, asking that if she, Tuccia, had always been faithful in her vows, Vesta might make it possible for her to carry water from the Tiber in a sieve. Under the favour of the goddess, Tuccia succeeded in this endeavour and was pardoned. Water is in many ways the opposite of fire; Ovid called them both "*dei,*" referring to their elemental strengths.[25] The Vedic Agni, who is very much Vesta's eastern opposite, was said to live in or come from water. Ultimately, fire and water were extremely closely linked throughout religious life and it would be a mistake to attempt to take Vesta's supreme, non-anthropomorphic authority over fire as completely independent of the link to its counterpart: water.

  Further elemental connections tied Vesta strongly to the earth. In Ovidian cosmology, Vesta was so named because she stood by her own force, just as the earth does.[26] Vesta did not embody the earth in the same way she did fire. Rather, her incarnation as fire fuelled her connection to the earth. At the heart of both Vesta and the earth there was a "*vigil ignis,*" according to Ovid.[27] Vesta's connection to the earth could also be seen in its relation to her cult. The most famous stories about earth in the Vestal cult relate to the punishment of supposedly unfaithful Vestal Virgins. If a Vestal was accused of being unchaste, the Vestal flame died, and vice versa. The loss of the flame, symbolic as it was of Rome's strength, was taken to be a sign of a threat against Rome's own impenetrable walls, and thus the sin of an unchaste Vestal was a threat to Rome. Often in times of war, Vestals were brought to trial on charges of having brought turmoil onto the state through violation of their vows. A Vestal who was found guilty of having broken her vows was ritually entombed under the Campus Sceleris, where she would die of starvation. Her death underground represented a sacrifice to the earth through the medium of earth. Because Vesta was so like the earth, the symbolism in the rite

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21 Ov., *Fast.* 6.298.
22 Ibid. 1.105-106.
23 Ibid, 1.112.
24 Ibid. 6.291.
25 Ibid. 6.788.
26 "*Stat vi terra sua: vi stando Vesta vocatur;*" Ibid. 6.299.
27 Ibid. 6.267.

had the ruined Vestal being buried in the very element she had "profaned," and simultaneously killed by the goddess herself.[28] According to K.R. Prowse, the burial of an unchaste Vestal also echoes the Greek myth of the abduction of Persephone by Hades. Both situations shared the theme of a violated virgin and her removal down into the earth, literally into the realm of the dead. Both occurred concurrently with upheaval in the mortal world, as a result of the loss suffered either by Demeter, who causes bad harvests, or Vesta, whose lack of attention left Rome vulnerable in times of war.[29]

A similar parallel with Greek mythology can be found in the story of a virgin priestess of Artemis at Patrai who broke her vow of chastity. Following this, the annual sacrifice of a young man and a young woman was instituted to save the area from the scorn of the slighted goddess.[30] Pushing this connection a step further, one can see several further examples in classical mythology of the sacrifice of virgins as a means of appeasing a violated goddess. Agamemnon is forced to sacrifice his daughter, Iphigenia, to Artemis in order to lead his delayed army to Troy.[31] There is also the case of the Roman general, Metellus, who was similarly forced to sacrifice his daughter during the Punic Wars after failing to honour Vesta.[32] A certain king Erechtheus sacrificed his daughter, Athene, in order to win a war against Eleusis, and it is recorded that the general Marius sacrificed his daughter Calpurnia, in order to win the Cimbrian war in 101 BCE.[33] In each example, as in the case of the Vestals, there is a loss of purity simultaneous with death. Like a sacrificed Vestal, each young woman is able to "incarnate the collective"[34] when she dies, reducing the danger to the greater population by means of her death. In these examples, it is clear that the chastity or unchastity of the priestesses is an influential, but definitely secondary aspect of a goddesses' cult.

The violence implicit in these parallels helps to reinforce Vesta's role as protectress. As much as she may have been a passive hearth goddess, widely beneficent and sacred in the home, one must remember that she also guarded the hearth of the city of Rome. In this aspect, Vesta took on a much broader, more aggressive role. She became Vesta Mater, companion to Mars Genitor, and they were invoked together as protectors of the city, as when Ovid described Romulus' call to the gods at the founding of Rome: "*Condenti, Iuppiter, urbem, et genitor Mavors Vestaque mater, ades.*"[35]

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28   *"Sic incesta perit, quia, quam violavit, in allam conditur;"* Ov., *Fast.,* 6.459-60.
29   Prowse, "The Vestal Circle," 176.
30   Ibid, 177.
31   This is an interesting example because it is also tied to a specifically virgin goddess. In the case of Agamemnon, Artemis is angered when he kills a deer in her sacred grove. Similarly, other legends concerning Artemis had her punishing men and women alike for breaking vows of chastity (in the case of her handmaid, Calipso) or for violating her purity by seeing her naked, however accidentally, as in the tale of Acteon.
32   This story seems to be entirely based on the myth of Agamemnon and Iphigenia. The version with Metellus began with a stalled fleet on its way to war, and ended with the general's daughter being carried away by the goddess. An alternative account of the death of Iphigenia had her instead being carried off by Artemis and made into a deity; the Roman version simply adopted this more benign version of the myth. Even if one was simply a recreation of the other, the fact that the myth was important enough to be perpetuated in new forms lends credence to the phenomenon of the virgin sacrifice. It seems also to reflect the importance of Vesta in Roman culture, as she replaced Artemis, one of the twelve Olympians.
33   Prowse, "The Vestal Citcle," 175.
34   Parker, "Why Were the Vestals Virgins," 563.
35   Ov., *Fast.,* 4.827-28.

Vesta was addressed as the guardian of Rome's sacred fire, the soul of the city. The continuity of the Vestal fire, the chastity of her priestesses, and the actual safety of Rome were in this regard strongly joined together as one. It is for this very reason that the unchastity of a Vestal Virgin is so severely punished: it reflected a breach in the purity of the cult and thus represented a risk to Rome's own power. Thus, Vesta was often invoked as a protector of Rome in a military sense, in much the same way that Mars might be. In the *Fasti*, Ovid attributed a speech to Augustus in which he invokes the necessity of avenging Vesta's divinity as a reason for going to war;[36] he was setting out into battle to avenge the honour of the goddess and the city. That Vesta was the *mater* of Rome, the capital of the world, in no way detracts from her role as the elemental goddess. As Plutarch says, she was herself the centre of the Roman world, just like the flame that burns, according to the Pythagoreans, at the centre of the universe.[37] It is apparent that in the Vestal cult the role of the fire goddess was expanded into the obvious next feature of the cult, one of protectorship. This was an immediate extension of the roles already laid down for fire in ancient society. As will be demonstrated next, the establishment of Vestal priestesses follows only after the first two layers of the cult.

The prominence of the Vestal Virgins and the uniqueness of their political and sexual role in Roman society is one of the reasons that Vesta was most famously connected with chastity.[38] It is very much a powerful part of her cult; according to Ovid, Vesta was unchanging, like the earth or a virgin's womb.[39] The virgin goddess represented a well of procreative energy in the same way that chaste Roman *virgines* embodied the future of the Roman *gens* in its pure, unrealized form. Virginity is also a delicate thing, however, and the precarious position of the virgin and the potential she bears were exemplified in the vulnerable Vestal flame. Laws were handed down through centuries to protect the flame in Vesta's temple from being extinguished. It was placed carefully under watchful guard. Plutarch described how Numa Pompilius gave the care of the Vestal fire to virgins, because "he thought the nature of fire pure and uncorrupted, and therefore entrusted it to chaste and undefiled persons."[40] Importantly, it was the flame that gave the Vestals their roles: the priestesses were secondary to it within the cult. Interestingly, Plutarch also wondered if perhaps Numa's intention was actually to comment on the fact that fire is "unfruitful and barren"[41] by having its caretakers devote themselves to a life which denied them their right to bear children. This is generally refuted by modern scholarship. As Mary Beard writes, it is widely agreed that "the virgin was not looked upon as sterile, but as a mediator of stored up, potential procreative power."[42] Plutarch himself even seems to have decided eventually on the more positive view of the Vestal role. He went on to describe the process for reigniting the Vestal flame, as was done annually or in the event of its extinguishment. He says that it should be "καινὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον, ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον."[43] Here the fire, whose nature he had already noted as being connected to that of the Vestals, is "clean" (καθαρὰν) and

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36   Ov., *Fast.,.* 5.573-77.
37   Plut. *Numa*, 11.1.
38   For a discussion of the legal status of the Vestal Virgins within Roman society and its significance, see Gardner, 22-26.
39   Ov., *Fast.*, 3.299.
40   Plut., *Numa*, 9.5.
41   Ibid..
42   Mary Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *The Journal of Roman Studies* vol. 70 (1980), 15.
43   "Made fresh and new, by lighting a pure and unpolluted flame from the rays of the sun." Plut., *Numa,* 9.6.

"pure" (ἀμίαντον), descriptors that support a positive view of a virgin's unmarred potential. Clearly it was the sanctity of the fire that made it necessary to place over it guardians pure in body and mind.

The cult of Vesta is widely known as an intriguing aspect of ancient religion. Because of a long-held societal fascination with sexuality, the Vestal cult has come to be understood by modern scholars largely through its sexual aspects. Classicists, sociologists, feminists and historians alike focus on the violation and preservation of Vestal chastity as a summary of the cult's significance. Before the Vestals, however, the cult of Vesta existed in a far different sense, based as it was on much more primitive worship. The cult of Vesta was elemental, and she was an elemental goddess. Like her eastern counterparts, worship of Vesta was rooted in ancient man's reverence for earth, wind, water, and especially fire. Her cult, designed to celebrate and preserve the majesty of the flame, held sway in Rome as a protective institution of the state.

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A Pictoral Comparison of Han China's and Classical Athens' Conceptions of the Afterlife

From the copious amounts of burial artifacts and the discourse concerning funerary rituals, it is clear that both Han China and Greece considered death to be an important event. While their burial practices and conceptions of the soul differed significantly, both cultures saw the afterlife as a physical space. While Han China percieved of the *guo* as a "permanent home" for the deceased, Greece believed there was a communal underworld. This paper will be using funerary artifacts as a means of discussing the physical conceptions of the afterlife and its relation to the cosmos for both cultures.[1] Although it is a highly debated piece, I will look at the silk banner from Mawangdui Tomb 1 to discuss the Han conception of the physical components of the afterlife. For the Greek conception of the afterlife, I will be looking mainly at examples of Athenian white λήκυθοι. While both cultures viewed the afterlife as physical spaces within a larger cosmos that included the land of the living, these spaces differed significantly due to cultural beliefs as revealed in funerary artifacts.[2]

Before analyzing the tomb's (and in particular the banner's) relevance in conveying a sense of Han perceptions of the afterlife, the tomb and banner must be discussed generally. The silk banner from Mawangdui Tomb 1 (c. 168 BC) is one of the most elaborate and informative artifacts known to date that reveals Han conceptions of the afterlife. While the banner provides information on the relationship between the afterlife and the cosmos, the tomb itself reveals how the afterlife was physically envisioned.

Mawangdui Tomb 1 (Figures 1 and 2) is one of three tombs from an archaeological site in Changsha, China. The tomb was unearthed in 1972 and is believed to be one of the most spectacular archaeological discoveries in Chinese history.[3] According to David D. Buck, the tomb not only contained the well-preserved remains of a noble lady, but also one thousand objects.[4] The noble lady is believed to be Hsin-chu, commonly known as Lady Dai, the first wife of Li Ts'ang, the Marquis of Dai.[5] Her death is dated to c. 168 BC based on similarities to Tomb 2, which contain inscriptions dating death of the occupier to this year.[6] The grave-furnishings in the tombs include lacquerwares, food, clothing, personal belongings, and sacrificial vessels.[7] Tomb 1, along with the other tombs from this site, embody the transition occurring in Han ideology during this period between the strong

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1 Although most papers dealing with conceptions of the afterlife would provide a discussion of the soul, this will not be a focus of my paper. This paper focuses on *where* the soul is believed to go, not on the state of the soul when it reaches this place. Brief discussions of the soul will be provided only when it is absolutely necessary in analyzing the spaces in which they reside eternally.

2 The paper will be organized thematically in order to provide a clear comparison between the Han and Greek conceptions of cosmos and afterlife.

3 Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," *Early China* 17 (1992): 111.

4 David D. Buck, "Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Ma-Wang-Tui," *World Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (June 1975): 30.

5 Ibid, 30.

6 Ibid, 31.

7 I will only be focusing on aspects of the tomb that help determine Han conceptions of the afterlife, and therefore, will not be discussing the construction of the tomb or its contents at length generally. For a more thorough analysis of the tomb see David D. Buck, "Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Ma-Wang-Tui," *World Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (June 1975): 30-45.

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cultural tradition of the Ch'u state (c. 1030 BC-223 BC) and new regional regulations and practices being introduced by Han feudal lords and administrators during the mid-second century BC.

The silk banner from Mawangdui Tomb 1 (Figures 3 and 4) is a highly elaborate and rare funerary banner, or *ming-ching*. It was found lying on top of the innermost of the four coffins, which held Lady Dai's corpse.[8] Besides a similar banner found in Tomb 2, no other banners of this style exist from this period.[9] Because of its rarity, the banner has become incredibly controversial among scholars.[10] Jerome Silbergeld commented on the uncertainty of the work when he wrote, "Despite the best efforts to collect and apply literary accounts, a more specific function of the banner within a funerary context, much of its visual content and meaning, the link between its iconography and funerary function, and even its name have not yet been determined."[11] While various theories concerning the function and meaning of the banner have been published since its discovery in 1972, I will be basing my analysis mainly on Wu Hung's theory.[12] Wu Hung believes the silk painting is actually a Name Banner due to its location since the word for both the innermost coffin and a name banner is *jiu*.[13] The main image at the center of the piece (second section from the top) acts as a pictorial substitute for the name of the deceased, which normally had been written.[14] The pictorial content of the piece will be discussed in relation to the cosmos at length below.

White λήκυθοι pottery emerged in Attica during the second quarter of the fifth century.[15] Λήκυθοι are a type of pottery used specifically for holding oil. Although incredibly prominent, specifically in funerary use, this style of pottery essentially disappears by the end of the fifth century.[16] R.M. Cook claims the λήκυθοι "were used especially as offerings to the dead and so did not have to stand ordinary wear."[17] As a result of not being for daily use, the technique of making this style of pottery differs somewhat from the more prominent black- and red-figure styles. Similar to black- and red-figure pottery, white-ground λήκυθοι were fired in the normal three stages, but in this case some of the colors were applied after firing. The bodies were drawn in ordinary paint before firing, but tempera paints in less stark colors (such as light purple, sky-blue, and rose) were added afterwards.[18] Because of the post-firing application, most white λήκυθοι have lost the majority of these secondary pigments, leaving only the black outlines of figures. In addition to their unique painting technique, Athenian white λήκυθοι had a distinct shape. According to Cook, the Athenian white λήκυθοι

8   Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," *Early China* 17 (1992): 118.
9   David D. Buck, "Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Ma-Wang-Tui," 31.
10   Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 111.
11   Jerome Silbergeld, "Mawangdui, Excavated Materials, and Transmitted Texts: A Cautionary Note," *Early China* 8 (1982-83): 86.
12   Wu Hung claims the piece is a Name Banner depicting Lady Dai within the cosmos based on other scholars analyses. For a complete discussion of this theory see Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 116-127.
13   Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 118; 121.
14   Ibid, 122.
15   R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 221.
16   Ibid, 221.
17   Ibid, 157.
18   Ibid, 238; 173.

are characterized by a narrow oval body, angular shoulder, strong lip, and one handle.[19] The production technique and shape described here applies to the λήκυθοι being discussed in this paper.

This paper will be looking at three examples of Athenian white λήκυθοι in order to understand Greek conceptions of the afterlife. Cook agrees with J.D. Beazley that funerary subjects became common during the second quarter of the fifth century due to their extensive use in these procedures.[20] Beazley comments on the common funerary-related subjects when he writes:

> Death is represented in three guises. Hermes, conductor of souls, takes the dead by the hand, or shows the way; or Charon is there in his boat, and the dead approaches him, often led by Hermes; or Sleep and Death, figured as winged men, Death always bearded, Sleep usually young, raise the body to convey it into the other world. Hermes and Charon belong to old-established religious beliefs.[21]

The three λήκυθοι discussed in this paper depict Charon and/or Hermes since these are the traditional figures related to the underworld. The *Sabouroff Painter Lekythos* (Figure 5) and *Beazley Archive Lekythos* (Figure 6) depict Hermes leading a youth and female, respectively, to Charon who waits in his boat at the River Styx.[22] The *Phiale Painter 'Hermes' White Lekythos* (Figures 7a and 7b) depicts Hermes sitting on the shore of the River Styx beckoning to a woman whose ribbon-decorated tomb stands in the background behind her.

In order to understand the physical nature of the afterlife, one must have a general understanding of the Han's conception of the cosmos. I will not be delving too far into the philosophical aspects of the cosmos unless they relate to its physical nature. Frederick Mote provides an excellent summary of how the Han viewed the cosmos when he wrote, "The genuine Chinese cosmology is that of organismic process, meaning that all the parts of the entire cosmos belong to one organic whole and that they all interact as participants in one spontaneously self-generating life process."[23] Mote is referring to the idea that there was continuity between human and divine realms. Heaven, Earth, and the Underworld were not isolated but were connected and indeed balanced each other. Sima Qian alludes to this balance in "The Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices" when he writes:

> It appears that since Heaven loves the *yin*, the principle of darkness, it must be worshipped at the foot of a high mountain or on top of a small hill, at a place called an "Altar"; while because earth honours the *yang*, the principle of light, the

19   Ibid, 221.
20   R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 173; J.D. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 7.
21   J.D. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi*, 7.
22   The titles given to the three λήκυθοι are my own based on known information about the artifacts. Their sole purpose is to distinguish the works from one another and should not be understood as historical titles of the works.
23   Frederick Mote quoted in Michael Puett, "Humans and Gods: The Theme of Self-Divination in Early China and Early Greece," in *Early China/Ancient Greece: Thinking Through Comparisons*, edited by Steven Shankman and Stephen W. Durrant (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 56.

sacrifices to it must always be conducted on a round hill in the midst of a lowland.[24]

The Confucian scholar, Dong Zhongshu (c. 179-104 BC), also understands the cosmos in a similar manner, claiming:

> Everything above the belt is Yang, everything below it Yin, each with its own part to play. Yang is the vital energy of Heaven, Yin of earth. The movement of Yin and Yang causes a person to have a foot ailment or a sore throat and also causes the vital energy of the earth to rise and bring clouds and rain.[25]

Both statements reflect the idea that the cosmos is understood in terms of *Yin* and *Yang* and the Five Agents (wood, metal, fire, water, and earth).[26]

In addition to being a Name Banner, the silk banner from Mawangdui Tomb 1 acts as a pictorial representation of the cosmos. While many scholars divide the banner into two or three parts, I agree with Wu Hung's belief that it has four sections.[27] The top and bottom sections of the piece represent Heaven and the Underworld respectively. Heaven is represented by the *Changhe*, or Gate of Heaven, which is guarded by two doormen and leopards. In addition to the Gate of Heaven, there is a principal deity of uncertain identity, flanked by the sun and moon with a toad and crow, and ten suns. These motifs are prevalent in pre-Buddhist Chinese mythology as representations of Heaven.[28] The bottom section represents the Underworld based on the depiction of two giant fish (symbols of water), a central figure who may be the Lord of the Earth, and a snake. According to Wu Hung, all of these images are symbols of the underground world in Chinese cosmology.[29] The two middle sections represent Earth; however, this is both the Earth of the living and the Earth of the dead.[30] The notion of an Earth for the living and an Earth for the dead will be discussed at length below, in relation to the afterlife. Lady Dai's Name Banner embodies the dualistic and continuous nature of the Chinese universe that is reflected in the various Han texts discussed above.

Unlike the continuous and interrelated nature of the Chinese cosmos, the Greek cosmos was divided between the world of men and the world of the gods. While the Greeks had a highly theistic vision of the world that persisted in their everyday life, the various realms of the universe were distinct

24 Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: *Renditions*-Columbia University Press, 1993), 13.

25 Dong Zhongshu, *Chunqiu Fanlu* quoted in Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1993) 58.

26 For further ancient sources on *yin* and *yang*'s relation to the cosmos see Burton Watson quoted in Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: *Renditions*-Columbia University Press, 1993), 13; and the Yellow Emperor, "Yellow Emperor's Classic of Medicine" in Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 77-79.

27 See Figure 4 to see the divisions marked by red arrows; Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 122.

28 For an example of the presence of heavenly motifs see the "Summons of the Soul"; Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 125.

29 Ibid, 125.

30 Ibid, 124.

and were not supposed to be crossed (and rarely were, with the exception of a few heroes).[31] Stephen L. Harris and Gloria Platzner describe the Greek universe as a vertical three-story structure.[32] According to the Greeks, the earth was a massive disk or dome surrounded by a body of water, called the River of Ocean (Figure 8). Harris and Platzner assert that, "The top level, infinitely beyond human reach, is an invisible heaven inhabited exclusively by gods untouched by human woes."[33] Earth is the middle level, where mortals experience the harshness of life receiving an unequal mixture of joy and pain that inevitably ends in death.[34] Finally the bottom story is the Underworld, a kingdom ruled by the god, Hades. This permanently houses all of the dead who only exist as mere shades.[35] The three distinct realms of the Greek universe differ significantly from the interrelated realms of the Chinese universe.

As already shown above, the Han saw the afterlife as one part of a larger interrelated cosmos. This continuity between the divine and human realms is seen in the middle two sections of *Lady Dai's Name Banner* and the structure of her *guo* (Figure 2). The main image of the banner (second section from the top), as already discussed above, is a portrait of Lady Dai. A name banner, according to Wu Hung, only symbolizes the deceased in her *jiu*, or "permanent home."[36] Therefore, this section of the banner represents her existence in the afterlife. Similarly to when she was alive, she has servants to attend to her needs. The scene below this (second section from the bottom) depicts her relatives along with various funerary objects, including her corpse covered in clothes and shrouds.[37] Both worlds exist within the same realm, Earth, even though one is the realm of the dead and the other of the living. Only if her relatives perform the proper sacrifices can she live her eternal life in her "permanent home."

The "permanent home" being depicted in the main image of the banner, is the *guo*, or innermost structure of the tomb built of lumber *in situ*.[38] Because the deceased was believed to live eternally in this space, it was filled with everything she was believed to need in the afterlife. Wang Chong in *Luheng jiaoshi* comments on the need to fill the *guo* with everyday objects. He writes:

> Thus those who follow the customs of the day…seeing that the dead appear [in visions] from their tombs before those about to die…say that death is like life. They commiserate with the dead who must be buried alone, their *hun* lonely and without companionship, their graves shut up, lacking supplies of grain and goods. Thus they make images to attend to the corpses' coffin and bury a great supply of food to delight the essential *hun*.[39]

31 Michael Puett, "Humans and Gods: The Theme of Self-Divination in Early China and Early Greece," in *Early China/Ancient Greece: Thinking Through Comparisons*, edited by Steven Shankman and Stephen W. Durrant (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 63.

32 Stephen L. Harris and Gloria Platzner, *Classical Mythology: Images & Insights* (Boston, McGraw-Hill, 2008), 63.

33 Harris and Platzner, *Classical Mythology*, 63.

34 Ibid, 63.

35 Ibid, 63.

36 Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 122.

37 Ibid, 124.

38 Ibid, 134.

39 Wang Chong, *Luheng jiaoshi* quoted in Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 52.

Like a home, the *guo* was constructed at its assigned location for its "resident" and contained every household article and item of food that would be needed for an eternal life.[40] In addition to simply holding these necessary items, they were organized based on use. The northern compartment imitated the *qin*, or inner chamber of a real household, and contained the largest variety of objects, including: silk curtains along with eating and drinking vessels placed on a low table, bedroom articles and furniture, clothed figurines representing entertainers and personal assistants. The eastern and southern compartments contained replicas of the household servants in addition to domestic utensils and food, which was held in western compartment.[41] As long as the *guo* of a tomb was equipped properly, the deceased person could live a happy eternal life underground.

The Greek conception of the afterlife is very different than the Han conception. Instead of the deceased living out an eternal life in a "permanent home" within their tomb in the same realm of the living, the Greeks believed the deceased spent eternity as a shade in a separate realm than earth, the Underworld.[42] The Underworld was understood as a kingdom ruled by Hades and Persephone. This notion of the Underworld being a distinct geographical location is seen in the vase depicting Hades and Persephone in a pose typical of Greek domestic life (Figure 9).[43] Furthermore, the separation of the Underworld from Earth, or the land of the living, by the River Styx reinforces the idea of the Underworld as being a real location. The River Styx was a common subject of the Athenian white λήκυθοι, as seen in the *Sabouroff Painter Lekythos*, the *Beazley Archive Lekythos*, and the *Phiale Painter 'Hermes' White Lekythos*. The river acted as the physical barrier between the two realms. Charon, the ferryman depicted in traditional country hat and dress in the *Sabouroff Painter Lekythos* and the *Beazley Archive Lekythos*, was supposed to keep the living out of the Underworld by bringing only the dead across the river into the other realm.

While the physical conception of the afterlife is very different from the Han's conception, the idea of proper funerary rites in order to reach this realm exists in both cultures. As we know, for the Han this included a rather ornate burial with every household object possible. For the Greeks this meant a proper burial, including coins to pay for their passage across the River Styx and often a monument to be erected in memory of the deceased.[44] Homer alludes to the need for a proper burial in *The Odyssey*, when Odysseus comes upon Elpenor, a former member of his crew, while entering the Underworld.[45] He states:

"πρώτη δὲ ψυχὴ Ἐλπήνορος ἦλθεν ἑταίρου:
οὐ γάρ πω ἐτέθαπτο ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης:
σῶμα γὰρ ἐν Κίρκης μεγάρῳ κατελείπομεν ἡμεῖς
ἄκλαυτον καὶ ἄθαπτον, ἐπεὶ πόνος ἄλλος ἔπειγε [...]
ἔνθα σ᾽ ἔπειτα, ἄναξ, κέλομαι μνήσασθαι ἐμεῖο.

40   Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 135.
41   Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," 137-138.
42   For the discussion of the Underworld, I will be focusing on where the majority of souls went. Because of this I will be disregarding Tartarus since only the most notorious sinners went here.
43   Stephen L. Harris and Gloria Platzner, *Classical Mythology: Images & Insights* (Boston, McGraw-Hill, 2008), 296.
44   Ibid, 472.
45   This is one of the rare exceptions in Greek mythology where a human enters the Underworld while still alive.

μή μ᾽ ἄκλαυτον ἄθαπτον ἰὼν ὄπιθεν καταλείπειν
νοσφισθείς, μή τοί τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι,
ἀλλά με κακκῆαι σὺν τεύχεσιν, ἅσσα μοι ἔστιν,
σῆμά τέ μοι χεῦαι πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης,
ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.[46]

This story was clearly well-known based on its placement on pottery, as seen in the red-figured *pelike* (Figure 10). Once the proper burial was performed, the deceased could enter the Underworld as a shade of his former self.

As shown through Lady Dai's name banner and the three examples of Athenian white λήκυθοι, both the Han and ancient Greeks understood the afterlife as a physical location. While the Han understood the afterlife to be a "permanent home" for deceased, the Greeks conceived the afterlife as a kingdom ruled by a divine couple, Hades and Persephone. These conceptions of the afterlife stem from their understanding of the structure of the universe. Because the Han saw the realms of the universe as interrelated based on the philosophy of *yin* and *yang*, the afterlife could exist in the same realm as the living. By believing the *guo* to be the location of the afterlife, the dead existed in a semi-separated realm from the living. The Greeks, on the other hand, saw the three realms of the universe as distinct spaces that could not be crossed. As a result, only the dead were able to enter the Underworld since they were no longer people, but shades of their former selves. Even though the Han and Greek conceptions of the cosmos and physical location of the afterlife differed significantly, both were conceptualized as underground, which I can only believe to be due to the simple fact that both cultures buried the remains of the deceased.

Amanda Barile

46   The first spirit that came up was that of my own comrade Elpenor, for he had not yet been buried in the wide bosom of Earth. So urgent had our other tasks been that we had left his corpse unburied and unwept in Circe's palace…[Elpenor speaking] I beg you, master, to remember me then and not to sail away and forsake me utterly nor leave me there unburied and unwept, in case I bring down the gods' curse on you. So burn my body there with all the arms I possess, and raise a mound for me on the shore of the grey sea, in memory of an unlucky man, so that men yet unborn may learn my story. Hom. *Od*. 11.51-54, 71-76.

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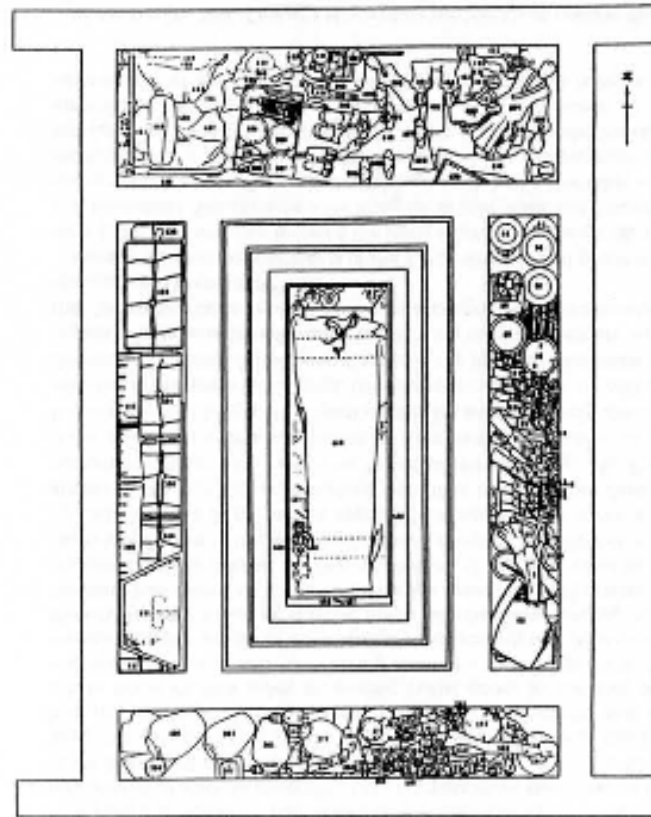
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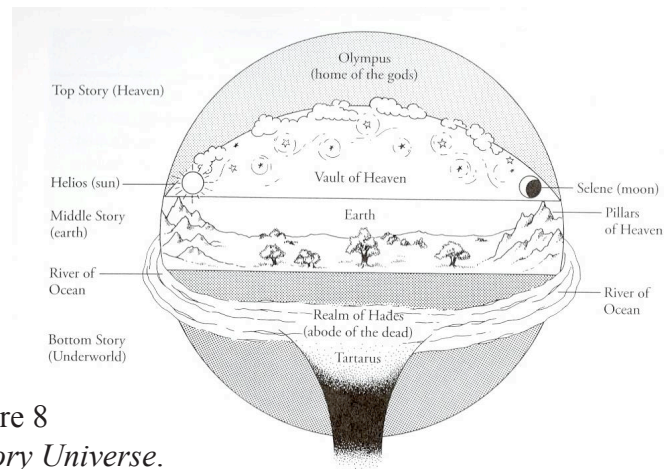
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Love and Rhetoric in Plato's *Phaedrus*

Plato's Phaedrus touches on a broad variety of topics, ranging from rhetoric, to love, and eve to writing. Moreover, throughout the course of the discussion, the two participants in the dialogue, Socrates and Phaedrus, adopt changing and seemingly inconsistent positions concerning these topics. As a result of this inconsistency, it can at times be difficult to understand the text as a logical and cohesive discourse. Despite that, when viewed as a whole, the Phaedrus does appear to reach clear conclusions about the natures of love and truth. In the Gorgias, Socrates makes a distinction between what we see as fit, and what we want, arguing that while a tyrant will often do as he sees fit (what is most pleasing) he will rarely do what he wants (what is best for his soul). In the Phaedrus, this system of dual interests is further elaborated, and it is revealed that were it not for the appeal of that which is pleasing, we would rarely be able to reach the truth that our soul really wants. This paper will suggest that the dynamic that exists between what is pleasing and what is good is the key to understanding the relationship between both rhetoric and philosophy, and also lust and love in the Phaedrus. Specifically, I will draw upon both the explicit statements made by Socrates, and the implicit logic that emerges from Plato's structuring of the text itself in order to argue that the central (and unifying) aim of the Phaedrus is to suggest a theoretical framework in which philosophy and love are inextricably linked to, and even dependent upon, their lower forms: rhetoric and lust.

Before moving into the substantive defence of this thesis, it would be useful to consider some of the complications inherent to such an analysis of Plato's dialogues. There are a number of significant issues which make it difficult to rigidly define the specific meanings and intentions of Plato's work, and these problems must at least be mentioned before embarking on an analysis. First and not least there is the classic problem of trying to separate the voice of Socrates from that of Plato. Since the Platonic discourses were all written years after the death of Socrates, one must acknowledge that the form and style of the conversations is largely the work of Plato. This opens the possibility that Socrates' arguments are not always meant to be taken at face value, and that they are in fact often structured specifically for the purpose of showing the failure of a particular line of reasoning, or the inadequacy of a form of the dialectic. This is clearly visible in the Socrates' second speech in the Phaedrus, where the voice of Socrates is used to demonstrate a highly unsocratic form of speech-making, and Plato actively signals to the reader that Socrates' statements are not intended to be taken as actual reflections of his personality.

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to render significant Greek words (such as logos, mimesis, or delanoia) into a clear and consistent set of English terms.

Plato himself explicitly raises some of these issues toward the end of the Phaedrus, when the discussion turns to the nature of writing. Socrates makes a strong case against the utility of literacy as a means of learning and sharing knowledge, complaining that written texts can speak "as if they had some understanding, but if you question anything that has been said because you want to learn more, it continues to signify just that same thing forever."[1] Such a work "can neither defend itself nor come to its own support."[2] As a result, the dynamic process of learning through reasoning, which Socrates sees being fundamentally interactive, is crippled by the written form. It is only able to offer the reader a static and invariably incomplete image of the truth. One must remain conscious of these challenges and of Socrates' own warnings regarding writing when working with the Platonic discourses, in order to engage in a constructive analysis of Plato's theories. In response to the difficulty of assigning finality and meaning to individual phrases in the dialogue, this paper will seek to establish a broad defence for its thesis, looking to textual, structural, and logic-based sources of evidence.

The relationship between lust and love is one of the central concepts in the Phaedrus, and is the chief concern of all three of the key speeches in the discourse (Lysias' speech, and Socrates' first and second speeches). When these speeches, and especially Socrates' second (the palinode) are considered in detail, the degree to which love is dependent upon the existence of lust becomes clear. In the mythical portion of the palinode, Socrates introduces a tripartite division of the soul, comparing "the soul to the natural union of a team of winged horses and their charioteer."[3] The relationship between the two horses and their driver is explained when Socrates states that "our driver is in charge of a pair of horses... one of his horses is beautiful and good and from stock of the same sort, while the other is the opposite and has the opposite sort of blood-line. This means that chariot-driving is inevitably a painfully difficult process."[4] Here it is already apparent that the human soul is naturally driven by two separate forces, one good-natured and the other unruly. The process of learning or achieving anything (chariot-driving) is dependent upon our ability of maintaining a balance between the two forces which motivate our soul.

Socrates proceeds to discuss this analogy at length, first describing a divine procession of the souls in the heavenly realm, and then later using the image of the soul-as-chariot to explain worldly love. In the first case, he describes how "the heaviness of the bad horse drags its charioteer toward the earth and weighs him down if he has failed to train it well, and this causes the most extreme toil and struggle that a soul will face."[5] Here the 'dark' horse is described in a negative sense: it appears to be an obstacle which the rational part of the soul must overcome in order to see the true forms. While a the image of the dark horse functions primarily to demonstrate the difficulty of acquiring knowledge, the dark horse in fact plays a very complex part in Socrates' account of the nature of the soul, and is significant as more than a mere obstacle to the acquisition of knowledge.

The figure of the dark horse enables the reader to understand that the soul is by nature dualistic, and that both parts of the soul must be controlled in such a way as to allow them to serve their (essential) purposes.

This is made clear when Socrates proceeds to apply the image of the soul-as-chariot to worldly love. Socrates describes love as the fourth, and divine kind of madness, occuring when someone "sees the beauty we have down here and is reminded of true beauty."[6] This is "the best and noblest of all the forms [of] possession... and when someone who loves beautiful boys is touched by this madness he is called a lover."[7] By likening love to madness and possession, Socrates is already suggesting that divine love is by no means the exclusive domain of the rational part of the soul (the driver). Socrates detailed description of the process which takes place within the lover upon the sight of his beloved will reveals that the dark horse (or appetitive side) of the soul that initiates and drives each phase of love, and the charioteer works merely to control and guide the two horses.

Socrates suggests that love is a process of recollection, in which the beauty of the beloved is in fact a reflection, or image, of the true form of divine beauty. True love is attained when the soul looks upon the boy's "face [and] his memory is carried back to the real nature of Beauty, and he sees it again where it stands on the sacred pedestal next to Self-control."[8] This process of recollection, though, is entirely dependent upon the active force of the dark horse. While the white horse is restrained by its "modesty and self-control"[9] the dark horse "leaps violently forward" literally forcing the lover to approach their beloved until "they are close to him... and they are struck by the boy's face as if by a bolt of lightning."[10] It is at this very moment that the process of recollection is able to take place, while, having remembered the true form of Beauty, the rational part of the lover's soul will "pull the reigns back so fiercely that both horses are set on their haunches."[11] The white horse is inspired with such "shame and awe" that it "drenches the whole soul with sweat."[12] The dark horse must also be actively and repeatedly restrained in order to prevent it from bringing about the act of sexual consummation that the rational part of the soul—having recalled the true form of Beauty—knows would be shameful.

Achieving true love in Socratic sense is thus a very difficult process. It is dependent both upon the dark (or appetitive) side of the soul initiating the sequence of recollection by dragging the soul toward the lover, and also upon the driver (or rational part) of the soul remembering the divine form of beauty, and violently restraining and taming the dark horse. Socrates does not suggest that everyone will be able to achieve this balance, and in fact argues that only those whose souls have recently been initiated into the realm of the forms (particularly the philosophers) will be able to remember the true form of Beauty, and prevent the lustful dark horse from "surrender[ing] to

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1 Pl. *Phdr.* 257D Trans. Grube
2 Ibid, 257E
3 Ibid, 246A
4 Ibid, 246B
5 Ibid, 247B

6 Pl. *Phdr.*, 249D, Trans. Grube.
7 Ibid, 249E
8 Ibid, 254B
9 Ibid, 253D
10 Ibid, 254B
11 Ibid, 254C
12 Ibid

pleasure... in the manner of a four-footed beast, eager to make babies."[13]

Just as the mythical portion of the palinode demonstrates that lust is a prerequisite to real love, an analysis of the overarching structure of the Phaedrus appears to suggest that philosophy is in many ways dependent upon the existence of rhetoric. Just as it is the active force of lust (what is pleasing) that motivates the dark horse and initiates the process of recollection that defines Socrates' account of love, it is the appeal of rhetoric, and the pleasure of making and listening to beautiful speeches that initiates the discourse between Socrates and his friend. When Phaedrus first encounters Socrates in the streets of Athens, he quickly recognises that Socrates is "sick with passion for hearing speeches."[14] Phaedrus takes advantage of his friend's condition, and uses the tempting prospect of hearing a new speech from Lysias, the great orator, as "a potion to charm [Socrates] into leaving"[15] Athens. Socrates' love of oratory thus draws him out of the city, initiates the dialogue between the two friends, and later drives him to go so far as to give a speech of his own, in which he responds to and expands upon the arguments that Lysias' speech raised against ēros.

In Socrates' first speech, the reader is given a clear example of the consequences of failing to harness one's passions. Socrates allows himself to be carried away by his love of oratory and makes a speech in which he attempts to persuade an imagined boy that "he should never [give] his favours to a man who [is] in love"[16] since such a man will not care for his best interests in the long term. Socrates soon realises, though, that his and Lysias' speeches have offended Eros, the god of love, and that they have compounded this error "with their utter foolishness in parading their dangerous falsehoods and preening themselves over perhaps deceiving a few silly people."[17] Upon realising this error, Socrates experiences a shame which clearly parallels the shame experienced by the soul failing to curb the advances of its dark horse and acting upon its lust for the object of their affections. It is mentioned that he spoke with his head covered, in order to hide his embarrassment.[18] When Socrates decides to make an apology speech to Eros, in which he will defend love as the best kind of madness, he is clearly aware of the shameful nature of his failure to control his passions: "I will try to offer my Palinode to Love before I am punished for speaking ill of him—with my head bare, no longer covered in shame."[19]

The specific function played by rhetoric, and its connection to philosophy is revealed in the palinode, where eikos, the rhetorical technique of arguing on the basis of what is likely, is introduced as a means of transcending the limits of the dialectic method. Socrates uses the dialectic techniques of definition, division, and deduction in his proof of the immortality of the soul at the beginning of the speech. When he attempts to move into a discussion of the structure of the soul, though, he finds that "to describe what the soul actually is would require a very long account, altogether a task for a god in every way; but to say what it is like is humanly possible."[20] Using the dialectic form to achieve knowledge of metaphysics is thus not humanly possible. Socrates proceeds to introduce

13 Ibid, 250D
14 Ibid, 228B
15 Ibid, 230D
16 Ibid, 241B
17 Ibid, 242E-243A
18 Ibid, 237A
19 Ibid, 243B
20 Ibid, 246A

the simile of the soul-as-chariot, which he uses to create an image of the truth, which will ideally facilitate the recollection of the actual true forms previously seen by the soul of the philosopher.

Just as the dark horse serves to drag the soul to a position where it may recall the true form of Beauty and pull back on the reigns, rhetoric and oratory, through the use of eikos, are able to create a likeness of the truth which can help the listener to remember the truth itself. While Socrates does extensively criticize rhetoriticians, who only care about what is convincing, and exercise their powers without regard to, or knowledge of, what is good and bad, at the end of his and Phaedrus' discussion on rhetoric, he explains how a certain type of rhetoric can indeed help philosophers. Socrates finally justifies his use of rhetoric, and eikos, by arguing that "people get the idea of what is likely through its similarity to the truth. And [...] in every case the person who knows the truth knows best how to determine similarities."[21] He goes on to add that "No one will ever possess the art of speaking, to the extent that any human being can, unless he acquires the ability to enumerate the sorts of characters to be found in any audience, to divide everything according to its kinds, and to grasp each single thing firmly by means of one form."[22]

Here it is clear that Socrates does not see rhetorical techniques as an absolute evil. In fact he believes that they can be, and indeed are, highly useful tools. What the Phaedrus attempts to stress is thus not that techniques such as eikos, attractive structure, and awareness of the audience should be totally avoided, but that they must be used wisely, by those who have already mastered the techniques of dialectic, and have a knowledge of good and bad. To believe that rhetoric, working through the appetitive side of the soul and concerned with that which is pleasing, has no place in philosophical enquiry, would be to miss the message of the Phaedrus. Similarly, to believe that it is possible (let alone desirable) to achieve platonic love without first experiencing, and conquering, feelings of lust would be to accept the argument raised in Lysias speech when he essentially proposes a love without attraction. When Lysias tells the imagined boy, "I will... give you my time with no immediate thought of immediate pleasure; I will plan instead for the benefits that are to come, since I am master of myself and have not been overwhelmed by love,"[23] the critical reader should understand the impracticality of his proposition.

Just as lust is essential to the realisation of true love, the rhetorical methods Socrates employs in order to transcend the limits of the dialectic (to describe the structure of the soul and the nature of love) are essential to the development of Plato's argument. The creation of this dualistic vision of love and philosophy, in which each is linked to, and even dependent upon, its lower form, is the central project of the Phaedrus. Moreover, when seen in the context of this relationship, the structuring of the text is logical and consistent. The shift from Phaedrus and Socrates' ecstatic love of oratory to their cautioning discussion on rhetoricians, and Socrates' speeches for and against love, as well as the content of the mythical section of the palinode can all be understood as parts of Plato's argument on this matter.

Despite the advantages of this reading of the Phaedrus, one might respond by asking whether the suggestion that rhetoric and lust, through their appeals to what is pleasing, are essential to the realisation of whether true love or philosophy is consistent with the positions taken by Plato in other works, in the *Republic*, for example, Socrates clearly suggests that in order to be just and happy an individual must have a well-ordered soul, in which the rational part dominates over the spirited

21 Ibid, 273D
22 Ibid, 273D-E
23 Ibid, 233B

and appetitive parts. This is emphasized in Book X, where Socrates suggests that the rational part "is the best part of the soul."[24] Socrates seems to be equally critical of all aspects of the appetitive side of the soul when he argues for a ban on all imitative poetry, suggesting that,

> In the case of sex, anger, and all the desires, pleasures, and pains that we say accompany all our actions, poetic imitation has the very same effect on us. It nurtures and waters them and establishes [our appetites] as rulers in us when they ought to wither and be ruled, for that way we'll become better and happier rather than worse and more wretched.[25]

Here Socrates appears to suggest that it would be wiser to completely avoid all forms that appeal to the appetitive side of the soul than to risk admitting them into the city.

While this does pose a clear challenge to the suggestion that Socrates sees lust, and the pursuit of pleasure, as instrumentally necessary for recollection and divine love to be achieved, an analysis of the larger argument of the *Republic* will reveal that this position is in fact consistent with the interpretation of the *Phaedrus* defended in this paper. Plato uses the Republic to argue that the soul (and city) must be well-ordered if it is to be just and eudaimonaic. He suggests that for the right order to exist, the rational soul must fully control the appetitive and spiritual parts of the soul, and argues that extensive systems of censorship, socialisation, and education must be put in place in a just city so as to ensure that this balance is maintained. Despite that, Plato does not suggest that rhetoric, and aspects of the appetitive side of the soul such as lust, are of no use whatsoever. He argues that they are dangerous, and must be kept within the control of the rational part of the mind. This is in fact quite consistent with the way in which lust and rhetoric are depicted in the *Phaedrus*.

Socrates concludes in the Phaedrus that the methods of rhetoric must be used carefully by one who already has knowledge of good, bad, and the dialectic technique, and that the lustful side of the soul must be controlled by the rational side for true, divine, love to be achieved. The argument of the Republic in fact parallels this suggestion that, in certain circumstances, rhetorical devices might be useful. When Socrates describes how music and stories can be used to shape children into good citizens, he does not suggest that only stories appealing directly to the rational side of the children's souls will be useful in achieving this end. In fact, the inclusion of tales such as the Myth of the Metals and the Myth of Er in Socrates' program for the education of the citizens of the kallipolis is highly significant. This suggests that, even within the theoretical framework of the *Republic*, there are many instances in which it may be useful, or even necessary, to tell stories that are believable and produce a desired effect in the audience, regardless of whether or not they are actually true.

In these cases, as with rhetoric and philosophy and lust and love in the *Phaedrus*,

what is essential is that the rational part of the soul (or city) is able to remain in control. In the *Republic* this means that only the philosopher-kings should have the power to engage in potentially dangerous practices such persuasion through rhetoric. While it would be relatively easy to argue that Plato's discourses suggest that the appetitive side of the soul is of no use in the pursuit of knowledge, a careful reading of the Phaedrus will in fact suggest otherwise. The fact that we must make every effort to keep the rational part of the soul in control does not necessarily mean that lust and rhetoric (which both appeal to the appetitive side of the soul) cannot be instrumentally useful, and indeed necessary in allowing us to use reason to see the truth. In the case of the *Phaedrus*, love and philosophy are closely related to, and occasionally depend upon the functions of, lust and rhetoric.

Theo Lyons

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24   **Pl**. *Rep*. 603A Trans. Nehamas and Woodruff
25   Ibid, 606D

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The Context of the Summoning of the Magna Mater to Rome in 205 BCE

The summoning of the Magna Mater has been a controversial topic of academic study for years, particularly the cause of her introduction to Rome following the consultation of the Sibylline Books in 205. Many theories have been put forward As to why the goddess brought over from Greece at this point in Roman history. One is that the Romans wished to improve their reputation in Greece after a breakdown of their prestige, that it was owed to a spirit of gratitude for the 'turning of the tide' in the Hannibalic War, or rather that it was due to a spirit of anxiety and unease at a particularly stressful situation in Italy. The examination of each of these assumptions will attempt to determine their suitability as the foremost explanation for the arrival of the Magna Mater. This question will be unraveled through an analysis of ancient sources and of the atmosphere both in Rome and abroad.

Erich Gruen, in his book *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*, puts forth the theory that contemporaneous events occurring outside of the Italian peninsula were the root cause of the Magna Mater's arrival. In the same year as that of the Magna Mater's summoning, the First Macedonian War was concluded when Rome's allies, the Aetolian League, arranged a treaty with Philip of Macedon without Rome's consent. Livy attributes this defection to their extreme frustration with Rome's lack of involvement and failure to dispatch aid to their cause.[1] As Gruen explains, Rome fought the war with Philip mostly by proxy, enlisting the aid of Hellenistic allies in order to prevent Philip from profiting from his alliance with Carthage. This left Rome free to deploy the vast majority of its troops against Punic threats in Italy and Spain.[2] Appian confirms Rome's desire to remain largely absent from the conflict, claiming that they were already stretched extremely thin by engaging with the Punic forces and were therefore hesitant to commit Roman troops to other international conflicts.[3] By 207, Rome had already reduced its contingents almost entirely, in effect ceasing military involvement directly and forcing its Greek allies to oppose Philip unaided.[4]

Regardless of Rome's absence from the conflict, the League's defection still came as a shock. Rome attempted to draw the Aetolian armies back into war by dispatching a formidable army to the area, but to no avail.[5] The Romans were forced to draw up the Peace of Phoenice owing to their lack of allies, available troops and disposable resources while engaged in Carthage.[6] Gruen concludes, "the whole experience had been unsatisfactory, frustrating, and generally ignominious."[7]

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1 Liv. 29.12: "For the last two years the affairs of Greece had been neglected. Accordingly, as the Aetolians were deserted by the Romans, on whom alone they depended for assistance, Philip compelled them to sue for and agree to a peace on whatever conditions he pleased."
2 Erich S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1990), 27.
3 Ibid.; cf. App. *Mac*. 3.1.
4 Gruen 27.
5 Ibid.
6 Liv. 29.12: "Because now that the operations of the war were removed into Africa, [the Romans] were desirous to be relieved for the present from all other wars."
7 Gruen 28.

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7 Gruen 28.

The cost to Rome's prestige was substantial: it was now known for failing to live up to expectations, having abandoned its allies, and for using them essentially as cannon fodder.[8] Their ignominious standing in the Hellenistic world is attested to in Polybius, who recounts that during the war, "those who [bore] the brunt of the danger [were] the Aetolians and those Peloponnesians who were in alliance with them, while the Romans, like a phalanx, [held] themselves in reserve."[9] With Carthage occupying the majority of Roman resources and attention, their lack of involvement is understandable. However, in an era when Mediterranean empires and colonies were becoming increasingly inter-connected with one another, as was the case in 205 BCE, Rome could not escape condemnation for its *realpolitik*.[10]

It is this sensitivity to its tarnished reputation in Greece that Gruen describes as the primary backdrop to Rome's acquisition of the Magna Mater.[11] He puts forth that "the goddess would give external sanction to Rome's crusade against Carthage and the final push to eliminate Hannibal, thus indirectly justifying a withdrawal from the eastern front."[12] Her acquisition would also advertise Roman sensitivity to foreign customs and restore the city's flagging image. The arrival of the Magna Mater, occurring contemporaneously with Rome's dissatisfactory conclusion of the war with Macedon, supplied a means to restore its reputation and improve its perception among the international community.[13]

In order to procure the Magna Mater, the Romans were required to turn to King Attalus I of Pergamum, whom Livy cites as their one ally in Greece.[14] Paul Burton indicates that the reason Rome imported the Magna Mater instead of any of the numerous other deities in Greece, is directly related to the fact that Attalus was able to help them carry out this process.[15] As proof he points to the suspicious fact that the Sibylline Books' instructions to Rome to summon the Magna Mater coincided perfectly with Roman foreign relations at the time. In other words, they asserted that a goddess easily attained by Rome's only remaining Hellenistic ally should be brought to Italy.[16] Burton goes on to suggest that if there was in fact a diplomatic dimension to the Magna Mater episode, it was an attempt to reconfirm Rome's friendship with Attalus. He says that "the links between Rome, Delphi and Pergamum were too remote from the mainstream of the political situation in the Greek peninsula in 205 to be of any consequence for the Roman reputation."[17]

Of course, it is also possible that King Attalus' aid in procuring the Magna Mater was merely a coincidence, and it is far more likely that the reasons for her summoning are firmly rooted in the Italian peninsula and the events leading up to and occurring in 205 BCE. Burton concludes that any diplomatic goals that Rome might have held for the East in 205 were simply irrelevant in the context of

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8   Liv. 31.29, 32.22; Polyb. 9.37, 9.39; App. *Mac.* 7.

9   Polyb. 10.25; Liv. 31.29 also recounts how the Aetolians while debating the second Macedonian war remembered "having learnt by experience how little they had to gain by alliance with the Romans."

10   Liv. 31.29.

11   Gruen 28.

12   Ibid. 29.

13   Ibid. 33.

14   Liv. 29.11.

15   Paul J. Burton, "The Summoning of the Magna Mater to Rome," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* vol. 45, no. 1 (1st Qtr. 1996): 62.

16   **Ibid.**

17   **Ibid.**

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their intense fixation on their present situation in Italy and on ultimately ending the Hannibalic War.[18]

The argument for a Greece-based cause leading to the acquisition of the Magna Mater seems highly unlikely in the face of Burton's assertions that the episode was too far removed from the mainstream political situation both in Greece and in Italy for the Romans to consider staging an international public relations scheme or for the Greeks to be affected by one. It then follows that the causes for her summoning must be viewed from the context of events in Italy. Here Gruen has another hypothesis to offer: he posits that the Magna Mater was introduced into Rome in a spirit of gratitude and thanksgiving for the state of the Second Punic War at the time.[19] This flies directly in the face of the traditional view put forth by Henri Graillot in his 1912 book, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux : à Rome et dans l'Empire romain*, which argues the opposite.[20] Graillot bases his viewpoint largely on evidence provided in the accounts of Livy and Cicero. Gruen claims that at this point in the war, the tide had been turned and "the Republic was on its way to inevitable victory."[21] He cites the overwhelming victory at Metaurus in 207, Roman success in Spain, and the return of all of Lucania to Roman allegiance, as well as the restoration of farmers to their property in 206 as events that conferred upon Rome a confidence in their control over Italy.[22] There was certainly a pervasive sense of relief following the victories at Metaurus and in Spain, as seen in Polybius,[23] as well as Livy, who states that the people "being relieved of every fear, [felt] just as if the war was already finished."[24] To support this theory that the goddess arrived just as Rome was about to achieve victory, Gruen turns to an analysis of Ovid's *Fasti*.[25] According to his analysis, the Sibylline prophesy would have applied only in a situation in which Rome "had lifted her head above the conquered world."[26] This, taken literally would place Rome in a superior position over its neighbors at the time of the goddess' arrival, and thus point to Roman dominance in 205.

There are several key discrepancies that provoke further examination of Gruen's line of reasoning. First and foremost, placing the origins of the arrival of the Magna Mater amongst the joyful atmosphere of the victories in 207 at Metaurus and in Spain infers that this attitude was sustained for two years until the consultation of the Sibylline Books in 205. While there is no definitive indicator for the actual public sentiment of the time, certainly events occurring in those two years affected morale to some extent.[27] For example, Gruen's emphasis on the return of Lucania to Roman control certainly paints a picture of a state slowly regaining control over their assets and the situation. However, most likely in the interest of protecting his argument, Gruen utterly ignores the arrival of Mago, Hamilcar's son, in Liguria in 205. Mago arrived unexpectedly from the Balearic

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18   **Burton,.63.**

19   **Gruen 6.**

20   **Burton 36,** cf. H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire romain* (Paris: Fontemoing , 1912), 30-32.

21   Gruen 6.

22   Ibid. 6-7.

23   Polyb. 11.3

24   Liv. 27.51.

25   Burton 37.

26   Ov. *Fast*. 4.226.

27   Burton 38.

Islands and swiftly captured the undefended town of Genua.[28] He immediately began enlisting the aid of Rome's enemies in the area, namely the Gauls, of whom Livy relates that they "flock[ed] to his standard from all sides … as his army increased daily."[29] Rome was now faced with two foreign threats in Italy. It is clear that the Senate was anxious concerning this turn of events, as evidenced by the subsequent deployment of Roman troops. M. Livius, the proconsul in Etruria, was ordered to move his forces to Ariminum in order to provide reinforcements for troops already stationed there,[30] and "Roman forces remained totally on the defensive, encamped at Ariminum."[31]

Gruen also fails to reveal all of the relevant facts in his assertion that the restoration of farmers to their land "underscored the confidence that Rome was once more in control of Italy."[32] Gruen relies on Livy for his account of this return of the common people to rural areas,[33] but he overlooks key information regarding this relocation. In the passages immediately following those cited by Gruen, Livy states that people were forced by the consuls to return to the ravaged and pillaged countryside, and that it was a "matter by no means easy for [them]."[34] In this context, the restoration of farmers to their property does not indicate a peaceful state of affairs in Italy.

A final irregularity in Gruen's argument lies in his use of Ovid's account to support his theory of an optimistic attitude in Rome. Gruen does not use the whole quote to make his point. Upon study of it in its entirety, Ovid is clearly making a general observation of Rome's expansionistic trend as opposed to a pointed commentary on the specific year of the Hannibalic War in which the Magna Mater was summoned to Rome.[35] It is also impossible to determine the extent of the influence of Ovid's foreknowledge of Rome's eventual victory over Carthaginian forces. Once included in the picture, historical and literary elements that were excluded from his argument prove that Gruen's hypothesis of a largely celebratory and joyous atmosphere in Italy at the time of the Magna Mater's arrival is unfounded.

This image of an unsteady and anxious Roman state derived from the dismantling of Gruen's hypothesis is supported in many instances by the ancient sources. The most pressing and disconcerting event that took place in 205 BCE was the arrival of Mago with an army of fourteen thousand, which immediately took Genua by surprise. He then solicited recruits from throughout Cisalpine Gaul, which he found in abundance.[36] Shortly thereafter, in addition to the swelling of his forces with Gallic peoples, Mago received a further seven thousand soldiers, seven elephants and twenty-five warships as reinforcements from Carthage.[37] This forced the Romans to station Proconsul M. Livius, the veteran commander of the Battle of Metaurus, in Cisalpine Gaul. Despite his earlier victory against Punic forces

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28 Liv. 28.46.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Arthur M. Eckstein, *Senate and General: Individual Decision-Making and Roman Foreign Policy* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1987), 49-50.
32 Gruen 6.
33 Liv. 28.11.
34 Ibid.
35 Ov. *Fast*. 4.226-225: "when mighty Rome *had already seen five centuries*, and had lifted up her head above the conquered world, the priest consulted the fateful words of the Euboean song." (My emphasis). This small phrase is indicative that this statement is to be taken in an overall sense.
36 Liv. 28.46.
37 Ibid. 29.4; App. *Pun*. 11.9.

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in 207, M. Livius remained on the defensive, a tactic that could be attributed to physical and moral exhaustion from the long war, as well as to an inability to predict the movements of Mago and his forces.[38]

Livy also asserts that at this point the Senate had turned to desperate measures, even selling a district of Campanian territory, "as there was a scarcity of money to carry on the war."[39] There is also evidence of a serious shortage of manpower, indicating that in addition to running low on economic resources, Rome was beginning to fear becoming stretched too thin by the war. Census numbers in 207 were so incredibly low that many scholars insist the value must be corrupted.[40] While this may be the case to some extent, the concern over manpower is made clear by Livy: "the war was now doubly formidable, in consequence of the advance of a new enemy into Italy, the number of the youth from which they could enlist soldiers was diminished."[41] While these instances are taken from two years before 205, this trend continued into 204 and beyond, about which time Livy claims that the Senate was so pressed for soldiers that they demanded double the levy from certain Latin colonies.[42] This evidence lends credence to the idea that Italy was experiencing an economic slump and a definite shortage of manpower in the years surrounding the summoning of the Magna Mater. This poor situation, combined with the recent threat in Northern Italy of Hamilcar's son Mago, make for a dismal snapshot of Italian affairs in the year 205 BCE, in direct contrast with Gruen's argument.

Having established that the state in Italy in 205 BCE was one of anxiety and unease regarding the war, the advent of the Magna Mater takes on a much more religious tone. Both the events described in ancient sources and similar cases of precedent make a convincing argument for this assertion. Orlin describes the circumstances ordinarily preceding a consultation of the Sibylline Books in *Temples, Religion, and Politics in the Roman Republic*. He states that the *decemvirs* were ordered to search through the books following the announcement of prodigies, to find the means to restore the rift in the *pax deorum* thought to have caused them.[43] Eckstein also convincingly establishes that "consultations of the Books were ordered by the Senate because of strange and disturbing events."[44] Livy explains that the impetus for the consultation of the Books in 205 was the "alarmingly large number of showers of stones that had struck Rome that year."[45] Orlin suggests that the Sibylline Books were not only consulted in light of prodigies, but also in conjunction with "grave national emergencies." The consultation of the Sibylline Books would allow the Senate to have confidence that the steps being taken were the correct ones to handle the religious crisis, and boosted morale in times of stress.[46] From this statement it can be determined that the Senate believed it was

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38 Liv. 29.5.
39 Ibid. 28.46.
40 P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C.-A.D. 14* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 62-3. The author outlines his argument that the figure "must either be corrupt or represent a gravely defective registration."
41 Liv. 27.38.
42 Ibid. 29.15.
43 Eric M. Orlin, *Temples, Religion, and Politics in the Roman Republic* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1997), 86.
44 Arthur M. Eckstein, "Human Sacrifice and Fear of Military Disaster in Republican Rome," *American Journal of Ancient History* 7 (1982): 72.
45 Liv. 29.10.
46 Orlin 90.

facing a 'grave national emergency' immediately preceding the arrival of the Magna Mater.[47] Cicero explicitly confirms this atmosphere of uncertainty and links it with the summoning of the goddess: "By the advice of the prophetess [the Sibyl], when Italy was wearied by the Punic War and harassed by Hannibal, our ancestors imported that sacred image and those sacred rites from Phrygia."[48] While it must be taken into account that these authors are writing centuries later, they all reach a consensus on a feeling of anxiety in Italy, whereas evidence to the contrary is largely non-existent.

In addition to the generally accepted context in which the Sibylline books were historically consulted and the ancient sources' overwhelming testimony on the tense atmosphere of Italy and the Roman state in 205, This is yet another piece of evidence. Rome had a long history of importing new deities in cases of crisis when it appeared that their native gods were not sufficient to restore whatever breakdown in the *pax deorum* was causing the present misfortune. Orlin relates that as early as 436, after normal courses of supplication had proved ineffective, a terrible pestilence was combated with the dedication of a temple to the healing aspect of Apollo for the health of the people.[49] Almost a century and a half later, a similar illness and failed supplications led to the introduction of Aesculapius into the capital. In this latter instance it appears the action was undertaken at the instruction of the Sibylline Books.[50] Closer to the year 205, the Romans adopted the cult of Venus Erycina around 217, again based upon the directives of the Sibylline Books. This time the introduction was not a response to failing national health, but rather was an attempt to counteract the disastrous defeat the Romans suffered at Lake Trasimene on account of the military brilliance of Hannibal. The crushing blow, combined with that sustained at the Battle of Trebia, was believed to be the result of the incorrect performance of a vow to Mars.[51] The only way to resolve the issue was to import a foreign cult, as traditional Roman gods were simply not the right tools to combat certain crises.[52] This formula can be applied to the episode of the Magna Mater, whose summoning came after a series of prodigies and during a particularly stressful time in the Second Punic War when Mago had arrived, putting additional pressure on the peninsula. These two occurrences would have been interpreted as denoting an issue with the *pax deorum*, and the Sibylline Books would have been consulted in order to determine the proper religious course of action. Like the previous episodes with Aesculapius and Venus Erycina, these occurrences provided due cause for the Senate to import a foreign deity who would lend strength to their cause and bolster the worrying state of affairs in Italy.

In the end the summoning of the Magna Mater was directly linked to a sense of crisis in the Roman Republic. This atmosphere was the result of Mago's arrival in Northern Italy and of the economic and demographic deficiencies of a war-weary nation. These things provided a traditional and well-understood justification for the consultation of the Sibylline Books, and the adoption of the long-standing Roman precedent of importing foreign deities in times of distress. Gruen's assertion that the Magna Mater's introduction was for the purpose of improving Hellenistic relations is largely implausible due to the incredibly stressful state of affairs in Italy and the Roman Senate's intense absorption in their resolution. The theory that the goddess was brought over for the purpose of thanksgiving can be disproved on the same grounds, with the addition of further analysis of the primary sources. The ineffectiveness of these two arguments to explain the reason for the summoning of the Magna Mater leads to the assertion that her arrival was a religious cure for the disquieting situation in which Rome had found itself.

Kylie Flynn

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47 Livy, Polybius and Cicero's accounts of the period surrounding the advent of the Magna Mater also lend credence to this assumption.

48 Cic. *Har. resp.* 27.

49 Orlin 22.

50 Ibid. 23; Liv. 10.47: "The many incidents which helped to make the year a happy one served to console the citizens for one calamity, a pestilence which raged in the City and country districts alike. The mischief it did was looked upon as a portent. The Sacred Books were consulted to see what end or what remedy would be vouchsafed by the gods. It was ascertained that Aesculapius must be sent for from Epidaurus."

51 Orlin 20; Liv. 22.9. Orlin 22.

52 Orlin 22.

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Outside the Homeric lens: the *Epic Cycle* and the Trojan War tradition

We often forget that the *Iliad* narrates events of only fourteen days in the tenth year of the Trojan War, most of them within a three-day span.[1] We frequently find ourselves subconsciously filling in gaps in the Homeric Epics with details from a larger "Epic Cycle"- the death of Achilles and sack of Troy, for instance- and confusing this material with the Homeric. The monumental status which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have acquired overshadows what is frequently overlooked: "each epic immensely expands a single incident – the Quarrel and the Return."[2] Some two thousand and three hundred years later we have inherited the Homeric texts as they were fixed in writing by the Alexandrian scholars - at this time already a canon and a classic.[3] In antiquity, admiration for the Homeric epics caused other traditions about the Trojan War to erode with time until they largely faded away: a preference, even a choice, of which many of us are still guilty.[4] The Homeric poems' privileged status, however, not only does not tell us much about their place in their original environment but actually obscures it. This paper argues that in the Archaic Age the Trojan War was still a living and organic tradition, explored through a large and diverse corpus of media and genres in which the Homeric epics were not dominant, but instead one among many of its expressions. A close examination of the *Epic Cycle* in comparison to the Homeric poems, as well as Trojan War themed iconographic representations, illustrate that the *Cycle* is largely based on a tradition reaching back into a pre-Homeric past and is thus not only independent in content and form but served different purposes and social needs.[5] The *Epic Cycle* is therefore useful in

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2   Ruth Scodel, "The Story-teller and his Audience," In *The Cambridge Companion to Homer,* ed. Robert Fowler, 45-59 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47.
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5   Jonathan Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle,* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 5; 132. I do not wish to pin down either the Homeric epics or the *Epic Cycle* to any specific point in time, since it is not useful for my purpose. Rather, I am interested in examining them at

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We often forget that the *Iliad* narrates events of only fourteen days in the tenth year of the Trojan War, most of them within a three-day span.[1] We frequently find ourselves subconsciously filling in gaps in the Homeric Epics with details from a larger "Epic Cycle"- the death of Achilles and sack of Troy, for instance- and confusing this material with the Homeric. The monumental status which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have acquired overshadows what is frequently overlooked: "each epic immensely expands a single incident – the Quarrel and the Return."[2] Some two thousand and three hundred years later we have inherited the Homeric texts as they were fixed in writing by the Alexandrian scholars - at this time already a canon and a classic.[3] In antiquity, admiration for the Homeric epics caused other traditions about the Trojan War to erode with time until they largely faded away: a preference, even a choice, of which many of us are still guilty.[4] The Homeric poems' privileged status, however, not only does not tell us much about their place in their original environment but actually obscures it. This paper argues that in the Archaic Age the Trojan War was still a living and organic tradition, explored through a large and diverse corpus of media and genres in which the Homeric epics were not dominant, but instead one among many of its expressions. A close examination of the *Epic Cycle* in comparison to the Homeric poems, as well as Trojan War themed iconographic representations, illustrate that the *Cycle* is largely based on a tradition reaching back into a pre-Homeric past and is thus not only independent in content and form but served different purposes and social needs.[5] The *Epic Cycle* is therefore useful in

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reconstructing the shape of Trojan War story-telling in the Archaic Age, allowing for different level of understanding of the tradition in its entirety and the Homeric epics within it.[6] As I intend to show that, "if the tradition of the Trojan War were a tree, initially the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would have been a couple of small branches, whereas the Cycle poems would be somewhere in the trunk."[7]

Oral myth-making roots were ancient, reaching far back to the Bronze Age, and its evolution multi-layered. As the post-Mycenaean period increasingly emerges as less 'dark', it has become clear that the expansion beginning around the early eight century B.C was based on the use of old travelling routes from the late Bronze Age – paths which in fact "may never have been entirely forgotten."[8] Practical information and tales were passed from one generation to another, among sailors, merchants and other travelers as they revisited the places which had generated these stories in the first place. By the Archaic Age, the tradition had already a long history of organic evolution as different time periods contributed to its growing body, and other myths were also incorporated within it.[9] That is not to say that its 'oral' quality makes the tradition one seamless whole. Oral tradition did not belong exclusively to bards - other verse genres, nonprofessional, unmetrical renderings, folktales, 'travelers' tales and artistic representation concurrently narrated traditional stories.[10] Thus the Homeric epic "was only one type of solo performance for entertainment and for negotiating the values of the community," emerging "against a rich background of the poetic tradition."[11] As a genre, epic itself is a "world of variety" and Greek epic tradition in particular

a point when they were neither static nor fixed. It suffices to stress that both stem from traditions going back to the early Archaic Age when they coexisted rather than followed each other linearly in sequence, an approach I take from Burgess, who cautions that "the oral context of the composition and performance of early epics should make us wary of pinning an early epic to a specific point in time." Jonathan Burgess, "Neoanalysis, Oral-ity, and Intertextuality: An Examination of Homeric Motif Transference," *Oral Tradition* vol. 21, no. 1 (2006), 153.

6   The *Epic Cycle* survives only in fragments and prose summaries provided by Proclus. These were added to the Venetus A manuscript as additional background for the Homeric epics.
 I use the term "Trojan War tradition" to refer to the oral myth about the war in its largest sense within which the epics are merely parts. *Epic Cycle* refers to the stabilized Hellenistic text stemming from a much older oral branch going back to the Archaic Age which I term the "Cyclic tradition."

7   Burgess 2001, 1.

8   Hans Niemeyer, "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean, Between Expansion and Colonization: A Non-Greek Model of Overseas Settlement and Presence," in *Greek Colonization: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, ed. Gocha R.Tsetskhladze, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), vol. 1,,148.

9   These include, for instance, the Homeric references to Heracles and the Theban War.

10   Burgess 2001,4; Scodel 2004, 47. This variety of song-making is self-referenced in the Homeric poems, suggesting that pre-Homeric poetry existed in genres other than epic. Andrew Ford, "Epic as Genre," in *A New Companion to Homer,* ed. Ian Morris and Barry B. Powell, 174-193 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 400-1. There are metatextual references to unmetrical rendering, such as Phoenix' on Meleager in the *Iliad* book 9 and Odysseus'own in books 9-12 of the *Odyssey.*

11   Dowden 2004, 195; John M. Foley, "Epic as a Genre," in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer,* ed. Robert Fowler, 171-188 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 171. We must remain aware that "Homer's songs represent a tiny fraction of what was on offer in his day, all over the Greek world." Robert Fowler, "Intro-duction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer,* ed. Robert Fowler, 1-11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

was not shy to incorporate all kinds of sources. Our very understanding of epic as a genre is an anachronistic assumption of the generic distinctions that solidified in the Hellenistic age: the boundaries would have looked rather different in the Archaic period. The Homeric epics occupied only a small part of this tradition, "a blink of the Olympian eye" in an immense saga.[12] As will become apparent, the Homeric poems are neither typical nor representative of the Trojan War tradition.

Since so much of the argument for a late, Homeric-influenced creation of the *Cycle* is based on its format, it is necessary to trace back the evolution leading to this fixed text. In reconstructing the living tradition in the Archaic Age, it is thus important to stress the difference between the *Epic Cycle* and the 'Cyclic' material which served as its basis – a late Hellenistic compilation based on early, pre-Homeric material. The Hellenistic editorial process cropped and assembled together a number of poems about the birth of the Gods, and the Theban and Trojan Wars into a collection of verse, which was later made into prose summaries (by Proclus amongst others).[13] Earlier references and the discordant and odd transitions between the poems show, as Burgess has aptly demonstrated, that the poems were originally separate.[14] Thus "the apparent unity of the *Epic Cycle* is actually an illusion caused by later manipulation of the poems selected to construct it."[15] In their earlier state these tended to overlap in content and occasionally offer conflicting versions.[16] The irony is that the loss of aesthetic appreciation for the *Cycle* poems, which opened the way for their manipulation, resulted in the very construct used as an argument against their early and independent development from the Homeric epics.[17] Despite negative attitudes of Alexandrian scholars towards the "Cyclic" poems, the edited compilations were preserved because of a continuing interest in the raw data of their narrative, which in itself is suggestive of their contribution.[18] Thus the single most important point to be retained about the transformative process which led from a Cyclic tradition into a fixed *Epic Cycle* is that its artificial

12   Donald Lateiner, "The *Iliad*: an Unpredictable Classic," in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer,* ed. Robert Fowler, 11-31 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12.

13   The *Epic Cycle* compilation includes the *Cypria, Aethiopis, Little Ilias, Iliou Persis, Nosti* and *Telegoni.* Summaries other than the one by Proclus were also made- for instance Apollodorus' *Epitome,* which is essen-tially a summary of the *Epic Cycle.* M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1989), 7-8.

14   In his *Poetics,* Aristotle discusses individual poems of the *Epic Cycle* without any indication that they belong together (Arist. *Poet.* 1459a-b).

15   Burgess 2001, 21.

16   There are irregularities in Proclus' divisions between the poems. For example, Proclus ends the *Aethiopis* before Ajax's suicide, which follows in the summary of the *Little Iliad*, but a scholiast on Pindar reveals that "the author of the "Aethiopis" says that Aias killed himself about dawn (Scholiast on Pindar, *Isth.* 3.53). In ad-dition to overlap, the poems also occasionally differ about the material they share, such as the summary of *Iliou Persis* by Proclus where Odysseus kills Astyanax, which is contradicted by a fragment of the *Little Iliad,* where it is Neoptolemus who kills him (Scholiast on Lycophron *Alex.*, 1268).

17   A growing devaluation of the poems would have made manipulation more permissible. Motivation for changes could have included a desire to provide a continuous mythical overview- removing 'superfluous' parts-, to provide relevant background information for the Homeric epics, and to modify contradictory information.

18   Cameron, A.. *Callimachus and his Critics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995 In his chapter "The Cyclic Poem," Cameron argues that the criticism of Callimachus resembles Aristarchus, directed at non-Ho-meric aspects of language and style. Aristarchus as a rule considered them later than and inferior to Homer but there is evidence for professional rivalry with his predecessor Zenodotus who had not adopted the same attitude towards Cyclic poetry.

assemblage and cropping in order to 'fit' around the Homeric epics was a late phenomenon, taking place in a hostile environment very different from the one in which they originally circulated. The use of this structure as an argument for the Cyclic poems' post-Homeric origins is therefore inadequate. [19]

Just as the structural analysis of the *Epic Cycle* shows that the Cyclic poems were not manufactured to 'fit' around the Homeric epics, the nature and treatment of their content further suggests that they were created independently. The notion that the Homeric epics were very different from other poems of their age is not new, but their comparison with the *Epic Cycle* opens new avenues of heuristics. Their difference was presented in aesthetic terms as early as Aristotle.[20] It is much more historically significant, however, that the Cyclic poems have a different purpose and function than their Homeric counterparts. As Griffin has convincingly argued, as soon as one engages with the *Cycle* it becomes clear that it "contained a number of things to which the Iliad, and to a lesser extent the Odyssey also, was inhospitable."[21] Except for Odysseus' first person narrative to Alkinoos (books 9-12) the fantastic, the miraculous and the romantic are something the Homeric epics exclude- in a very conscious way.[22] The *Epic Cycle* on the other hand abounds with the fantastic, exceeding far beyond the austere limits to which it is confined in the *Iliad.*

For one, Cyclic heroes possess supernatural powers, such as Lynceus, whose eyesight allowed him to survey the whole Peloponnese, or the daughters of Anius, Oeno, Spermo and Elais (Wine-girl, Seed-girl, Oil-girl), who have the power to produce at will their eponymous commodities, thereby feeding the Achaeans at Troy for nine years.[23] Objects are equally imbued with magical qualities: Troy could not fall as long as the Palladium was kept within its walls; Philoctetes and his bow and arrows had to be brought within Troy in order for its capture; Telephus' wound could only be cured by the weapon which inflicted it.[24] By contrast, in the *Iliad* there is no hint that Troy is protected by any talisman. In the *Aethiopis,* Memnon and Penthesilea are central characters while in the narrative of the *Iliad,* exotic peoples, such as Ethiopians and Amazons, are distanced under the guise of allusions.[25]

Such a different emphasis on the fantastic is not limited to minor details, but affects key protagonists and alters the themes of the works. An alternate version claims that the armour of Achilles was impenetrable, a quality suppressed in the Homeric epics. Instead, Achilles fears that Aeneas' spear would go though his shield and a rational explanation of superior craftsmanship is provided for the shield's sturdiness: "howbeit through two folds he (Aeneas) drave it, yet were

19 Herodotus, for example, rightly suspected the *Cypria* to be un-Homeric not because of its quality but because of disagreement (Hdt. 2.117). Also cf. Hdt. 4.32 for doubts about the *Epigoni* belonging to Homer.

20 "compared with all other poets Homer may seem, as we have already said, divinely inspired…[and the Homeric epics] surpass all other poems in diction and thought" (Arist. *Poet.* 1459a-b)

21 Griffin 1977, 39.

22 Dowden 2004, 202.

23 "Straightway Lynceus, trusting in his swift feet, made for Taygetus. He climbed its highest peak and looked throughout the whole isle of Pelops, son of Tantalus; and soon the glorious hero with his dread eyes saw horse-taming Castor and athlete Polydeuces both hidden within a hollow oak." (Scholiast on Pindar*, Nem.* 10. 114); (Cypria fr. xx).

24 Dion. Hal. *Ant.Rom.*1.68.2(*Iliou Persis*); *Ilias Parva, Cypria*

25 *Il.* 3.189 (Priam recalls the Amazonomachy); *Il.* 6.196 (family history of Glaucus); *Il.* 1.423 (the gods visit the Ethiopians); *Od*. 4.84 (Menelaus recounts his adventures with the Aethiopians).

there still three, for five layers had the crook-foot god welded."[26] Even more interesting is a hint within the *Iliad* of a vestige of the alternate version, for in the final battle scene of Patroclus Apollo must strip him of Achilles' armour before he can be killed.[27] This action, which requires divine intervention, only makes sense if the armour was impenetrable, but otherwise appears out of place.

More generally, the Cyclic poems offer an accommodating world where death can be evaded and immortality is bestowed generously. In this tradition, Achilles and Ajax are said to be invulnerable and a number of heroes are granted immortality.[28] In contrast, "an un-killable warrior in the *Iliad* is an absurdity," since the concept itself undermines the serious concern of the Homeric epics with death, and would hamper the very heroic nature and tension on the battlefield that the *Iliad* meticulously creates.[29] Invulnerability is simply un-Homeric. Instead, "the *Iliad* defines itself as concerned with both the social and personal costs of the pursuits of warrior honour," where the dramatization of sacrifice is heightened by suffering and the inevitability of death.[30] Beloved of the gods though they are, none are spared. A comparison of the *Cycle* with the Homeric epics thus shows profoundly different attitudes towards life and death, human heroism and the relation of gods and men. In fact, the *Iliad* is so centered on the heroic figure that "the poet follows aristocratic individuals, not lines or masses of infantry into combat to a degree that one wonders why the latter groups are there at all."[31]

Homeric heroism is not limited to the battlefield but expands into all facets of life. On the contrary, the careful contrast created between the pairs of Helen and Paris and Hector and Andromache – an adulterous and unlawful liaison versus a rightful union – is blurred in the *Epic Cycle.*[32] Similarly, Odysseus' dedication to his wife in the *Odyssey* is contrasted with a cynical portrayal of his misconduct in the *Telegony,* in which he marries a Thesprotian princess even though nothing prevents him from returning home to Penelope.[33] Likewise, the tale of Achilles hiding among women at Scyros is rejected

26 *Il.*20.265. Achilles' fear is followed by a rebuke from the poet: "fool that he was, nor knew in his mind and heart that not easy are the glorious gifts of the gods for mortal men to master or that they give place withal"(ibid). The passage however does not imply invulnerability but simply superior craftsmanship which makes it "harder" to break though this god-made armour. Certainly the hero himself was not aware of any impenetrable quality, and the spear indeed does certain damage.

27 Ibid 16.801

28 Immortality is known for 1)Memnon after being slain by Achilles (*Proclus, Chrestomathia, ii*) 2) Achilles himself who was taken by Thetis to the White Island (ibid) 3) Castor and Polydeuces who were granted immortality by Zeus "every other day" (ibid), with an alternate version where only Polydeuces becomes immortal and Castor remains mortal (*Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus ii. 30. 5*)- versus in the Iliad, where, unbeknownst to Helen, both are already dead and buried in Lacedaemon (*Il. 3.* 243) 4) Iphigenia who is saved from sacrifice and made immortal by Artemis (*Proclus, Chrestomathia, i*)

29 Griffin 1977, 40

30 Scodel 2004, 47

31 Lateiner 2004, 13

32 In the Homeric epics, Helen has only one child by Menelaus, her daughter Hermione, and is generally shown in a respectable light- especially in the *Odyssey,* where she has returned to Sparta. In contrast, in the *Epic Cycle* she has numerous children- including Pleisthenes by Menelaus and Aganus by Paris (*Scholiast on Euripides, Andr. 89*)*,* is abducted and raped by Theseus (*Scholiast on Homer, Il. iii. 242*) and marries Deiphobus after Paris' death (*Ilias* Parva).

33 Eustath. *Od.*1796.3 *(Telegony)*

indignantly by the scholiasts, insistent on the Homeric version where he visits as hero and conqueror.[34]

Homeric aristocrats are certainly not puritans but their love affairs, as well as eating and drinking, are expressed with scrupulous decency.[35] The *Iliad* further stands out for consistently excluding lowly individuals and motives: "traitors and cowards [are] stylized out of existence."[36] A refusal to fight is interpreted as heroic resentment, whereas in the *Epic Cycle* heroes are ready to do anything to avoid military service.[37] The examples are many, and they make clear that the Cyclic poems relish romantic intrigue and provocative even perverse details at the expense of somber and heroic behaviour.[38] These qualities, so incompatible with the Homeric epics and interwoven throughout the entire fabric of the Cyclic tradition, demonstrate that these poems were designed with very different aims and targeted a different kind of audience.

To further this argument, I would like to explore an analogy from eighteenth century Europe. In a study tracing back the older versions of popular folktales (best known to us though the brothers Grimm), Darnton uncovers major discrepancies in treatment. A master of the genre, Perrault published his *Contes de ma mère l'oye* in 1697 in response to a new vogue for fairy tales in fashionable Parisian circles. Taking material from the oral tradition of the common people, he polished it to suit the taste of the salon sophisticates and précieuses who were his main audience.[39] Examining the older versions of these popular stories before they passed through this filter of aristocratic etiquette is startling to say the least, as all sorts of scandalous behaviour- ranging from rape, incest and cannibalism- dominate the narratives.[40] In Darnton's words, "far from veiling their message with symbols, the storytellers of eighteenth-century France portrayed a world

34 Proclus, *Chrestomathia, i.*
35 Griffin 1997, 47
36 Griffin 1977, 45. Most telling is the Homeric portrayal of the Trojans, especially Hector, who are painted as flawed but in a sympathetic light nonetheless. The Cyclic portrayal, on the other hand, was not so nuanced, and as Scodel points out, there is little doubt that the older tradition cast the Trojans unambiguously as "bad guys." (Scodel 2004, 51-2). Regarding individual cases, the *Odyssey* prefers to skip over Ajax's madness (*Od.*11.549), during which he attacks the Achaean leaders (recounted in the *Ilias Parva*) , and the murder of Palamedes which, according to the *Nostoi*, drove his father Nauplius to avenge himself upon the Greek fleet by luring it on to the rocks, whereas in the *Odyssey* this disaster is attributed to the anger of Athena alone (*Od.* i 327)
37 Examples of Homeric excuse are *Il.* 6.326 (Paris); *Il.*13.460 (Aeneas); as well as Achilles himself and Meleager in Book 9. By contrast in the Cycle Amphiaraus' wife had to be bribed in order to make him go to Thebes, Achilles hid among women and Odysseus pretended to be mad. Unmasked by Palamedes, Odysseus exacts revenge by murdering him with Diomede's help. (*Proclus, Chrestomathia, i*)
38 For instance, there is a focus on the erotic tension of Penthesileia's murder by Achilles, who is later made fun of by Thersites "for his supposed love." The hero is agitated and kills Thersites for the insult (*Proclus, Chrestomathia, ii*). To this can be added the fate of Nemesis, who "had been joined in love with Zeus the king of the gods by harsh violence" after arduous attempts to escape (*Athenaeus, viii. 334 B*).
39 Darnton, Robert, "Peasants Tell Tales: the Meaning of Mother Goose," in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History,* 9-72; 265-270 (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 11. From Perrault these were passed to the bothers Grimm thought the intermediary of Hassenpflugs. Darnton remarks that the tales that thus reached them were neither German nor very representative of the folk tradition.
40 e.g. the cannibalizing of the grandmother and the erotic prelude to the devouring of the little girl in the original story of *Little Red Riding Hood,* or the hardly romantic reason for Sleeping Beauty's awakening- childbirth ensuing from rape.

of raw and naked brutality."[41] Their propensity for the bawdy, comical, supernatural, exotic and violent, which was suppressed in the later 'traditional' fairy tales, hint at a different and cynical way of viewing the world.[42] Although their context is clearly far removed from the Greek Archaic Age, the pattern which they follow offers an intriguing scheme for thinking about the differences between the *Epic Cycle* and the Homeric epics. If such a comparison can be fruitful, as I believe it is, the Homeric epics can be understood as originally appealing to an aristocratic audience, whereas the *Epic Cycle* preserved a tradition which was more widely distributed among the common people. Such an interpretation certainly fits within Burgess' strong argument that the initial influence of Homeric epics on the larger mythological tradition was not great in the Archaic Age.

Artistic representations of the Trojan War demonstrate that the Homeric epics, at an early date, did not greatly affect this tradition. For the modern scholar, it is extremely difficult to approach ambiguous iconography without bias stemming from familiarity with the Homeric epics and the canonical status they enjoy.[43] Ahlberg-Cornell, for example, argues that the Iliad and the Odyssey caused an artistic revolution from the eighth century onwards. This conclusion, according to Burgess, must be firmly rejected.[44] Cook's tables, which are classified thematicrly, on the contrary show little Homeric influence on early Greek artists, with the first example being from the late seventh century (see Appendix). Kannicht similarly reaches the conclusion, admittedly contrary to his expectations, that the *Iliad* is "virtually neglected by seventh-century art."[45] This provoking stance was finally supported by Snodgrass's work, which was "the first major study that does not express surprise, regret or apologies for the absence of early Homeric images," and sees meager evidence for Homeric influence down to the mid sixth century.[46]

Cyclic images, on the other hand, such as the judgment of Paris, Achilles fighting Penthesileia, and Memnon and the wooden horse not only preceded the Homeric representations, but remained much more popular throughout the seventh and into the sixth century. Their identification does not rest on the same pitfalls as the dubious Homeric images since they do not require a close connection to a specific epic. Instead they allude to a 'Cyclic' tradition of the Trojan War belonging to the Archaic Age, of which the *Epic Cycle* neither claims to be the origin or the center, but rather simply a late representation of the tradition fixed in text.[47] Taken together with the very different focus, style and purpose exhibited by the *Cycle* fragments, this strongly suggests an independent Cyclic and pre-Homeric tradition that existed and continued to thrive contemporaneously with the Homeric epics in the Archaic Age. This strand of the Trojan War

41 Darnton 1984, 15
42 ibid. 50-51
43 This task is perhaps even harder than fairly dealing with the Cyclic fragments, which presents similar pitfalls.
44 G. Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art* (Jonsered: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1992), 32-5; 62-3. Several assumptions are made which are clearly problematic, notably the failure to make a distinction of representations that *happen* to be in the *Iliad* from those *inspired* by it. Furthermore, since epic had by no means the monopoly over traditional stories, there is no need to presume that artists needed exposure to the Homeric poems in order to be inspired to create mythological representations.
45 R. Kannicht, "Poetry and Art: Homer and the Monuments Afresh," *Classical Antiquity* vol. 1 (1982), 85.
46 Burgess 2001, 53
47 ibid. Greek artists dealt with Cyclic themes but not necessarily specific poems.

tradition was both widespread and more representative before the gravitational pull which grew from the later Homeric success "recast it in relation to, and at the service of, reading Homer."[48]

These conclusions have important implications not only for our understanding of the living Trojan War tradition in the Archaic Age, but the position of the Homeric epics within it, and the way they interacted with the contemporary audience. Since the 1940s, neoanalysis has used the *Epic Cycle* in order to attempt to restore Homeric poetry to its early historical context. By using the information about the Cyclic tradition available to us, it is possible to reconstruct the outlines of the Trojan War tradition with which an early Greek audience would have been equipped when it first heard the Homeric poems. The performance of a single or a few episodes did not occur in a narrative vacuum – it was supported by popular knowledge of the larger mythological body, the 'notional epic.'[49] The Homeric epics directly appeal to and reference it, but also do so in more subtle ways.

The narrative doublets which have long been recognized within the poems may also expand outside the boundary of the epics, a process neoanalysis terms motif transference. One of the best known cases of motif transference is the parallel between the death of Patroclus and that of Achilles.[50] Three passages about Achilles' mourning of Patroclus, 1) Achilles stretched lying in the dust 2) Thetis and the nereids coming out of the water to mourn in an outburst of sorrow and 3) Thetis holding Achilles' head in her arms, are all much more appropriate in depicting the death of Achilles himself, both in terms of body gestures and the degree of mourning.[51] Thus without ever reaching this climax, the *Iliad* foreshadows the hero's death with a heightened dramatic effect.

From this point of view, motif transference is "not a passive accumulation of influences but an active narratological tool that evokes Trojan War material."[52] In this context, Homeric poetry, which is commonly portrayed as a replacement of the pre-Homeric tradition, is actually a dependent outgrowth from a larger mythological pool that is both assumed and appreciated. Finkelberg's claim that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were "intended to supersede the other traditional epics from the very beginning and that they achieved this goal by means of a thorough revision of the heroic tradition" should therefore, in my opinion, be rejected.[53] Only by recognizing the Cyclic tradition's independent and pre-Homeric

roots and its supporting function for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can we understand the nature of the living Trojan War tradition in the Archaic Age and its reception by a contemporary Greek audience. A reparation of the *Epic Cycle*'s damaged reputation and its recovery from obscurity- already in antiquity- offers exciting and new avenues for the exploration of a great saga and the society which created it.

Tzveta Manolova

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48   Elton Barker, "Momos advises Zeus: changing representations of 'Cypria' fragment 1," in *Papers on Ancient Literatures: Greece, Rome and the Near East: Proceedings of the "Advanced Seminar in the Humanities",* ed. Ettore Cingano and Lucio Milano, 33-73(Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria, 2008).
49   Scodel 2004, 47
50   Malcolm Willcock, "Neoanalysis," in *A New Companion to Homer,* ed. Ian Morris and Barry B. Powell, 174-193 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 175; Burgess 2006, 160-61; Bruno Currie, "Homer and the Early Epic Tradition," in *Epic Interactions - Perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and the Epic Tradition Presented to Jasper Griffin by Former Pupils*, ed. M.J.B. Clark, G. F. Currie, and R. O. A. M. Lyne, 1-47 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 23-40.
51   *Il*.18.26-7; *Il*.18.71 1)The formula of a line and a half used to describe Achilles lying is a recurring epitaph used to describe fallen heroes, such as Hector's brother and charioteer Kebriones, who "in the whirl of dust lay mighty in his mightiness." (*Il*.16.775-6). 2) The outpouring of grief by Thetis and all the sea nymphs is only fit for Achilles himself. As Odysseus descends in the underworld he describes the reaction: "when she heard the news of your death your mother rose from the sea and the immortal sea-nymphs with her " (*Od*.24.47-9). 3) The gesture of holding his head is appropriate for the dead, as in the scene of Andromache mourning Hector (*Il*.24.724).
52   Burgess 2006, 149
53   Margalit Finkelberg, "Homer as a Foundation Text," in *Homer,* ed. Harold Bloom, 169-189 (New York: Chelsea House, 2007), 169-70.

Appendix:

	Cypria	*Iliad*	*Aethiopis* and *Little Iliad*	*Iliou Persis*	*Cyclopeia*
subjects	Judgment of paris; arming of Achilles (Phthia); Troilus 7 images (+1?)	Ajax vs. Hector; Patroclus sets out; Menelaus vs. Hector over Euphorbos; embassy 4 images (+3?)	Achilles vs. Penthesileia, Memnon; Ajax carries Achilles; suicide of Ajax 7 images	Wooden horse; death of priam; Menelaus & Helen; death of Astyanax 9 images (+2?)	Cyclops images 7 images (+1?)
700					
675					
650					
625					

Schematization of Cook's table provided in Burgess 2001: 182

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Staging Cassandra: Crazy or Controlled?

The character of Cassandra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* presents unique problems of staging and interpretation.[1] A Trojan princess taken captive by Agamemnon, she is obstinately silent until Clytemnestra leaves the stage; her ensuing lines are both metrically unique and extremely poignant, with both the audience and Cassandra herself aware of her coming death. Kostas Valakas writes that the role of Cassandra contains many "antithetical elements," including "silence and immobility, delirious shouts and gestures, ecstatic singing and choreographed steps, [and] logically structured narratives," that make Cassandra's character different from all others in the play.[2] The challenge of conveying Cassandra's unique scene has generated much dialogue throughout its reception.[3] Does Cassandra enter into a mantic trance, or does she maintain composure as she receives her visions? Staging Cassandra is an attempt to negotiate the balance between the foreignness of Cassandra's prophecies and the elucidation of the tragedy that she offers.

Although the tragedies as originally performed in open-air theatres had no scene demarcations such as curtains or lighting, for the purposes of this paper the "Cassandra scene" begins after Clytemnestra has left the stage and the chorus has cajoled Cassandra to come down from her chariot. Cassandra first calls out to Apollo with her unintelligible cries of ὀτοτοτοῖ πόποι δᾶ;[4] the scene truly begins with her first understandable line of invocation: Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον ἀγυιᾶτ᾽, ἀπόλλων ἐμός. ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.[5] For the purposes of this paper the scene ends with Cassandra's line at 1118, after which, at 1119, the chorus switches from the spoken iambics meter to join Cassandra in the sung dochmaic;[6] the scene examined in this paper thus consists of the spoken interactions between Cassandra and the chorus. These lines are the first coherent introduction in the play to Cassandra and her prophesies, and they illuminate the entire plot. Cassandra introduces the curse of the house of Atreus and foretells its coming destruction.

A close examination of this scene confronts many questions of reception and performance. Cassandra's most significant movement directly prior to the scene discussed here is her emergence from the chariot. Stage movement is a highly debated element of ancient Greek tragedy: in papyri of ancient texts there are no explicit stage directions, leaving the translator or director the task of determining when and how the actors move, based both on inferences from the text and a personal understanding of how best to convey the message of the text. Stagings of Cassandra's descent are therefore extremely varied, setting different tones for the rest of her scene: Peter Burian and Alan Schapiro provide the stage direction that Cassandra "leaps from the chariot."[7] Some performances have her descend from the chariot in a fit of madness, while in the Oxford production she is lifted from the chariot by guards of Agamemnon and she begins her speech as a passive subdued woman of bondage.[8] Whether she calmly delivers her lines or shocks the audience, moving abruptly and breaking into frenzied song, contributes to the audience's view of her as either lost in her divining or cognizant of what she is saying. These varying portrayals of Cassandra show that even stage movement reflects varying interpretations of the text and meter.[9]

While considering the varied meter and different possibilities of stage movement, the director must consider what portrayal of Cassandra will engage the audience most effectively. In such a question, it is possible to compare other performances of other characters: for example, Katherina Volk, discussing a 1998 performance of Sophocles' *Electra,* writes that it is a "riveting experience" when the actress "allows her character no dramatic outbreaks."[10]

Cassandra's first line of intelligible speech directly addresses neither the chorus positioned around her nor the audience, but the god Apollo, calling him ἀγυιᾶτ᾽, "guardian of the streets." This epithet has raised many questions in scholarly discussions of the scene, as to whether or not Cassandra is addressing a physical representation of Apollo.[11] Her repetition of Apollo's name, her personal invocation and her use of the word ἀπώλεσας, "you have destroyed," emphasize that she is completely absorbed in her own thoughts as she speaks to Apollo, suggesting that a physical representation is unnecessary. In speaking to an unseen Apollo, Cassandra begins her scene detached from both the chorus and the audience conveying the liminal state she finds herself in.

In this ἀμοιβαῖον, "lyric exchange," Cassandra speaks in dochmaic meter. While the dochmaic meter is closely associated with an agitated state of mind,[12] Page notes that from this point forward, part of Cassandra's speech remains in iambic trimeter, which is not a meter of sung verses.[13] The chorus

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1   See Helene P. Foley, "Introduction to Aeschylus' Oresteia" in *Oresteia,* by Aeschylus, translated by Peter Meineck (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1998) and D. M. Leahy, "The Role of Cassandra in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus" in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* vol. 52 (1969), 144-177 for general discussions of the role of Cassandra.

2   Kostas Valakas, "The Use of the Body by Actors in Tragedy and Satyr-Play," in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession,* ed. Pat Easterling and Edith Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 81

3   See "Behind the Scenes at Agamemnon" by Jessica Hughes, *classicsconfidential.co.uk*, October 3, 2010, YouTube interview, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PuE9Pn00n8&NR=1. In a recent interview, Helen Eastman and Alex Silverman, director and composer for a production of the *Agamemnon* for the tri-annual Cambridge University Greek Play, discuss the staging of Cassandra as a particular artistic challenge. The composer explains his struggles in staging Cassandra as a foreign character when the entire play, performed in Ancient Greek, is already foreign to most of the audience.

4   Aesch. *Ag.* 1076. "Ototoi popoi da." All translations by the author unless otherwise noted. See also Yopie Prins, "OTOTOTOI: Virginia Woolf and 'the Naked Cry' of Cassandra" in *Agamemnon in Performance 458 BC to AD 2004,* ed. Fiona Macintosh et al. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 163-189 for a discussion of the effects of this inarticulate utterance.

5   Aesch. *Ag.* 1080-1082. "Apollo, Apollo, guardian of the streets, my Apollo, you destroyed me utterly a second time."

6   In his translation, Peter Meineck italicizes the lines of both the chorus and Cassandra from 1119 on to show that they are sung in lyric.

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7   Aesch. *Ag,* trans. Alan Shapiro and Peter Burian (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 1072.

8   See Aesch. *Ag.,* translated with a commentary by J. D. Denniston and Denys Lionel Page (Oxford: Oxford UP: 1957), 167. Denniston and Page note that Cassandra steps down and is free to move toward the house at line 1072, but to not comment on the manner in which she leaves the chariot.

9   See Oliver Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) for further discussion of stage movement.

10   Katherina Volk, review of *Electra,* by Sophocles, directed by David Leveaux, McCarter Theatre, Princeton, *Didaskalia,* September 15, 1998, http://www.didaskalia.net/reviews/1998_09_15_01.html

11   Robin Mitchell-Boyask, "The Marriage of Cassandra and the Oresteia: Text, Image, Performance," in *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* 136, no. 2 (Autumn 2006), 285-288

12   See Valakas, 80. Valakas understands the use of docmaic meter as agitated as Cassandra sings a "pathetic lament."

13   J. D. Denniston and D. L. Page, 165

responds to her in iambics later parrots her lyric verse. Within the epirrhematic dialogue there is also a mixture of dochmaics and iambics between the chorus and Cassandra, and even within Cassandra's dochmaic exclamations there is a line of iambic. Page notes that the mixture of lyric and spoken meter signifies that Cassandra maintains control over her speech.[14] Cassandra's control over her speech is essential to reconcile the overall coherence of the text with the madness signified by the lyric meters.

      The challenge to the director and the actor portraying Cassandra, therefore, is to convey Cassandra entrance realm of prophetic lyricism while keeping in mind that she does not become a maenad. Peter Meineck's 2004 production of the Oresteia at the John Jay College Theater in New York highlighted Cassandra's prophetic possession to the detriment of sense, portraying Cassandra as a mad-woman prophetess whom a reviewer for the New York Times described as being in "all-out hysteria."[15] Similarly, Peter Hall's Cassandra steps from her cage-like "war-car" and after her measured cries and questions concerning her location, the tempo of the music quickens as she launches into strings of words without grammatical cohesion.[16] The disjointed words emphasize her prophecy of horrific visions but obscure the completeness of thought found in the original Greek. Page points out that Cassandra begins her direct reply to the chorus with μισόθεον μὲν οὖν, "hating the gods, therefore." The μὲν οὖν acts to connect μισόθεον to the chorus' preceding description of the house of Atreus. Cassandra clearly has the presence of mind to respond to the chorus. In Hall's production Cassandra delivers this line reeling back and turning her head from side to side calling out: "God-shunners—kin-killers—child-charnel—man shambles—babe-spattered abattoir."[17] Besides garbling the grammatical structure, this translation leaves out the connectives so prevalent in Greek. Without coherent sentences and a direct address to the chorus, the measured control of Cassandra's prophetic lyric in the Greek is lost. Simon Goldhill writes that Cassandra directly rejects the answer of the chorus concerning the nature of the house of Atreus.[18] The μὲν and οὖν serve to connect the dialogue, and show that Cassandra has maintained enough control to be able to engage in direct address.

      Conversely, the 2008 Oxford University production performed the Cassandra scene at a slower tempo with the emphasis on enunciation of the original Greek.[19] However, the movements of Cassandra and the stage arrangement of the scene and the chorus seem very close to the Hall production.[20] Although, in contrast to Hall's fast paced interpretation, Cassandra speaks slowly in order to allow the audience to grasp the importance of her words, the performance fails to convey the lyrical difference between Cassandra and the chorus. The lyric quality is inherent in the meter of the scene; Edith Hall writes that in the ancient theater the part of Cassandra would use antiphonal singing to distinguish the

14   Ibid.

15   Ben Brantley, review of *The Oresteia,* by Aeschylus, directed by Peter Meineck and Robert Richmond, *New York Theater Review,* February 13, 2004.

16   See "Peter Hall's Agamemnon," Theatre in Video hosted by the University of Connecticut, ativ.alexander-street.com.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/View/657536

17   Ibid.

18   Simon Goldhill, *The : A Student Guide,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 52

19   "Agamemnon 14—4th episode 2nd half" YouTube video, 10:49, from a performance of the 2008 Oxford Greek Play, posted by "Wilburforce," August 11, 2009, http://www.youtube.com/user/Wilburforce#p/u/11/_dSOV7yrrwM

20   See Bethany Banister Rainsberg, "Aeschylus in Action: Translating the University Stage" (Edward F. Hayes Graduate Research Forum, 2009) for a discussion of the wide influence of the Hall production.

song of Cassandra from the Chorus.[21] In keeping with classical antiphonal singing, the composer of the Cambridge production explains that he chose to cast an opera singer in the part of Cassandra so as to distinguish her voice from the other characters and represent the uniqueness of her prophecy.[22]

      When Cassandra begins to describe Atreus' graphic murder of Thyestes' children she does not, as in her previous statements, perface her words with an exclamation of horror or woe: the imagery itself is so horrifying that it needs no introduction. Cassandra tells of κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγάς, ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.[23] Some scholars believe that κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη is in the nominative case and that Cassandra is saying that "these are babies," interacting directly with her visions as though in a trance.[24] However, Page argues that since the pronoun τάδε stands between the participle κλαιόμενα and the noun βρέφη, the whole statement is an accusative of respect, since the main verb ἐπιπείθομαι, "I trust," in the previous line takes the dative object μαρτυρίοισι τοῖσδ', "these proofs."[25] In spite of the ambiguous grammar of these lines, any reading clearly emphasizes the horrifc nature of the murder of Thyestes' children. In performance, however, this horror has not always been brought out through the power of words alone. Bernard Knox writes that in Andrei Serben's Lincoln Center performance the physical acting out of the visions was confusing and distracting: the children holding their entrails was "grotesque, especially since the objects they have in their hands look more like dried-out lobster shells than liver and lights."[26] Similarly, Rush Rehm comments that acting out the description does not let words speak for themselves and undermines the aesthetic basis of Greek tragedy.[27] The consensus seems to be that these visions are conveyed most powerfully when spoken by Cassandra alone.

      After Cassandra describes the house of Atreus she begins her prophesy of the events yet to come. Here she does not recognize or acknowledge the chorus' interruptions and responses. In its first three responses, the chorus increasingly affirms her credibility, first proclaiming that μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλίᾳ περ ἐν φρενί.[28] While to the modern reader the word "enslaved" could suggest the enslavement of the mind from madness, the word δουλίᾳ is from the verb δουλεύω, ordinarily meaning "to serve as a slave" in a literal rather than metaphorical sense, and emphasizing Cassandra's position as a captive and spoil of the Trojan War. One of the chorus' later responses

21   Edith Hall, "The Singing Actors of Antiquity," in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession,* ed. Pat Easterling and Edith Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 83. Hall notes that antiphonal singing requires "a solo voice with a timbre distinct form that of the choral group but minutely adjusted to its tonality and pace of delivery."

22   Hughes

23   Aesch. *Ag.* 1096-1097. "Those babies crying out their slaughter, their roasted flesh having been devoured by their father."

24   See, for example, Aesch. *Ag.,* ed. with commentary by Eduard Fraenkel, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950)

25   Aesch. *Ag.* 1095

26   Bernard Knox, review of *The Agamemnon,* by Aeschylus, directed by Andrei Serban, *New York Review of Books,* July 14, 1977. Knox also notes that the appearance of Apollo himself, prodding Cassandra, prompted the man sitting behind him to speculate that the figure onstage was Superman.

27   Rush Rehm "Epilogue: Cassandra—the Prophet Unveiled" in *Agamemnon in Performance: 458 BC to AD 2004,* ed. Fiona Macintosh et al. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 357.

28   Aesch. *Ag.* 1084. "Divine inspiration remains in her enslaved mind."

again validates that Cassandra correctly reveals the bloodshed of the house, saying that ἔοικεν εὕρις ἡ ξένη κυνός δίκην εἶναι.[29] The construction κυνός δίκην recalls the earlier description of Iphegenia as being held above the altar δίκαν χιμαίρας, "in the manner of a sacrificial goat."[30] These parallel comparisons to domesticated animals underscore the powerlessness of the two women.[31] Although the chorus is willing to acknowledge τὸ μὲν κλέος σοῦ μαντικὸν, it rejects her visions that relate to events yet to happen, saying προφήτας δ᾽ οὔτινας ματεύομεν.[32] The use of οὔτινας constitutes a negation of a specific attribute, in this case a specific prophecy.

The chorus' acknowledgement of Cassandra's μαντικὸν, but rejection of her προφήτης is especially confusing to the modern audience as both words are best translated into English as "prophecy."[33] However, Page notes that the word μάντις, more commonly used in tragedy, refers to divining and προφήτης to pronouncing.[34] Freankel further explains that προφήτης comes from the word προειπεῖν, "to speak beforehand," and refers to one who delivers the pronouncements of the gods.[35] Rehm therefore argues the chorus accepts that Cassandra has knowledge of the events that have occurred but does wish to hear or understand that knowledge.[36] In acknowledging the truth of Cassandra's prophecy the chorus lets the audience know that Cassandra is not entirely mad. She is able to be a μάντις, but the chorus is actively refusing her the role of προφήτης.

Throughout the epirrhematic dialogue between the chorus and Cassandra both parties use deictics generously. Cassandra's use of the deictic τόδε as she asks τί τόδε φαίνεται; has led some scholars to comment that Cassandra is in a state of madness, seeing three-dimensional hallucinations.[37] However, Easterling points out that this and other deictics direct the attention of the audience to what is occurring on the stage.[38] Extreme displays of emotion and overly symbolic staging, as mentioned above, distract the audience, but the ambiguous deictics serves the opposite function. For example, as Cassandra begins to expound on Claytemnestra's evils, she calls out ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς.[39] The specific end that the deictic τόδε refers to has only been hinted at, but captures the attention of the audience and leaves them wondering as to what follows. Without explicitly implicating Clytemnestra, Cassandra provides a foreboding picture of the events to come and entrances the audience.

29   Aesch. *Ag.* 1093-1094. "The foreigner seems to have a keen sense of smell, in the manner of a dog."

30   Ibid. 232.

31   See R. Rehm, 356, for a discussion of performances in which Iphigenia comes on stage during the Cassandra scene. While this highlights the connection between these innocent female victims, he believes that the emphasis on Iphigenia overly humanizes Clytemnestra and mitigates her culpability in the cruel murder of Cassandra.

32   Ibid, 1098, 1099. "Your [Cassandra's] prophetic power;" "we will search after no prophecies."

33   See R. Rehm, 346.

34   J. D. Denniston and D. L. Page, 165

35   Fraenkel

36   R. Rehm, 346. See also Bernard Knox, "Aeschylus and the Third Actor," in *The American Journal of Philology,* vol. 93, no. 1 (January 1972), 120. Knox offers the explanation that the chorus cannot confront the ethical system within which they are operating because, should they do so, Agamemnon must die.

37   Aesch. *Ag.* 1114. "What is this appearance?" The verb φαίνεται is difficult to translate into English as a middle/passive verb; both Burian and Schapiro and Meineck translate it using a noun, as here.

38   P. E. Easterling, "Form and Performance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 151

39   Aesch. *Ag.* 1107. "Oh wretched one, for you complete this end."

While a discussion of the conventions of meter seems to hint that Cassandra should be understood as in the throes of madness, a close reading of the text conveys that although Cassandra is a prophetic figure, she nevertheless maintains control of her language. Stage movement, tempo, and descriptive imagery add to a realization of this scene and contribute to the characterization of Cassandra. As the medium through which the mythological basis for the house of Atreus is placed in context and an innocent victim of Clytemnestra's cruelty, Cassandra remains a haunting figure throughout the play.

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The Role and Function of Imperial Cults in the Roman and Chinese Empires

This paper will discuss the public performance of religious ritual in the ancient Roman and Chinese empires, with a particular focus on emperor worship. By pre-modern standards both Roman and Chinese polities were massive and featured large, highly educated aristocracies that were heavily involved in the day-to-day machinery of government. The respective political institutions of each empire were, however, marked by largely autocratic, single-person rulership. In both Rome and China, the public worship of the figure of the emperor, whether living or deceased, conferred upon the office of emperor significant amounts of political authority which was critical to maintaining one man rule, as well as political authority throughout an Empire.

While this discussion will focus on the political aspects of Roman religion, with less attention to ritual and philosophical-religious systems, one must remain cognizant that, in the ancient polytheistic Greco-Roman context, politics and religion were inextricably linked. Worship of the emperor, whether living or deceased, flourished in a variety of ways throughout the Roman Empire. Oftentimes, these practices were not so much deliberate exports moving outwards from Rome as they were the product of Romanized local traditions.[1] In the East, where prior to Roman rule kingdoms were ruled by Hellenistic God-kings, the transition to worship of the emperor in Rome was an easy one, and indeed was almost seamless.[2] In the West, on the other hand, there was a particular focus on the Roman pantheon as opposed to local divinities.[3] Such rituals were not homogeneous. It is important to note that there is not one imperial cult, but rather several, with myriad varieties of imperial cults.[4] For example, there were cults that sacrificed directly to the emperor, to local gods on behalf of the emperor, to Roman Gods, and to both local gods and Romanized forms of local deities.[5] This list, by no means exhaustive, illustrates how the cults fit into or flowed from ancient Mediterranean polytheism that had not just many, but innumerable Gods. The fact that these cults arose *ad hoc* does not diminish their eventual importance to the maintenance of imperial authority. The imperial cults that arose throughout the empire performed the important function of bringing the figure of the emperor to the most remote corners of the Roman Empire, while simultaneously synthesizing him with local traditions, should such synthesis be required.[6] Given the generally organic development of emperor worship, it is impossible to devise a 'standard model' for any instance of imperial cult. This paper will analyse two particular case studies, one from the Greek East and one from the 'barbarian' West, and discuss the visual depictions of the emperor.

1 Ittai, Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002).

2 Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, CT: American Philological Association, 1931), 1-34.

3 Duncan Fishwick, "The Imperial Cult in Roman Britain," *Phoenix*, vol. 15, no. 3 (Autumn, 1961), 159-173.

4 Mary Beard, John A. North, and S. R. F. Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 348.

5 Beard,.North and Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 1,* 348-363.

6 J.B. Rives, "Imperial Cult and Native Tradition in Roman North Africa," *The Classical Journal* vol. 96, no. 4 (April - May, 2001), 425-436.

An example of imperial worship synthesizing with local traditions is provided by an inscription found at Gytheum in Greece, which recorded regulations for celebrating festivals pertaining to the imperial cult. These festivals were conducted by a specific magistrate, the *agoranomos*. "[The *agoranomos]* shall celebrate the first day for the God Caesar Augustus, son of the god <Caesar>, our Saviour and Deliverer; the second day for the emperor [Ti]berius Caesar Augustus, father of the fatherland; the third day for Julia Augusta, the Fortune of our nation and city; the fourth day (of Victory) for Germanicus Caesar; the fifth day (of Aphrodite) for Drusus Caesar."[7] The inscription goes on to describe what should be involved in the festivals and expands on the duties of the *agoranomos*. The festival in many ways is a standard Greco-Roman festival, featuring games, sacrifice, and a procession. However, it is interesting to note that the final destination of the procession is the *Caesarion*, where the sacrifice of the bull took place. This is a building specifically built for honouring the Caesars, and would have been filled with images of the family.[8] This physical presence as exemplified by the *Caesarion* was an essential aspect of the functionality of Roman Imperial cults. By integrating worship of the Caesars with Roman religion, the city of Rome and its rulers were brought into the civic and religious life of the provinces. The process was enhanced by the *Caesarion* which brought the physical presence of the emperors to the public spaces of the city. It was not only the physical presence of the Caesars in the *Caesarion* which is focus of the festival, but the visual presence of the emperor himself and his family. Towards the end of the inscription it says:

> During the office of Chairon as *strategos* and as priest of the god Augustus Caesar, the ephors, the colleagues of Terentius Biades, shall deliver three painted images of the god Augustus and of Julia Augusta and of Tiberius Caesar Augustus...And they shall put up a stone column with this sacred law inscribed on it and they shall deposit a copy of this sacred law in the public archives, so that this law may, displayed for all to see in a public place and in the open air, prove the gratitude of the people of Gytheum towards the rulers for all men to see.[9]

The imperial cult, as with all Roman religion, was a fundamentally public affair. Consequently, in areas hundreds of miles away from Rome, the image of the emperor and his family was inescapable. Not only did those who saw the festival witness the Caesars, their generosity, and their greatness, but subsequent generations would have seen the inscription erected in a public place and would have been constantly reminded of this festival and the Caesars.

In what the Romans would have considered particularly 'barbarian' territories, the situation was very different, and still varied within individual regions. Cults would often have been dedicated to the direct worship of the living emperor, as in the Hellenistic East, rather than enacting sacrifice to Olympian or local deities on behalf of the emperors, as in Greece.[10] Occasionally, these cults were founded by generals in newly conquered territories, as in Spain in 22-19 BC, in Gaul in 12 BC,

7 *SEG* XI.923.7-40.

8 Beard, Mary, John A. North, and S. R. F. Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 2*, 255.

9 *SEG* XI.923.7-40, found in Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 2,* 254.

10 Fishwick, Duncan, "The Imperial Cult in Roman Britain," *Phoenix* vol. 15, no. 3 (Autumn, 1961),159-173.

and even deep within Germany beyond the Rhine at the Elbe in 2 BC.[11] In such cases, the generals built altars in the conquered locations, which they dedicated to Augustus and the worship of him in an attempt at forced Romanization of local inhabitants.[12] The Roman historian Velleius Paterculus preserves a story about emperor worship in the barbarian territories, which is illustrative of this trend:

> Our camp was on the nearer bank of the [Elbe]; on the far bank there was a glittering array of the enemy's troops, but hastily retreating [at every movement of our ships]. But one of the barbarians, a senior man in years, very tall, high-ranking as shown by his dress, embarked in a canoe – a hollowed out log, as is their custom – and steered his own course to the middle of the river. Then he asked if he could have permission to land in security on our bank, and to look at Caesar. Permission was granted, so he beached his canoe and gazed at Caesar for a long time without speaking. Then he spoke: 'Our young men are crazy: they worship your divine power when you are absent; but when you arrive they would rather go in terror of your arms than put themselves under your protection. But I, Caesar, by your kind permission, have seen the happier day in my life.' He was given permission to touch Caesar's hand; and then he went back to his boat, and carried on ceaselessly gazing back at Caesar until he reached his own side's bank of the river.[13]

This story illustrates that in what the Romans perceived to be less 'civilized' territory, the emperor cult was able to operate as more than an organic progression of local beliefs, and could be used as a tool for pacifying recently conquered peoples. Furthermore, this passage seems to indicate that the cult was used as a means of frightening foreign peoples before they even came into contact with the Romans. That is not to say that the passage is without bias. It was written by a Roman who campaigned with Tiberius and wished to portray him in a favourable light. It was also clearly written for a Roman audience as it portrays the Germans in a less-favourable light. However, it is nevertheless illustrative of certain trends, particularly that the Romans were acutely aware of the persuasive power of public religious ritual and of how the worship of the emperor could be used as some form of psychological warfare in battle. This was especially true when coupled with a public display of authority, for example, in the form of the Caesar himself campaigning with the army.

The imperial cult was not limited to subjects and citizens worshipping the Emperor as a God. Emperors themselves also took an active role in the state cult at Rome, often taking the role of the chief priest. Augustus not only performed public sacrifice, but was often depicted throughout the Empire as a chief priest conducting sacrifice.[14] This trend continued into the time of Septimius Severus,[15] and after Augustus no other figure outside the emperor's immediate family was depicted

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11   Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 1,* 353.
12   Ibid. *Religions of* Rome *vol. 1,* 350
13   Vell. Pat. II.107, trans. Beard, North and Price.
14   Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 1,* 350.
15   Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 1,* 350.

as officiating at a sacrifice in public imagery.[16] Scenes of the emperor performing sacrifice were frequently placed on coins or made into statues, which would then have circulated throughout the empire.[17] These scenes would even have been placed in cake moulds to be circulated around the empire for ceremonial feasts.[18] This is consistent with the role that imperial cults played at Rome. Scenes of imperial piety, portraying the emperor as a conduit to the Gods, were found in the most remote parts of the empire. With such distribution, the visibility of the emperor would have been very broad.

Ultimately, imperial cults at Rome rendered the emperor a military despot, so that he became not only a God-king but something of a 'big brother' figure (if one will pardon the anachronism). The image of the emperor would have been inescapable in the Roman Empire no matter how remote, poor, or 'uncivilized' the province. Public inscriptions described his generosity and the people's gratitude towards their benevolent leader. Even beyond the empire, altars were dedicated to the god Augustus. Although there were hundreds of different forms of the imperial cult, whether deliberately founded or those arising *ad hoc*, they all served the same basic function: to promote the authority and increase the visibility of the emperor.

In China, emperor worship seems to have developed less organically, as a much more top-down phenomenon. One-man rule in China began with unification under the emperor Qin who took the title *huangdi*.[19] This is the title, translated as "emperor," which was be used to describe the office until the last emperor in 1911.[20] The word itself is composed of the Chinese words *huang,* roughly translated as "shining" or "august," and *di*, referring to the central god of the ancient Shang dynasty.[21] The Qin emperor's conception of his own office can be examined through a series of stele he set up on the tops of mountains during tours of his newly conquered realm. These inscriptions describe the emperor thus:

> In his twenty-ninth year, according to the season of mid-spring… The August Emperor travelled to the east, on His tour He ascended [Mt.] Zhifu, looked down on and illuminated [the lands by] the sea. The attending officials gazed in admiration, traced back and contemplated [His] excellence and brilliant accomplishments, recalled and recited the fundamental beginning: abroad He instructed the feudal lords; brilliantly He spread culture and grace, enlightening them through rightness and principle. The six kingdoms had been restive and perverse, greedy and criminal, insatiable – atrociously slaughtering endlessly.[22]

The inscription continues on to describe the glorious deeds of the emperor, and in so doing

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16   Ibid.
17   S. R. F Price, *Rituals and Power: the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 187.
18   Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome vol. 1,* 350.
19   Lewis, *Early Chinese Empires*, 52.
20   Ibid.
21   Ibid.
22   Kern, "Announcements from the Mountains: The Stele Inscriptions of the Qin First Emperor" in *Conceiving the Empire China and Rome Compared*, Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag, ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), .

establishes him as a fundamentally important cosmological facet of the universe. These inscriptions are written in tetrasyllabic meter, and are rhymed in adherence to traditional practice.[23] Their composition makes it clear that these inscriptions were composed by educated imperial scholars, rather than by the emperor himself. This is significant because, although these inscriptions were placed at the tops of mountains, they were hardly in 'public' spaces, as reading them required that one go to the summit of a mountain and examine the inscriptions very closely. In fact, there is no evidence that these inscriptions were meant to be visited, or that elites ever actually saw them.[24] Scholarly contention remains as to the reason for the actual placement of these inscriptions. One possible answer is that the 'public' concerned with these very non-public inscriptions was the highly educated cultural and political elite of court officials and local aristocrats. The content of the public inscription was not necessarily important so much as its existence, as an emblem of "culture and sovereignty,"[25] and its representation of the emperor's communion with the Gods. It is not the content of the writing which is important, but the establishment of ritualized writing and its cosmological place in the universe.[26]

Beyond promoting religious authority through these stele inscriptions, the Chinese emperors, during both the Qin and Han dynasties, also went so far as to found their own imperial cults, and during the Western Han, much like the Romans, founded temples to the first two emperors in every province.[27] Lavish imperial tombs dominated the horizon outside Chang'an, and sacrifices were regularly performed at them.[28] Since ancient Chinese religion was already based on ancestor worship, the transition to the worship of emperors, much as in the eastern portions of the Roman Empire, was a fairly easy one. Emperor Wu established cults to Grand Unity and Empress Earth, which were both concerned with the worship of imperial authority.[29] These cults were established by Han emperors a fair distance from the imperial capital of Chang'an, as there was no need to solidify imperial authority in the imperial capital. As in the Mediterranean, imperial cults seem to have flourished primarily in the provinces, as opposed to in the imperial capitals themselves. Building on the Han dynasty's role as heirs to and overthrowers of the Qin, Emperor Wu converted the former Qin summer palace into a ritual center, placing the chief altar to Grand Unity therein.[30] The two cults of Grand Unity and Empress Earth were gradually supplanted by another invented cult, the Cult of Heaven. This cult was supposedly performed by the Zhou, but the ritual enacted by the Han was completely invented in order to ritually depict the nature of the empire.[31] This cult seems to have been some kind of amalgamation of the Qin cult of the *di*, combined with the cult of Grand Unity (from Chu), as well as sacrifices at the Eastern peak, a ritual taken from Qi.[32] The adoption of this new Cult of Heaven also reflects a significant reduction in the scale of the imperial ancestral cult.[33] In 40 BC

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23 Kern 2008,
24 Ibid
25 Ibid
26 Ibid
27 Lewis, *Early Chinese Empires*, 61-65.
28 Ibid, 185-9.
29 Ibid, 61-65.
30 Ibid, 185-9.
31 Ibid
32 Ibid
33 Ibid

there were 167 shrines to the emperor's ancestors in the provinces, along with 176 in the capital.[34] To quote Lewis, "according to Han records these shrines were the scenes of 24,445 offerings per year and employed 67,276 people as guards, musicians, dancers, and so on."[35] All of the shrines in the provinces were destroyed during the establishment of the Cult of Heaven. The fact that this apparatus of ancestral emperor worship was discarded in favour of the establishment of a new cult that was less concerned with ancestor worship and more focused on imperial worship shows how the emperors in China used religion as a political tool for maintaining their own authority and upholding the unity of the empire. Evidently, emperors in China were not opposed to inventing religious cults and rites for the sake of easy governance and the projection of the emperor's authority. One must bear in mind that, much like the Roman Empire, China was an artificial state formed through military conquest. The standardizing programs of the Qin clearly extended into the realm of religion, and emperors were willing to make concessions and inventions in an attempt to maintain stability.

In sum, religion and ritual in Rome and in China were very much public affairs. These empires and the systems of one-man rule that were established in both polities were artificial and unnatural. The conquered peoples had very little in common linguistically, ethnically, or culturally, and the individual hierarchical structures were required to run the state on a day-to-day basis, despite the higher power of each empire's autocrats. Religion, however, was something adaptable enough that cults could either grow organically or be dictated by elites in the capital. Imperial cults in both these societies filled an important role, particularly in the context of pre-modern society, of mitigating the impositions put on autocrats by geography and biology. The visual representations and worship of the emperor would have been ubiquitous in each of these societies. These would have been constant reminders to subjects living under imperial authority. The religious systems also added a certain level of social cohesion, so much so that even when cults growing organically in Rome were threatened by Christianity, a religion which initially functioned independently of Roman authority, the Roman state responded with hostility. Similarly, when the cult of imperial ancestor worship began to decline in China, the Han emperors replaced it with a new cult worshipping imperial authority. To conclude, Imperial cults in both societies fulfilled particularly important societal functions in promoting political authority over conquered territories, as well as maintaining autocratic one-man rule.

Ben Nikota

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34 Ibid
35 Ibid

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Caesar's Final Aims: Development of the Dictatorship

     In 49 B.C., Caesar crossed the Rubicon under arms, thus declaring war on the Senate and the people of Rome. This event marked a crucial turning point in the history of the Roman Republic, as the following years saw a new kind of dictatorship emerge. Sulla had previously been appointed *dictator legibus faciendis et rei publicae constituendae causa* in 82 B.C. under the *Lex Valeria*, after which he proceeded to establish a variety of constitutional reforms.[1] However, he essentially followed the traditional pattern of the Roman dictator and abdicated at the end of 81 B.C., despite the undetermined timeline of his appointed office.[2] This was not the *cursus* that Caesar would follow. He would be declared *dictator perpetuo* in 45 B.C.;[3] a title that gave Caesar power unseen in Rome since the regal times. The outcome of Caesar's political career has been the cause of much debate in the scholarly world; historians are greatly divided as to what his true aims were.[4] Through the use of literary and archaeological evidence, I will argue that Caesar's aims changed over time, and that he did indeed consider the possibility of deified rulership. It is impossible to know what Caesar sought for certain, but with the evidence that is available, it is possible to develop the most probable case through the analysis of particular events and structures which Caesar encountered before and during his dictatorship. Initially, the outbreak of the Civil War will be explored, which will be followed by a discussion of Caesar's monarchical aspects, and how these elements can provide a view of Caesar's long-term goals, which changed over time.

     The eruption of the Civil War is very relevant to this paper, as Caesar crossed the Rubicon entirely aware of the repercussions that would follow, and because this is inevitably the *élément déclencheur* of Caesar's political supremacy. The cause of this outbreak is not the main focus of this essay; what is more central to this discussion is the political tension between Caesar and Rome in the years directly leading up to the start of the war. The outcome of the war is well known, but it is unclear whether at this point in time Caesar intended to implement a dictatorship. The evidence does not provide a clear-cut answer to this question, but it does offer a view of the most probable scenario. Salmon's argument is that "Caesar had no intention of taking the consulship until he knew what his position was likely to be at the end of it. At the end of a consulship in 49, as a result of Pompey's provincial legislation of 52, he would be a *privatus* ["private citizen"]..."[5] This indeed seems to be the case, as the literary evidence for Caesar's fear of impeachment is

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1 Plut. *Sull.* 33
2 Ibid, 34
3 Plut. *Caes.* 57
4 Carson plays down Caesar's aims to inconsistent decisions, particularly because he did not clearly secure a successor; he also sees developments that some scholars would consider important as novelty, such as Caesar's image appearing on coins while he was still alive (R. A. G. Carson, "Caesar and the Monarchy," *Greece & Rome* Second Series vol. 4, no. 1 (1957), 46-53). Ehrenberg sees his final goal as that of a deified ruler – the kind that Augustus would eventually become. He concludes that Caesar became the first Roman emperor, but nevertheless dismisses the idea that Caesar was following the Hellenistic monarch model (Victor Ehrenberg, "Caesar's Final Aims," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* vol. 68 (1964), 149-161); this theory, along with Carson's will be discussed further.
5 E. T. Salmon, "Caesar and the Consulship for 49 B.C.," *The Classical Journal* vol. 34, no. 7 (1939), 394-395

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4 Carson plays down Caesar's aims to inconsistent decisions, particularly because he did not clearly secure a successor; he also sees developments that some scholars would consider important as novelty, such as Caesar's image appearing on coins while he was still alive (R. A. G. Carson, "Caesar and the Monarchy," *Greece & Rome* Second Series vol. 4, no. 1 (1957), 46-53). Ehrenberg sees his final goal as that of a deified ruler – the kind that Augustus would eventually become. He concludes that Caesar became the first Roman emperor, but nevertheless dismisses the idea that Caesar was following the Hellenistic monarch model (Victor Ehrenberg, "Caesar's Final Aims," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* vol. 68 (1964), 149-161); this theory, along with Carson's will be discussed further.
5 E. T. Salmon, "Caesar and the Consulship for 49 B.C.," *The Classical Journal* vol. 34, no. 7 (1939), 394-395

extensive.[6] Consuls were unimpeachable, and Caesar could not afford to be a private citizen for the period in between the end of his proconsulship and the consular elections of 49, regardless of his possibility to stand *in absentia* for the office. It appears that it is only because Caesar was declared an enemy of the state[7] that he was forced to march on Rome. The argument that he did so purely to preserve his *dignitas* seems far-fetched; regardless of whether or not Caesar believed that his honour had been attacked by the legislations proposed in the Senate, or that he was being denied the rights he was owed due to his achievements,[8] it is certain that he was "desperate to avoid prosecution."[9] Caesar was more concerned with his political career and his well-being than with preserving his honour, as he himself relates: "I am prepared to resort to anything, to submit to anything, for the sake of the Republic (*causa rei publicae*)."[10] Indeed, it appears more likely that his hand was forced by the Senate's actions than by his own search for recognition. Furthermore, it seems that Caesar was anxious to avoid any military confrontation with Pompey's forces; he agreed to disarm himself provided Pompey did the same, as C. Scribonius Curio promoted in the Senate.[11] Suetonius also provides a convincing case for Caesar's weak political circumstances, and his desire to lay down his command provided that his counterpart follow him in his actions:

> But seeing that everything was being pushed most persistently, and that even the consuls elect were among the opposition, he sent a written appeal to the senate, not to take from him the privilege which the people had granted, or else to compel the others in command of armies to resign also.[12]

His offer was not accepted, which prompted him to ask the Senate to permit him to keep "two legions and Cisalpine Gaul, or at least one legion and Illyricum, until he was elected consul."[13] Leaning on the Law of the Ten Tribunes, Caesar wished that his proconsulship be extended until the consular elections, which, as Salmon puts it, "was quibbling."[14] Caesar needed to buy some time, and particularly needed to avoid the law courts, which led him to state that it had not yet been ten years since he had held his last consulship, and therefore could not accept the office, justifying why he required an extension of his proconsulship until he would be eligible.[15] Through these various political attempts at protecting himself, it is clear that Caesar was in no shape to be concocting a master plan of political supremacy over Rome, particularly not by means of war; Caesar had sent back a legion that Pompey had lent him, and another when Rome asked for troops to wage a war against

Parthia.[16] He himself relates this event, tying it into his request for disarmament.[17] It is most probable that the Senate's lack of cooperation with his requests forced his hand, and inevitably led to the start of the Civil War. The aims of Caesar, at least during this period, seemed to be very *ad hoc*; a lack of political power had to be compensated for by military power, which was Caesar's only way out. It is only when he took Rome that his long-term aims changed, and his goals broadened immensely.

As Ehrenberg states, "nobody doubts that Caesar had a quasi-monarchical position when he died. The question really is whether he was satisfied with that or wanted more."[18] Indeed, there is no doubt that Caesar held supreme rulership of Rome during his dictatorship; he established countless political and social reforms, such as reorganizing the calendar, adding more Senators, creating new patrician families, and increasing the number of praetors, aediles, quaestors, and minor magistrates as well.[19] He essentially controlled the political system in Rome, and the *cursus honorum* was now entirely dependent on his favour. Cassius Dio provides an account of the vastness of his importance, as well as the extravagant honors that he had received:

> They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first [...] and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod.[20]

It is undeniable that by this point, Caesar was a monarch. Moreover, I believe that it was only when he became dictator that his goals broadened into a more detailed plan. As stated above, he did not initially intend to become *dictator perpetuo* when he crossed the Rubicon, but having been proclaimed such, he started to look to the future and to much greater things. Ehrenberg writes that "Caesar was a *rex*, though not by name, and we do realize that the nomenclature is by no means unimportant."[21] Though his official title was never *rex*, Caesar was unofficially designated as *rex* in the literature. Cassius Dio characterizes his attire as 'regal,'[22] and Cicero, in his *pro rege Deiotaro* enumerated the *regiae laudes* while facing Caesar in his house: "to be brave, just, severe, magnanimous, bountiful, beneficent, noble."[23] The fact that Cicero depicts the ideal Hellenistic model when addressing Caesar is telling. Cicero continuously refers to Caesar in regal terms, calling him a *coronatus*,[24] and saying that he was worse than Alexander and Romulus, both kings, in one

6 Suet. *Iul*. 30.3; Cic. *Fam*. 8.14; App. *B Civ*. 2.25
7 Plut. *Caes*. 30
8 C. Meier, *Caesar* (Berlin: 1982) paraphrased from G. R. Stanton, "Why Did Caesar Cross the Rubicon?" *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* vol. 52, no. 1 (2003), 67
9 Stanton 2003, 94
10 Caes. *B Civ*. 1.9
11 Plut. *Caes*. 30
12 Suet. *Iul*. 29
13 Ibid
14 Salmon 1939, 390
15 Caes. *B Civ*. 1.32 on Pompey's laws; 3.1 on Caesar now being eligible for the consulship, once already dictator

16 App. *B Civ*. 2.29; Plut. *Pomp*. 56; Cass. Dio 40.65
17 Caes. *B Civ*. 1.9 "when I sent a dispatch to the Senate proposing that all should give up arms I failed to obtain even this request. Levies are being held throughout Italy, two legions which had been filched from me under the pretence of a Parthian war are being held back, the state is in arms."
18 Ehrenberg 1964, 149
19 Suet. *Iul*. 40-41
20 Cass. Dio 43.14
21 Ehrenberg 1964, 153
22 Cass. Dio 44.11
23 See Ehrenberg 1964, 153
24 See Carson 1957, 52

of his letters to Atticus.[25] This brings me to my view that Caesar wanted to model himself in the way of the Hellenistic kings that he was being compared to, but in a hybrid Roman form. *Rex* in Rome had a similar connotation to that which τύραννος (tyrant) had in Athens, since it recalled the era when Etruscan kings ruled over Roman citizens, it was therefore a term which Caesar desperately avoided. This can be seen in various literary sources, such as this passage from Appian:

> Another story was going the rounds, that there was a Sibylline prophecy that the Parthians would never submit to Rome unless a king were to march against them. As a result some had the nerve to say that as far as the Romans were concerned, he ought to be called their dictator or commander-in-chief or any other title they use as a substitute for 'king,' but that in the case of the peoples subject to Rome he should openly be called king. This suggestion too he declined...[26]

A similar description of the events is seen in Cassius Dio and Suetonius.[27] Here Caesar refuses to be called 'king,' even if only by the subjects of Rome. All three sources agree that he denied the honour of being designated in a regal manner, but this should be considered as a development of this regal form, modeled on the Greek kings and yet distinctly Roman. It is essentially this model which flourishes in the Augustan era with the principate; Augustus was in all purposes a *rex*, but was designated as *princeps*, "first-man," which integrated him into the Roman social sphere and permitted him to be the supreme ruler in a less abrasive manner. In the provinces he was worshipped as a god, but was still not a king, which is essentially the model that Caesar was aiming to achieve, though he himself seems to have attempted to introduce deified representation in Rome as well.

Similarly to Augustus' title of *princeps*, Caesar continued to be called *dictator*, which also integrated him into Roman tradition. The term *dictator*, however, carried a certain baggage which Caesar needed to deal with . Sulla had brought more monarchical implications to dictatorship, which prompted Caesar to distance himself from Sulla in order to secure his political supremacy, and to somewhat mask his real political authority. Cicero relates Caesar's words in regards to Sulla ("whom I shall not imitate"),[28] something that is also found in Suetonius.[29] "What was to distinguish Caesar from Sulla was *misericordia* et *liberalitas*, in short the famous *clementia*."[30] The Romans assumptions of titles as is shown through both Caesar's refusal of the title *rex* and his justification of his status as *dictator perpetuo*, does require special attention, but is not an important factor in determining the *type* of power which he possessed. It was important to seem to perpetuate the Republic in order to receive public support by distancing oneself from the oppressive kings of the early Republic and, in Caesar's case, from a more recent 'tyranny' that was still very fresh in the public's mind. This is the image that Caesar attempted to portray, though unsuccessfully, as his assassination later denotes.[31] Suetonius,

25 Cic. *Att*. 12.45
26 App. *B Civ*. 2.110
27 Cass. Dio 44.15; Suet. *Iul*. 79
28 Cic. *Att*. 9.7
29 Suet. *Iul*. 77
30 Ehrenberg 1964, 150-151
31 Suet. *Iul*. 80 on Brutus' recalling his ancestral lineage, seeking to free the Republic from tyranny and restore it to its rightful place – L. Junius Brutus had killed Tarquinius Superbus and thus led to the creation of the Republic

though he accepts that Caesar aims were different from Sullas, also cites the dictator's words on the *res publica*: "*nihil esse rem publicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie.*"[32] Stating outwardly that the Republic was now a name without a body or form would have necessarily caused a great draw back in perpetuating civil support for Caesar; however, this passage is much denser than it appears. Morgan has developed the topic extensively, and her analysis seems correct; if Caesar wanted to perpetuate his rulership and attain a monarchical status, it would be foolish to outright state that the Republic was no longer functional in such a way. Morgan supplies a much more sophisticated analysis of the passage by relating it to a grammatical critique of the use of *res publica* in the time of Caesar. She posits that he was concerned with the way the term was used, not so much with the actual political system. He believed that the word was being used as a means of propaganda; the term itself being particularly vague, it had lost meaning throughout the years, and this is what Caesar was noting when he stated that it no longer had a body or form. "As Collins puts it, 'in Caesar's words there is no break with the *res publica*, but rather the use of the *res publica* as a slogan'."[33] Some scholars have interpreted Caesar's words as being an open claim to the futility of maintaining a fictional Republic,[34] and thus asserting his monarchy publicly. However I believe the nuanced portrait that Morgan presents accurately shows the political workmanship required in order to maintain political supremacy in Rome, thus depicting the means by which Caesar sought his ultimate goal of the deified ruler. Caesar most definitely sought kingship at this time, and regardless of how he was called, his final aims were to attain a rulership similar to that of the Hellenistic kings, such as Alexander the Great. Through his political rhetoric, Caesar's aims can be identified as kingly, and this is further developed with the archaeological evidence, the physical portrayals of Caesar and the religiosity surrounding the man.

Carson believes that there is not enough proof to posit that Caesar was deified prior to his death.[35] However, the various forms of evidence that are available seem to confirm this. There is an extensive list of statues found in the literary sources depicting Caesar in various forms some of which have divine connotations, and Toynbee[36] provides the evidence of seven statues in different contexts, which date to prior to Caesar's death:

> Caesar himself and the Greek historian Cassius Dio mention a statue set up in 48 B.C. in the temple of Victory at Tralles in Asia Minor[37] [...] a bronze statue on the Capitol, with an inscription entitling Caesar 'Demi-God', decreed by the Senate after his return from Africa in 46 B.C.;[38] an ivory statue for display in the Circus, a statue inscribed 'to the Invincible God' in the temple of Quirinus, and

(Liv. 1.60).
32 Suet. *Iul*. 77 "The Republic is nothing, it is merely a name without a body or a form."
33 J.H. Collins, "On the date and interpretation of the Bellum Civile," *AJPh* vol. 80 (1959), 120, as quoted by Morgan, Llewelyn, "'Levi Quidem de re...': Julius Caesar as Tyrant and Pedant," *The Journal of Roman Studies* vol. 87 (1997), 29
34 Ehrenberg 1964, 151 "In a different sense he proved again that he was not a second Sulla, no illiterate in politics, not concerned with maintaining the empty form of the *res publica*."
35 Carson 1957, 50
36 J. M. C. Toynbee, "Portraits of Julius Caesar," *Greece & Rome* Second Series vol. 4, no. 1 (1957), 4
37 Caes. *B Civ*. 3.105; Cass. Dio 41.61
38 Cass. Dio 43.14

another statue on the Capitol, all voted by the Senate in 45 B.C.;[39] and statues in the cities of the Roman world, in all the temples of Rome, and two on the rostra, all ordained in 44 B.C.[40] From the elder Pliny we hear of a cuirass-statue in the Forum,[41] from Appian of a statue of him as a god in the temple of Clementia.[42]

The iconography present during Caesar's reign is prolific. Not only are there many statues of him across Rome and its provinces, but the inscriptions found on these statues enforce the view that he was seeking to become a deified ruler. The statue in the temple of Victory, though it was in a Roman province, still denotes a link between Caesar and the deity of victory. More significant is the statue on the Capitol, in the foremost religious area of Rome, among the temples of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The religious implications of this statue were made more considerable with an inscription denoting Caesar as a 'Demi-God.' The fact that the Senate decreed the statue is less important, considering that Caesar essentially controlled the entire political system, yet the portrait that he had established of himself was very similar to that of the Hellenistic monarchs.

Caesar had rejected the title of 'king,' and yet he represents himself in this way. Along with these portraits representing the 'divine Iulius,' there seems to have been a cult to Caesar in Rome during his lifetime.[43] During the Roman Empire, emperors would be worshipped in the provinces while they were alive, and on some occasions in Rome after their deaths, provided that they were deified (e.g. Augustus, Claudius). Fundamentally, this recalls the principle of 'modest' rulership that is the monarchical model used here. It is perhaps the case that Caesar's principle mistake was to create a cult to himself in Rome during his lifetime, which inevitably publicized his supremacy to a degree which the Romans could not accept, thus prompting them to plot his assassination. Although Caesar essentially controlled political competition, he still permitted aristocrats to rise through the echelons. He even added more magistracis, which makes scholars wonder why the Senators murdered him if they still had the opportunity to become consuls and censors? It seems that the deified portrait of the man contributed to the eventual conspiracy, as it was fundamentally in opposition with Republican models.[44]

39 Ibid 43.45
40 Ibid 44.4
41 Plin. *NH*. 34.18
42 App. *B Civ*. 2.106
43 Cic. *Phil*. 2.110 "*est ergo flamen ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius?*" (As then Jupiter, and Mars, and Quirinus have priests, so Marcus Antonius is the priest of the god Julius).
44 See particularly Jeremy Tanner, "Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic," *The Journal of Roman Studies* vol. 90 (2000), 28 "In the following year, the level of prestige marked by the honours Caesar was offered (presumably through the initiative of his supporters) and accepted raised Caesar to the level of the gods, through the material used for portraits (ivory, on the model of the great chryselephantine cult statues), their placement (in the temple of Quirinus), and their use (carried in processions of statues of gods in the opening ceremonies of games in the circus). One of these statues was placed on the Capitol alongside those of the former kings of Rome, celebrated for their contributions to the foundation of Rome and the construction of its most important religious and social institutions. Here also stood a statue of Brutus the Tyrannicide, who had slain the last of the Tarquins and thereby created the Republican system of government. It was the clash between the evident aspirations represented by the placement of the statue of Caesar, and its collocation with the statue of Brutus the Tyrannicide, which acted, according to Dio (43.45), as the first stimulus to the younger Brutus' participation in the plot to murder Caesar."

Coins also offer aanother source of evidence for the understanding of Caesar's aims. Caesar was the first Roman to have his face printed on coins in Rome during his lifetime, and though Carson dismisses this as 'novel,' saying that "the appearance of Caesar's head, therefore, though novel, is the logical development of the process and, though symptomatic of his uniquely pre-eminent position, does not necessarily identify him as a king,"[45] it is clear that this is a significant sign of not just Caesar's pre-eminence but also of his supremacy. These three coins (see Annex) can be dated prior to Caesar's death, and they contribute to the iconography of Caesar as the supreme ruler of Rome. Fig. 1 was minted in Bithynia in 48-47 B.C. and shows Caesar "with somewhat idealized profile, and with a slightly upward-tilted glance that reminds us of the Alexander portraits."[46] It seems appropriate to depict Caesar in such a Greek area, but this nonetheless adds to the dictator's image throughout Roman territory. Fig. 2 is a coin from 46 B.C. minted in Corinth, Caesar's colony, and Fig. 3 is the most significant coin, as it was issued by the official moneyers in the capital (the *quattuoviri*).[47] The third coin shows Caesar with the title *pater patriae*, 'father of the fatherland,' which was awarded to him shortly before his death.[48] These coins cannot be taken as lightly as Carson has seen them; if the title of a ruler was so scrutinized, one would assume that other representations of kingship would be equally surveyed. As mentioned previously, it is likely that Caesar was assassinated due to his overenthusiastic self-representation as a 'monarch,' and the evidence surrounding his portrayals in art seems to lead to this conclusion. Caesar's aim to obtain supreme rulership in a Hellenistic model inevitably led to his demise, as the clash between this type of rule and Roman standards was too aggressive for the Roman aristocracy to endure.

Caesar, prior to crossing the Rubicon and asserting his dictatorship in the city of Rome, seems to have had no distinct plan for sole rulership. It is only when he captured the city and was given the title of dictator that his ambitions began to expand. His political weakness during the 'negotiations' with the Senate in 50 B.C. show that he wanted to avoid military confrontation, and his lack of certainty concerning Pompey's allegiances led him to question his exception in the Law of the Ten Tribunes of 52 B.C. As can be seen in Suetonius' account,[49] this law was remarkably ambiguous, as Pompey intended it to preserve Caesar's privileges, but the law itself did not reflect this *beneficium*. Even though Caesar tried many times to find a compromise with the Senate, it is inevitably their reactions that launched the Civil War. Once Caesar had control of Rome, he began to implement all of his political reforms, and subsequently became, in all aspects but the title, a king. *Rex* is not the appropriate word to describe Caesar's aims, or what he achieved, as the connotations behind it do not match with what appear to have been his ultimate goals. Dictator is also unsuitable, as it implies either the temporary office of the past, or Sulla's own political supremacy. *Dictator perpetuo*, as he

45 Carson 1957, 52-53
46 Toynbee 1957, 5
47 See Toynbee 1957, 5 for the dating of these coins and their provenance.
48 Cass. Dio 44.4
49 Suet. *Iul*. 28 "And it was true that when Pompey proposed a bill touching the privileges of officials, in the clause whereby he debarred absentees from candidacy for office he forgot to make a special exception in Caesar's case, and did not correct the oversight until the law had been inscribed on a tablet of bronze and deposited in the treasury."

was called shortly before his death, is more fitting, but one can only speculate that perhaps the title of *princeps* may have suited his situation more. The way Caesar was portrayed in sculpture and coinage, coupled with the apparent religious cult that surrounded him, leads to the conclusion that Caesar's aims were in fact something similar to the principate, albeit with a deified representation of the man in Rome herself. Though it is impossible to assert with certainty, his actions as well as his portrayals lean towards this type of rulership as a long-term goal. It is true that Augustus ruled over the Roman populace in a less abrasive manner, as has been suggested above, but inevitably there are many commonalities between the two regimes, and it seems that this is what Caesar was ultimately striving towards.

Vincent Limoges

Appendix

1   2   3

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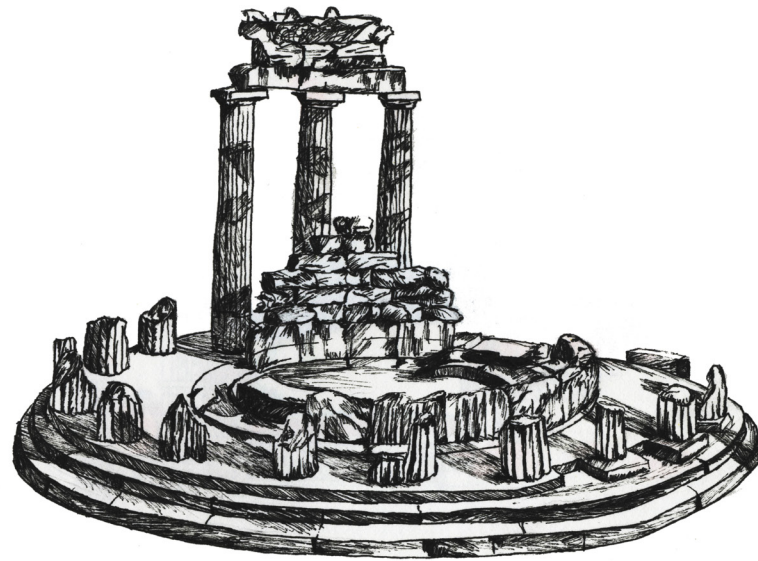
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L'Arringatore
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Two Equals?

By Elizabeth Ten-Hove

Although Catullus' Poem 51 is a translation of Sappho's earlier Poem 31, it is a very loose one: Catullus omits, adapts, and introduces details to suit his own situation, most notably in the entirely new fourth stanza.

Sappho 31	**Catullus 51**
An equal of the gods he seems to me— That man who sits across from lovely you And listens to you chattering sweetly, Laughing	To me he seems the equal of a god— Above the gods, if one can say such things. All day he sits across from you (the clod!) And looks
Your charming laugh. Indeed, it sets my heart Aflutter in my breast: for when I look Upon you for a moment, but to start To speak	And listens as you laugh your lovely laugh. It robs me (wretched man!) of every sense: For when I see you, Lesbia, not half A word
Is an impossible task. My tongue won't work, A subtle flame consumes me from within, My eyes see only darkness and black murk, My ears	Escapes my weighed-down tongue. A subtle flame Laps down my limbs, my ears ring with a roar, And night cloaks both my eyes, as black as shame. And oh,
Are buzzing, I'm drenched head to toe in sweat. A trembling seizes me, and I've turned green As summer grass. I must lack little yet To die.	Catullus, 'ware: ease is a dangerous thing, And in it you exult, rejoice too much. Ease has before lost wealthy towns, and kings Destroyed.

Interview with Professor Lynn Kozak

By: Ioana Tutu

So the first question is : where are you from?

Chicago!

And then where did you do your studies?

I started school at the University of Illinois at Chicago... because I didn't get into any of my other choices [wry laugh]. I did three semesters there and I didn't really have a major yet, but I wanted to take ancient Greek.

So you didn't know from the start that you wanted to be in Classics.

No, I started in pre-med and then I switched to History. I transferred to Barnard, which is the women's college at Columbia, and I started there as a history major and then changed to Classics and Comp Lit. I actually ended up graduating in Comp Lit doing Ancient Greek and Renaissance Latin as my languages. And then I did my MA in London, where I did classes at UCL [University College London] and my thesis at KCL [King's College London] and I did a joint program of performance of Greek drama with straight Classics. And then I did my PhD at the University of Nottingham. I went to a special boarding school for math and science. I always wanted to be a scientist; I always wanted to be a neurologist. And during high school I had a very cool Humanities – it was a three-year course that was the history of art and the history of literature and the history of science, and we spent six months on the Greeks, and I just loved it. It was appealing to my melodramatic teenage sensibilities – tragedy portrayed the worst of human life, and the lack of control, and then in Plato, it was the best, what we can aspire to and what we can do. And that was why when I got to university, I didn't know what I wanted to do – I thought I'd like to read Plato in the original.

Where did you work before McGill?

Well, obviously during my doctorate I taught at the University of Nottingham. I was hired to replace a professor on leave, so I was a full-time professor there for one semester, and the semester before that I had also been asked to cover a couple of classes on my own, so I taught my first big lecture course on the Iliad, which was fantastic. I had a full-time job there for one semester, and then I taught at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies in Rome, which is a study-abroad program administered by Duke. It's a fantastic program – I'd actually gone on it when I was an undergrad and I think I had the shortest turnaround from being a student there to being a teacher there in the history of the program. The director of the program remembered me very well – I'd been kind of a difficult student, I think [laugh].

But yeah, it was a fantastic program because I'd been only doing Greek literature for the whole of

my graduate studies. So I went from doing only Greek literature to doing not only Roman history and topography but Roman material culture and actually getting to teach things on-site, so it was just so exciting. I love Rome; it's one of my favourite places.

Your research interests – I know you're really into the Iliad [Lynn : "Yes!"] but apart from that, what are you interested in academically?

I work on a wide range of things. The Iliad is what I wrote my doctoral thesis on, and it is something that I tend to work on a lot because... I just love the Iliad. It was something I came to very late. I thought I was going to do my doctoral work on Greek tragedy. So the Iliad... I work on Greek tragedy, particularly Sophocles, who's my favorite – not the Theban plays! The non-Theban Sophoclean plays are my favourite. I work on Plato, especially the erotic dialogues. I work on Thucydides, especially from a literary approach, questions of narrative and characterization. I also do a lot of work on reception and the modern implications of Classics, and that ranges from modern-day productions of Greek plays to – I'm working on a couple of projects right now, and one of them is about Classics in Chicago public schools during the desegregation times of the 70s and 80s. Another project that I've just started on Cy Twombly, so that's modern art reception. It's kind of across the board. That's why I love Classics so much.

Apart from Homer, if you had to pick your favourite authors and works... and you have to pick at least one that's in Latin!

[incredulously] I have to pick one that's Latin?

Yes.

Does it have to be Classical Latin?

Not necessarily.

My favourite works... how many do I get?

However many you want.

Definitely Homer's Iliad, number one. Thucydides' Peloponnesian War is way up there. Plato's Symposium... Sophocles – my favourite Sophocles play is The Trachiniae but I also like Philoctetes and Ajax. I love the Bacchae...

You can't just name everything!

But I love everything! And in Latin... [pause] What's my favourite thing in Latin? [pause] I do like Lucretius, and I like Ovid, but I guess that's kind of obvious. I really like Marsilio Ficino, who was the first to translate Plato into Latin and the first to comment on it.

Who are your favourite modern writers?

This is operating under the assumption that I read books. My favourite modern authors are children's authors or comic book authors. I have a couple of favourites who are more traditional literature. I love Nabokov's *Lolita*. I love Proust, especially *Swann's Way*, but my favourite writers are still Roald Dahl, Susan Cooper, C. S. Lewis. I really love Neil Gaiman and particularly his collaborative projects with Dave McKean, and I like some of Frank Miller, although I have some issues with him as well... I like what he did for Batman. I don't read a lot of literature. When I was a kid I read all the time, and now I just don't – maybe it's because I have to read for a living.

How are you enjoying living in Montreal?

I like Montreal so far. I'm looking forward to learning French so that I can participate in the city more. It's one of my summer projects. I'm really looking forward to that because I think it will open the city up. Overall I think the city's very nice – it has a lot on offer in terms of music and theatre. I work a lot, so I haven't quite gotten to have as much fun here as I'd like to. It hasn't instantly grabbed me in a way that other cities have, like New York or London or Rome. It's growing on me. I think it'll be a good place to live, and I'm glad that I ended up here.

How was the experience of putting on Agamemnon?

It was a wonderful experience. Putting on the play in many ways embodied all my favourite elements of my job – getting to interact with students, getting students excited about literature that I'm excited about, getting to see their perspective on it and see them engage with it on their own level and what they're bringing to it. And getting to fuse so many of my other interests – the music I like, my interest in visual arts and thinking about things aesthetically, getting to be creative and work with other people and do it in a way that hopefully makes tragedy accessible to a broader audience. Everybody worked so hard on it and I was so proud of the students. I couldn't be happier about it.

So you definitely have plans to put on other productions.

Yes! I'm hoping to move toward students taking more of an initiative. I don't have a play intended for next year. If a student wants to come forward with a play in mind, it would be nice to do something a student really wants to do rather than me dictating what play we do. So we'll see.

How many dresses do you own?

Oh, my goodness [pause].

Do you have some deep-rooted aversion to pants, or...?

[laugh] This is a hilarious question, because the truth is I never wore dresses before I got to McGill. So this was my professional persona that I was constructing, and I went through this dress-buying frenzy in my first few months here, and now... I just have a lot of dresses. I like wearing dresses to work, but this is not how I usually dress. [laugh] I usually wear jeans and a T-shirt. It's funny that you asked about the dresses. I don't even know how many I own.

That's how you know you have a problem.

Probably... forty? I don't know.

I always ask newcomers to Montreal if they've had poutine yet.

I have not, and the reason for that is because I'm vegetarian. And I know there are vegetarian poutines available at certain fine establishments, but I have yet to try it at any of those establishments. I have gotten really hooked on fries and spicy mayo, which is definitely a Montreal thing for me.

Spicy mayo is good on anything.

Helpful Classics Resources

American Academy in Rome
http://www.aarome.org/

American School for Classical Studies at Athens
http://www.ascsa.org/

Ancient Reference Abbreviations
A guide to referencing ancient sources properly.
http://iam.classics.unc.edu/main/help/A.html

Année Philologique
Invaluable research tool.
http://www.aph.cnrs.fr/

Bryn Mawr Classical Review
http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu.bmcr/

Classical Atlas Project
Overview of the project which is producing the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman
world
http://www.unc.edu.depts/cl_atlas/

Classical Myth: The Ancient Sources
Includes images, texts and timelines for the Olympians and the ancient Greeks.
http://web.uvic.ca/grs/bowman/myth/

Classics and Mediterranean Archaeology
Links to resources of interest to classicists and Mediterranean archaeologists.
http://rome.classics.lsa.umich.edu/welcome.html

Classical Drama Sites
http://www.webcom.com/shownet/medea/cldrama.html

Diotima
Materials for the study of women and gender in the ancient world.
http://www.stoa.org/diotima/

Greek and Roman Authors on Lacus Curtius
More translations and versions in the original language of Greek and Roman texts.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/home.html

Internet Classics Archive
Hundreds of Greek and Roman texts, in the original language and in translation.
http://classics.mit.edu

Perseus Project
Hundreds of Greek and Roman texts, in the original language and in translation.
www.perseus.org