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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.

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Editor's Preface

The past few years have been full of exciting new developments in Classical Studies at McGill, and this year has been no exception. This year's diverse collection of essays represent the historical, literary and theological approaches which make Classics the wonderful mix of disciplines that it is. In this edition, Stephen Aylward navigates the waters of Heraclitus' doctrine of flux, steering us through interpretations, both ancient and modern, of his philosophy. Then, Max Flomen offers a fresh interpretation of Flavius Ricimer and his influential role in the political machinations of the collapsing Western Roman Empire. McGill alumnus Leon Grek charms with his exploration of Ovidian metamorphosis within Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, noting the subtleties in the reception of Classical material. Next, Kate Hart examines Vergil's use of tree imagery within the *Aeneid* as emblematic of Aeneas' and the Trojans' struggle to found a new country ultimately based on a violence cycle of appropriation. Warren Huard delves into Persian religious influences on Pre-Socratic philosophy, finding new and interesting connections in the dialogue between Persian and Greek societies. Thereafter, Amber Irwin pieces together the Donatist schism in 4th century North Africa, reexamining the traditional scholarship regarding this fascinating sect. Solomon Klein offers us a new perspective on Roman aqueducts and their social dimensions—in addition to bringing something so vital to Romans, they were also tools of *euergetism*. Brahm Kleinman then evaluates Julian the Apostate's role in the crisis at Antioch, finding him guilty of mishandling the existing tensions between himself and the people of Antioch. McGill alumna Sarah Limoges examines the Bacchanalia Affair of the second century BCE, probing its underlying causes, and Vanessa Peters analyzes the imagery in literary descriptions of Achilles' and Aeneas' shields. Finally, Dan Ruppel looks at the vital but oft-ignored role of food supplies during war, focusing on soldiers' reactions, leaders' actions, and the outcome of wars fought on empty stomachs.

I would like to thank our generous patrons: the Classics Programme, the Deparment of History, the Classics Students' Association, the Dean's Improvement Fund, SSMU and the AUS. Without your support, this year's edition of *Hirundo* would not have been possible.

To the many wonderful faculty members who have inspired the papers in this edition, your support and guidance has allowed this year's journal to come to fruition, and for this we thank you. I want to offer special thanks to Professor Fronda, *Hirundo*'s faculty advisor, for his unflagging wisdom, guidance, kindness and belief in me.

And last, but certainly not least, my editorial board and layout editors have my greatest thanks and appreciation for their enthusiasm, creativity and responsibility throughout the project. Your help has made my job one of my most rewarding experiences, and produced a spectacular journal.

Margherita Devine
Editor-in-Chief

Stephen Aylward

Stepping into Rivers: *Ontology in Heraclitus*

Cratylus famously attempted to correct Heraclitus by amending his claim that "you cannot step twice into the same rivers; for fresh waters are flowing in upon you" (B2) to the more radical position that one cannot step even once into the same river (Arist. *Metaph.* 1010a10-15).[1] This reading of Heraclitus, which commits him to a radical doctrine of flux, in which things fail to maintain any sort of ontological unity through time, was popular in ancient times, and is preserved in both Plato and Aristotle as the main teaching of Heraclitus. While more recent scholarship has cast doubt on this traditional interpretation of Heraclitus, most of the discussion of the issue has centered on philological considerations, pertaining to whether or not Heraclitus had been properly interpreted by Plato and Aristotle.[2] The modern attempt to alter Heraclitus' reputation as the philosopher of *ta panta rei* has thus been left open to the charge that the new interpretation is not coherent with regard to the extant fragments. So, W.K.C. Guthrie argues that, "in fact, the extant fragments offer no challenge to the universal ancient view."[3] In the course of this paper, I propose to evaluate some of the philological issues at stake, as a precursor to a philosophical discussion of the extant fragments, in the hope of at least sketching a response to the challenge set by Guthrie. I will therefore demonstrate on the basis of the text that Cratylus was mistaken, and that the ontological unity of the river does in fact persist through time. Such a broad approach will necessarily involve commenting on some of the more difficult issues in Heraclitus scholarship, such as the nature of the unity of opposites and the *logos*. In such cases, an attempt has been made to opt for the least controversial readings.

Plato's comments on Heraclitus, explicit in his dialogue *Cratylus* but also implicit in other places, make it clear that he supposes him to have held a radical theory of flux. In what is likely a reference to fragment B12, Plato claims that Heraclitus wrote that we cannot step into the same river twice. Plato deduces from this that Heraclitus believed that all things are constantly changing (Pl. *Crat*. 402a). The river image, which of itself only speaks to the continuity of change of the water in a river, is extended to cover the domain of all things. Of course, Heraclitus' preferred mode of presentation is through images, which he rarely even supplements with explanations or arguments.[4] The scope of the flux was certainly intended to be broader than just in rivers or water; the question is whether the intended scope of the metaphor includes all things at all times, as Plato would have it, or some subset of things.

Of course, Plato in the *Cratylus* is not attempting to write an objective history of philospհy based on a close reading of the available text. He instead makes use of specific aspects of Heraclitus' thought to facilitate the explanation of his own philosophical views by means of comparison. Assuming, as the modern consensus seems to be, that the *Cratylus* was written roughly contemporaneously with the *Theatetus*, it may represent one of Plato's first succinct statements on his theory of Forms.[5] If this is true, Plato would have a clear motive for conjuring up the idea of a world in which everything is not only susceptible to change but actually changing all the time. Such an idea, so easily invoked by attributing it to the authority of Heraclitus, would provide a powerful dramatic contrast to the "beautiful itself" and the "good itself" (Pl. *Crat*. 439c), which he establishes as necessary to provide meaning to such a world of constant flux.

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[1] We follow the translations provided in John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 3rd ed., (London: A. and C. Black, 1920), according to the Diels ordering of the fragments.

[2] In addition to Kirk's view which is presented below, an earlier argument against the *Flusslehre* is presented in Bruno Snell, "Die Sprache Heraklits," in *Hermes*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (1926).

[3] W. K. C. Guthrie, "Flux and Logos in Heraclitus," from W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, *Vol. I*: *The Earlier Presocratics and the Pythagoreans* (Cambridge: CUP, 1962), reprinted in *The Presocratics*, ed. Alexander Mourelatos, (New York: Anchor Press, 1974), 204.

[4] C. J. Emlyn-Jones, "Heraclitus and the Identity of Opposites," in Phronesis, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1976), 96.

What follows in the dialogue is a fairly light-hearted treatment of this doctrine, in which Heraclitus is compared to Homer - a comparison most likely intended as an insult to a thinker who so deliberately sets himself apart from the poets (cf. especially B40, B42). This parodic exposition of Heraclitean thought leads one to suspect that Plato may be distorting the true content of Heraclitus' thought. Against such suspicion, W. K. C. Guthrie points out that even if Plato appears to be dismissive of Heraclitus, Aristotle writes that he had a profound influence on Plato, and indeed provided the catalyst for his invention of the Forms.[6] So in spite of the caricature in the dialogue itself, Plato must have privately held this to be an authentically Heraclitean doctrine. The first problem with this line of argument is that there may be philological evidence that Aristotle's conclusions are based solely on the text of the *Cratylus*, and not on any other independent authority.[7] The second problem is that even if Plato was influenced by this theory of flux, this still does not establish that it was ever an authentically Heraclitean teaching.

Guthrie raises an additional philological concern in his defence of Cratylus' radical flux doctrine. He claims that it is extremely implausible that "Plato grossly misunderstood [Heraclitus] and every subsequent Greek interpreter meekly followed his lead, in spite of possessing either Heracitus' book or at least a much more comprehensive collection of his sayings than we have."[8] While Kirk does doubt whether Plato actually read so many of the fragments, his argument is flawed.[9] As noted above, Plato makes casual allusions to the fragments on rivers and poets. These references seem to suggest that both Plato and his audience were familiar with Heraclitus' fragments, since Plato would have expected his audience to pick up on the allusions. But the mere fact that the Greeks had better access to the text by no means constitutes a strong *prima facie* case for the Platonic reading, as Guthrie suggests. As discussed above, a misrepresentation of Heraclitus need not represent a misunderstanding on the part of Plato, rather than an appropriation of his name for dramatic purposes in the *Cratylus*. Later Greek interpreters were similarly motivated by their own agendas; Guthrie himself admits that Aristotle misrepresents Heraclitus as a Milesian thinker, in order that he might present the history of philosophy as culminating in his own physics.[10] The combined authority of Plato and Aristotle would presumably have inspired at least some meekness on the part of would-be dissenters.

Hopefully these preliminary philological remarks are sufficient to cast doubt on the Platonic reading of Heraclitus. We now proceed to some philosophical analysis as to the place of ontological unity through time in Heraclitus' thought as a whole, in an attempt to prove that the Platonic reading is incompatible with some less contested teachings of Heraclitus.

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[5] G. S. Kirk, "The Problem of Cratylus," in *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (1951), 226.

[6] Guthrie, 201.

[7] Kirk, 242ff.

[8] Guthrie, 203.

[9] G. S. Kirk, "Natural Change in Heraclitus," *Mind*, Vol. 60 (1961), 35.

[10] Guthrie, 202.

The first and most obvious consideration is that of sense perception. There are certain fragments, which suggest that Heraclitus held a sceptical view of sense perception. In fragment B107, he claims that eyes and ears are poor witnesses to a barbarian soul, and again in B34, he states that, "fools when they do hear are like the deaf…" But these fragments taken in isolation provide an unbalanced view. It is true that he does not hold sense perception to be sufficient for understanding (*nous*). But, he does write: "The things that can be seen, heard, and learned are what I prize the most" (B55).[11] On another occasion, he seems to indicate that sense perception may even be a necessary condition for knowledge: "Those who speak with understanding must hold fast to what is common to all…" (B114). On the evidence of these fragments (which can be supplemented with consideration of B2, B19 and B89 for a more complete analysis), the meaning of B107 seems to be less a condemnation of sense perception in general, but more so it is simply a recognition that it is not sufficient to gain understanding; for that, one's soul must not be barbarian, for example one's soul must speak Greek, or rendered in a more cosmopolitan spirit, one's soul must "speak the language" (B107).

Now that it has been established that Heraclitus is not a sceptic concerning the value of sense perception like Parmenides, we can attempt to evaluate the claim of the doctrine of flux based on the evidence of the senses. It seems doubtful that there could be much sensory evidence for Plato's interpretation of perpetual change. Guthrie brings up an image used by Aristotle to illustrate the theory of flux as potential sensory evidence, namely that of water dripping onto a stone.[12] This is supposedly evidence that even if sense perception can not detect change as it occurs, the erosion which takes place over time can bear witness to the steady flux of all things. But there are several problems with this image. The dripping of the water is not itself a continuous stream. The change that it causes is indeed imperceptibly small, but it is intermittent, not continuous. This is not a trivial point, but is one which can be corrected by simply amending the image to that of a continuous stream of water; in order for the argument to work in support of Plato's explanation, *ta panta rei*, all change has to be shown to be continuous.

One can try to salvage the argument by positing an invisible phase of change which persists in between drops, but in order to do so, one must posit some sort of imperceptible motion, an idea to which Heraclitus' aversion was already noted above. And the problem is even starker for things that are not moving in any obvious way, such as a stone without any water pouring over it at all. More generally, one does perhaps perceive a tendency of all things to wear away with time, but there is certainly no perceptual evidence to suggest that this erosion is continuous rather than intermittent, as seems more intuitive at least for objects.

Just as Heraclitus is not a sceptic with regards to the value of sense perception, nor is he committed to any sort of relativism. In the above discussed fragment B99, Heraclitus makes it clear that there is a cognitive component involved in understanding complementary to the senses, namely the soul's language, which allows it to comprehend the *logos* and not simply hear it, as if one remained absent while present (B34). The *logos*, which is generally translated as "account," "word," or "reason," refers here to that which inheres in the order of things independent of our sense perception of it. So, although Heraclitus most prizes those things that can be seen and heard like physical changes, which are perceptible, these things are not to be taken as true merely on the basis of individual perception. They are true because they are in some sense "governed" by a *logos* which exists apart from any individual: "…though [the *logos*] is common, yet the many live as if they had a wisdom of their own" (B2). If one may be permitted to speak of an "epistemology" in Heraclitus, it is clearly objective, and not relativistic. In light of these considerations, one of the fragments which best lends itself to a relativistic interpretation can be understood differently. Heraclitus' states that "the sea is the purest and the impurest water; fish can drink it and it is good for them; to men it is undrinkable and destructive" (B61). This is better viewed as a paradoxical statement about how seawater is of its nature both pure and impure, rather than a claim that the seawater is somehow in and of itself different for men than it is for fishes.[13]

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[11] The target of this fragment is probably Greek religion as depicted by the poets (also under attack in B44 and B33), and/or extrasensual philosophising such as that of Anaximander, who posited the existence of an *apeiron* (unbounded, limitless) substance which remains imperceptible.

[12] Guthrie, 202.

As this discussion begins to impinge on some controversial interpretations of Heraclitus' theory of unity in opposition, let it suffice to say that Heraclitus is committed to a world and a *logos* that are common to all. We can agree with Plato that these claims are not easily reconciled with a view of the world in which things are constantly changing. There are severe difficulties with both a theory of language and a theory of truth that arise from denying that anything ever remains constant. But to admit, as one must on the strength of the textual evidence, that Heraclitus dedicated much thought to the eternal existence of the cosmos, for which the *logos* remains unchanged, while simultaneously supposing that he holds that all things are constantly changing, is to accuse Heraclitus of an extremely fundamental and equally improbable intellectual inconsistency.

To return once more to the question of perception, Heraclitus remarks that different senses are useful under different conditions: "If all things were turned to smoke, the nostrils would distinguish them" (B7). While Heraclitus clearly does not believe that all things are smoke, this fragment does provide a clue as to what he does believe to be the most valuable sense in this world; the mention of smoke creates associations of fire. And in fact Heraclitus explicitly links vision with fire in fragment B26: "Man is kindled and put out like a light in the night-time." Vision is therefore best able to make sense of a world, which is illuminated by fire, or the sun.

And yet it is a fragment about the sun that seems to most contradict attempts to dissociate Heraclitus from the doctrine of *ta panta rei*. In fragment B6, Heraclitus writes, "The sun is new every day." If the sun is new every day, then it seems to be the sort of thing, which is perpetually changing and indeed in such a way that this change is imperceptible, as the sun does not generally appear significantly different from day to day. Granted that the sun may occasionally appear a different colour under certain atmospheric conditions, but this is hardly a necessary connection that would cause one to speak of a new sun "every day." And while the sun's relative pattern through the heavens does change in a necessary fashion, it seems unlikely that this daily change is sufficient grounds for positing the existence of a whole new or even substantially different sun. This imperceptible change certainly seems to speak against the arguments about Heraclitus and sense perception mentioned above. But perhaps there is a particular reason for considering that the sun may be a privileged entity in this regard. Indeed this should hardly be surprising, given the pivotal role given to fire. As Heraclitus states, "the world…was ever, is, and ever shall be an ever-living fire…" (B30), and he attributes central cosmic brilliance to the sun, stating: "If there were no sun, it would be night," since the other starts would not suffice to make it day (B99).

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[13] For a different argument as to how this fragment does not commit Heraclitus to any form of relativism, see Marie I. George, "What Wisdom is According to Heraclitus the Obscure," in *Lyceum*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (1993), 11.

The privileged place given by Heraclitus to fire in his philosophy gives it a superficial similarity to the material monism of the Milesians, who were, it is true, his main philosophical influences. In the material monism of Anaximenes, for example, all things come into existence by rarefacation and condensation of Air. If it were simply the case that everything comes to be from fire in a similar way, it would be easy to explain why the sun would be new every day, since a different proportion of its fire would have been condensed or rarefied into new beings. But Heraclitean fire underlies the universe in a way that is fundamentally different than Thalesian water or Anaxeminesian air.[14] The Milesian interpretation of Heraclitus' cosmology bases itself on fragment B90: "All things are exchanged for fire, and fire for all things, even as wares for gold, and gold for wares." But as Guthrie points out, this change is not a simple matter of transformation; Heraclitus could easily have written that gold takes on the shape of jewellery, or candlesticks, or any other wares.[15] But instead he describes the affair as a sort of commerce.

Indeed, it may be worth pointing out, to extend the analogy, that commerce can take place on the basis of credit, such that the gold need not be immediately transferred for wares, but that this could take place over time. So just as the human merchant keeps track of what he is owed personally, a cosmic bookkeeper keeps track of what it is owed: "The sun will not overstep his measures; if he does, the Erinyes, the handmaids of Justice, will find him out" (B94). Heraclitus can thus hardly be said to hold an elemental physical theory, at least not in the Milesian sense. Moreover, he describes matter not in terms of its own substance, but as something in tension being pulled in different directions.[16] The three main substances identified in the extant fragments are fire, water, and earth (cf. B36). He writes, "The transformations of fire are, first of all, sea; and half of the sea is earth, half [kindling]" (B31). Taking sea to be a stand-in for water, we see that water is never defined in its own terms, or in terms of its own properties. Instead, it is described as something perpetually in tension between the two other substances; half of it remains fire, from whence it came into being, and half of it becomes earth, which comes to be from water (B31). In this sense then, "the way up and the way down is one and the same" (B60).

To leave aside the complexities of Heraclitean cosmology, we see that even though fire's role in the system is fundamentally different from that of water for Thales, we are still able to see how fire is involved in the coming to be of other beings. To return to the problem of the sun fragment B6 discussed above, we can now say that it is the involvement of fire in all change which takes place (though this change does not take place perpetually), which accounts for a "new sun" rising every day.

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[14] Gregory Vlastos, "On Heraclitus" in *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (1995), 367.

[15] Guthrie, 205.

[16] Gregory Vlastos, "Equality and Justice in Early Greek Cosmologies," in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1947), 164.

In order to sketch an idea of what the true purpose of the river image is, if it is not to suggest a materialist theory of flux, we should consider the place of *psukhe* (soul) in the context of the extant fragments. The central role played by the *psukhe* in Heraclitus' thought has often been overshadowed by his more dramatic cosmic notions of fire, the identity of opposites, and of course, the theory of flux. This tendency has claimed support from the purported title of Heraclitus' book, *Of Nature*.[17] But this is uncertain evidence at best, since Aristotle's designation of the Presocratics as "natural philosophers" caused virtually every Presocratic text to come to be known by this name, and it is almost certainly not an authentic title.[18] On the other hand, in an interesting recent work, Roman Dilcher has proposed that the proem to Heraclitus' work (B1) is actually quite similar to other proems of its day.[19] This analysis leads him to the conclusion that the "acts and deeds" mentioned in B1 are the true subject matter of his work, thus suggesting that the study of the *psukhe* is more central than that of the cosmos to Heraclitean thought.

Leaving aside such philological considerations once more, it is clear enough from the text that any interpretation of flux in Heraclitus must take proper account of the soul. For souls seem to be a particularly good example of something that does flow and constantly changes. A human soul is always affected by what it experiences, and since the soul experiences in every waking moment, it is constantly in a state of flux. Morevoer, this reading seems consistent with the other key fragments relating to soul. For example, in fragment B45, it is said that even in travelling every path of the soul, you will not find its boundaries because its *logos* is so deep. This suggests that the soul is effectively limitless, and thus incomprehensible. One reason something might be said to be effectively limitless is that it continuously changes, so that even if we travel every path, by the time we finish, the paths themselves will be different. The soul is limitless because it is constantly in flux; indeed, it contains the principle of its own growth (B115). Furthermore, even while recognizing that the quest to find the boundaries of the soul will never fully succeed, Heraclitus endorses this search, in an irregularly self-referential fragment: "I have sought for myself" (B101). This is a claim concerning his method, which possibly even enables him to claim to have a privileged relation to truth with such bravado in fragment B1.

Of course, the assertion that the soul is constantly in a state of flux would not at all be surprising to a proponent of the Heraclitean interpretation *ta panta rei*. But according to the reading above, the soul is in flux in a privileged way. Because the soul is that which is most immediate to us, and because we can have understanding of it independently of external sense perception, we can see that it is always in a state of change. But for Heraclitus to propose soul-searching as a meaningful activity, he needs to allow that there is in some sense an ontological unity to the person conducting the search. With regards to the effects of aging, he writes that it is in fact the same thing to be young or old (B88). By virtue of becoming old, one does not become essentially different. Certain aspects of one's being are merely reversed. When things are in flux, like the river, the point is not that they become something else; their *logos* remains the same. The point is rather that it is only by changing that something can find repose, that it can be what it is. So, "it rests by changing" (B84a). It is because of this that it is in a certain sense death for someone to sleep. One is no longer oneself, because the flow of change in the soul has been temporarily interrupted (B26). Similarly, the barley drink separates when it is not stirred (B125). The drink can only be what it is by being in motion.

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[17] Françoise Joukovsky, *Le Feu et le Fleuve*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991), 53.

[18] G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 184.

[19] Roman Dilcher, *Studies in Heraclitus*, (Zürich: Hildesheim, 1995), especially 11-18.

On this reading, the river image is significant in a different way. Heraclitus is making an argument against a strictly materialist ontology, not for it. He does not mean that a being persists through time only by virtue of its material components, but that there is a non-material component, or *logos*, which defines that being. When he points out that a river is constantly in flux, he does not mean to say that it ceases to be the river that it is; in light of the above reading, it could only cease to be the river that it is by *failing* to be in flux. The river image points out that "fresh waters flow in upon you" as you stand in the river, but what this is meant to demonstrate, is that in spite of the material change of the river, it does remain the same. Like so many other fragments in Heraclitus, the claim that one cannot stand in the same river twice is thus best understood as a paradox, intended to draw our attention to the relationship between material composition and the *logos* which is the true being of all beings. It is a rhetorical device, not a serious claim about the ontological structure of the world. Though not actually always changing, all things are susceptible to change; even the sun, the symbol of fire, which appears most immutable, is in fact new each day. But the nature of things (*phusis*) cannot hide (B123) from that which never sets (B16), which can always be seen and is common to all, the *logos* (B2). It is thus the *logos* that governs being for Heraclitus, not the temporary imbalances of material makeup, which are in any event always repaid to the cosmic bookkeeper.

This reinterpretation of the extant fragments in an attempt to dissociate Heraclitus from the doctrine of flux raises its own perplexing questions: what sort of existence is the *logos* itself meant to possess in Heraclitus' ontology, and how can it govern the being of beings without being connected with any particular material being? Does allowing that all things can in principle change, even if they aren't actually always changing, really avoid the epistemological and linguistic problems originally raised by Plato in *Cratylus*? Regardless of the answers to such questions, which cannot be addressed under the constraints of this paper, it is clear that the above interpretation is more consistent with the rest of Heraclitus' philosophy than the ancient view of Heraclitus as the philosopher of *ta panta rei*. Heraclitus' original claim cannot have been meant as an endorsement of strict materialism, since his commitment to the independent existence of a *logos* which governs all things makes such a reductionist ontology impossible. If the existence of a river were determined solely by the waters which flow through it, there would of course not be any need for it to be governed by any external *logos*, its material composition would already be sufficient for its being. Cratylus was therefore seriously mistaken when he claimed that Heraclitean philosophy was committed to the claim that one cannot step into the same river even once.

Stephen Aylward

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Max Flomen

The Original Godfather: *Ricimer and the Fall of Rome*

As the Western Roman Empire lurched towards collapse during the last quarter of the fifth century, no fewer than four men claimed the title of emperor between 456 and 472 C.E.[1] Despite their lofty position, the authority of these rulers was largely nominal. In fact, posterity has given them the collective designation of 'shadow emperors' in recognition of the true ruler of the late Roman West, Flavius Ricimer. In his position as patrician and *magister militum*, Ricimer established himself as the "emperor-maker" of the Western Empire during its last decades.[2] That Ricimer's 'reign' so robbed the position of emperor of any real authority has made him a central figure in any examination of the Empire's final collapse in the few years which followed his death. The intention of this paper is to engage two over-arching questions concerning Ricimer's career: what were the motives behind his policies, and how did these policies influence the fall of the Western Empire?

The main obstacle to any such inquiry is the difficulty of the sources concerning Ricimer, which are underwhelming in both number and quality. The letters of Sidonius Apollinaris and his panegyrics to the emperors Majorian and Anthemius offer unique insight into the perspectives of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, but remain fraught with the prejudices of their author. The histories of Hydatius, Priscus and John of Antioch, of which the latter two survive only in fragments, are important though incomplete sources, while John Malalas' *Chronicon* is valuable in reconstructing Ricimer's relationship with Anthemius and Leo I. Procopius' *History of the Wars* discusses the reigns of both Majorian and Anthemius in relation to their expeditions against the Vandals, but certain events in his account are pure fiction. Finally, there is the *Life of Epiphanius*, a biography of the bishop of Ticinum (Pavia) written *c.* 500 by Epiphanius' successor, Ennodius.

From these limited sources it is possible to reconstruct the basic narrative of Ricimer's career. Modern scholars have not shied from providing their own assessments, which have included a multiplicity of views. In his study of Libius Severus, one of Ricimer's puppet emperors, S. I. Oost has described the patrician as "a cold, calculating, sinister man who hesitated at no crime, no murder, no treason or perfidy to maintain himself securely in power."[3] Himself critical of Ricimer's methods, J. B. Bury has noted that while Ricimer is "not an attractive figure" it is perhaps too easy to do him injustice.[4] In offering a revisionist view of Ricimer, L. R. Scott has pointed to "an annoying readiness of the part of modern scholars to credit any treachery of unspecified authorship to Ricimer."[5] Ultimately, negative views of Ricimer are likely explained by the tendency of some historians to view the fall of the Roman Empire as disaster from which western civilization took centuries to recover.

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[1] All dates are in Common Era.

[2] Penny MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 215.

[3] S. I. Oost, "D. N. Libivs Severvs P. F. Avg," *Classical Philology* 65 (1970): 228-240.

[4] J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), 340.

[5] L. R. Scott, "Antibarbarian Sentiment and the 'Barbarian' General in Roman Imperial Service: The Case of Ricimer," in *Proceedings of the 7th Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies II*, ed. J. Harmatta (Budapest, 1984), 23-33.

[6] John Michael O'Flynn, *Generalissimo's of the Western Roman Empire* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1983), 127.

If we distance ourselves from this assumption, it becomes possible to attempt a more balanced evaluation. Two recent studies, John Michael O'Flynn's *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire* and Penny MacGeorge's *Late Roman Warlords* have both offered in-depth accounts of Ricimer's career. Under Ricimer's control the Western Empire underwent three interregna (456-57, 461, 465-67), and from this O'Flynn has posited that his ultimate goal was to "dispense with a western emperor and rule the West himself as patrician of the emperor of Constantinople."[6] O'Flynn has also linked Ricimer's objectives to his barbarian background (Ricimer was of mixed Visigothic-Suevi ancestry), a view which is echoed by P. S. Barnwell, who explains Ricimer's purpose as "not to become emperor himself, but to have an emperor who would not oppose his own kin-group interests."[7] MacGeorge has dismissed several of O'Flynn's broader claims and has instead argued that Ricimer's policies were fundamentally reactive and cautious. Ricimer's main focus was the defence of Italy, and while he was often ruthless, in the context of Roman political intrigue this hardly makes him unique.[8]

Much has been made of whether Ricimer ultimately intended to become emperor himself. It appears sufficient to know that, for whatever reasons, Ricimer did not declare himself emperor and was content to rule as the power behind the throne in the manner of Stilicho and Aetius. However, the question remains as to what ends Ricimer used his considerable authority. This paper will argue that Ricimer's primary goal was the pursuit of a defensive policy centered on the protection of Italy from the threat posed by the Vandals. Further, it will be suggested that Ricimer's tendency to 'make' and 'unmake' emperors was not the product of personal vindictiveness but a reflection of his desire to pursue this Italo-centric policy. Finally, the case will also be presented that Ricimer's policies, while often effective, produced certain precedents which paved the way for the final dissolution of the Western Empire.

Any analysis of Ricimer's career must begin with his initial rise to power during the brief civil war of 456. In this conflict Ricimer, and the Germanic *foederati* which he commanded, were the key military supporters of Majorian, who deposed Avitus after the latter's defeat in battle outside Placentia and eventually replaced him as emperor in 457. Ricimer and Majorian were connected by their service together under Aetius, the general who had dominated Roman military policy until his assassination on the orders of Valentinian III in 454. Indeed, Majorian might have succeeded to the purple following Valentinian's own murder in 455 had he not been forced to retire from public life for a brief period. Sidonius Apollinaris' panegyric to Majorian suggests this retirement was instigated by Aetius' Gothic wife, who was jealous of Majorian's growing fame.[9]

The fall of Avitus has been linked to his alliances with the Gallo-Roman aristocracy (Sidonius was his son-in-law) and Theoderic II's Visigoths. Sidonius and his fellow aristocrats were indebted to Avitus for addressing their grievances, particularly their resentment at not having been granted higher offices despite their front-line efforts in preserving "the shadow of an empire."[10] Unfortunately for Avitus, Gallic support came at the expense of alienating the Italian Senate, a situation which stemmed from the emperor's inability to deal with the raiding of Geiseric's Vandal fleet. These failures allowed Ricimer to seize the initiative after he proved more capable of defending Italy: "In these days, it was reported to King Theoderic that a large number of Vandals, moving towards Gaul or Italy with 60 ships, had been destroyed... through an encirclement by the *comes* Ricimer."[11] Following these victories Ricimer used his increased prestige to promote Majorian's claim to the throne, as the latter's aristocratic ancestry made him highly attractive to the Italian Senate.[12] Unable to conciliate the competing interests of the Gallic and Italian ruling classes, Avitus found himself in an untenable position, of which his enemies soon took advantage:

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[7] P. S. Barnwell, *Emperor, Prefects, and Kings: The Roman West, 395-565* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 43.

[8] MacGeorge, 268.

[9] Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 198-200.

[10] *Ibid.,* 540-41.

[11] Hydatius 169, quoted in MacGeorge, 184.

> When Avitus was emperor of Rome and there was famine at that time, the people blamed Avitus and forced him to send away from the city of Rome those whom he had brought with him from Gaul. He also dismissed the Goths whom he had brought as his own guard, and gave them a money payment raised from the public works... This roused the Romans to revolt... Majorian and Ricimer also broke into open revolt now that they were freed from fear of the Goths. As a result Avitus, afraid both of these internal disturbances and of the attacks of the Vandals, withdrew from Rome and began to make his way to Gaul.[13]

In conformity with his view that Ricimer acted in the interests of his "kin-group," Barnwell has posited that Ricimer's revolt was a reaction to Avitus' alliance with Theoderic, who had recently massacred the Sueves,[14] a people in which Ricimer's father had been a member of the royal family.[15] However, MacGeorge has argued that Ricimer's attachment to his Suevi brethren was tenuous at best and that his motives for turning on Avitus are to be found within the context of Italian politics since Ricimer, though a full-blooded barbarian, was highly Romanized.[16] Scott's examination of anti-barbarian sentiment suggests that barbarians who held high office, such as Ricimer, closely identified their own interests with those of the society of which they were a recognized member. Thus, it is unlikely Ricimer would "alter the directions of state policy to conform more to ones supposedly in some kind of 'self-interest.'"[17] It is more probable that Ricimer's support of Majorian, who represented the Italian aristocracy, was the result of Ricimer's own interests conforming to those of most senators. This view is supported by subsequent events; after having consolidated his power under Majorian, Ricimer's later policies reflect a preoccupation with Italy above other considerations.

Having seized power, it appears as though Majorian and Ricimer intended to rule jointly, with one acting as emperor and the other as patrician and *magister militum*. This division of duties is clearly laid out in Majorian's novella, which he delivered before the Senate in 458:

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[12] Jill Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 79.
[13] John of Antioch, *Fragment* 202.
[14] Barnwell, 43.
[15] Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 360-63.
[16] MacGeorge, 191.
[17] Scott, 28.
[18] *Novella Maiorianus I*, quoted in MacGeorge, 200.

> Military matters will be the watchful concern of both ourself [sic] and our parent and patrician Ricimer. We shall, by the grace of God, protect the position of the Roman world, which we liberated, by our joint vigilance, from foreign enemy and from internal disaster.[18]

Despite the announcement of shared power, in August 461 Majorian returned to Italy where he was arrested, stripped of his title and soon afterwards executed on Ricimer's orders. The traditional interpretation of this event has been that Ricimer had installed Majorian as his puppet only to realize that Majorian took his role as emperor quite seriously, and thus Ricimer disposed of him in favour of a more obsequious replacement.[19] This explanation of Ricimer's decision to eliminate Majorian is on the whole unsatisfactory.

Firstly, Majorian had won distinction as Aetius' subordinate; Ricimer, who likely fought alongside Majorian, would not have been surprised by Majorian's decision to lead campaigns once he became emperor given his military background. Secondly, as we have seen, Majorian's novella makes clear that both he and Ricimer would assume responsibility for the defence of the empire. Thus, if Ricimer did not move against Majorian because he felt he had become dangerously independent, a more plausible explanation must be presented - unless we are to assume that Ricimer was simply bloodthirsty.

Having pushed back the Burgundians and the Visigoths, in 460 Majorian prepared to undertake a major expedition against the Vandal kingdom.[20] MacGeorge has put forward several suggestions as to the reasons behind the campaign. Majorian may have made a strategic calculation and decided turning to the offensive was the best method of defending against Geiseric's raids, perhaps with the ultimate intention of recovering the lost African provinces. Alternately, Majorian may have been planning a purely punitive raid in retaliation for the sack of Rome in 455, in order to increase his own prestige.[21] Whatever the case, it is striking that the sources make no mention of Ricimer's involvement in organizing this expedition given that he was *magister militum* and had crushed a Vandal force in 456. From Ricimer's absence in the planning of this venture, Scott has inferred that the patrician believed the expedition was too risky.[22] In the event, Majorian's fleet, over 300 ships, was captured while harboured in Spain when Geiseric attacked pre-emptively.[23]

Despite this enormous defeat, Majorian returned to Gaul and at Arles held a "banquet on the occasion of the sports of the circus."[24] Sidonius, who was Majorian's guest at the feast, makes no mention of the defeat in his letter; it might therefore be possible to conclude that the campaign had not been a total disaster. However, John of Antioch describes a "disgraceful" truce concluded by Majorian with the Vandals.[25] Indeed, the extent of the fiasco was such that Procopius' version of events has Majorian die of dysentery before the expedition is ever launched, thus sparing Procopius' heroic Majorian, "excelling in virtue all the Roman Emperors that ever were [...] a man moderate to his subjects, and to his enemies terrible," any share of the blame.[26]

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[19] O'Flynn, 109; Harries, 96.
[20] Procop. *Goth*. 3.7.1.
[21] MacGeorge, 204-205.
[22] Scott, 30.
[23] Bury, 332.
[24] Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 1.11.10.
[25] John of Antioch *Fragment* 203.

From this it appears that Ricimer eliminated Majorian not merely because he was strong-willed but for actual reasons of state: he had wasted resources the already weakened Western Empire could ill afford to lose.[27] If this is the case, then it would fit with the image of Ricimer as pursuing a defensive, Italo-centric foreign policy to which Majorian's aggressive imperialism posed a serious threat.

With Majorian gone, Ricimer continued to pursue a cautious policy in his own dealings with the Vandals. After a three and a half month interregnum, Ricimer appointed a new emperor, Libius Severus, an Italian senator of whom little is known. With Severus completely dependent upon him, Ricimer enjoyed increased decision making powers. As the Vandals were the main threat to Italy, and hence to Ricimer, in 461 Priscus records that envoys were sent by the patrician to Geiseric, but by 467 hostilities had not ceased.[28]

In November 465 Severus died of natural causes and Ricimer, now the "emperor-maker" in his prime, acted as regent during a lengthy interregnum which lasted until April 467, when Anthemius was made emperor. This appointment was reached in consultation with Leo I, emperor in Constantinople. Thus, this was an attempt at reconciliation with the Eastern Court, which had never recognized Severus, in the hope that Leo's aid would give Ricimer leverage in the ongoing conflict with his arch-rival Geiseric. In accepting Leo's candidate, Ricimer once again demonstrated his preoccupation with Italy, since the potential advantages to be gained by having Anthemius as emperor carried definite risks. Anthemius was beholden to Leo and therefore might pose a realistic threat to Ricimer's position, as in fact transpired. Yet the Vandal threat to Italy was significant and this seems to have outweighed Ricimer's other considerations.[29]

Leo likely cooperated with Ricimer in the belief that the Vandal fleet constituted a threat not only to the Western Empire but to his own holdings as well. A passage from the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* records that "a report was spread that Geneseric [Geiseric], King of the Vandals, intended to attack the city of Alexandria; this caused great searchings of heart to the Emperor [Leo] and to the Senate."[30] Procopius claims that "Leo also sent Anthemius [...] to be Emperor in the West, that he might be aiding to him in the Vandalic war."[31] If this is correct it appears Anthemius was given a specific mandate by Leo, who now positioned himself to fill the role of senior emperor.

That Anthemius would be less docile than Severus was accentuated by his retinue of eastern bodyguards and the accompaniment of Marcellinus of Dalmatia, another warlord whose presence was likely intended to check Ricimer's power. The two were already bitter enemies; during the 450s Ricimer had bribed Marcellinus' Scythian troops and left him stranded in Sicily. In order to preclude possible tensions Ricimer married Alypia, Anthemius' daughter. Sidonius described the wedding as an event in which "the wealth of two empires has been scattered to the winds," which may reveal the extent to which a high-ranking Gallo-Roman felt alienated by Ricimer's focus on Italy.[32] Most importantly for dynastic politics, the wedding linked Ricimer, however remotely, with the Theodosian dynasty since Anthemius was Marcian's son-in-law.

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[26] Procop. *Goth*. 3.7.13.

[27] Scott, 30.

[28] Priscus, *Fragments* 38, 40.

[29] MacGeorge, 234-35.

[30] *Vita Danielis Stylitae* 56.

[31] Proc. *Goth.* 3.6.5.

[32] Sid. Apoll. *Epist*. 1.9.1.

Despite the attempts at accommodation in 468 Marcellinus was murdered by his own officers while fighting the Vandals. Though his death was not conclusively linked to Ricimer, his guilt in the affair is more than likely, and from this point relations between Anthemius and his patrician continued to deteriorate.[33] Ricimer may have resented Marcellinus' appointment to command the campaign against the Vandals, which failed, while Geiseric continued to raid Sicily and the Italian coastline.

Further conflict between Ricimer and Anthemius arose over the worsening situation in Gaul. Anthemius refused to abandon the remaining Roman cities in Gaul, such as Sidonius' Auvergne, while Ricimer remained committed to concentrating his forces in the defence of Italy. This disagreement over military policy eventually degenerated into a civil war when Ricimer moved against the emperor in 470. At this time both Anthemius' military and political support was compromised as his Gallic army, commanded by his son Anthemiolus, had been destroyed by Euric, Theodoric's successor as King of the Visigoths, while Leo was engaged in a power struggle with Aspar.[34]

It has been suggested the conflict between the two stemmed from the overriding animosity between two factions based on ethnic divisions; in this scenario Ricimer's Germanic followers were pitted against a conservative Roman party led by Anthemius. Bury posited that the conflict brought forward long-simmering tensions as the dispute over Germanic or Roman ascendancy became starkly defined.[35] In a similar vein O'Flynn has suggested that Ricimer felt threatened by Anthemius' diplomatic overtures towards various Germanic peoples. Ricimer could have perceived this part of the emperor's attempt to rescue the situation in Gaul as an encroachment on his territory.[36] The sources do reveal that a degree of ethnic tension underlay the conflict. Of Anthemius' reign John Malalas records that the emperor "aroused the enmity of his son-in-law, Ricimer the *magister militum*, and was afraid of him, as he was a Goth."[37] Anthemius apparently referred to Ricimer as *pellitus Geta* ('hide-wearing Goth') while the latter retorted by calling the emperor an "aroused Galatian" and "Greekling", a reference to Anthemius' eastern origins.[38]

However, to characterize this struggle as one which assumed solely ethnic dimensions does not seem accurate. Sidonius, as a Gallo-Roman aristocrat fighting against Visigothic encroachment, might be expected to have been among Anthemius's staunchest supporters but in one letter he refers disparagingly to Anthemius as “the Greek Emperor.”[39] Ennodius’ description of the conflict ascribes its causes only to “that envy which divides rulers” and reports that “the quarrel was encouraged by the counsel of their supporters,” but makes no reference to Germanic or Roman factions. Since Ricimer had always favoured a foreign policy centered on the defence of Italy he likely received the support of many Italian senators, and the composition of the opposing factions was doubtless highly complex.[40] In sum, a straight division between Ricimer’s *foederati* and Anthemius’ supporters appears to oversimplify the situation; rather, the nature of the conflict, though coloured by ethnic tensions, more likely resembled a typical power struggle between political rivals such as the Roman Empire witnessed countless times.

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[33] O'Flynn, 117.
[34] MacGeorge, 244.
[35] Bury, 339.
[36] O'Flynn, 119.
[37] John Malalas, *Chronicon* 373.
[38] Ennodius, *Vita Epiphanius* 53, 54, 67.
[39] Sid. Apoll. *Epist*. 1.7.5.

Having killed Anthemius in 472 when he attempted to escape from Rome disguised as a beggar, Ricimer once again emerged victorious and proceeded to install Olybrius, a member of the venerable Anicii family, as emperor. Through Olybrius’ marriage to Placidia, the daughter of Valentinian III, he was also a member of the House of Theodosius. This may have contributed to Ricimer’s interest in his promotion, as Ricimer had long sought to associate himself with the Theodosian dynasty. He was to be the last individual Ricimer would raise to the purple, since the patrician, who had dominated the Western Empire for nearly two decades, finally died in 472. It now remains to analyze the impact Ricimer’s policies had upon the Western Empire, which, it will be argued, contributed substantially to its fall.

Firstly, in the aftermath of his power struggle with Majorian, Ricimer set a dangerous precedent when he sacrificed Roman territory in order to consolidate his position. After his execution, the coalition of Italian senators, Gallic aristocrats and barbarian allies Majorian had constructed began to unravel. Ricimer was challenged by Marcellinus, with whom he dealt in Sicily, but was also challenged by Aegidius, the *magister militum per Gallia*, who prepared to invade Italy.[41] Faced with these threats, Ricimer turned to Theoderic II and secured his support by handing over Narbonne in 462. Ricimer’s surrender of Narbonne marked a turning point in the Western Empire’s rapid dissolution as it marked the first time that due to an “internal power-struggle for control of the imperial throne, a Roman city was surrendered, probably by formal treaty, not to provide land for settlement but as the price for support.”[42]

Ricimer’s decision reveals his concern with the protection of Italy but also his willingness to sacrifice Gallic territory in order to achieve this end. Thus Ricimer’s Italo-centric policy contributed to the transformation of the Western Empire into a rump state composed of little more than the Italian peninsula. From the structure of the geo-political situation Ricimer bequeathed to his successors, it is not difficult to see the ease with which Odoacer dispensed with the Western Empire altogether and ruled Italy as an individual kingdom. In essence, the transition from empire to kingdom was largely completed by Ricimer, who refrained only from the formality of such a declaration.

Secondly, on a less abstract note, Ricimer’s war with Anthemius involved the third sack of

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[40] MacGeorge, 245.
[41] Priscus, *Frag*. 30.
[42] Harries, 97.
[43] John Malalas, *Chronicon* 374.
[44] MacGeorge, 255.

Rome since Alaric had taken the city in 410 and therefore contributed to the overall decline of Italy during this period. Adding to the devastation, Malalas' account suggests that Ricimer blockaded the city rather than besieged it in his attempt to starve Anthemius out: "Ricimer had stationed a guard of Goths at every gate of Rome, and at the harbour."[43] From this episode MacGeorge has concluded that the brief civil war and the blockade of Rome, which lasted three months, "must have been a major factor both in the political changes that followed and in the increasing poverty and disruption of Italy."[44]

From this examination of Ricimer's career several patterns emerge. The fact that he was preoccupied with the defence of Italy against the Vandals was undoubtedly clear both to himself and to those who favoured a more aggressive policy of preserving what remained of Roman Gaul. Though the leaders of a pre-modern society may not have recognized them as such, Ricimer's conflicts with Majorian and Anthemius were, at their core, policy disputes between political rivals. As we have seen, the roots of these disputes were primarily *realpolitik* considerations over how and what to defend of the remnants of the Western Empire, rather than conflicts between competing ethnic factions. Although Ricimer was able to assert his preferred policy each time, his success was not without costs; though he had no way of knowing it, the concept of empire for which he fought disappeared only four years after his death.

Max Flomen

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Leon Grek

Performing Ovid's Metamorphoses in *Titus Andronicus* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* ("*Titus*") and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ("*Dream*") are both intensely Ovidian plays. Both are brimming with references to the *Metamorphoses*. *Titus* is an adaptation of the story of Philomela, Procne and Tereus from *Metamorphoses* Book 6; its sources also include the myth of Hecuba from Book 13 and story of Narcissus from Book 3. *Dream* draws on numerous Ovidian sources, including the stories of Pyramus and Thisbe, Actaeon and Ino and Athamas. Both plays, moreover, are self-consciously Ovidian: many characters in *Titus* and *Dream* are themselves readers and interpreters of the *Metamorphoses*. At a pivotal moment in *Titus*, the Andronici family reads from a copy of Ovid's masterpiece, while in the fifth act of *Dream*, the "rude mechanicals"[1] put on a dramatic adaptation of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, which appears in Book 4 of Ovid's epic. Shakespeare is interested not only in the Ovidian stories, but also in different approaches to the interpretation of those stories. In *Titus*, characters take a functionalist approach to Ovidian material; by reading the *Metamorphoses* as if it were a conduct manual, they seek to read Ovid into their own contemporary lives. Throughout the play, they attempt to enact Ovidian metamorphosis by acting out stories from the *Metamorphoses*. Because of the characters' inability to distinguish between the realm of Ovidian myth and the world of contemporary Rome, however, their attempts to perform Ovid repeatedly fail; these failed performances cause horrific damage and cast serious doubt on the viability of Ovidian dramatic adaptation. In *Dream*, Shakespeare returns to idea of performed metamorphosis, and, in the context of a comedy, provides a response to the concerns raised by *Titus*. The Ovidian performers of *Dream* reject the idea that Ovidian material can be acted out in the "real" world; instead, they limit their performances to a separate and delimited world of the stage. By doing so, they, and Shakespeare, are able to produce an aesthetically successful and socially beneficial drama of Ovidian metamorphosis.

Shakespeare's interest in ways of reading Ovid is unsurprising. Ovid was a central part of the curriculum of grammar schools such as the one which Shakespeare attended in Stratford; Jonathan Bates writes that "[e]xtensive reading and memorizing of the *Metamorphoses* was almost universally required in sixteenth-century grammar schools."[2] Both inside and outside of school, Shakespeare would have been exposed to a number of divergent approaches to interpreting Ovid. Medieval critics had sought to redeem the pagan text by allegorizing it: Ovid's stories were thus read as echoes of Biblical history, or as moral fables which provided guidance for proper human conduct. Although Renaissance humanist interpreters tended to reject Biblical allegory, they continued to emphasize moral readings of Ovid.[3] Arthur Golding's 1567 translation of the *Metamorphoses* includes Epistles attached to each book which provide moral interpretations of each story. Moral interpretation was not simply an intellectual exercise:

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[1] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Peter Holland, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 3.2.9. Hereafter referred to in text as *Dream*; text references are to act, scene and line of this edition.

[2] Jonathan Bates, *Shakespeare and Ovid*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 21.

[3] *Ibid*., 26.

"Renaissance thinkers believed passionately that the present could learn from the past; [this] belief was the starting point of education."[4] At the same time, however, other interpretative traditions sought to engage with Ovid on purely aesthetic grounds. Bates writes that "a newly unapologetic delight in the poetic and erotic qualities of the *Metamorphoses* came to compete with [allegorical and moral readings]."[5] As Shakespeare embarked on his dramatic career, therefore, he would have been aware that the reading of Ovid was contested between those who saw it as entertaining literature and those who saw it as a guide to practical matters in contemporary daily life.

Titus Andronicus is a play in which, as Grace Starry West writes, "everyone […] whether Roman or Goth, is evidently educated in the best Roman books,"[6] among which the *Metamorphoses* clearly reigns supreme. Characters constantly allude to Ovid. In the opening scene, after the sacrifice of his older brother, Alarbus, Demetrius urges his mother, Tamora, to take comfort in the story of Hecuba. He insists,

> The selfsame gods that armed the Queen of Troy
> With opportunity of sharp revenge
> Upon the Thracian tyrant in his tent
> May favour Tamora, the Queen of Goths.[7]

References to Philomela are particularly abundant. Aaron the Moor first compares Lavinia to Philomela as he plans her rape (*Titus* 2.3.42-3). After the rape, Lavinia's uncle Marcus makes a similar connection. He cries, "But sure some Tereus hath deflowered thee / And, lest thou shouldst detect him, cut thy tongue" (*Titus* 2.4.26-7). Lavinia is familiar with the story herself: "she quotes the leaves" (*Titus* 4.1.50) of an actual copy of the *Metamorphoses* in order to explain the attack to her family. The characters' familiarity with Ovid's work is not limited to the myths which structure the plot of the play. Tamora turns Ovidian material into a threat: when Lavinia and Bassianus confront her in the wood, she tells Bassianus, "Had I the power that some say Dian had / Thy temples should be planted presently / With horns, as was Actaeon's" (*Titus* 2.3.61-3). Elsewhere the *Metamorphoses* furnishes characters with a language of lamentation: later in the same scene Martius refers to the story of Pyramus and Thisbe; upon discovering Bassianus's body in the pit, he declares, "So pale did shine the moon on Pyramus" (*Titus* 2.3.231). For Titus, Ovid provides a standard to which he can compare his own actions. As he prepares his cannibalistic feast, he invokes the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths: he hopes his "banquet […] may prove / More stern and bloody than the centaur's feast" (*Titus* 5.2.202-3). Reading Ovid does not simply allow the characters in *Titus Andronicus* to recognize the mythic parallels in the action of the play, it also provides them with a rich symbolic and figurative vocabulary through which they communicate their perceptions of the world around them.

Ovidian knowledge shapes characters' actions as well as their rhetoric. The story of Philomela, in particular, is used repeatedly as a blueprint for rape and revenge. Aaron, Chiron and Demetrius consciously use Tereus's rape of Philomela as a model for their attack on Lavinia. When Aaron first suggests the rape, he makes no mention of Philomela, or of mutilation: he advises Tamora's sons to assault Lavinia in the woods "And strike her home by force, if not by words" (*Titus* 2.1.119) and recommends that they consult with Tamora who, he believes, "shall file our engines with advice" (*Titus* 2.1.124). Shakespeare does not show this second conference on stage, but by the time Aaron has reached the woods, it is clear that he and the Goths have taken Tereus as their model. The terrible mutilation that dominates Ovid's tale is uppermost in Aaron's mind; indeed, it now takes precedence over the act of rape itself. He reminds Tamora, "This is the day of doom for Bassianus / His Philomel must lose her tongue today / Thy sons make pillage of her chastity" (*Titus* 2.3.42-4). Aaron's prophecy is soon fulfilled. After the rape, Chiron and Demetrius return to the stage "*with Lavinia, her hands cut off, and her tongue cut out, and ravished*" (*Titus* 2.4.0). By cutting off Lavinia's hands, Chiron and Demetrius show themselves to be attentive readers of the *Metamorphoses*. In Ovid's tale, Tereus cuts out Philomela's tongue, but not her hands. She is able, therefore, to sew a tapestry with which she identifies her assailant. Because they have read the Ovidian myth, Chiron and Demetrius know that they must close off this avenue of communication too. Chiron even taunts Lavinia with this knowledge; he tells her, "Write down thy mind, bewray thy meaning so / An if thy stumps will let thee play the scribe" (*Titus* 2.4.3-4). Reading Ovid allows Chiron and Demetrius to each become, as Marcus says, "a craftier Tereus" (*Titus* 2.4.41).

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[4] *Ibid*., 5.

[5] *Ibid*., 25.

[6] Grace Starry West, "Going by the Book: Classical Allusions in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*," *Studies in Philology* 79.1 (1982): 62-77, 65.

[7] William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Eugene Waith, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) 1.1.136-8. Hereafter referred to in text as *Titus*.

While the Goths use the *Metamorphoses* as a handbook for rape, Titus uses it as a manual for revenge. After the rape of Lavinia and the deaths of Quintus and Martius, Titus seeks recourse in books. After the banquet of the Andronici at the beginning of Act Four, he tells his daughter, "Lavinia, go with me; / I'll to thy closet, and go read with thee / Sad stories chanced in the times of old" (*Titus* 4.1.80-2). Titus's reading is no recreational pastime. When Tamora visits him dressed as Revenge, he insists on a link between his reading and his own plans for vengeance. He accuses of her of interrupting him in order to ensure that "all [his] study be to no effect" (*Titus* 5.2.12), and assures her, "You are deceived for what I mean to do / See here in bloody lines I have set down / And what is written shall be executed" (*Titus* 5.2.13-5). What Titus means to do is re-enact the conclusion of the Philomela story. Once Chiron and Demetrius are in his power he tells them, "[I will] make two pasties of your shameful heads / And bid that strumpet, your unhallowed dam / Like to the earth swallow her own increase" (*Titus* 5.2.189-91). He explicitly cites Ovid as his source for the idea; he tells the doomed brothers, "worse than Philomel you used my daughter / And worse than Procne I will be revenged" (*Titus* 5.2.194-5). Like the Goths Titus reads the *Metamorphoses* as a living and relevant text, and insists on applying its stories to his own life and the contemporary world.

In their interpretative approach to Ovid, then, both Romans and Goth, align themselves with moralizing tradition of Ovidian interpretation. Like the moralizers, the characters of *Titus* believe treat the *Metamorphoses* as a didactic text, with practical value for the conduct of contemporary life. In *Titus*, this functionalist reading of Ovid has dire consequences. Rather than providing characters with moral wisdom, Ovid furnishes them with justifications and instructions for horrifically immoral actions. Nor is reading Ovid particularly conducive to a good life. By the final curtain, Titus, Tamora, Demetrius, Chiron, Lavinia, Aaron, Bassianus and Saturninus are either dead or dying as a direct result of the various attempts to read Ovid into the modern world. The social outcomes are also disastrous: although Titus's son Lucius is proclaimed Emperor at the end of the play, he owes his ascendance to the conquest of Rome by an army of Goths. By refusing to distinguish between literary fiction and real life, the educated readers of *Titus* unleash horrifying Ovidian violence into their contemporary world.

This failure to distinguish between art and reality is a central problem not only with the reading of Ovid in *Titus*, but also with the characters' repeated attempts to give the *Metamorphoses* dramatic form. Unlike Aaron and the Goths, Titus and the other Andronici are not content to read the *Metamorphoses* merely as a sourcebook; they also seek to turn it into a dramatic script. Even at their most imitative, Demetrius, Chiron and Aaron keep themselves and their actions distinct from their source material. When Tamora's sons rape Lavinia, she may become Philomela, but neither of the brothers, nor Aaron ever compares himself to Tereus. Indeed, by cutting off Lavinia's arms, Chiron and Demetrius demonstrate their ability to use Ovid while going beyond the content of Ovidian materials. In carrying out his revenge plot, in contrast, Titus does not simply draw isolated lessons from the *Metamorphoses*; instead, he actually becomes on Ovidian character. When he declares, "worse than Procne I will be revenged" (*Titus* 5.2.195), he places himself within the Ovidian story and takes on the role of Procne, Philomela's sister and avenger. In Titus's mind the banquet to which he has invited Tamora will be more than the occasion of his revenge; it will also be a kind of theatrical spectacle, at which poetic resolution will be achieved through the completion of Philomela's story. Titus himself emphasizes the theatricality of the event. After cutting the throats of the Goth princes he tells his assembled relatives and supporters to bring the corpses to the kitchen, and adds, "I'll play the cook / And see them ready against their mother comes" (*Titus* 5.2.204-5). The final scene of the play thus becomes a suppressed play-within-a-play, as Titus turns his banquet into a re-enactment of the cannibalistic feast of Tereus at the end of the Ovidian myth. More broadly, the rhetoric of the Andronici figures the rape of Lavinia as a dramatic performance of the Philomela story. Looking at a copy of the *Metamorphoses*, Titus describes the rape scene in the woods as "Patterned by that the poet here describes / By nature made for murders and for rapes" (*Titus* 4.1.56-7); his language transforms the natural setting into a stage set determined by an Ovidian script. Marcus is even more explicit in his reply; he laments, "O why should nature build so foul a den / Unless the gods delight in tragedies" (*Titus* 4.1.58-9).

Although Titus and Marcus use the language of dramatic representation to describe action of the play, their own Ovidian performances recognize no distinction between drama and real life. The consequences of Titus's playing Procne are horrifically real: the role of Itys proves genuinely fatal for Chiron and Demetrius. By re-enacting Ovid's stories in the non-literary world, moreover, the Andronici hope to create resolution for the horrific calamities which the families have suffered. In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid provides resolution for stories of intense suffering through the "Ovidian release"[8] of transformation. In the story of Philomela and Tereus, Philomela is redeemed by transformation: by becoming a nightingale she recovers her lost voice, and indeed becomes the "archetypal songster and poet."[9] Titus longs for this release, and seeks it repeatedly through attempted Ovidian performance. Before completing Lavinia's Philomela story, Titus considers re-enacting other Ovidian tales culminating in metamorphic release At his first sight of his mutilated daughter, Titus turns to Ovidian re-enactment as a means of responding to traumatic experience. He asks Lavinia, “Shall thy good uncle and they brother Lucius / And thou and I sit round about some fountain / Looking all downwards to behold our cheeks [?]” (*Titus* 3.1.122-4). These lines allude clearly to the story of Narcissus, the beautiful youth who fall in love with his own reflection in *Metamorphoses* Book 3. Confronted by Lavinia’s Ovidian suffering, Titus offers to join his daughter by turning himself into another sorrowful Ovidian figure. Narcissus’s eventual metamorphosis into a flower may not be as redemptive as Philomela’s transformation, but it nevertheless provides his story with emotional release and structural closure; it is this closure that Titus desperately seeks to achieve through his dramatic *Metamorphoses*.

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[8] Bates, 116.

[9] *Ibid*., 111.

The Andronici’s staging of the *Metamorphoses*, however, repeatedly fails to provide them with any kind of successful resolution. Their failure is due precisely to their inability to distinguish between the world of drama and literary artifice and the real world in which they live. In the contemporary world of *Titus Andronicus*, literal Ovidian metamorphosis is an impossibility. Early in the play, Tamora relegates Ovidian metamorphosis to an imagined mythical world; she tells Bassianus, “Had I the power that some say Dian had / Thy temples should be planted presently / With horns, as was Actaeon’s” (*Titus* 2.3.61-3). Soon after issuing this threat, Tamora has Bassianus murdered by her sons; in the world of the play, metamorphic threats are followed up with mundane and entirely human violence. The absence of metamorphosis from the world of *Titus Andronicus* has devastating implications for Titus’s attempts to perform the *Metamorphoses*. However closely he follows his Ovidian script, he cannot reproduce the central moment of his original story, in which Philomela’s voice is restored. In their performance of the Philomela story, the Andronici try desperately to restore some kind of speech to Lavinia. When Marcus discovers her in the woods, he asks her “Shall I speak for thee?” (*Titus* 2.4.33), and Lucius later asks him to do so; he cries, “O say thou for her, who hath done this deed?” (*Titus* 3.1.87). Titus repeatedly claims that he will be able to restore Lavinia’s ability to communicate. He insists, “Mark, Marcus, mark. I understand her sings / Had she a tongue to speak, now would she say / That to her brother which I said to thee” (*Titus* 3.1.143-5). In the next scene he repeats this claim even more forcefully; he cries out, “Hark, Marcus, what she says – / I can interpret all her martyred signs – / She says she drinks no other drink but tears” (*Titus* 3.2.35-7). He tells Lavinia, “Speechless complainer, I will learn thy thought” (*Titus* 3.2.29), and reassures her that he “will wrest an alphabet” (*Titus* 3.2.44) from her inarticulate gestures, “And by still practice learn to know [her] meaning” (*Titus* 3.2.45). Some critics have tried to read these rhetorical performances as effective substitutes for Ovidian metamorphosis. Philip Kolin sees Lavinia as the writer of texts and describes her as “a later day Ovid for a post-Empire ignoble Rome.”[10] Bates focuses on the long, rhetorically embellished speech which Marcus makes upon discovering his niece; he claims that “Marcus sings like a poet of her dismemberment. In that song a recovery is enacted.”[11] Such a recovery is illusory, however. Titus’s attempts to turn Lavinia’s “martyred signs” into “what she says” are fruitless: when Lavinia is finally able to communicate, she does so through the written voice of Ovid, not her own unspoken language. Marcus’s lyrical descriptions of Lavinia's suffering, moreover, themselves acknowledge the impossibility of Ovidian metamorphosis. He tells Lucius that Lavinia's tongue "Is torn from forth that pretty hollow cage / Where like a sweet melodious bird it sung / Sweet varied notes, enchanting every ear" (*Titus* 3.1.84-6). Lavinia's mutilation is compared to the killing of a songbird: Marcus understands that, in the contemporary world of the play, the act of mutilation includes the negation of Philomela's redemptive metamorphosis. Lavinia's rape and mutilation cannot be redeemed. Her death has contains no Ovidian release: she is stabbed by Titus in the first killing of the play's final massacre.

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[10] Philip C. Kolin, “Performing Texts in Titus Andronicus,” Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays, ed. Philip C. Kolin, (New York: Garland, 1995) 249-260, 252.

[11] Bates, 111.

As Bates points out, Shakespeare creates tragedy in *Titus Andronicus* precisely by stripping the story of Philomela of its "Ovidian release."[12] For Titus's play-within-a-play, however, the loss of metamorphic redemption leads only to a failure of drama. When metamorphic release is not forthcoming, Ovidian performance simply becomes another source of chaos and bloodshed. Titus's play-as-banquet ends with an outburst of violence as savage and gory as the murder of Bassianus and the rape of Lavinia. Within the space of forty lines, Titus stabs Lavinia, reveals the fate of Chiron and Demetrius, kills Tamora and is killed by Saturninus, who is then himself cut down by Lucius. Here too, critics have attempted to reconcile this scene with its Ovidian models. Eugene Waith argues that Titus's obsession with revenge is a kind of "psychic metamorphosis;"[13] he writes that "at the end […] Titus […] produces an effect like that of Ovid's Hecuba, for whom even the gods felt pity when revenge had dreadfully transformed her."[14] Pity for Titus, however, comes not from a divine source, but from his brother Marcus, whose appeal for pity from the Roman people is driven, at least in part, by self interest: after claiming that Titus suffered "wrongs unspeakable, past patience / Or more than any living man could bear" (*Titus* 5.3.126-7), Marcus asks on behalf of all the Andronici, "what say you, Romans? / Have we done aught amiss?" (*Titus* 5.3.128-9). Even more importantly, Hecuba's "psychic metamorphosis" is accompanied by the Ovidian release of a physical transformation; *Titus* ends with the interment of Titus's resolutely unchanged dead body. Ultimately, except for Tamora's cannibalistic consumption of her sons, there is little in the conclusion of Titus's Ovidian performance that is actually Ovidian. Instead, Titus's unsophisticated and unimaginative attempt to bring the *Metamorphoses* into the modern world simply provides a pretext and provocation for unremittingly modern violence.

In *Titus Andronicus*, then, the young Shakespeare takes a clear stand against reductive, functionalist interpretations of Ovidian material. Titus's attempt to apply Ovid to contemporary concerns is an ethical and interpretative failure. As Bates and Andrew Ettin suggest, therefore, *Titus Andronicus* enters Renaissance debates on the proper reading of Ovid in strong opposition to the dominant tradition of moralizing, didactic interpretation. Ettin argues that "Shakespeare [perhaps] recognized also that the tradition of *Ovide moralisé* – of which Golding was a part – was intrinsically false to the experience of reading Ovid, false even to the nature of the stories themselves,"[15] while Jonathan Bates, pointing also to the play's frequent references to the act of teaching, describes *Titus* as "an examination of the efficacy of humanist education."[16] Shakespeare's critique of Ovidian interpretation, furthermore, goes beyond the schoolroom and ultimately implicates Shakespeare's own dramatic art: Titus's failed Ovidian performance throws the viability of dramatic adaptation of the *Metamorphoses* into serious doubt.

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[12] Bates, 116.

[13] Eugene Waith, "The Metamorphosis of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*," *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays*, ed. Philip C.Kolin. (New York: Garland, 1995. 99-114), 108.

[14] *Ibid*., 109.

[15] Andrew V. Ettin, "Shakespeare's First Roman Tragedy," *ELH* 37.3 (1970): 325-341, 339.

Composed in 1595 or 1596, three of four years after *Titus Andronicus*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is in many ways Shakespeare's attempt to restore the viability of Ovidian performance. The Athens of *Dream*, like *Titus*'s Rome is full of readers. Lysander's knowledge of love comes from books. Early in the play he tells Hermia, "Ay me, for aught that I could ever read / Could ever hear by tale or history / The course of true love never did run smooth" (*Dream* 1.1.132-4): it is tempting to think that Ovid's poetry is the source for some of these tales and histories. Helena is certainly familiar with the *Metamorphoses*: following Demetrius through the woods, she casts their experience in Ovidian terms. She challenges him, "Run when you will. The story shall be changed: / Apollo flies, and Daphne holds the chase" (*Dream* 2.1.230-1). Theseus, although he groups "The lunatic, the lover, and the poet" (*Dream* 5.1.7) together as recipients of his scorn, is clearly an attentive reader of Ovid. Indeed, for Theseus, all poetry is Ovidian is definitional of poetry; he tells Hippolyta,

> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
> And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name. (*Dream* 5.1.12-17)

These lines closely echo Ovid's own statement of his poetic mission at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses*.[17] Ovid writes, (in Golding's translation), "Of shapes transformde to bodies straunge, I purpose to entreate."[18] Even the lower-class actors preparing a play for Theseus's wedding banquet are readers of the *Metamorphoses*: their play "*The Most Lamentable Comedy and Most cruel Death of Pyramus and Thisbe*" (*Dream* 1.2.11-12) is drawn from *Metamorphoses* Book 4. Nor are the "rude mechanicals" the only Athenian entertainers looking for material in the *Metamorphoses*. The other entertainments offered to Theseus on his wedding night are also Ovidian stories.[19] Theseus is offered "The battle with the centaurs" (*Dream* 5.1.44-45) which appears in *Metamorphoses* Book XII and "The riot of the tipsy bacchanals / Tearing the Thracian singer in their rage" (*Dream* 5.1.48-49), based upon the story of Orpheus which takes up much of Books 10 and 11 of the *Metamorphoses*. Like their Roman counterparts in *Titus*, moreover, the literate Athenians read Ovidian stories for the sake of education as well as for entertainment. A.B. Taylor notes somewhat patronizingly that Lysander and Hermia's "pretty duet on the way love is oppressed in this world is led by Lysander and based not on experience but on books".[20] Although Taylor suggests that this a sign of the lovers' "naivete,"[21] Lysander's use of fiction and poetry as a guide to love is consistent with Renaissance approaches to reading Classical literature.

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[16] Bates, 104.

[17] Niall Rudd, "Pyramus and Thisbe in Shakespeare and Ovid," *Shakespeare's Ovid*, ed. A.B. Taylor, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 113-125, 124; Holland, Peter. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 231.

[18] Arthur Golding, *The Fifteen Books of Ovid's Metamorphoses*, (London: 1567), *Elizabethan Authors: Texts, Resources and Authorship Studies*, 14 Dec. 2007 <http://www.elizabethanauthors.com/ovid00.htm>, 1.1.

[19] Bates, 140.

[20] A.B. Taylor, "Ovid's Myths and the Unsmooth Course of Love in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Shakespeare and the Classics*, eds. Charles Martindale and A.B. Taylor, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 49-65, 51.

Unsurprisingly, the characters of the comedic *Dream* do not read Ovid with an eye to committing more sophisticated atrocities. Nevertheless, their reading of Ovid is not purely light-hearted: Ovidian stories of metamorphosis have imbued the Athenians with substantial anxiety about change and inconstancy. When Hermia affirms her love to Lysander, she swears, oddly, "By that fire which burned the Carthage queen / When the false Trojan under sail was seen / By all the vows that ever men have broke" (*Dream* 1.1.173-5). This reference is the oath-breaking Ovidian Aeneas of *Metamorphoses* Book 14 and *Heroides* 7. Even as she swears to elope with Lysander, Hermia betrays the extent to which Ovidian stories have influenced her views on love. Hermia's concerns about the changeableness of love persist in the forest; as she and Lysander lie down to sleep, Hermia says to him, "good night sweet friend. / Thy love ne'er *alter* till thy sweet love end" (*Dream* 2.2.67). Helena similarly is concerned about love's metamorphic potential. Lamenting her inability to abandon her unrequited affection for Demetrius, Helena declares that she "errs […] / […in] admiring of his qualities" (*Dream* 1.1.231); she does so, she claims, because "Things base and vile, holding no quantity / Love can transpose to form and dignity" (*Dream* 1.1.232). Indeed, the emotive force of personal metamorphosis for the lovers is so great that inconstancy becomes one of their most serious terms of abuse. As their first confrontation becomes increasingly heated, Lysander attacks Demetrius for being a "spotted and inconstant man" (*Dream* 1.1.110). The lovers' anxieties are well-founded. In ruling that Hermia must either obey Egeus or become a nun, Theseus cites an Ovidian notion of metamorphic identity. He tells Hermia, "To you your father should be as a god / One that composed your beauties yea, and one / To whom you are but as a form in wax" (*Dream* 1.1.47-29). Theseus's model of male power is drawn, as Heather James points out, from the story of Pygmalion, who literally sculpts his wife, Galatea, out of ivory.[22] At the climax of the story, Galatea becomes human under Pygmalion's hands; as Golding puts it, "The Ivory wexed soft: and putting quyght away / All hardnesse, yeelded underneathe his fingars, as wee see / A peece of wax made soft ageinst the Sunne."[23] For the upper-class Athenian lovers, the prospect of Ovidian metamorphosis is a serious threat to their well-being.

The rude mechanicals also worry about metamorphosis, although their particular worries are less clearly Ovidian. The mechanicals are concerned with the problem of dramatic mimesis. They believe that, by taking on their roles in Peter Quince's play they will, in a sense become Pyramus, or Thisbe, or a lion. As a result, they worry that their audience will be unable to distinguish between their playacting and reality. Bottom fears that the ladies in the audience will think that someone has actually died when "Pyramus" kills himself at the end of the play; as well, he worries that the ladies will believe that the lion played by Snug the Joiner is a real lion. To avoid these risks, Bottom recommends that Peter Quince write a prologue which will "seem to say we will do no harm with our swords, and that Pyramus is not killed indeed" (*Dream* 3.1.16-18); he adds, "for the more better assurance, tell them that I, Pyramus am not Pyramus, but Bottom the weaver. This will put them out of fear." (*Dream* 3.1.18-21). Similarly, Bottom advises that the lion "must name his name, and half his face must be seen through the lion's neck" (*Dream* 3.1.33-4). In *Dream*, as in *Titus*, therefore, Shakespeare is interested in exploring potentially blurred distinction between playacting and reality.

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[21] *Ibid*.

[22] Heather James, "Shakespeare's Learned Heroines in Ovid's Schoolroom," *Shakespeare and the Classics*, eds. Charles Martindale and A.B. Taylor, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 66-85, 66.

The mechanicals' choice of play is also significant. The story of Pyramus and Thisbe as Niall Rudd notes, "parodies the relationship of Lysander and Hermia."[24] In both cases, a pair of young lovers kept apart by parental intransigence decides to elope at night and meet outside the city walls. Alarmingly, the Ovidian story ends, as Peter Quince puts it, with the "*Most cruel Death of Pyramus and Thisbe*." (*Dream* 1.2.11-2). By introducing the Ovidian tragedy into the play, Shakespeare holds out the possibility that *Dream*, too, could become a tragedy derived from Ovidian material. Indeed, as Dennis Huston argues, Lysander and Helena flirt with the possibility of becoming Titus-like performers of the *Metamorphoses*. In their conversation about the various obstacles placed in the way to true love, Huston sees a dangerous "act of oversimple scriptwriting in this scene: [Hermia and Lysander] seem subconsciously attracted to the neatness of tragic love stories."[25] As the action of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* moves into the woods outside Athens, then, the play is full of disquieting echoes of *Titus.* Once again, a group of self-conscious Ovidian readers goes into the woods; once again, Shakespeare places the relationship between Ovidian myth and everyday life in the foreground of the action; and once again he suggests that performances of Ovid's stories have potentially destructive consequences.

In the woods, the play's comedic nature increasingly asserts itself; nevertheless, the disturbing similarities between *Dream* and *Titus* remain active. The Athenian woods, like Rome's "wilderness of tigers" (*Titus* 3.1.54) are a stage for re-enactments of Ovidian metamorphosis. Most remarkably, Bottom is, in the words of Peter Quince, "translated" (*Dream* 3.1.113) by Robin Goodfellow into a man-ass hybrid. Bottom's story, as Leonard Barkan points out,[26] is a retelling of Ovid's story of Actaeon. Puck only happens upon Bottom because the mechanicals have chosen to rehearse "So near the cradle of the Fairy Queen" (*Dream* 3.1.73), Titania. Like Actaeon, then, Bottom undergoes bestializing transformation as a result of his intrusion upon a divine female; indeed, as Barkan notes, Shakespeare borrows the name "Titania" "directly from Ovid's sobriquet for Diana in [the story of Actaeon]."[27] Unlike Actaeon's metamorphosis, however, Bottom's transformation takes place in the context of a performance. Puck is himself a performer. When he first appears, he informs one of Titania's fairies, "I jest to Oberon and make him smile" (*Dream* 2.1.44). He proceeds to offer a boastful litany of his various performances: in order to make Oberon laugh, he "[beguiles] a fat and bean-fed horse […], / Neighing in likeness of a filly foal" (*Dream* 2.1.45-6), and, at other times, "[lurks] […] in a gossip's bowl / In very likeness of a roasted crab" (*Dream* 2.1.47-8). Puck's Ovidian intervention in the mechanicals' rehearsal is in keeping with this "actorliness."[28] He figures his dealings with the mechanicals as a piece of playacting: happening upon the them, he gleefully exclaims, "What, a play toward? I'll be an auditor – / An actor, too, perhaps, if I

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[23] Golding, 10.308-10.

[24] Rudd, 118.

[25] Dennis J. Huston, *Shakespeare's Comedies of Play*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981) 116.

[26] Leonard, Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) 262.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Ibid*., 266.

see cause" (*Dream* 3.1.74-5). After transfiguring Bottom, he "overwhelms and tortures his [the Athenians] with a virtuoso display of transformations":[29] he declares, "Sometime a horse I'll be, sometime a hound / A hog, a headless bear, sometime a fire / And neigh, and bark, and grunt, and roar, and burn" (*Dream* 3.1.103-5). Bottom's transformation, moreover, takes place in the context of a larger performance. Puck, turns him into a monster in order to provide Titania with a suitably "vile thing" (*Dream* 2.2.40) as a love object. Titania's humiliation is, ultimately, a kind of performance, "a sweet sight" (*Dream* 4.1.45) for its audience of Oberon and Puck.

Although their experience has no direct Ovidian source, the lovers in the wood are all, through the force of love-in-idleness, subjected to the very sort of personal emotional metamorphosis which terrifies them in *Dream*'s first act. Hermia, in particular, sees Lysander's betrayal as moment of terrifying changefulness. After he threatens to "shake [her] from [himself] like a serpent" (*Dream* 3.2.261) she asks confusedly, "What change is this / Sweet love?" (*Dream* 3.2.262-3); a few lines later she cries out to him, "Am not I Hermia? Are not you Lysander? / I am as fair now as I was erewhile. / Since night you loved me, yet since night you left me" (*Dream* 3.2.273-5). Indeed, for a moment it appears that the lovers' metamorphic experience will result in an Andronican bloodbath. As their squabbling over Helena reaches its climax, Lysander challenges Demetrius to a duel. He demands, "Now follow, if thou dars't, to try whose right / Of thine or mine is most in Helena" (*Dream* 3.2.336-7). For Puck, the author of this chaos, however, all this "jangling" is "a sport" (*Dream* 3.2.253); he is eager to be the audience for "their fond pageant" (*Dream* 3.2.114). Like Bottom, then, the lovers are the victims of the fairies' Ovidian dramatizations.

While *Dream*'s performed metamorphoses carry hints of *Titus*'s violence, they never actually turn into a Roman bloodbath. In *Dream*, the performance of Ovidian material always remains performance: although Ovidian myths are acted out by and upon real individuals, they ultimately have little effect on the lives of those individuals outside the context of the performance. For the lovers, the possibility of violence is ultimately eliminated by the same metamorphic drama which produced it. Following Oberon's orders to "[l]ike to Lysander sometime frame [his] tongue / […] And sometime […] rail […] like Demetrius, / And from each other […] lead them thus" (*Dream* 3.2.360-3), Puck uses his powers of impersonation to separate the combatants. Unlike their Ovidian prototypes, Shakespearean metamorphoses in *Dream* are entirely reversible. After the lovers have exhausted themselves, Oberon provides Puck with the antidote for the juice of love-in-idleness; he orders him to "crush this herb into Lysander's eye / Whose liquor has this virtuous property: / To take from thence all error with his might" (*Dream* 3.2.366-8). Bottom, too, is easily returned to human form, unlike Actaeon, whose bestial metamorphosis leads to his death at the jaws of his own hounds. Oberon simply orders, "gentle puck, take this transformed scalp / From off the head of this Athenian swain" (*Dream* 4.1.63-4). The phrasing of Oberon's remark is significant: even with his ass's head, Bottom is still "an Athenian swain"; his metamorphosis is nothing more than an easily reversible piece of theatrical costuming; as Barry Weller puts it, "Bottom's face is always visible, even when – or perhaps especially when – he wears an ass's head."[30] Nor does Shakespearean metamorphosis have any lingering effects. When the lovers wake, the night seems to them, as Oberon predicts, "a dream and fruitless vision" (*Dream* 3.2.371); in the morning, Demetrius describes the events of the night as "things […] small and indistinguishable" (*Dream* 4.1.186). Although Leonard Barkan argues for the profundity of Bottom's visionary experience,[31] for the weaver too ultimately "[thinks] no more of this night's accidents / But as the fierce vexation of a dream" (*Dream* 4.1.67-8): it is telling that the ballad of "Bottom's Dream" which is to tell of Bottom's "rare vision" (*Dream* 4.1.202) never materialises.

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[29] *Ibid*.

[30] Barry Weller, "Identity Disfigured: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Kenyon Review* 7.3 (1985): 66-78, 75.

Unlike Titus, Shakespearean performers of the *Metamorphoses* understand the boundaries between their performances and the rest of life; they do not seek, as Titus does, to use Ovidian dramatizations to accomplish their goals in the "real" contemporary world. Although Bottom's metamorphosis plays a role in Oberon's plan to humiliate Titania and obtain the changeling child it is not, as Barkan points out, a necessary component of that plan, and is undertaken entirely on Puck's initiative:[32] Oberon's initial assumption is that Titiania, under the influence of love-in-idleness, will fall in love with a natural beast, "Be it ounce, or cat, or bear / Pard, or boar with bristled hair" (*Dream* 2.2.36-7). Puck, ultimately, does not dramatize metamorphoses in order to achieve a serious goal; he does so for the sake of pure entertainment; as he puts it, "those things do best please me / That befall prepost'rously" (*Dream* 3.2.120-1). In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, therefore, Shakespeare offers a radically unconventional approach to reading and performing Ovidian material, one which, by recognizing the fundamental distinction between Ovidian artistry and the non-aesthetic world, permits the successful performance of both the Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and metamorphosis in general.

This refusal to approach Ovidian material in a functional or didactic fashion, moreover, actually allows metamorphic drama to achieve a valuable social function. Although the metamorphic play of the Athenian woods is all but forgotten the following morning, the Athens of Acts Four and Five is not the same as the Athens of Act One. By playing out metamorphoses on the stage of the forest, Shakespeare neutralizes Athenian anxieties about the possibility of metamorphosis in the everyday human world. In the morning, the lovers' fears about shifting human emotional identities have vanished. Theseus has abandoned his attempts to impose an Ovidian notion of metamorphic selfhood, and instead endorses a notion of constant individual identity. When Egeus attempts once again to assert his paternal power, Theseus declares, "Egeus, I will overbear your will / For in the temple by and by with us / These couples shall eternally be knit" (*Dream* 4.1.179-181). Only one metamorphosis from the night is still in force in the morning: Demetrius remains under the influence of love-in-idleness. Demetrius, however, sees his metamorphosis as a restoration to his own true, constant identity. His past rejection of Helena is, he claims, a "sickness" (*Dream* 4.1.173) of which he is now cured; speaking of Helena's love, he tells Theseus, "But, as in health come to my natural taste / Now I do wish it, love it, long for it / And will for evermore be true to it" (*Dream* 4.1.173-5). For Demetrius and the other Athenian lovers, limited and controlled metamorphic performance provides a way of acting out and eliminating the potential transformative dangers of love.

Dream closes with one final performance, as the rude mechanicals stage Pyramus and Thisbe for Theseus, Hippolyta and the lovers. Their performance is a final reprise of Titus's approach to Ovidian drama. In the *Metamorphoses*, the blood of the dying lovers dyes the blossoms of the mulberry tree purple; the tree's transformation provides the story with its emotional closure and Ovidian release. In the mechanicals' version, there is no such metamorphosis; like Titus, then, they offer a version of Ovidian tragedy stripped of metamorphic resolution. Their performance is farcical failure, filled with malapropisms, overblown rhetorical flourishes and the repeated destruction of dramatic illusion. Their performance, in one sense, acts as Shakespeare's final banishment of an inadequate model of Ovidian interpretation. Yet, the mechanicals' failure is not absolute. While they may be unable to produce successful drama, they are able to overcome their own fears about dramatic metamorphosis. When Snout opens the play with the declaration, "I, one Snout by name, present a wall" (*Dream* 5.1.155), he eliminates any risk that dramatic metamorphosis will spill over into real life. In some sense, then, even Titus's Ovidian tragedy is rehabilitated in *Dream* through the affirmation of the distinction between Ovidian art and unliterary life.

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[31] Barkan, 263-4.

[32] *Ibid*. 266.

At the very end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Puck is left alone on stage. He turns to the audience, and reminds them that the "weak and idle theme" (*Dream* 5.1.418) which has just been performed is "No more yielding but a dream" (*Dream* 5.1.419). In the play's final lines, then, Shakespeare pointedly calls attention to the performed nature of his own work. At first glance, the playwright's decision to point up the illusoriness of his own drama, and abjure any lasting impact is an odd one. For Shakespeare, however, the staged nature of his work is essential to its value. Attempts to use art as a form of practical instruction, and to turn drama into an instrument of concrete change are, as *Titus Andronicus* makes clear, doomed to both moral and aesthetic failure. Puck's final speech, then, returns us to the question of how Ovidian interpretation should proceed. In *Dream,* Shakespeare insists that the *Metamorphoses* must be read aesthetically, as a glorious product of literary imagination. It is this insistence that allows Shakespeare to transform the Ovidian gore of *Titus Andronicus* into the Ovidian comedy of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a play which Niall Rudd aptly describes as "the most magical tribute that Ovid was ever paid."[33]

Leon Grek

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[33] Rudd, 125.

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Kate Hart

The Violence of Appropriation in Virgil's the *Aeneid*

The use of tree imagery in Virgil's the *Aeneid* has attracted a considerable amount of scholarly attention during the past few decades.[1] However, critics have not addressed the fact that the recurring images of trees in the poem provide insight into its themes of signification and appropriation.[2] In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas assumes an "appropriative [...] role,"[3] and attempts to give meaning and context to the "remnant[s]"[4] of Troy's civilization by appropriating a foreign country and lineage. The arboreal imagery in the epic illustrates the difficulties as well as the dangers implicit in such an attempt. In particular the two tree metaphors concerning the fall of Ilium reveal Aeneas's fraught struggle to bestow signification on Troy's "chopp[ed]" down and "uproot[ed]" civilization (2.823). At the same time, the repetition of these two tree images and the introduction of others throughout the epic further an implicit critique of Aeneas's appropriative mission. This critique intimates that to "found a city" (1.10) or to appropriate another civilization is to participate in a cycle of destructive violence. Both Aeneas's struggle to confer meaning on the "remnant[s]" of Troy and the destructiveness inherent in his appropriative quest may be traced in Aeneas's association with re-rooting *and* uprooting, in the linking of mutilation and the loss of signification in images of trunks (*trunci*), and finally, in Aeneas's violent usurpation of the Latin lineage (*stirps)*.

Book 2 of the *Aeneid* likens both the fall of Troy and the murder of Priam to severed trees in two striking metaphors. Aeneas describes Troy's destruction in an extended simile as "an ancient ash," felled by foresters:

> As in the high mountains when the countrymen
> ...make their axes
> Ring with might and main, chopping away
> To fell the tree...
> ...bit by bit the strokes prevail
> Until it gives a final groan at last
> And crashes down in ruin from the height (2.821-5).

Ward Briggs notes that this image of Troy, "cut from its roots,"[5] is linked by association to the description of Priam's corpse.[6] Earlier on in the fall of Troy, Priam's slain body is compared to a "vast headless trunk [that] lies without a name" on a "distant shore" (2.728-9). These two images signify a crisis of meaning, in which Ilium is "chopp[ed] away" and uprooted, and Troy's patriarch lies on a distant shore without a name and potentially without identity or signification. The distant and nameless quality of Aeneas's former civilization must be given meaning and significance. The task of finding a home for the gods and the people of Troy (1.10-11) becomes one of Aeneas's major preoccupations in the epic.

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[1] See for instance Kenneth Reckford's essay and Ward Briggs's monograph on trees in Virgil. Both Reckford and Briggs offer surveys of tree imagery in the *Aeneid* and take decidedly "optimistic" views (to borrow one of the traditional categories of Virgilian criticism) of its use. In a more recent essay, Richard Thomas provides an "ambivalent" examination of tree motifs in the *Aeneid* and discusses the violation of trees at length. See Bibliography. I differ from these studies in that I examine Virgil's use of tree imagery vis-à-vis questions of appropriation and signification.

[2] By appropriation, I mean "the taking and using" of a culture, civilization or individuals for a specific "purpose" or meaning ("Appropriation").

[3] Duncan Kennedy, "Virgilian Epic," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. Charles Martindale, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 145-155, 152.

[4] "Aeneid," edited by J. B. Greenough. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900. *The Latin Library*, <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html> (16 May 2008) 3.120. Translation used: Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald, (New York: Vintage Classics, 1990). Hereafter referred to in text; text references refer to book and line of this edition, and translation.

[5] Ward Briggs, *Narrative and Simile from the Georgics in the* 'Aeneid,' (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980) 33.

In the aftermath of the destruction of Troy, Aeneas desperately tries to keep alive the meaning of his civilization by preserving its signifiers: its "relics" (7.326) or mementoes salvaged from Ilium, and the "remnant" (3.120) of the Trojan people. Like the "trees" of Priam and Troy, these objects and individuals have been uprooted from their former city and serve as the only representations of the civilization. Aeneas must work actively to re-root the last remnants of Troy in a new "colony" (2.25) or "city" (1.10) to prevent them from becoming like Priam, mute, nameless and defaced objects that have been stripped of their meaning. Aeneas's anxiety over a possible loss of meaning, for instance, is present when he muses on his helmsman's presumed death by drowning: "You must lie naked on some distant shore" (5.1141). The image contains an eerie echo of Priam's own fate as a "headless trunk" on a "distant shore," and betrays Aeneas's concern that Troy will lose its power of signification, that is, its ability to signify and connote meaning, and will instead become mute and anonymous.

However, what is perhaps most interesting about Aeneas's attempt to preserve his civilization is that while doing so he in fact re-enacts the same uprooting exemplified in the tree images of Priam and Troy. Though Aeneas is, as Kenneth Reckford notes, an "uprooted hero"[7] far from any sort of home, he is also an uprooter himself - one who in fact perpetuates the destructive violence that he and his people have suffered during the fall of Troy. Aeneas's quest to root the relics and remnants of Troy in a "home" or new "city" (1.10) nevertheless involves exercising the same violent behaviour he received from the Greeks at Troy.

Aeneas's aggressive uprooting of other living things is perhaps most obvious in the episode concerning Polydorus. In Book 3, Aeneas lands his contingent on the Thracian shore to found "a colony" (3.25) for the Trojans. When Aeneas attempts to pull out saplings to make a roof for an altar, he experiences a horrific surprise: "When [...] the root network burst, / Dark blood dripped down to soak and foul the soil" (3.41-2). Continuing to pull at the stems a second and a third time, Aeneas discovers that he has been "rend[ing]" (3.58) the body of the Trojan prince Polydorus, who lies buried under the thicket. Here, Aeneas in fact re-enacts the simile of Troy as a fallen tree in his attempt to establish a colony for the Trojans. By "t[earing]" up the "stalk" and "root network" (3.40-1) of the saplings to appropriate them for his own altar, Aeneas evokes the uprooting of Troy.[8] Aeneas's lack of hesitation "to double [his] effort, a third time" (3.52) recalls the relentless "chopping" of the foresters who uproot the "ancient ash." This repetition thus effects a stunning reversal: it is Aeneas who is portrayed as the uprooter, who in fact harms one of his own kin to whom "Troy / Gave birth" (3.61-2). Here, Aeneas "rend[s]" his own culture and civilization while trying to uproot Thracian vegetation to build an altar for his colony, which suggests that Aeneas's desire to appropriate what is other to him to rebuild Troy can be damaging and destructive.

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[6] Although Robert Fitzgerald's English translation does not explicitly compare Troy to an uprooted tree, the original Latin contains the word *eruere* (2.628), which as Kenneth Reckford notes, means to "uproot" and to "tear out" (66).

[7] Kenneth Reckford, "Some Trees in Virgil and Tolkien," in *Proceedings of the Symposium 'Perspectives of Roman Poetry,' February 14-16, 1972*, ed. G. Karl Galinsky, (Austin: U of Texas P, 1974) 57-93, 68.

[8] In this essay, I use the English translations of the Latin word *eruere* (as noted above). Unfortunately, Robert Fitzgerald does not use these meanings in his translation.

Another troubling incident involves Aeneas's encounter with the golden bough in Book 6. As two commentators have noted,[9] Aeneas experiences difficulty uprooting the bough despite the Sibyl's assurance that "it will come willingly, / Easily, if you are called by fate" (6.214-5). Aeneas finds that it offers resistance to his assault, and therefore wrenches it from its stem by "t[aking] hold of it / And, though it clung, greedily [he] broke it off" (6.297-8). The bough does not come willingly, perhaps because contrary to the Sibyl's belief Aeneas's fate (*fatum*) does involve a show of strength, as evidenced in the two images of the fall of Troy and the murder of Priam (both fated actions). Aeneas's violation of saplings in Book 3 and the bough in Book 6 indicates that his "greed[y]" appropriation of other, living things for his own purpose is endorsed, even required by his destiny. The inevitability of Aeneas's destructive uprooting is suggested later on, when Aeneas declares that he will "destroy [the Latins'] town, *root* of this war, / Soul of Latinus's kingdom" (12.773-4, my emphasis). In founding a city, Aeneas must ultimately uproot another one, just as he does on a smaller scale with Polydorus and the golden bough.

As noted above, the early books of the *Aeneid* draw upon the tree similes of Troy and of Priam to suggest the more insidious aspects of Aeneas's struggle to fulfill his *fatum*. It is, however, in the "Iliadic" latter half of the epic[10] that these repeated images are transformed into full-fledged symbols of destructive appropriation.

Aeneas's struggle to found a city in Latium and usurp its civilization is a bloody one: the battlefield is scattered with corpses and many defaced trunks (*trunci*) of warriors. The Latin word *truncus*, as Michael Paschalis notes, can mean both "mutilated" or "headless body," and "tree-trunk."[11] It is interesting to note that the images of Priam and Troy in Book 2 both play upon this double meaning of *truncus* (trunk). Priam's corpse is metaphorically a "headless" body and also a "vast trunk (*truncus*) [...] without a name," while Troy is compared to a personified tree (soon-to-be trunk) that emits a "final groan" before falling.[12] Paschalis notes that the two meanings of *truncus* "are almost never kept distinct in the *Aeneid*."[13] As will be discussed, the double meaning of the word represents the loss of signification suffered by the victim who has become a severed *truncus*.

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[9] Reckford 71; Richard Thomas, "Tree Violation and Ambivalence in Virgil," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118 (1988): 261-273. <http://www.jstor.org/search> (21 May 2008), 266-7.

[10] K.W. Gransden, *Virgil: The Aeneid*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 30.

[11] Michael Paschalis, *Virgil's* 'Aeneid'*: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 358.

[12] Although, in the extended simile of Troy, Virgil does not use the word *truncus*, he nonetheless invokes the Homeric simile that compares a fallen warrior to a tree, and applies it to the torching of a city (Briggs 32-3). The tree, for instance, retains personified attributes, such as giving a "final groan" before "crashing in ruin."

[13] *Ibid.*

During the battles in Latium, the abrupt metaphoric shift from a fighting warrior to an inanimate tree-trunk can prove startling and alarming. For instance, the Trojan Nisus beheads Remus and "le[aves] the trunk / To spout dark blood" (9.471-2). Similarly, Turnus "cut[s] the head" of Phegeus "away, leav[ing] the trunk mired in sand" (12.523-4). The conflict between the Trojans and Latins is in some sense a struggle for signification, as each faction attempts to appropriate the other and turn him or her into a mute, severed *truncus* with no power of signification. This conflict over meaning is heightened in relation to Aeneas, who like others waging war in Latium, frequently re-enacts the now-familiar images of the fall of Troy and of Priam by transforming the opposing side into *trunci*. This is evident when Aeneas ruthlessly slays Tarquitus and turns him into a "warm trunk" (10.781). Despite Tarquitus's "ple[as]" (10.779) for clemency, Aeneas denies him mercy or even a burial: "No gentle / Mother will ever hide you in the earth / [...] you stay here for the carrion birds" (10.783-4; 786). He does not only kill Tarquitus, but annihilates his meaning or signification, as he becomes merely an anonymous "warm trunk," like Priam's own "headless *truncus*."

Aeneas strips Tarquitus and other Latin soldiers of their lives in order to confer his own signification on their culture and civilization. This calculated defacement is obvious when Aeneas slays Mezentius and "dress[es]" an actual truncated (*trunca*) tree in his "bright [war] gear" thus creating a war "trophy" for himself (11.8-9). Aeneas admits he has appropriated Mezentius's life and weapons in order to confer his own signification on his body when he reveals that "Mezentius, / [has] become this figure at my hands" (11.21-22). Aeneas alters Mezentius's signification from that of a Latin warrior to a war trophy, a literal *truncus* that both semantically and figuratively represents Mezentius's mutilated body. Other Trojan warriors also decorate tree-trunks with arms from slain soldiers to create war trophies (11.111-3), and thus these *trunci* become a symbol of the Trojans' power of signification over their Latin foes. This appropriation is representative of Aeneas's own desire to sever the Latin civilization from its political and cultural context and yoke it to his own purposes. Much like the Greeks at Troy, Aeneas kills to annihilate the roots of a culture and its power of signification so that he can appropriate it for his own meaning or *fatum*.

Aeneas's destructive appropriation is also conveyed through the frequent use of the Latin word *stirps*, which means "shoot or stem," "lineage or race," or when the first two meanings are "combined:" the shoot or "branch of a family tree."[14] In the *Aeneid*, *stirps* is used most often to refer to Aeneas's lineage, his "primal parent stock" (*stirpe*) from Teucer and Dardanus to whom he will return in the land of Latium (3.131; 140). As Duncan Kennedy notes in general of these terms of "familial succession," the frequent references to Aeneas's "stock" and his role as the "father of the Roman race (*stir-*

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[14] Max Radin, "Gens, Familia, Stirps." *Classical Philology* 9:3 (1914): 235-247. <http://www.jstor.org/search> (20 May 2008) 247. I am indebted to Martin Hughes, who commented on the double meaning of *stirps* ("branch" and "family relationship") in an online posting on the Virgil Mailing List (Mantovano). See Works Cited. Hughes, however, confined his remarks to the use of the word in Book III and did not address its more interesting appearances in Book XII.

[15] Kennedy, 151.

[16] Kennedy discusses Aeneas's "appropriative role" in the shaping of his "past" history and identity in relation to Virgil's own "appropriation" of Homeric epic (151-2). He does not comment on Aeneas's appropriation of another civilization or culture (as this essay does).

pis)" (12.226) work to "valorise [Aeneas's] presence"[15] in Latium.[16] To David Quint, this rhetoric is part of the epic's "teleological [...] narrative" that moves smoothly to its "final goal of victory" in the "found[ing] of a future Rome."[17] Nevertheless, Aeneas's teleological triumph is not the only story in the *Aeneid*. To Kennedy, "the language of hereditary right, of coming rightfully in one's inheritance [...] occludes [Aeneas's] actively appropriative [...] role."[18] The allusions, via the word *stirps*, to Aeneas's legitimacy of rule direct attention away from the narrative of Aeneas's destructive attempt to appropriate another lineage to create a home for the Trojan people.

The *Aeneid*, however, effects an interesting change in Book 12 in its use of the word *stirps*, one that does work to place emphasis on Aeneas's appropriative role. Latinus's sceptre, which is, as Briggs suggests, a "represent[ation]" of the "governance of Latium,"[19] is described as a "bough" (12.287) that has been "cut from the live tree-bole (*stirpe*) in the forest" (12.285). It would appear in this instance that *stirps* is used merely to denote the stem or shoot of an actual tree, but as Max Radin notes, in Latin the word frequently "retains something of the abstract sense of 'origin,' 'line'" or "descent."[20] Therefore, the "tree-bole" may be viewed as connoting the third meaning of *stirps*, that is, "branch of a family tree," an interpretation that fits well with the allusion to the tree-bole as "mother" (12.286). It is should be remembered that Latinus's rule can be traced to Saturn's own act of appropriation, who as an "exile from a kingdom lost" (8.425) appropriated a native "race of men" who "came from tree trunks," and gave them "laws" and "the name of Latium" (8.417-8; 427-8). Saturn created his own rulers or race when he fathered Latinus's grandfather, Picus (7.64-7), and thus established the line of succession of "Latin lords" (12.289) who formerly carried Latinus's sceptre.

The description of the sceptre therefore suggests that if the "live tree-bole" (*stirpe*) is read as a "branch of the family tree," then Latinus's governance was appropriated or "cut" by Saturn out of the line of descent of the indigenous race of men who "came from tree-trunks." The personified violence in the image - in the form of a bough that is "torn" from its "mother" and "laid bare" of its "branching arms and leaves" (12.286-7) - recalls the mutilated warriors from which Aeneas fashions his war trophies and power of signification over the Latin people. The appropriative history of the sceptre suggests that Aeneas is another Saturn - an "exile from a kingdom lost" and an appropriator of other peoples and cultures. As the "usurper of Lavinia"[21] and thus of Latinus's lineage, Aeneas is ultimately merely appropriating what has already been formerly seized.[22] Through this image, the epic subtly counteracts the teleological orientation of the text as it furthers an implicit critique of the act of civilizing, in which "to found a city" is to participate in a destructive cycle of appropriation.

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[17] David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 67.

[18] Kennedy, 152.

[19] Briggs, 40.

[20] Radin, 247.

[21] Eve Adler, *Vergil's Empire: Political Thought in the 'Aeneid,'* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003) 213.

[22] Adler notes, that "on both occasions in the poem when Aeneas is actually referred to as *tyrannus*, the speaker is in fact thinking of him as the usurper of Lavinia" (213). Fitzgerald's translation does not capture, unfortunately, this language of tyranny. For example, the phrase in Latin, "touched the tyrant's hand" is rendered as "join hands with your captain" in English. See 12.359-60.

The word *stirps* is also used soon after to describe the "trunk" (*stirpem*) (12.1038) of "an old wild olive [tree], [...] sacred to [the Latin king] Faunus," which the Trojans appropriate for their own purposes and "lop away," so that "they c[an] fight on a clear field" (12.1037-8; 1043-4). It is the only other instance of *stirps* that is used to refer to a tree or plant growth in the entirety of the *Aeneid*. Given the semantic meaning of the word and the fact that this reference occurs shortly after the description of Latinus's sceptre, it is probable that *stirps* is used here to connote the trunk or "branch of [a] family tree." As noted above, the tree is "sacred to Faunus," the Latin king who is the father of Latinus and grandson of Saturn. It therefore appears that the olive tree is representative of the Latin family tree or lineage, one which the Trojans have lopped away or violated through a war over who will inherit the Latin throne.

The olive tree's involvement in the duel between Turnus and Aeneas further suggests its association with the Latin lineage. While trying to hit Turnus, Aeneas misses his target and his spear "st[icks] in th[e] tough stump" (12.1045) of the olive tree. Some hundred lines later, Aeneas hurls that same spear at Turnus, "passing [it] clean through the middle of [his] thigh," which brings "the huge man to earth, his knees buckling" (12.1258-60). Aeneas's violation of both the tree and Turnus suggests that Aeneas "bring[s] devastation" (12.1256) to both his Latin enemy and also to the Italian lineage or tree. Aeneas not only kills Turnus, but usurps the Latin throne from him and radically changes the Latins's lineage and history. It is interesting to note that Turnus's fall is accompanied by the "groan[s]" of the Rutulians, which "echo on all sides from all / The mountain range, and [...] the forest" (12.1261-3). This image evokes the tree simile of the fall of Troy, just as Turnus's death at the hands of Aeneas recalls the slaying of Priam, as one critic has suggested.[23] Aeneas thus re-enacts the attempted annihilation of Priam's bloodline by the Greeks through his own violation of the Latin family tree. The use of s*tirps* therefore suggests a counter-narrative to the "the language of hereditary right" that portrays Aeneas as the legitimate ruler of the Latins.

In the *Aeneid*, the motifs of re-rooting and uprooting, mutilated trunks (*trunci*) and branches of family trees (*stirpes*) repeat and recall the devastating images of the fall of Troy and of Priam in Book 2. Through this intricate network of arboreal imagery, the *Aeneid* describes Aeneas's struggle to confer signification on the ruins of Troy, and also illustrates the violence and destructiveness of his appropriation of Latium and its people. Though the *Aeneid* does narrate the teleological narrative of the "remnant[s]" of Troy becoming the future Rome in Latium, the tree imagery draws attention to Aeneas's participation in a cycle of destructive appropriation, in which those who do not conform with the *telos* are, like Priam or the Latin troops, "heaped up in mammoth carnage [...] / numberless and nameless" (11.284-5).

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[23] Reckford, 83.

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Warren Huard

A Persian Influence on the Greeks?

In the latter half of the sixth century B.C. parts of the Greek world came under the control of Achaemenid Persia through its conquests, such as the Greek cities of Asia Minor in 545.[1] As David Frank Graf has noted, this marked the beginning of political relations between the Persian and Greek civilisations.[2] More generally, Cyrus' conquests also marked the beginning of contacts between the cultures of Greece and Persia. Walter Burkert has related that one result of this meeting of cultures was Greek influence upon the Persians' culture.[3] Indeed, this would not be that striking if there is any truth whatsoever in Herodotus' account of the receptiveness of the Persians to foreign cultures.[4] However, given the dominant position of Persia at the outset of their relations with the Greeks, one should also expect there to have been Persian cultural influence upon the Greeks.[5] Such expectations do not seem to be misplaced, for within the sphere of religion there was indeed Persian influence on the Greeks. Besides a few instances of both definite and possible Persian influence on matters within the domain of what might usually be considered Greek religiosity, the most interesting cases of the probable influence of Achaemenid religion involve its relation to Presocratic philosophy. Although Presocratic philosophy may not be considered a field within the domain of ancient Greek religion by all, it may nonetheless be useful if not essential to study certain Presocratics in terms of their relation to Greek religion. For instance, Peter Kingsley has asserted that Presocratics such as Pythagoras and Empedocles are best understood when not approached simply as 'philosophers;' he suggests that mysticism, magic, mythology, and other such domains associated more with religion than philosophy must nonetheless be considered in the study of Presocratic philosophy for it to be successful.[6] This point will not be argued here. For the sake of this study, Presocratic philosophy will be considered to be within the domain of Greek religion.

Ab initio, the study of the influence of Achaemenid religion upon anything whatsoever presents certain difficulties. This is due to the fact that there has been considerable scholarly controversy over the matter of what Achaemenid religion was. For instance, much debate concerns the question of whether the Achaemenids, particularly the early Achaemenids up to and including Xerxes, were Zoroastrians. Knowing that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians would not only allow one to define Achaemenid religion as 'Zoroastrian' but also allow one to understand their religious practices within a Zoroastrian framework. This in turn raises basic questions about Zoroastrianism itself, such as the role of Ahura Mazda in Zoroaster's system compared to his role in pre-Zoroastrian Iranian religion, the role of the Magi in Zoroastrianism and the Achaemenid court, the possibility of the existence of an 'orthodox' variety of Zoroastrianism from which the Achaemenids might deviate, and the use of later texts to study the Zoroastrian beliefs and practices of earlier times. Such questions are relevant to this discussion because it is essential to define Zoroastrianism in order to understand whether Achaemenid religion was Zoroastrian, and to understand the implications of Achaemenid religion being Zoroastrian. Specifically, if Achaemenid religion was Zoroastrian, this would mean that the question of Achaemenid religious influence on Presocratic philosophy is the question of Zoroastrian religious influence on Presocratic philosophy; knowing this would clarify what kind of influences might be expected and explain what kinds of influences might be manifest.

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[1] David Frank Graf, Medism: Greek Collaboration with Achaemenid Persia (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979), 56.
[2] *Ibid*., 57.
[3] Walter Burkert, Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2004), 99-100.
[4] *Ibid*., 33-42.
[5] Burkert, 100.
[6] Peter Kingsley*, Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition* (London, England, 1995), 217; *Ibid*., "Meetings with Magi: Iranian Themes among the Greeks, from Xanthus of Lydia to Plato's Academy," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3rd ser., 5, no. 2 (July, 1995) : 187.

In examining the question of whether the textual sources of Zoroastrianism represent a single Zoroastrian tradition, Albert de Jong identifies three basic approaches in the scholarship concerned: the fragmentising, the harmonising, and the diversifying.[7] The fragmentising approach is characterised by its focus on the Gathas as the only 'true' texts of Zoroaster, and any additional textual references made by fragmentising scholars come from the linguistically similar Vedic texts instead of later 'Zoroastrian' ones; since the various texts are understood to be the products of essentially different religions in different cultural contexts, the notion of a single Zoroastrian tradition is rejected within the fragmentising approach.[8] The harmonising approach is the opposite of this, for it considers all the Zoroastrian texts to be representative of a single tradition which has simply changed organically through time but maintained its essential core; the Gathas, Younger Avesta, and Pahlavi texts are all products of the Zoroastrian tradition from the harmonising perspective.[9] Jong criticises the fragmentising approach for its assumption that Vedic texts, which are closest linguistically to the Gathas, are also closer to them in content than later Zoroastrian texts; he criticises the harmonising approach for its failure to recognise that there is no actual evidence for an unchanging core of Zoroastrian teachings, for there are fundamental doctrines in later Zoroastrianism which cannot be shown to have existed in earlier Zoroastrianism.[10] Instead he advocates a 'diversifying' approach based on a less 'narrow' definition of Zoroastrianism than those used in the other two approaches, one which recognises Zoroastrianism as "a variegated, elastic tradition rather than a strict doctrinal system," lacking a concept of heterodoxy.[11] However, it should be noted that this middling approach still recognises something of an unchanging core of Zoroastrian doctrine, for Jong states that the recognition of Ahura Mazda as the Creator was probably Zoroaster's innovation and that its denial would result in a belief that would be difficult to consider Zoroastrian.[12] Since many of the questions about Achaemenid religion mentioned above have been addressed in ways that can be related to Jong's three approaches, this framework will be applied in the subsequent discussion of these questions, where relevant.

One scholar to examine the question of the whether or not the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians, and the implications of this possibility, was Vassili Vassiliévitch Strouvé. Strouvé considers the possibility that one of Xerxes' inscriptions demonstrates his adherence to Zoroastrianism through its reference to his prohibition of the worship of the daevas and replacement of their worship with that of

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[7] Albert de Jong, Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature (Leiden, Netherlands, 1997), 43.
[8] *Ibid*., 44-45.
[9] *Ibid*., 49-50.
[10] *Ibid*., 59-60.
[11] *Ibid*., 61-63.
[12] *Ibid*., 62.

Ahura Mazda.[13] He notes other behaviours of Xerxes which conform to Zoroastrian standards as well, such as his apparent failure to build temples to replace the destroyed temples of the daevas.[14] However, Strouvé argues that despite their apparent adherence to Zoroastrianism, neither Xerxes nor the Magi were true Zoroastrians.[15] The very phrasing of this argument shows that he is using one of the 'narrow' definitions of Zoroastrianism criticised by Jong, for in distancing Xerxes from 'true' Zoroastrianism, Strouvé presupposes the existence of an orthodox variety of Zoroastrianism in the Achaemenid era. Considering the early Achaemenids in general, Strouvé notes that it is unusual that such monarchs, who appear to comply with Zoroastrian standards quite well, do not feature in the Avestas.[16] His explanation for this is that the writers of the Avestas were hostile to Darius and Xerxes for failing to be 'true followers' of Zoroaster, for these rulers never mentioned Zoroaster in their inscriptions, even in longer ones where it would have been appropriate, and furthermore they usurped Zoroaster's role as the mediator between Ahura Mazda and his people.[17]

Strouvé can be readily criticised for this argument. For instance, he claims that "in [the Achaemenid religion of Darius and Xerxes] there was no place for [Zoroaster] the prophet, since Xerxes named himself Saoshyant."[18] This is a nonsensical assertion, for the Saoshyant of Zoroastrianism is both closely associated with Zoroaster and yet a different person who, like Zoroaster, mediates between Ahura Mazda and humanity.[19] Therefore, if Xerxes considered himself to be the Saoshyant he would in no way be displacing Zoroaster from his role in Zoroastrianism, he would in fact appear to be associating himself with Zoroaster and his cause in a positive way. It should be noted that Strouvé is aware of the fact that Xerxes' 'Saoshyant Mission' appears to associate him with Zoroastrianism, but he maintains that this need only actually associate him with the ancient god Ahura Mazda and not Zoroaster as well; he considers the apparent similarity between Achaemenid religion and Zoroastrianism to simply be due to their common origin, from which Zoroaster had in fact created a new movement in the context of class-conflict and imperialism during early Achaemenid era.[20] That Strouvé is writing as a 'Soviet historiographer,' as he stated at the beginning of his article, is also revealed by this peculiar conception of Zoroaster.[21] As for the argument that it is significant that Darius and Xerxes make no mention of Zoroaster, Jong has rightly noted that such arguments are quite weak, given that there are only a tiny number of extant inscriptions and, perhaps most significantly, that even the Zoroastrian Sassanids make no reference to Zoroaster in their surviving inscriptions either.[22] Therefore, Strouvé's arguments that Achaemenid religion was not Zoroastrian will not be accepted here.

Another scholar who addressed the question of Achaemenid religion and its relation to Zoroastrianism, one concerned directly with the influence of Persian religion on Presocratic philosophy, was Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin.[23] In *The Western Response to Zoroaster*, he reappraises his past arguments that the Achaemenids were not Zoroastrians on account of having recently accepted Barr and Tavadia's arguments that Ahura Mazda was a god introduced by Zoroaster, not an ancient Iranian god as Duchesne-Guillemin himself once thought and as Strouvé claimed.[24] The first of these reappraisals concerns his argument that Herodotus' account of Persian religion does not appear to be of Zoroastrianism, which he now rejects because Herodotus may simply be describing non-official, and therefore non-Achaemenid, popular religious practices.[25] Although his rejection of this argument would seem to be valid, he seems to be making this rejection for the wrong reason. Much of Herodotus' description of Persian religion specifically concerns the Magi, whom he clearly places both in the court of Xerxes and in his retinue during the campaign against the Greeks.[26] Scholars such as Strouvé have suggested that in the Achaemenid era the Magi served as the priests of Achaemenid religion, although this has been dubiously argued on the evidence of the absence of the Magi from the Avestas, for in their promotion of Achaemenid religion the Magi too did not acknowledge Zoroaster, angering the writers of the Avestas.[27] However, if Herodotus is to be trusted it would seem that the Magi served at least Xerxes in a religious capacity. If so, this means that the rites which Herodotus describes as characteristic of the Magi are not necessarily to be understood as popular religious practices unrelated to the Achaemenids. Furthermore, many of these rites do in fact appear to be Zoroastrian. For instance, Jong has noted that Herodotus' description of the Magian custom of killing 'ants, snakes, and the other creeping and flying creatures' appears to be a description of Zoroastrian '*khrafstra*-killing,' meaning not only that the Magi appear to be Zoroastrians in this passage, but also that Herodotus appears to be describing Zoroastrianism in his account of Persian religion.[28]

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[13] Vassili Vassiliévitch Strouvé, "The Religion of the Achaemenides and Zoroastrianism," Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 5, no. 3 (1960) : 529.
[14] *Ibid*., 531-532.
[15] *Ibid*., 533.
[16] *Ibid*., 537.
[17] *Ibid*., 538-541.
[18] *Ibid*., 538.
[19] Mary Boyce, Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices (London, England, 1984), 42.
[20] Strouvé, 535-537, 543-545.
[21] *Ibid*., 531.
[22] Jong, 41-42, n. 6.

Space does not allow for the rest of Duchesne-Guillemin's reappraisal of his arguments to be examined in such detail, but a few more should be noted. For instance, he too brings up the common argument that since all Achaemenid inscriptions fail to name Zoroaster, it is likely that they were not Zoroastrians.[29] He counters that this is no different than a medieval king failing to mention Paul and the Apostles when thanking God and Mary for a victory, which is a valid, although weaker, counter-argument than Jong's above since it does not take into account that later Persian Zoroastrians did not name Zoroaster in their inscriptions.[30] He also mentions that Achaemenid inscriptions use the non-Avestan term '*baga*' in reference to divinity, but fails to recognise, as does Mary Boyce, the weakness of this as an argument for the Achaemenids not being Zoroastrians, since the Zoroastrian Sassanids used the same term themselves.[31] Ultimately though, Duchesne-Guillemin concludes that the

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[23] Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, La religion de l'Iran ancien (Paris, France, 1962), 221.
[24] *Ibid*., The Western Response to Zoroaster (London, England, 1958), 52.
[25] *Ibid*., 53.
[26] Herodotus, 1.140, 7.19, 7.113-114.
[27] Strouvé, 542.
[28] Jong, 339.
[29] Duchesne-Guillemin, The Western Response to Zoroaster, 53.
[30] *Ibid*.
[31] *Ibid*., 54; Boyce, 56.

Achaemenids were actually Zoroastrians "in their own way."[32] It should be noted that his claim that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians 'in their own way' reveals much about Duchesne-Guillemin's definition of Zoroastrianism, for he claims that the 'differences' between Achaemenid religion and Zoroastrianism discussed are partially the result of adaptations by Darius.[33] As a similar phrase was shown to do for Strouvé above, this reveals that Duchesne-Guillemin is using another 'narrow' definition of Zoroastrianism in which there is some form of orthodoxy from which one might deviate. Duchesne-Guillemin's study can be shown to share other features of the 'approaches' criticised by Jong as well, specifically the fragmentising approach, for not only does he focus on the Gathas when citing Zoroastrian texts, but he furthers his study of them through the use of Vedic material and Indo-European scholarship such as that of Dumézil.[34] Ultimately, Duchesne-Guillemin's conclusion that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians 'in their own way' is convincing, but not completely through his own arguments, as will be seen further below.

In his book *Persia and the Greeks: The Defence of the West, c. 546-478 B.C.*, A. R. Burn also considers the question of Achaemenid religion. He begins by noting that features of Achaemenid rule, such as attention to agriculture, are in accord with Zoroastrian teachings.[35] He then discusses Herodotus' description of Persian religion, and unlike Duchesne-Guillemin he recognises that it appears to be describing Zoroastrianism.[36] For instance, he notices that the account of the Magi's practice of zealously killing certain animals appears to be a description of *khrafstra*-killing (although he does not use this term himself), adding that Herodotus states that the dog, an animal which in Zoroastrianism is under the protection of Ahura Mazda and not to be killed as though a *khrafstra*, is not killed by them.[37] Furthermore, he speculates that Herodotus' description of the difference between the funerary practices of the Magi and of the Persian population in general is simply due to a different degree of observance, for whilst the Magi adhere strictly to the Zoroastrian religious prohibition against contaminating the elements with a corpse, the general populace, including their Achaemenid rulers, consider the prohibition to be sufficiently observed by coating the body in wax before it is buried.[38] He eventually addresses the question of the role of Zoroastrianism in Achaemenid religion directly, stating that the Achaemenids were, as seen above, Zoroastrians of a somewhat 'lax' kind.[39] He elaborates this in his examinations of Darius and Xerxes. For instance, he argues that Darius was not an 'orthodox' Zoroastrian, as seen by his rebuilding of temples destroyed by the more devout Magi when they briefly seized power.[40] He goes on to mention the trouble of Darius' use of the term '*baga*' described above, without noting its identical Sassanid usage, and to describe the absence of Zoroaster's name from Persian inscriptions, but to dismiss this difficulty with essentially the same lacklustre counter-argument used by Duchesne-Guillemin; he concludes not only that Darius was not a 'strict' Zoroastrian but also that it is not even that useful to associate him with Zoroaster.[41] Similarly, he argues that Xerxes was no more of a 'fully consistent' Zoroastrian than Darius, although his declaration that he commanded the use of 'proper rite' in the worship of Ahura Mazda indicates that he adhered to a form of Zoroastrianism which deviated from the orthodox.[42]

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[32] Duchesne-Guillemin, The Western Response to Zoroaster, 54-57.
[33] *Ibid*., 57.
[34] *Ibid*., 38-51. This entire discussion demonstrates his use of Dumézil's theories and Vedic material.
[35] A. R. Burn, Persia and the Greeks: The Defence of the West, c. 546-478 B.C., 2nd ed. (Stanford, California, 1984), 63.
[36] *Ibid*., 66-67.
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] *Ibid*., 67-68.
[39] *Ibid*., 80.
[40] *Ibid*., 91.

It is clear that Burn's answer to the question of whether or not the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians is also entirely dependent upon the existence of an 'orthodox' variety of Zoroastrianism, for he considers Achaemenid religion to be a heterodox variation lacking in strictness. Indeed, all the scholars examined thus far have used such a 'narrow' definition of Zoroastrianism that assumes the existence of a Zoroastrian orthodoxy. Yet as is clear from Jong's criticism of this notion, such an assumption is not universal. Indeed, the 'question' of Achaemenid religion largely disintegrates when one does not assume the existence of Zoroastrian orthodoxy in the Achaemenid era. For instance, the late Mary Boyce came close to rejecting the concept of a Zoroastrian orthodoxy during the reign of the Achaemenids. She addresses the question of Achaemenid religion in *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. She begins her discussion by considering the religion of Cyrus II, noting that not only did he apparently have what looks like a Zoroastrian fire-alter at his palace at Pasargadae, but that he apparently gave his daughter, Atossa, a name with Zoroastrian significance.[43] Considering his tomb, Boyce notes that although it does not appear to be in accordance with Zoroastrian orthodoxy to be so entombed, it is not an indication that Cyrus was not a good Zoroastrian; she elaborates that since the Persian kings were so entombed throughout the Achaemenid period and even within the Sassanid period, it is likely that the Achaemenids set a precedent for their successors by placing themselves above the 'religious law.'[44] Furthermore, she argues that they had Zoroastrian concerns in doing this, for the preservation of the king's body may have been for the sake of allowing his protective spirit to remain with his people; additionally, tombs such as those of Cyrus and Darius appear to have been designed according to Zoroastrian principles.[45] Boyce considers much other evidence both for and against the argument that Achaemenid religion was Zoroastrian which cannot be examined in detail here, such as the absence of Zoroaster's name from Achaemenid inscriptions (which she refutes as an argument for Achaemenid religion not being Zoroastrian, for like Jong she recognises that the Sassanids did not name him in their extant inscriptions either) and the *khrafstra*-killing practised by the Magi in Herodotus.[46]

Boyce is noteworthy here not so much in that she ultimately considers the Achaemenids and the Magi to be Zoroastrians, and that unlike Duchesne-Guillemin she does so for good reasons, but that in discussing the royal tombs she recognises the ability of the Achaemenid kings to deviate from the Zoroastrian 'orthodoxy' for good Zoroastrian reasons. This is illuminating when considered in light of her claim that the Magi were probably organised into largely autonomous groups like the satrapies under the king, for this implies that these groups of Magi also retained their own local customs.[47] The larger implication of this is that despite her references to an 'orthodox' Zoroastrianism, there is, as Jong claims,

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[41] *Ibid*., 118.
[42] *Ibid*., 316.
[43] Boyce, 51.
[44] *Ibid*., 52.
[45] *Ibid*., 52-53, 58-59.
[46] *Ibid*., 56-57, 76.
[47] *Ibid*., 66.

"no indication that other versions were considered heterodox."[48] Boyce is using a much less 'narrow' definition of Zoroastrianism than Strouvé, Duchesne-Guillemin, and Burn; as such, her approach may be closer to the 'diversifying' in this respect. A similar view appears to be defended by Kingsley, who claims that in the Achaemenid era there were important Zoroastrian theological issues in which there was no general orthodox position, but instead a mixture of considerably different views held at different times.[49] The position that there was no unchanging and universal orthodox core of Zoroastrianism, Jong's 'diversifying' view, will be adopted here on account of the strengths of the arguments associated with it discussed above. As such, 'Achaemenid religion' will be taken to refer to some form of Zoroastrianism, and the Magi of the Achaemenid era will be considered Zoroastrians.

Having established the Zoroastrian nature of the 'Achaemenid religion' which influenced Greek religion, the means by which it did so should now be briefly considered before the specific influences are themselves examined. Charles H. Khan's warning should be considered from the outset: in comparative studies seeking to identify the influences of one culture upon another, the tendency to seek an explanation of how the influence occurred can result in the creation of 'historical fiction.'[50] Khan is responding to M. L. West in his work *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, in which West proposes that as a result of the Persian conquest of Media, many Magi fled west to Greece, bringing with them their teachings at a time when the Greeks were rather receptive to them intellectually, with the result that Presocratic philosophy bears the mark of Magian doctrine; Khan is right to note that the weakness of this theory is that there is no actual evidence for it.[51] To quite an extent the specific means of the influence of Achaemenid religion upon the Greeks are a matter of pure speculation, based on what little is known as fact: that Persia conquered Asia Minor and that Persians thereby came into contact with the Greeks. However, it may still be possible to safely elaborate on this. West's argument that the Persian influence was largely the result of the Magi in *some* way is not far fetched, given that the Magi were the ones controlling the religious knowledge which was apparently spread to the Greeks, and that they were recognised for this by Greek writers.[52] Furthermore, following Boyce, Kingsley has claimed that there were many Magi travelling beyond the Persian frontier both in search of knowledge and for the sake of teaching others.[53] Indeed, Herodotus notes that the Magi are quite open with regards to their burial practices, which indicates at a bare minimum that they were willing to discuss their customs, and could also indicate that they actively taught others about them.[54] Kingsley has noted that one clear result of the spreading of the Magi's teachings can be seen in Xanthus' report that Xerxes' crossed the Hellespont six thousand years after Zoroaster's lifetime; for this is a dating of great Magian significance and apparently a result of Magian propaganda of his Saoshyant mission.[55] Therefore, it is the influence of Achaemenid religion through the Magi that is most likely to explain apparent influences on Greek religion through Zoroastrian doctrines, however these influences might have specifically occurred.

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[48] Jong, 63.
[49] Kingsley, "Meetings with Magi," 192.
[50] Charles H. Khan, The Art and Thought of Heraclitus: An Edition of the Fragments with Translation and Commentary (Cambridge, England, 1979), 299-300.
[51] *Ibid*.; M. L. West, Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient (London, England, 1971), 240-242. It should be noted that West's theory is interesting in its significant consideration of the dynamic of Greek receptivity to foreign intellectual influences. Margaret C. Miller, who has criticised explanations of cultural exchange based on the idea of an imbalance of power, advocates this kind of framework which emphasises the recipient of cultural influence instead. See also Margaret C. Miller, Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity (Cambridge, England, 1997), 243-244.
[52] West, 240.
[53] Herodotus, 1.140.
[54] Lund, 43.

Concerning the particular influences of Achaemenid religion on Greek religion, some occurred within the domain of what might usually be considered to be Greek religiosity, besides those which occurred within Presocratic philosophy. Burkert relates some examples of these influences in *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture*. One simple but almost certain influence can be seen at the Artemisium at Ephesus, where the high priest was known by the title of 'Megabyxos,' which is a Persian theophoric name; Burkert speculates that the Greek priests of the temple used this title in order to communicate the shrine's sanctity to the Persians in Persian terms, thereby securing their own sacred rights.[56] Yet this is only a minor example of Persian religious influence on the Greeks, for if this name were not theophoric there would be no way in which any of this would really have to do with Persian religion. However, Burkert also presents some stronger cases of Persian religious influence on Greek religion, such as the possibility that the promise of celestial immortality which began to appear in Greek religion in the 5th century was the result of Zoroastrian lore brought by the Magi.[57]

This brings Burkert to consider the influence of Achaemenid religion on Presocratic philosophy, especially the philosophy of Anaximander. Burkert argues that Anaximander's model of the cosmos, in which next to the earth is the wheel of the stars, then that of the moon, then that of the sun, which is all enclosed by the 'divine Infinite,' mirrors the Zoroastrian model of the steps of the heavenly ascent of the soul, which ascends first to the stars, then to the moon, then to the sun, and then to Ahura Mazda. One might object that this could simply be a coincidence; in his earlier comparative work *Greece and Babylon: A Comparative Sketch of Mesopotamian, Anatolian and Hellenic Religions*, Lewis R. Farnell cautions that comparative approaches to the study of cultural influences could postulate influence where in reality there is only coincidence.[58] Yet Burkert suggests that the Zoroastrian appearance of Anaximander's model is not a mere coincidence, for its unusual placement of the stars as closest to earth defies empirical observation and suggests that Anaximander not only based this model upon an existing source, but also that this source was religious in nature.[59] As such, this is a possible specific instance of Achaemenid religious influence upon Presocratic philosophy.

A full treatment of all the possible Achaemenid religious influences on all the Presocratics is obviously impossible in this space, and therefore the remaining discussion will focus on only some of the possible influences on one of the Presocratics. In Antiquity Clement claimed that Heraclitus utilised

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[55] Kingsley, "Meetings with Magi," 191-194.
[56] Burkert, 105-107.
[57] *Ibid*., 110-113. Note Burkert's rejection of the use of the later Pahlavi texts to study earlier Achaemenid Zoroastrianism. Although this is characteristic of Jong's 'fragmentising' approach, Burkert does not make great use of Vedic material in place of these texts. However, since he is not dealing directly with the question of Achaemenid religion here, it is not really clear which of Jong's approaches best describes Burkert's, if one does so to begin with.
[58] Lewis R. Farnell, Greece and Babylon: A Comparative Sketch of Mesopotamian, Anatolian and Hellenic Religions (Edinburgh, Scotland, 1911), 37.
[59] Delev, 389.

'barbarian philosophy,' which may likely be a reference to Achaemenid religious doctrines, given the proximity of Achaemenid Persia to the Ephesian.[60] West has considered many of the possible instances of Zoroastrian influence on Heraclitus. For instance, he examines his concept of the sun as a bowl of fire, noting that this is the kind of observation one might make if comparing it to the fire on a Zoroastrian fire-altar of the Magi, on which the burning fire symbolises the sun; the implication is that this might be an example of Persian religious influence upon the Greek philosophy of Heraclitus.[61] West also compares Herodotus' unusual (from a Greek perspective) statement that corpses are to be discarded as abominations with the similar Magian doctrine seen in Herodotus – that corpses are so polluted that they must be exposed rather than buried or cremated, as this would contaminate the elements.[62] Implying that following Heraclitus would lead to the exposure of corpses, for a reason similar to that of the Magi, West once again suggests that Heraclitus may have been influenced by Achaemenid religion in formulating this particular 'doctrine.'[63] It should be noted that despite implying many such influences, West cautions against the over-interpretation of such comparative evidence. For example, although he notes that Hades plays a similar role to Angra Mainyu in Heraclitus' philosophy, and that he was indeed identified by the Greeks with Hades as his brother was with Zeus, West warns his reader that he is not proposing that Heraclitus considered Zeus and Hades to be engaged in a cosmic war such as that of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu.[64] Khan's criticism of West's arguments has already been noted above, as have other concerns about comparativism in general. However, the importance of such methods should also be recognised, especially when conducted carefully in the context of cultures that might actually be influencing one another. Jong has noted that the Greeks were clearly interested in 'Oriental wisdom,' and that this sometimes indeed led to their adaptation of such foreign doctrines.[65] By recognising a Zoroastrian element in Heraclitus' 'obscure' philosophy, one is clearly able to make better sense of it, as in the case of Empedocles, described above, who is best understood within a broader magical context typically considered to be outside the domain of Presocratic philosophy.

Even if one is sceptical, it is clear that there is some possibility that Presocratic philosophers such as Heraclitus were influenced by Zoroastrianism. This places them within the larger context of Achaemenid religious influence (which can reasonably be taken to be both Zoroastrian and Magian) upon Greek religion. To establish greater certainty in regards to specific examples of Achaemenid influences on Greek religion further study of the Zoroastrian texts is required, for interpretations of these texts may vary and thereby affect any comparative study of both Zoroastrianism and Greek religious doctrines and philosophies.

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[60] Burkert, 113-114.
[61] West, 175-176.
[62] *Ibid.*, 184.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.*, 188-189.
[65] Jong, 38.

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Amber Irwin

Donatism: *The Makings of a Schism*

Diocletian's persecutions sparked many schismatic movements throughout the empire. One took the form of Donatism, which was particularly remarkable for its strength and perseverance. Despite repeated persecutions and the growing power of the Catholic Church, it remained a prominent establishment in North Africa from 311[1] until the Arab invasions in the seventh century.[2] Theological disputes surrounding the treatment of lapsed parishioners in North Africa had been quietly raging throughout the persecutions and two distinct Christian groups crystallized. The contested election of the bishop of Carthage in 311 marked the official schism, dividing the population of North Africa between the Donatist Church and the Catholic Churches. The intention of this paper is to examine the development of the Donatist schism through the analysis of extant Donatist martyr stories while asking whether the schism was the result of theological, political, or social development in North Africa.

American and English scholarship has tended to treat Donatism as an anti-Roman social movement.[3] This is in part due to W.H.C. Frend's *The Donatist Church* (1950), which continues to be the definitive publication for the study Donatism. Frend believed that Donatism was connected to the later prominence of Islam in North Africa and was primarily concerned with investigating this connection.[4] In Frend's study, Donatism was a reaction of the poor, rural Berber population to Romanization and the loss of their local identity.[5] The emphasis on social and political history has led scholars to focus on a violent periphery group called the Circumcellions,[6] but newer scholarship has challenges their prominence and role in the Donatist Church.[7] Michael Gaddis and James Alexander emphasize the parallel structures; refuting the class struggle model by demonstrating that the churches had similar social hierarchies and geographical distributions. Maureen Tilley claims that scholars have relied so heavily on Catholic sources that most secondary scholarship is inexcusably biased.[8] Catholic sources offer a plethora of information and even preserve parts of lost Donatist writings.[9] The bias in Optatus' and Augustine's writings is obvious but without a more neutral account it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. The Catholic sources also have an obvious bias towards the imperial administration since they profited from this alliance. Using Catholic apologists to write a history of the Donatist movement is counter-intuitive, but it is not the fortune of the ancient historian to be provided with unbiased, accurate sources.

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[1] Hereafter all dates C.E.

[2] W. H. C Frend, *The Donatist Church: a movement of protest in Roman North Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 2. The last written evidence is a letter from Pope Gregory to Emperor Maurice advocating stricter punishments for Donatists dating to 596.

[3] Hanns Brennecke, "Donatus." In *Brill's New Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth,Schneider, (Brill, 2008) http://www.brillline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e323190 (11 April 2008).

[4] Frend, 1.

[5] James Alexander, "Donatism," in *The Early Christian World*, ed., (London: Routledge, 2000), 954.

[6] Brennecke.

[7] Michael Gaddis, *There is no crime for those who have Christ: religious violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley: Unversity of California Press, 2005), 123.

[8] Maureen A. Tilley, *Donatist martyr stories: the Church in conflict in Roman North Africa*. Translated by Maureen A. Tilley. (Liverpool : Liverpool University Press, 1996), i.

[9] August. *Against Cresonius*; August. *Against the Parmeniani* 1.18-33.

Not all Donatist writings are lost; a handful of martyr stories have survived intact. These sources present obvious difficulties but they offer a new perspective on the Donatist movement. Martyr stories are a difficult genre to utilize in scholastic analyses: they are formulaic documents that were created for inspirational, motivational, and instructional purposes.[10] They do not focus on historical details; most martyr stories cannot be authenticated. The dates of composition, authorship and sources of information are usually unknown although there is evidence that court transactions were sometimes used.[11] Tilley has translated and complied the surviving documents in *Donatist Martyr Stories: the Church in Conflict in Roman North Africa* (1996). By analyzing a selection of these documents one examines the evolution of schism from the perspective of the Donatist congregation who commemorate the acts of its holy martyrs. The historical context, narrative and theological implications of *The Donatist Passion of Cyprian*, *The Acts of Saint Felix Bishop and Martyr The Acts of the Abitian Martyrs and The Passion of Maximian and Isaac* will be examined in order to deduce whether theological, political or social factors drove the crystallization of the schism.

The earliest martyr the Donatists claimed was the famous North African theologian Thasius Caecilianus Cyprianus (Cyprian). Cyprian became an important figure before the schism and consequently was commemorated by both the Catholic Church and Donatist Churches. There are three extant accounts of his martyrdom, *The Life and Passion of Cyprian* (Catholic), *The Acts of Saint Cyprian* (Catholic) and *The Donatist Passion of Cyprian*. The Donatist work is anonymous and dated to 260-314 AD using internal references to the earlier Catholic accounts.[12] Cyprian was martyred in 256/257 during the reign of the emperor Valerian who continued the persecutions of Decius[13] and Gallus.[14] These persecutions stopped in 260 when the Persians captured Valerian and his son Gallienus became sole emperor.[15]

The story opens with Cyprian being spirited to the proconsul Galerius Maximus. Cyprian appears before the proconsul and is briefly interrogated. The proconsul asks if he represents "these people with their impious attitude."[16] Cyprian confirms this allegation and Galerius declares that his involvement with Christianity makes him an enemy of Roman religion, Roman deities and the people. He is sentenced to death by the sword for being "perpetrator of the most wretched crime".[17] Cyprian is then taken to a crowded field and executed along with many others.[18] Roman religion and the Roman state were inseparable and, consequently, Cyprian is charged with a political and theological crime. His role in the Christian community negates the importance of the Roman gods and consequently his actions threaten to corrupt the fabric of Roman society. Cyprian is publicly executed so that his death may be an example to other enemies of the Roman people. The setting of his execution demonstrates that the state does not yet comprehend the subtleties of Christianity since public executions only helped to advertise newly crowned martyrs.[19] Cyprian's story is an excellent starting point but Cyprian's theological contributions to Donatism need to be examined to understand why he became such a revered martyr.

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[10] Tilley, xxii.

[11] August. *Against Cresconius*. 3.70.80.

[12] Tilley, 1.

[13] In 249 he introduced the infamous *libelli* which had to be obtained by making a sacrifice to the Roman gods. Examples survive.

[14] Eus. *Hist. Eccl*. 7. 11-12. This is not recorded by Zosimus or the *Historae Augustae*.

[15] Valerian's capture was a major blow to the Romans and caused instability throughout the empire. Gallienus mostly likely stopped the persecutions in an effort to redirect resources towards fighting off pretenders.

[16] Tilley, 4.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] *Ibid*, 5.

Cyprian was an avid supporter of rebaptism for lapsed parishioners and former heretics, which aligned the church in Africa with the puritan faction.[20] The Donatists took this policy one step further, refusing to readmit lapsed Christians but allowing Catholics to join to their church if rebaptized. Augustine dedicates an entire work to refuting this practice, *On Baptism, Against the Donatists.* His first object is to reclaim Cyprian and shame the Donatists for using his holy name to validate their ridiculous practices.[21] Augustine states that although Cyprian erred he advocated the practice of rebatpism for the unity of the church unlike the Donatists.[22] Cyprian's stance of rebaptism made him a source of legitimacy the Donatists could draw upon. Other prominent theologians at the time did not accept Cyprian's views but the existence of this debate demonstrates that during Valerian's reign groups in North Africa were forming divergent policies on the treatment of lapsed Christians.

The martyrdom of St. Felix marks the next step in the development of the Donatist movement. The events take place during the first year of Diocletian and Maximian's systematic and intense persecutions.[23] Frend asserts that the Christians and pagans in North Africa had peaceably coexisted since Gallienus' reign and that the edicts took the community by surprise;[24] this would explain the extreme reactions North Africa had to this persecution. A series of imperial edicts were issued in 303 that ordered scriptures to be burned, churches to be leveled, and all Christian persons of importance to be degraded, thrown in jail and forced to sacrifice.[25] The story contains chronological markers which date Felix's martyrdom to the *ides* of July 303. The author and date of composition are unknown along with many of the persons and locations mentioned. St. Felix's martyrdom illustrates the first reactions to the persecution that would divide Christians in North Africa.

The work begins by describing Diocletian's edict, which ordered local authorities throughout the empire to confiscate Christian scriptures.[26] Shortly after the edict is issued the curator Magnilianus calls a meeting of local church officials. He demands they hand over their sacred documents but Bishop Felix has already taken them away. Felix is taken to see the Magnilianus, he refuses to hand over his books, saying it would be better for him to be burned than the scriptures because it is better to obey God than any human authority.[27] The curator declares that the emperor's word must be obeyed but Felix counters, stating that the Lord's word takes priority. Felix maintains his position and is sent to the proconsul and imprisoned.[28] After a number of unsuccessful interrogations the proconsul orders him to be executed by the sword.[29]

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[19] Gaddis, 110.
[20] Frend, 126.
[21] Aug. *On Baptism, Against the Donatists.* 1.1
[22] *Ibid.*, 1.18.
[23] Tilley, 7.
[24] Frend, 4.
[25] Eus. *Hist. Eccl*. 2.4-5.
[26] Tilley, 8.
[27] *Ibid.*, 10.

By comparing the above narrative to St. Cyprian's account it is clear that tension was arising between God's authority and the emperor's. Cyprian is executed because his activities threaten the fabric of Roman society, but Felix's refusal to hand over his scriptures is punished because he refuses to preference the emperor's command over God's. In the third and fourth centuries the emperor became an increasingly elevated figure; on coins Diocletian is depicted wearing a radiate crown symbolizing his divinity[30] and called *Dominus Noster* (Our Lord).[31] The increasing divinity of the emperor blurred the line between divine and secular authority and so Felix's crime is both theological and political from the state's perspective. The Christians hierarchy, which places God above the emperor, is unambiguously articulated by the martyr and his commitment to upholding God's word brings about his execution.

The edict mentioned is not preserved but it is discussed in both Eusebius'[32] and Lactanius' accounts.[33] Christians who relinquished scriptures were deemed *traditores*[34] by their rigorist counterparts.[35] Donatists has a very 'physical' approach to religion; the scriptures were not texts but the actual word of the Lord. *Traditores* were banned from Donatist congregations because this action polluted their bodies and contact with them was considered undesirable. If a priest was guilty of this crime all his sacraments were considered null because in his polluted state he could not properly ordain or baptize his fellow Christians.[36] Rebaptizing Catholics was necessary, in the Donatists' eyes, because the Catholic parishioners had never been properly baptized. Augustine argues against this 'physicalist' approach in *On Baptism* and repeatedly states that the person performing the sacrament is unimportant because no evil can desecrate God's works.[37] This difference in worldviews separated the churches and its application to Catholic priests caused major controversies.

The Acts of the Abitian Martyrs was a favourite piece of literature among the Donatists because it demonized two prominent Catholic figures, Bishop Mensurius and his deacon Caecilian.[38] It is set shortly after *The Acts of Saint Felix* in 304 at the time when the subsequent edicts that included leveling basilicas and prohibiting assemblies, as well as burning scriptures, had been issued.[39] The author is anonymous but its date of composition is estimated to be 311/312 because of the explicit demonization of Mensurius and Caecilian.[40] The persecutions continued to escalate after the initial edicts were issued as the emperors ensured their orders were reinforced; officials were ordered to diligently round up people of every age and rank and make them sacrifice.[41] The divide between the churches began to crystallize as the number of martyrs and apostates increased. Optatus records that during this persecution every temple was bursting with Christians performing sacrilegious acts.[42]

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[28] *Ibid*.
[29] Tilley, 11.
[30] *Ibid*., 69.
[31] RIC 647. A radiate or diadem combined with D N is unusual but they are common in isolation. It seems that these explicit statements of power were too controversial to be paired often.
[32] Eus. *Hist. Eccl*. 8.2.4-5.
[33] Lactant. *De morts. pers*. 12.13, 15.
[34] From the Latin *tradere* meaning "to hand over."
[35] Tilley, ix.
[36] Frend, 19.
[37] August. *On Baptism*. 4.12.
[38] Tilley, 26.
[39] *Ibid*., 28.
[40] Tilley, 25.

The introduction explicitly states that this work was written to commemorate the sacrifices of the martyrs and to serve as an example for others. These stories were recorded, using public records, to enable faithful Christians to hold fast to the true catholic[43] Church.[44]. A congregation is found celebrating mass by magistrates who take them the city's forum and put them in chains. They were marched to Carthage and brought before the proconsul who interrogates them under torture. [45] The faithful Christians praise God while their limbs are being stretched on the rack and metal claws gouge their sides. The proconsul challenges their actions saying they have defied the law of the emperor and each martyr responds saying that God's law is supreme. The work goes on condone separating the holy from the unholy, declaring that the true 'Catholic' church is the Church of the Martyrs.[46] The martyrs are thrown in prison and their brethren try to bring them food and water, but Mensurius stations Caecilian outside the doors. He whips the altruistic Christians, ensuring they cannot help the prisoners. From the bowels of the prison the cries of the martyrs are heard, forbidding the faithful to mix with polluted traitors. The narrator finishes by detailing the devil's master-plan to defeat Christianity by using the unholy to form a false church through which he can persecute true Christians.[47]

The Christians are punished for a specific act banned by the emperor's treaty; assembly. The same tension arises in Felix's story between the authority of the emperors and the authority of God. The martyrs refused to follow the emperor's commands committing a crime against the state. However, this time the secular authority is not a representative of the state but the mouthpiece of the devil. The concept that the devil is working through the secular authorities and the *traditores* to squash the true Catholic Church is prevalent throughout the work. It is not any longer the Lord's word against the emperor's, but the soldiers of God against the forces of Satan. This escalation in language shows the rift between the Donatists and the state widening. The emperor is no longer an authority subordinate to God; he is the agent of the devil. The tone and language are far more hostile and militant than in previous stories. The martyrs are the "soldiers of God" who are fighting in a "holy war" against the devil.[48] The attitudes of the martyrs are far more enthusiastic than in previous accounts. They yearn for martyrdom, singing hymns as they are marched to Carthage in the chains "they so longed for."[49] The proconsul's choice of private torture over public execution may have been a reaction to the prominence of martyrdom.

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[41] Lactant. *De morts. Pers*. 9.

[42] Optatus. *Against the Donatists.* 3.8.

[43] The term Catholic refers to the "universal" church, it is not a name in this context.

[44] Tilley, 47.

[45] *Ibid.*, 30.

[46] Tilley, 44.

[47] *Ibid.*, 28.

[48] Tilley, 27-28.

[49] *Ibid.*, 30.

The episode involving Mensurius and Caecilian is directly related to the official schism in 311/312. While Caecilian's actions are portrayed as cruel, they may actually have been a practical maneuver. Eusebius records that anyone who brought food to an incarcerated person would suffer the same fate.[50] If this law was in practice in North Africa, Caecillian could be seen as preventing the suffering his fellow Christians. The final section of this work is preceded by a discussion of the cries of the martyrs, instructing the audience to separate themselves from the impious. The conclusion advocates for a schism, it claims that the church cannot be separated into parts but the devil has devised "a council of the shipwrecked" with which to trick the innocent.[51] The story carries an explicit message - there is only one true church; this church is made of pure, pious Christians who would rather perish than transgress God's law. The demonization the of secular authorities and other Christian groups shows that the Donatists are beginning to break away from both entities.

Mensurious is deemed a *traditor* in the story,[52] and his transgressions made his sacraments, including Caecilian's ordination, void. In 311, after Mensurius' death, Caecilian was immediately proclaimed Bishop of Carthage, but because he was ordained by a *traditor* he was seen as an unfit candidate.[53] A separate group proclaimed Majorinus the Bishop of Carthage[54] and two groups began to congregate around either candidate. The modern scholar Alexander cites personal rivalry and ecclesiastical ambition as the initial causes of the schism. These elements are apparent in the debate over Caecilian's election and whether it followed the proper protocol.[55] In 312 a synod of seventy bishops was held in Carthage; Caecilian was deposed and Majorinus' position was confirmed.[56] The two parties wished to resolve the issue and asked Constantine to intervene. The emperor arranged for a panel of bishops to arbitrate and they ultimately sided with Caecilian.[57] The Donatists repealed the decision and Constantine called a synod at Arles in 314, which further confirmed Caecilian's position.[58] The Donatists refused to accept this decision and consequently two churches formed in North Africa; the schism was official. Constantine tried to enforce unity in 321 but a counter movement, lead by Majorinus' successor Donatus, ensured grudging tolerance.[59]

The Passion of Maximian and Isaac is the final document that will be analyzed. It records events from the second Donatist persecution from 346-348 after the death of Caecillian. The story is attributed to Bishop Macrobius and its composition is believed predate the end of the persecutions in

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[50] Eus. *Hist. Eccl*. 10.8.11 Eusebius attributes this law to Licinius whose reign (308-324) post-dates this incident and the end of the persecutions in North Africa (305). It is listed as one of the laws that Constantine later retracts. Socrates in his *Ecclesiatical Histories* records that Licinius continued to persecute Christians in the regions he was responsible for (Socrates. *Hist. Eccl*.1.3) and Eusebius also demonizes him in HE but his name appears on the Edict of Milan in 313. Attributing these laws and persecutions to him may have been more for the glorification of Constantine than historicity.

[51] Tilley, 47-48.

[52] *Ibid.*, 45.

[53] Frend, 18.

[54] Alexander, 953.

[55] *Ibid.*, 962.

[56] Brennecke.

[57] Eus. *Hist. Eccl*. 10.5.18.

[58] Brennecke.

[59] Alexander, 952.

348.[60] After Caecilian's death Donatus advocated that the emperor Constans recognize the Donatist church as the true Catholic Church in North Africa. Constans became emperor after his father's death in 337 along with his two brothers. The emperor responded by launching a state sponsored effort to eliminate the Donatists.[61] Two imperial notaries, Marcian and Paul, were sent to Africa in 347 to mend the schism by persecuting Donatists and giving out alms.[62] Africa was one of his assigned territories, but he and Constantine II fought over the notoriously rich area of Carthage.[63] This political tension may have been what motivated Constans to stamp out the schism in North Africa; if the Donatists allied themselves with his brother controlling the territory would have been impossible.

The introduction depicts an enemy awaiting the chance to strike but realizing that during his remission the 'true' church had only grown stronger.[64] The soldiers of God were now ready to face another persecution, this time fighting not against Roman emperors or gods but 'unity', despite the threats of torture or perpetual banishment.[65] Maximian enters the town square and tears the newly posted imperial edict apart. He is immediately seized, taken to the proconsul, and tortured.[66] He is thrown into prison to await his fate while Isaac is brought into the building with a group of Donatists. Isaac begins to shout, "Come, traitors, recover your insane 'unity'."[67] He is then violently tortured and thrown into prison where he falls into a deep, dream-ridden sleep.[68] In his dream he fights the assistants of the emperor in a long, but eventually victorious, battle. The emperor urges him to follow the 'sacrilegious' order or he will torture Isaac and pluck out his eyes. Isaac responds by assaulting the emperor and emptying the own ruler's eye socket.[69] Isaac dies that night and the next day the faithful go to collect his body but the proconsul has arranged for all bodies in the prison, dead or alive, to be thrown into the sea.[70] Isaac and his fellow prisoners are drowned, but the sea washes their weighted bodies onto the shore. The story ends by urgently compelling its audience to follow these examples, assuring them that the ranks of the martyrs await them.

Isaac and Maximian are Donatists martyrs who die in defense of their faith while flouting the authority of both the state and Catholic Church. The theological divide is being 'mended' by secular authorities demonstrating just how intertwined the Catholic Church and Roman state had become. Their superficial crimes are obvious; Maximian tears the edict apart and Isaac mocks the edict's command, however the proconsul does not actually level any accusations at the martyrs, in fact the story is almost completely void of the characteristic, formulaic dialogue. Their crimes are not punished because they corrupt the fabric of society or refute the emperor's word but because they threaten the 'unity'. This was a political and theological crime because of the joint interest of the persecuting bodies, but to the Donatists it was a theological affront. This persecution was particularly beneficial to the Catholic Church as it allowed them to take control of worship spaces and aggressively compete for members.[71] Condoning the use of force against fellow Christians may seem unusual but Augustine argues that is it often necessary to take painful measures to cure a wound.[72] The use of torture as simply punishment is unusual as it demonstrates that these measures were not taken to persuade Donatists to denounce their faith. The actual tactics of persecution have changed and it appears that 'mending' the schism does not mean joining the churches but eliminating the radical one. However, the authorities are hesitant fuel the 'Church the Martyrs' as neither martyr is publicly executed and both die away from the public eye. The proconsul even takes steps to ensure that their bodes cannot be used for veneration by throwing them in the ocean. The ending urging the audience to sacrifice themselves for God is almost alarming. The other accounts are explicit that the martyrs should act as examples but the urgency and zeal of this story is unusual, it may have been composed to motivate Donatists to rise up against their persecutors and show the authorities that they were the one true church. This story demonstrates how far the schism has evolved since Diocletian's persecutions, becoming a completely separate religious group so distinct that the authorities are able to seek them out for punishment.

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[60] Tilley, 61.
[61] Alexander, 952.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] Zos. 2.6.
[64] Tilley, 64.
[65] *Ibid.*, 65.
[66] *Ibid.*, 67.
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] *Ibid.*, 68.
[69] *Ibid.*, 69.
[70] *Ibid*, 71.

Donatist martyr stories show the development of this theological movement from its first inklings during Valerian's reign to its fight against the Catholic Church and State under Constans. They depict Donatism as a movement that developed from early theological debates and grew as two groups developed conflicting theological standards and worldviews. Contrary to modern scholarship, there is no evidence of economic inequality or a divide between town and country. The persecutors are demonized for being rich, urban Romans who seek to persecute the lowly Berber farmers. There is, in fact, no racial, economic or territorial discrimination between any of the characters. The opponents of the Donatist are instead the forces of evil, the state and later the Catholic Church. The political aspects of the movement arose because of the difficulty in reconciling the authority of God, the church and the state. The Lord's supremacy over the emperor is articulated during Diocletian's persecutions but by the time of Constans this does not seem to be the greater issue. The schism itself becomes the major concern after Constantine declares the authority of God supreme. These stories suggest that Donatism was a religious schism that separated the population of North Africa along theological and political lines and did focus on social, economic or ethnic issues.

The use of alternative and difficult sources to reexamine scholarly debates is essential to better understanding ancient history. History is written by the winners but luckily sometimes the works of their opponents' surface. These documents, with their contrasting view points and evidence, need to be incorporated into the existing narrative to provide a fuller picture of a past we can only hope to glimpse.

Amber Irwin

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[71] Gaddis, 119.

[72] August. *On Baptism, Against the Donatists*. 1.7.

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Solomon Klein

Aqueducts and *Euergetism* in the Roman Republic

The role of public benefaction, known in scholarly literature as *euergetism* (from the Greek for "good deeds"), has long been recognised as being of utmost importance in the relationship between the aristocratic and lower castes of Roman society. While the term originally referred to the practices of Hellenistic monarchs and aristocrats in the Greek world, the custom was quickly identified as being common to many complex societies, both ancient and modern. Most scholarly investigations of *euergetism* in Roman history have dealt with the Imperial period because the amount of information regarding this period is much larger compared to earlier periods. However, *euergetism* also played an important role in the shaping of the Roman Republic, which was characterised by the concentration of power in the hands of a small group of individuals, culminating in the seizure of power by Julius Caesar in 49 BCE. *Euergetism* in the Late Republic had a wide range of forms, one of which was the construction of public buildings for the good of the community as a whole.

Modern scholarship on the topic of Republican *euergetism* tends to divide public works into two distinct categories: "monumental" and "practical" buildings. "Practical" buildings are those that catered to everyday life, such as granaries, aqueducts, roads, etc. "Monuments," then, are defined as the opposite of practical buildings: buildings which did not play such practical roles. These were often religious buildings, structures meant to commemorate a specific person or family, or buildings designed for the beautification of the city - the common link being that neither religious nor beautification buildings fulfilled any corporeal need. Both forms of public works are acknowledged as important in the context of aristocratic competition, yet there is little acknowledgment of the relationship between the two types. Instead, the forms are viewed as dichotomous. They are distinct categories, and practical buildings are only very rarely interpreted as having monumental significance as well. What are interpreted today as purely functional, practical buildings, however, often serve monumental purposes as well.

The hydraulic systems of ancient Rome, for example, served an obvious practical purpose: to provide clean water for the city's use. The structures themselves, however, also served monumental purposes. The clearest example of such practical-monumental public buildings is the aqueduct - the most well known and prominent of ancient Roman hydraulic technologies. Such structures obviously fulfilled functional roles, providing clean water for drinking and bathing, water for irrigation, and in some cases, sewage disposal for the cities for which they were built. The process through which this clean water was provided, including the construction of the aqueducts and the distribution of the water itself, served important monumental roles for those aristocrats who were involved in their construction. Thus, the euergetistic construction of hydraulic technologies by Roman aristocrats in the Republican period illustrates how so-called practical structures, while contributing prestige to their constructors by virtue of their functional purpose, also did so by overlapping with the traits of purely monumental euergetistic structures.

The problem of practicality versus monumentality in Republican *euergetism* is prominent in the study of ancient water management. In an early work on Roman aqueducts, William Smith explains that the Romans built aqueducts instead of more efficient hydraulic systems such as pipes because of "their want of the materials, and the manufacturing skill, to make pipes of a sufficient size" and that the "whole matter is a question of the balance of advantages," advantages, which lie in mechanical principles rather than ideological considerations.[1] Years later, E. M. Winslow characterised the Aqua Appia, the first aqueduct in Rome, as "a simple thing, made for a simple purpose" despite the extreme language the ancient sources use to describe it.[2] Furthermore, he explains that "the earlier aqueducts, built under the Republic […] were strictly utilitarian affairs" with no socio-cultural purpose, in contrast to the aqueducts of the Imperial period which, "were grand show-pieces as well as utilities, products of an age that glorified conspicuous consumption in the erection of great baths, artificial lakes, and showy fountains."[3] He even titles his third chapter "Marcia, Gift of the Gods," but is blind to the possibility that the aqueduct had deeper meaning than a new supply of water. In a recent collection of papers on water use in Roman cities, Ann Olga Koloski Ostrow gives the following quotation in her introduction: "[Water is] a creed with its priests (doctors, architects, engineers), its temples and altars (aqueducts, baths…) and its congregations."[4] This quotation comes close to acknowledging the monumental role of water, but then retreats by couching it in very functional terms. Though water did indeed have priests, temples, altars, and congregations in a literally religious sense, these things are redefined as the very practical doctors, construction experts, and technologies that superficially define them. Rather than acknowledging the monumentality of hydraulic technologies, these authors have chosen to interpret them as purely functional endeavours.

Water was extremely important in Roman society, not least because it is a necessity for life, but also because of its importance in Roman ritual and custom.[5] Water held a place of reverence in Roman culture and religion from the Monarchical period through the Imperial period, which makes it even stranger that hydraulic technology has been relegated to the practical side of *euergetism*.[6] Any number of deities, from the obvious Neptune, ruler of seas and fresh water, to the less obvious Venus, Salacia, Carmenta, and others, had ceremonies devoted to them that centred on water.[7] All natural springs were by definition sacred, and votive offerings can be found nearly everywhere at sites where such springs existed in the ancient period.[8] Inscriptions have been recovered dedicating religious buildings and sacred spots to Neptune,[9] the water nymphs,[10] and others. Aristocrats who paid for the beautification or exploitation of sources of water made sure that those using the water were aware of their generosity in making the sources of water available for public use.

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[1] William Smith. "Aquaeductus," originally published in *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1875), 109.

[2] E. M. Winslow, *A Libation to the Gods: The Story of the Roman Aqueducts* (London, 1963), 4.

[3] *Ibid*., 5.

[4] Jean-Pierre Goubert, as quoted in Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow, "Water as a Symbol of Wealth? An Overview of the Roman Evidence," in *Water Use and Hydraulics in the Roman City* (Boston, 2001), 1.

[5] Ingrid Edlund-Berry, "Hot, cold, or smelly: the power of sacred water in Roman religion, 400-100 BCE," in *Religion in Republican Italy* (New York, 2006), 162-180.

[6] Frontin. *Aq*. 1.4

[7] Edlund-Berry, 164-165

[8] *Ibid*., 163-165.

[9] CIL I^2.2504.

[10] For example, CIL I^2.1624.

The earliest example of the construction of large-scale hydraulics in Rome is the Cloaca Maxima, built sometime in the sixth century BCE. The introduction of the cloaca technology (though not the construction of the Cloaca Maxima itself), a means of moving water to drain what would later become the Campus Martius,[11] is alternately credited to Tarquinius Priscus[12] and Tarquinius Superbus,[13] two of the semi-legendary kings of the Roman Monarchical period. Regardless of who introduced the technology, it was considered by ancient authors to be one of the most important achievements of human civilisation.[14] Tarquinius Superbus built the Cloaca Maxima and Livy describes it, along with the Circus Maximus, as "two works [whose magnificence] could hardly be equalled by anything in the present day."[15]

The Cloaca Maxima is today thought of as having been the "sewer" of Rome, which it had certainly become by the later periods of Roman history. The characterization of the structure as a sewer, however, carries with it the unavoidable biases of modern scholarship. To the modern reader, a sewer is hardly a glorious place, and certainly not one with which an aristocrat would like to have his name associated. The Cloaca Maxima, however, was not always merely a sewer, nor associated with waste water and disposal. In its original incarnation, the structure had a very different appearance. John N. N. Hopkins has suggested that it began as an open-air canal, which carried water through what would later become the Forum Romanum.[16] However, his characterisation of the original Cloaca Maxima seems somewhat far-fetched and over-enthusiastic considering the available evidence. Nevertheless, he is correct in that before the intense building programmes of later Roman history (especially the Augustan building programme of the early Imperial period), the Cloaca would have been a very different structure than what is described in the extant sources. It is likely that the original Cloaca Maxima was, in fact, above ground and functioned more as a primitive non-raised aqueduct system to bring water from the streams surrounding Rome into the city itself.[17] Certainly, Rome at the time of the Cloaca's formation would have been much smaller and less densely constructed than at the time of Livy's writing. Therefore, it is unlikely that the original Cloaca would have been underground, as there would have been no need for it to be built in this way.

The Cloaca Maxima, then, serves as an early example of the prestige associated with the construction of hydraulic structures. Regardless of the form of the Cloaca in its earliest inception or even in the period of the Roman Republic, it is certain that it was *remembered* as a marvellous feat of engineering and a symbol of the might of the Roman people despite its supposedly Etruscan origin.[18] Although the Cloaca Maxima was primarily a practical construction, it contributed to the monumental significance of hydraulic structures in two ways. First, its antiquity and association with the very ancient high aristocracy meant that later Romans could emulate the kings through the construction of hydraulic structures; this emulation of ancient customs and heroes was an important aspect of Roman aristocratic culture. Second, it was a symbol of the greatness of Roman civilisation, as opposed to the "lesser" peoples that surrounded the city, making the Cloaca Maxima monumental as well as practical even in the period of its own construction.

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[11] Liv. *Epon.* 1.38.

[12] Plin. (E) *HN* 36.105

[13] Liv. *Epon.* 1.56.

[14] Plin. (E) *HN* 36.105; See also Strabo 5.3., Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.67.

[15] Liv. *Epon.* 1.56.

[16] John N. N. Hopkins, "The Cloaca Maxima and the Monumental Manipulations of Water in Archaic Rome," *The Waters of Rome* 4 (2007): 1-3.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*, 1.

The most prominent of Roman hydraulic technologies is, of course, the aqueduct. Four aqueducts are known to have been built in the Republican period prior to the reign of Julius Caesar: the Aqua Appia, Anio Vetus, Aqua Marcia, and Aqua Tepula. The Aqua Appia was the first proper aqueduct in Rome, built in 312 BCE by the consul Appius Claudius, and it was lavished with praise by later authors. For example, Pliny gushes:

> But if any one [sic] will carefully calculate the quantity of the public supply of water [to Rome], […] the arches built, the mountains perforated, the valleys levelled; he will confess that there never was any thing more wonderful [than the Aqua Appia] in the whole world.[19]

The aqueduct underwent numerous repairs (and presumably expansions as well) after its original construction, and therefore, like the Cloaca Maxima, the Aqua Appia that Pliny describes may have been drastically different from that constructed by Appius Claudius.[20] Nonetheless, the magnificence of the structure was felt to justify the superiority of Rome over other peoples, thereby conferring upon Appius Claudius monumental prestige above and beyond the practical prestige he derived from supplying the city with water. Furthermore, the Aqua Appia is mentioned alongside military and political achievements in Appius Claudius' funerary inscription, indicating that it was associated with the non-practical prestige derived from those sorts of achievements even at the time it was built.[21]

The remaining three Republican aqueducts follow patterns similar to the Aqua Appia (though less so for the Aqua Tepula). The Anio Vetus was constructed by Manius Curius Dentatus, a war hero who celebrated triumphs for his conquest of the Samnites and his defeat of Pyrrhus during his censorship in 272 BCE. The Aqua Marcia was built by Quintus Marcius Rex in 144-140 BCE, which had been commissioned by the Senate to repair both the Aqua Appia and the Anio Vetus as well as "to bring into the City other waters so far as he could."[22] This was apparently a massive undertaking, costing the enormous sum of 180,000,000 sesterces.[23] The Aqua Tepula was apparently much more modest, having been built by the censors Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Lucius Cassius Longinus in 125 BCE. Its description manages to avoid much of the hyperbolic language that surrounds the other three aqueducts, most likely due to the fact that it was a less impressive 18 km in length, and its waters, according to Frontinus, had to be mixed with water from other lines in order to be palatable.[24]

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[19] Plin. (E) *HN* 36.123.
[20] Frontin. *Aq*. 1.9, 1.125.
[21] CIL XI.1827.
[22] Frontin. *Aq*. 1.7.
[23] *Ibid*.
[24] Frontin. *Aq*. 1.19.

Thus, despite their practical function, aqueduct construction was not, as might be expected, relegated to lesser officials. The construction of the aqueducts, especially the first three, were either paid for or overseen by a top-level Roman magistrate: consul, quaestor, or censor. From this one can infer that involvement with aqueducts bestowed prestige on their builders since politicians of such powerful stature would not be bothered with trifling projects, and would have assigned the tasks to lower officials. The monumentality of this prestige, as opposed to its practicality, can be seen in the consistent couching of these aqueducts in similarly hyperbolic terms by later authors, as they did for the Cloaca Maxima. Pliny describes the Aqua Appia as the most wonderful thing in the world, and the Aqua Marcia's waters were thought to be the purest, cleanest, and healthiest waters available to Romans.[25] The extreme cost associated with the latter also lends the project an air of monumentality. The non-literary records of these structures - the funerary inscription of Appius Claudius being a major example - show that aqueducts functioned euergetistically as well.

The prestige derived from the building of these aqueducts was not only enjoyed in Rome itself, but also where these structures led. Interestingly, aqueducts, which are commonly thought of as feeding only Rome, likely also supplied water to surrounding towns. Frontinus states that the Anio Vetus had a branch that supplied water to the Tiburtine region, through which the aqueduct was built.[26] As well, a recent study has found archaeological evidence indicating that three later aqueducts, including the Republican Aqua Marcia, were likely built partially to meet the needs of that region as well.[27] Inscriptions from the city of Tibur indicate that it had its own water supply system that likely predated the Aqua Marcia.[28] The fact that the Aqua Marcia was used by the Tiburtines indicates that their existing water supply was insufficient in meeting their needs, or at least that a greater supply of water would be 'helpful.' Perhaps the path of the aqueduct through the countryside would have made it easy to use the water to supplement irrigation on Tiburtine farms. Thus, practical prestige for both Q. Marcius Rex himself and the Romans in general was derived from this aqueduct by fulfilling the practical hydraulic needs of the Tiburtine region.

Beyond the practical prestige of the aqueduct, two points illustrate that the structure also bestowed monumental prestige. First, the aqueduct supplemented the inadequate pre-existing Tiburtine hydraulic system, making the water carried by it a symbol of the greatness of Roman civilisation over that of the Tiburtines, as well as of Roman dominance in the region. The Tiburtines had not yet been granted Roman citizenship in 140 BCE when the aqueduct was completed, but that privilege was granted fifty years later in 90 BCE. In fact, the prosperity brought to the region by the aqueduct may have been a factor in the Tiburtines' decision to become full Roman citizens. Second, the aqueduct itself was a massive and imposing structure, and must have therefore been an omnipresent reminder of Roman greatness and strength. For these reasons, the monumental prestige enjoyed by the aristocrat Q. Marcius Rex from the construction of the Aqua Marcia extended beyond the borders of the city of Rome. It can be plausibly inferred that the other aqueducts served similar purposes for the regions through which they coursed.

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[25] Plin. (E) *HN* 36.41.

[26] Harry B. Evans, "In Tiburtium usum: Special Arrangements in the Roman Water System (Frontinus, Aq. 6.5)" *American Journal of Archaeology* 97 no. 3 (1993): 447-448.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Ibid*., 448-449.

The aqueducts were not solely meant to be impressive structures. Their waters eventually reached Rome, and the prestige of having been associated with the construction of an aqueduct grew when urban Romans used the water for their own purposes. Water was differentially distributed in Republican Rome based on social standing and wealth, though less so than it would be during the Empire. The ultra-aristocracy controlled the distribution of water to private homes during the Republic for both private use and public events.[29] The vast majority of water was meant for public consumption. Romans without private access to water were obligated to draw water from public sources, often aqueduct-fed fountains. Fistula stamps reminded them of who had brought the water they consumed to Rome, reinforcing among the lower classes the practical prestige that aristocrats derived from hydraulic technology.[30] All Romans, therefore, were in some way supplied with water by the aqueducts, illustrating the practical purpose of their construction.

Once the water reached Rome, however, the use of water by the ultra-aristocracy was often monumental rather than practical. In a city where private running water was a rarity, the ability of very rich Romans to drink, bathe, and dispose of waste matter within the comfort of their own homes would clearly have set them apart from the lower classes of Roman society. Thus, controlling private water bestowed prestige upon those able to do so, but this prestige was practical in form. It would not take long, however, for aristocrats to begin to use their private water supply in a conspicuous manner, such as for irrigation of their private gardens, which played important roles in the public image of Roman aristocrats.[31] A more direct use of water took the form of fountains and, later *nymphaea* shrines, consecrated to the water nymphs that were often made to look like natural springs. Though the evidence for *nymphaea* in Republican Rome is scant, a great number are known from Pompeii, only a century or so later. It can therefore be inferred that the *nymphaeum*, or the idea of a large fountain made to look like a natural water source, was present in the aristocratic mind at least by the Late Republican period.

In any case, the construction of personal fountains as well as *nymphaea* represents the use of private water for monumental purposes. Both were, of course, attractive spectacles, and would have been impressive from a purely aesthetic standpoint, advertising the aristocrat's ability to spend his wealth on beautifying the city. Perhaps in a more subtle way, fountains and *nymhpaea* were symbols of not only the aristocrat's control of the aqueduct water, but of water in general. The *nymphaeum* was purposely constructed to resemble natural springs, which were considered sacred by nature. The *nymphaeum* then was, artistically speaking, a representation of a source of water not accessible to urban dwellers, who took their water from the aqueducts or from wells, rainwater, and other sources not connected to the main hydraulic system. The water in an aristocrat's private *nymphaeum* therefore represented a completely different type of water than that taken from the public works, more akin to spring water than aqueduct water. Therefore, among city dwellers, the ultra-aristocracy had exclusive access to spring water, which held special significance among Romans. Frontinus explained that spring waters were greatly esteemed and “observed with veneration. They are believed to bring healing to the sick.”[32] Spring water was more desirable than water in the public domain, a status probably derived both from folklore surrounding springs and from the fact that it was so inaccessible to most Romans. Thus, the use of aqueduct water to create artificial structures that represented natural springs was another way in which the Roman aqueduct in the Republic was used to create monumental prestige.

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[29] Gerda de Kleijn, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: City Area, Water, and Population* (Ann Arbor, 2001), 77-82.

[30] *Ibid*., 116-120.

[31] Barbara A. Kellum, "The Construction of Landscape in Augustan Rome: The Garden Room at the Villa ad Gallinas," *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), 211.

[32] Frontin. *Aq*. 1.4.

The dichotomy created in the study of *euergetism* in Republican Rome between practical and monumental prestige is, like so many others in ancient history, a false one. Structures that appear purely practical and utilitarian on the surface, such as the aqueducts of Republican Rome, rarely are so. Though the impetus for building most aqueducts was the need for water in the city, after the decision was made by the Senate to construct it, the task became a means for the aristocrat in charge to glorify himself. This glorification was achieved in several ways, including, but not limited to, the practical supply of water. The massive scale of the Republican aqueducts, in addition to the fact that supervision of their construction fell to only very high magistrates, reveals that the construction of an aqueduct was an opportunity to monumentalise one’s deeds. Furthermore, the scale of the projects demonstrated the might and civilization of the Roman people to other Italian cities, an important process in the agenda of the Republican aristocracy. Republican ultra-aristocrats were also capable of utilizing the water, to which they alone were granted private access, and further increased their monumental prestige in the form of the elaborate fountains and *nymphaea,* which they constructed on their land. Thus, though the water supply of Rome primarily fulfilled the basic needs for drinking, bathing, cooking, and so forth among the Roman populace, the impact of water on the sociological structure of Rome was much more profound than merely satisfying the city’s physical wants.

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Brahm Kleinman

The Crisis at Antioch Under Julian the Apostate

Ammianus Marcellinus writes that, upon becoming sole Augustus in 361 C.E., Julian declared "that the temples should be opened, sacrifices brought to their altars, and the worship of the old gods restored," since Julian's Christian predecessor Constantius had outlawed these practices.[1] This attempt to revitalize traditional Roman religion, however, ended with Julian's death in 363. Indeed, some scholars, like G.W. Bowersock, argue that Julian's reforms were doomed to failure. Bowersock states that both Christians and non-Christians were either unenthusiastic or blatantly disapproving of Julian's reforms, and that few regretted his death.[2] In this context, the most cited example of opposition to Julian's reforms is that of the city of Antioch, where he stayed from July 362 to March 363 before beginning his campaign against Persia. Many Antiochenes expressed dissatisfaction with the emperor, openly mocked him, and severely angered him. Traditionally, the popularity of Christianity in the city has been seen as the cause of the conflict at Antioch, and Scott Bradbury further argues that the general apathy of the eastern Roman Empire to Julian's religious revival and his use of sacrificial rituals exacerbated the crisis.[3] Although some religious factors did contribute to the conflict, the extreme opposition to Julian at Antioch can be better said to have broken out due to a number of ad hoc tensions, such as Julian's mishandling of an economic crisis, his unpopular attempts to regulate public morality, and the abrasive and impatient way in which Julian applied his religious policies.

The sources for Julian's stay at Antioch are extensive, but not always trustworthy. The only surviving narrative account of Julian's reign is that of Ammianus Marcellinus, who treats the Antiochene episode briefly, but who observed the events he describes. Ammianus has a reputation as a fair and accurate historian.[4] However, as E.A. Thompson argues, it is likely that Ammianus was born into a family of Antiochene municipal senators and therefore his analysis of Julian's policies at Antioch is biased, particularly with reference to those policies which were beneficial to the populace at the expense of Antioch's senate.[5] Ammianus must be read in light of other contemporary sources, then, such as the works of the sophist Libanius and of Julian himself. Libanius was Julian's closest correspondent in Antioch and sympathised with many of Julian's reforms. His orations and letters to Julian provide a contemporary Antiochene perspective on Julian's policies that counters that of Ammianus. Even if he is biased towards publicly praising Julian,[6] he still does subtly criticize the emperor in his orations after Julian's departure and, by appealing to his fellow citizens, analyzes the main elements of the conflict. Finally, the chief source for Julian's stay at Antioch is his own satirical essay, titled the *Misopogon* ("*The Beard Haters*"). The letters of Julian further comment on the conflict or show his general intentions. In the *Misopogon*, Julian criticizes the citizens of Antioch and the events of his stay in detail, and satirizes their criticisms of him. However, Julian's comments are self-righteous, and, towards its end, the *Misopogon* degenerates into an angry rant, suggesting that its claims should be viewed with some scepticism.

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[1] Amm. Marc. 22.5.

[2] G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978), 118-119.

[3] Scott Bradbury, "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice," *Phoenix* 49 (1995): 331-332.

[4] E.A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1947), 2.

[5] Thompson, 2, 81.

[6] For example, Ammianus Marcellinus composed a funeral panegyric to Julian.

The opposition which arose to Julian at Antioch was chiefly ad hoc; neither the emperor nor the populace generally intended for there to be conflict. Ammianus notes that Julian was eager to come to Antioch, and Julian himself writes that he had praised Antioch and had hoped to benefit the city, as he had before his arrival by, for example, cancelling some of the city's taxes due to a drought.[7] Indeed, G.W. Bowersock argues that Julian had intended to make Antioch an imperial capitol,[8] and it at least seems certain that Julian particularly wanted his religious reforms to succeed in Antioch in order to use it as an example for other cities to follow.[9] It is also clear that the Antiochenes had not intended to enter into conflict with the emperor. Libanius states that the senators of Antioch had gone to Constantinople to meet Julian as soon as he became Augustus, and Ammianus writes that upon his arrival into the city, Julian was "received by the worshipping populace like a god."[10] This is supported by Julian, who, despite his attempts to characterize the Antiochenes as rebellious from the beginning of his reign, acknowledges that the lower orders of Antioch appealed to him for help against the price gauging aristocracy.[11] The majority of the Antiochenes therefore had not necessarily rejected Julian's policies when he arrived at the city, and the causes of the conflict between the two must be found in events occurring after his arrival.

The conflict partially arose because Julian aggravated existing economic problems at Antioch. Ammianus vaguely alludes to this when he criticizes Julian for interfering in the pricing of commodities, allegedly in order to gain the support of lower orders.[12] However, it was not Julian's interference that caused problems, but rather the naïve way in which he did so.[13] When he arrived at Antioch, the poorer citizens appealed to him for help, crying that everything was plentiful but expensive.[14] Julian therefore imported grain from outside the city and attempted to regulate its price, policies which began to alienate the merchants and senators.[15] However, as Bowersock notes, Julian did nothing to ensure that the grain would be doled out fairly or to set fixed prices outside of the city; the rich men could buy grain and other commodities cheap and sell them for high prices outside the city.[16] Only bread remained at a cheap price, since Julian could control the bakers' prices and since they operated exclusively in the city.[17] Furthermore, Julian's attempt to give land to the urban poor of Antioch also failed because he did nothing to ensure that his policies would be effectively carried out. So, the rich simply bought up the land that Julian had seized.[18] Julian's failure to solve the economic crisis at Antioch, and the fact that some of his policies actually worsened it, caused dissatisfaction on the part of both the aristocrats, with whose affairs he was interfering, and the populace, who did not benefit from his presence. Julian's popularity diminished further since he made no attempt to regulate the prices of luxury items such as wine, oil and fruits. He viewed such items as unnecessary, decadent, and economically harmful despite the Antiochenes' apparent love for them.[19] This disregard for luxury would cause further dissatisfaction with Julian.

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[7] Amm. Marc. 22.9; Julian, *Mis.* 367C.

[8] Bowersock, 95.

[9] Glanville Downey, "Julian the Apostate at Antioch," *Church History* 8 (1939): 306-307.

[10] Lib. *Or.* 15.48; Amm. Marc. 22.9.

[11] Julian *Mis.* 368D.

[12] Amm. Marc. 22.14.

[13] Glanville Downey, "The Economic Crisis at Antioch Under Julian the Apostate," in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of A.C. Johnson*, ed. P.R. Coleman Norton (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1951), 312-313.

[14] Julian *Mis.* 368C.

[15] Lib. *Or.* 16.23.

[16] Bowersock, 100-101.

[17] Julian *Mis.* 369D.

Indeed, Julian alienated and angered the Antiochenes because he was overly puritanical and attempted to impose his own ascetic morality in Antioch. Ammianus remarks that he "remained proof against all the temptations to sensuality which Syria offers in such abundance."[20] This generally agrees with Ammianus' characterization of Julian as an ascetic philosopher-king, and with Julian's own self-perception. This is exemplified by Julian's letter to his appointed high priest of Asia, Theodorus, where he notes that the laws and rites of the Roman ancestors had been corrupted by luxury; indeed, Julian argues that vulgar luxury was responsible for the apathy many aristocrats clearly felt towards traditional Roman religion.[21] So in the *Misopogon*, Julian states that he "hates horse races as men who owe money hate the market place," and he is similarly hostile to theatres, which were a defining characteristic and luxury of the polis in the Greek east.[22] This was clearly not a popular position in most cities in the empire; charioteers possessed enough popularity to cause riots, as seen when the prefect of Rome, Leontius, arrested the charioteer Philoromus in 355 C.E.[23] As Bowersock notes, the emperor and the city were completely alienated from each other with reference to lifestyle; hence, when Julian attempted to regulate morality in the city, it simply led to more conflict.[24] In this respect, Libanius is correct when he states that Julian had "more control over his lower appetites than over the cities he rules."[25]

Julian's attempts to regulate morality in Antioch were at least equally if not more contentious than his attempts to enforce paganism. The title of Julian's satirical essay, *Misopogon*, pellucidly reveals this fact, as it refers to one of the chief criticisms of the Antiochenes towards Julian, his philosopher's dress, beard, and general asceticism, since "*misopogon*" translates as "the beard haters." He further notes that most complaints and jests about him came because he would not attend the theatre and live like an Antiochene.[26] The importance of the enforcement of Julian's morality is further shown by Libanius, who in his oration to the citizens of Antioch after Julian's angry departure, equally stressed that the citizens of Antioch must "close the theatre and reduce the number of chariot races," as well as give up Christianity.[27] Similarly, when he left for Persia, Julian appointed Alexander of Heliopolis to govern

[18] *Ibid.*, 370D.
[19] Julian *Mis.,* 369A.
[20] Amm. Marc. 22.10.
[21] Julian *Ep,*. 453C.
[22] Julian Mis.*,* 340A.
[23] Amm. Marc. 15.7.
[24] Bowersock, 97.
[25] Lib. *Or.* 16.18.
[26] Julian *Mis.* 366A.
[27] Lib. *Or.* 16.56.

Antioch, whom Ammianus describes as violent and cruel; apparently, his appointment was meant to punish the Antiochenes.[28] In a letter to Julian, however, Libanius makes it clear that Alexander's chief role was to regulate luxury, and he states that "fellows who used to be bathed and abed before noon [had] become Spartan in their habits."[29] Although this is clearly an exaggeration, and though Libanius likely sympathized with Alexander for personal and selfish reasons,[30] this letter still shows that Julian was concerned with controlling luxury. Although Julian's attempts to restore traditional cults were directly tied to policies that were meant to diminish luxury and regulate morality, it seems that the latter were more contentious. It is within this context of moral and economic tensions that the Antiochene reaction to Julian's religious policies should be examined.

Many scholars, such as A.H.M. Jones, have traditionally described Antioch in the fourth century as a mainly Christian city.[31] Indeed, Antioch housed one of the five Christian Patriarchs, and Eusebius writes that the church there was founded by Saint Peter towards the end of the reign of Tiberius.[32] While in Antioch, Julian passed anti-Christian legislation, and, as a result, one might expect the Christian Antiochenes to have rioted. His legislation included a law which barred Christians from teaching rhetoric and grammar, a measure which both ensured that only those who followed the old gods would teach younger generations and that essentially isolated Christians from Hellenic culture.[33] Yet despite this subtle persecution of Christians, and despite Antioch's apparently Christian population, the *Misopogon* makes no suggestion that the conflict at Antioch was mainly motivated by Christian opposition. Julian rarely mentions Christ and the Galileans (Christians) in the *Misopogon,* and generally only in reference to how the Antiochenes preferred Christ over the old gods, and once, positively, with reference to the charity of some Christians.[34] Julian, though, would likely not have wanted to draw attention to his direct persecution of Christians. His methods of weakening Christianity were subtler and based in literature, such as through his treatise, *Against the Galileans.*[35] Finally, Julian mentions in a letter that many of the Antiochene senators were non-Christian.[36] It is possible that without a Christian aristocracy, the Christian populace could not even effectively oppose Julian's religious legislation.

Ammianus does, nonetheless, report that while he was at Antioch, the temple of Apollo at Daphne was burnt down, an act for which Julian immediately blamed the Christians.[37] According to the fifth century Church historian Theodoret, Julian punished the Christians by closing the Church of Antioch and by ordering an investigation into the affair, likely through the use of torture.[38] It is difficult to know whether Theodoret is exaggerating, as his writings are not contemporary and are clearly hostile towards Julian. It is also difficult to know whether Christians actually did burn the temple, as Ammianus writes that it was possible that the fire was caused accidentally.[39] Still, it does seem that the burning of the temple of Apollo provides an example of outright hostility to Julian's religious reforms, and one which may not have been inspired by events after his arrival, like the ridiculing of Julian's beard. However, it should be noted that this antagonism could not have been that extensive, as there is no other literary evidence which suggests further conflict between Julian and the Antiochene Christians. Still, Julian must have at least arrested some Christians, and rumours of their torture in the Christian community, whether true or not, certainly contributed to the economic and moral tensions in Antioch that made Julian unpopular. More importantly, this event likely incited Julian's growing anger and may have caused him to abandon Antioch with disgust.

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[28] Amm. Marc. 23.2.

[29] Lib. *Ep.* 100.

[30] Roger Pack, "Ammianus Marcellinus and the Curia of Antioch," *Classical Philology* 48.2 (Apr., 1953), 82. Pack notes that Alexander sent students to Libanius' school at the expense of other rhetoricians.

[31] A.H.M. Jones, *The Decline of the Ancient World* (London, 1966), 322.

[32] Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.3.

[33] Julian *Ep.* 422A-424D.

[34] Julian *Mis.* 360D, 363A.

[35] Bowersock, 102.

[36] Julian *Ep.* 399D-400A.

[37] Amm. Marc. 22.13.

[38] Theod. *H.E.* 3.12.

These explanations may account for the dissatisfaction of the poorer citizens of Antioch, as well as for some of the aristocrats. Yet both the senate and people of Antioch, realizing that Julian's anger with the city would have negative repercussions for them, attempted to reconcile with him, as is evidenced by the pleading of the populace as Julian left the city.[40] So, Julian writes to Libanius that the senate of Antioch met him after he had left. He took this as an opportunity to "converse briefly with the senate about the worship of the gods," likely hoping that they would be receptive to his religious reforms as a result of the senate's conciliatory attitude and the fact that many senators were not Christian. Yet Julian writes that though they "applauded his arguments, very few were converted by them."[41] Similarly, Ammianus Marcellinus, a non-Christian Antiochene who might be expected to admire Julian's religious policies, notes the emperor's zeal with disapproval, saying that the citizens of Antioch justly criticized and mocked him for the delight he took in carrying the sacred objects, as well as for the excessive number of sacrifices he performed.[42] This is illustrated by Julian's arrival at the temple of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch for an annual festival, where he thought to find sacrificed animals, libations, and choruses, yet was disappointed to learn that the city had no festival planned; the local priest sufficed with the sacrifice of a single goose. In the *Misopogon*, Julian concludes from this incident that nobody in the city "furnishes an oil lamp for the gods, or a libation, or a beast for sacrifice, or incense."[43] It must therefore be asked whether developments within Roman religion were responsible for the indifference to Julian's religious reforms that the senators of Antioch showed.

Scott Bradbury argues that, by the reign of Julian, several of the important traditions of Roman religion, most notably sacrifices, had become generally obsolete, due to developments in Neo-Platonic philosophy, the rise of Christianity, and the reduced funding of festivals.[44] He cites Neo-Platonic philosophers like Porphyry, who in his *De Abstinentia* argues against the need for sacrifice. Porphyry argues that in order to communicate with the Gods, man does not need to sacrifice animals; rather, man simply needs to make offerings from what he eats.[45] For Porphyry, original sacrifices were offerings of cakes and crops. Animal sacrifice would therefore be a corruption of these offerings that had arisen during times of war and famine, when men were forced to slaughter their animals, and in turn, offer what they ate to the gods.[46] Porphyry concludes that extravagant sacrifices are superstition and in fact feed only negative *daemons*, and that the traditional form of Roman religion should be abandoned. Rather than presenting sacrifices in order to influence the gods, men should attempt to communicate with the gods by possessing "a pure intellect and a soul unaffected by passion."[47]

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[39] Amm. Marc., 22.13.
[40] Amm. Marc. 23.2.
[41] Julian *Ep.* 399D-400A.
[42] Amm Marc. 22.14.
[43] Julian *Mis.* 361D-362B, 363C.
[44] Bradbury, 331-332.

Bradbury further cites evidence that suggests Christians destroyed sacrificial cults and sanctuaries in cities, such as a letter of Julian's in which he expresses surprise that the people of Ilios still offered sacrifices to Hector.[48] Bradbury concludes that these Neo-Platonic developments diminished the importance of sacrifice and further that, as Christian communities had targeted sacrifice, sacrificial ritual had become too contentious for most pagans. This would explain why the Antiochene aristocrats were not receptive to Julian's religious reforms. They not only wanted to avoid offending the city's Christian population, but sacrifice itself would have simply been for them religiously irrelevant.[49]

There are several aspects of Bradbury's analysis which are weak, however, and his findings concerning the Roman empire in general and Antioch in particular are somewhat flawed. First, he overstretches his philosophical point. Porphyry's ideas cannot be taken as commonplace, especially among the lower orders, and indeed, Porphyry notes that his recommendations are mainly for philosophers.[50] Furthermore, Porphyry's theories were not necessarily shared by the majority of the pagan elite. Iamblichus, a Neo-Platonist philosopher and a student of Porphyry who lived in the early fourth century C.E., argues that sacrificial rites are central to the union between men and gods.[51] Julian belonged to Iamblichus' popular school, the *theurgists*,[52] and his excessive sacrifices can better be interpreted as a fulfillment of his Neo-Platonic philosophy rather than superstition.[53] When Ammianus criticizes Julian's sacrifices and constant use of divination, he does not argue that all divination and sacrifices are worthless, but simply that Julian sacrificed and divined excessively and superstitiously; he did appreciate the need for sacrifices and inspections of omens.[54] Since Ammianus was a member of a senatorial family from Antioch, and since the sources do not mention whether Porphyry's philosophy was popular at Antioch, it cannot be assumed that Antiochene aristocrats would have necessarily followed Porphyry's philosophy, and that they would have opposed animal sacrifice on principle.

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[45] Porph. *Abs.* 2.58.
[46] *Ibid.*, 2.57-59.
[47] *Ibid.*, 2.60-61.
[48] Julian *Ep.* 78 (Hertlein).
[49] Bradbury 337, 347.
[50] Porph. *Abst.* 2.3.
[51] Iambl. *Myst.* 96.
[52] A theurgist is someone who practises or believes in the effects produced among men by the direct operation of a divine or supernatural agency in human affairs. It was a system of rituals, originally practised by the Egyptian Platonists, to procure communication with beneficent gods/spirits, and by their aid produce miraculous effects.
[53] Ingvild Saelid Gilhus, *Animals, Gods and Humans: Changing Attitudes to Animals in Greek, Roman and Early Christian Ideas* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 147.
[54] John R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 195. For an example of Ammianus respect for a specific omen, see Amm. Marc., 23.5. For Ammianus' general respect for sacrificial ritual and the prescribed rules of divination, see Amm. Marc., 22.12.

Furthermore, although the amount that Christianity had spread in this period is beyond the scope of this paper, it does seem clear that Christianity had not spread sufficiently or deeply enough to permanently eliminate traditional sacrificial rituals, and that the ancient rites were continually performed by both aristocrats and peasants.[55] The emperor Constantius had banned sacrifice twice, first in 341 and then more strictly in 356, when he stipulated that those who sacrificed would be executed; he later banned forms of divination in 357.[56] Yet this legislation was impossible to enforce and quite unpopular, and the evidence suggests that throughout the empire, sacrificial ritual and divination continued to be practiced and that many Roman temples remained open.[57] For example, Libanius writes of his friend Crispinus, who was able to continue sacrificing openly during Constantius' reign.[58] Julian also states that after becoming Augustus, he and the army sacrificed regularly,[59] and Ammianus confirms this by his criticism of Julian's public sacrifices in Antioch, saying that the troops gorged themselves with meat. The soldiers, then, did not disagree with the idea of sacrifice.[60] Similarly, Julian's earlier cited surprise that the people of Ilios still offered sacrifice did not stem from the fact that they offered sacrifice at all, but rather that their bishop encouraged it.[61] Additionally, sacrifices and the ancient traditions were still practiced by members of the Roman aristocracy over twenty years after Julian's death. So in 384, Symmachus famously argued that the Altar of Victory, which had been taken away by the emperor Gratian, and sacrifices should be restored to the senate house in order to honour the religious traditions of the Roman ancestors, and to ensure victory for the Roman state and its emperors.[62] Having noted that the decline of traditional religious rites was likely not as advanced as Bradbury suggests in this time period, it is time to re-examine Antioch's case.

The adherence to traditional Roman religion in Antioch was likely not as minimal as Julian describes it. Although there is no doubt that Julian's story of the failed festival at the temple of Apollo at Daphne is true, Ammianus suggest that pagan festivals still took place at Antioch. For example, Julian entered the city during the midst of a depressing rite to Adonis, and Ammianus remarks that the city was filled with "general wailing and the sounds of grief," which does suggest that a sizeable number of citizens participated.[63] Furthermore, when complaining about Julian's excessive religiosity, Ammianus does not write that Julian's celebration of rites returned traditional Roman religion to a city where no rites had existed, but that "ceremonial rites… were performed with increased and excessive frequency."[64] This implies that rites were still celebrated at Antioch, and indeed, many of the temples of Antioch were still open at the beginning of Julian's reign.[65] Julian, however, as a *theurgist*, celebrated these rites more often than the city was accustomed. If Julian's religious reforms caused further tensions aside from the number of his sacrifices, it is likely because his sacrifices often led to rowdiness amongst his soldiers, who apparently acted without discipline due to their drunkenness and were not punished.[66]

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[55] Jones, 322.
[56] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.2, 16.10.5, 9.16.4.
[57] Curran, 196.
[58] Lib. *Or.* 1.27.
[59] Julian *Ep. 415C.*
[60] Amm. Marc. 22.12.
[61] Julian, *Ep.* 78 (Hertlein). Julian writes that he acted surprised because "he wished to test [the bishop] cautiously to find out his own views," rather than the fact that sacrifices were offered at all.
[62] Symmachus *Relat.,* 3.
[63] Amm. Marc. 22.9.
[64] *Ibid*., 22.12.
[65] Lib. *Or.* 15.53.
[66] Amm. Marc., 22.12.

In an oration to the Antiochenes after Julian's departure, Libanius further makes a distinction between those citizens who sacrificed and those who did not, which indicates that sacrifices were still offered.[67] He notes that Julian had acknowledged that there were worshipping citizens in Antioch, but that the emperor was so angry that he would likely punish the whole city for the events of his stay. It is likely that due to the other tensions between Julian and the Antiochenes, Julian exaggerated the apathetic reaction to his religious policies, largely based on the one festival to Daphne which nobody had attended. As Julian himself notes, however, this festival had not been celebrated due to the edicts of Constantius, and it was therefore the first time it was being held in years.[68] It is unsurprising, then, that the city did not organize the festival. While it is true that traditional Roman religious sentiment had likely declined in Antioch, as is evidenced by the senate of Antioch's boredom when lectured by Julian and the fact that Constantius' edicts had caused some festivals to stop functioning, it does seem that Julian's disappointment and anger over the Antiochenes' religion stemmed mainly from the already attenuated relations between him, the city, and the emperor's own unrealistic expectations.

The case study of Antioch reveals exactly the grounds on which Julian's policies might be opposed. The Antiochenes were not hostile towards Julian before he arrived in the city. His religious policies did not directly inspire opposition, except for perhaps in the case of the Antiochene Christians who may have burned the temple of Apollo. Rather, the conflict at Antioch was largely caused by a mixture of personal and short term problems that Julian aggravated himself. These problems include his mishandling an economic crisis, his attempt to impose his own ascetic morality on an unwilling city, his arrest and possible torturing of Christians, and his overzealous promotion of Roman religious rites and impatience with the Antiochenes for not responding zealously enough. Yet this suggests that Julian's policies, and particularly his religious ones, were not doomed in Antioch. The fact that the citizens of Antioch themselves attempted to apologize to Julian after his departure, and that the senate applauded his arguments on piety towards the gods further supports this argument; whether they were genuinely motivated by religious piety, they would have performed the rites. If Julian had not been tactless, and perhaps if he had allowed himself to go to the theatre in order to gain some popularity, the Antiochenes may have accepted his policies more readily, and he, at least, may not have felt so alienated as to have left the city in disgust. Interestingly, rather than demonstrating that Julian's religious revival would have failed in certain areas of the empire, the conflict at Antioch suggests that, if Julian had survived his Persian campaign and pursued less contentious economic and moral policies, his religious revival may have succeeded.

Brahm Kleinman

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[67] Lib. *Or.* 16.50.

[68] Julian *Mis.* 362C-D.

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9. Sarah Limoges

Expansionism or Fear: *The Underlying Reasons for the Bacchanalia Affair of 186 B.C.*

The Bacchanalia Affair has sparked much debate on the part of numerous prominent scholars. As a result, two very polarized opinions have emerged. Erich S. Gruen and Jean Marie Pailler have argued that the Bacchanalia Affair was a conspiracy on the part of the Senate, and that behind the veil of religion lay a desire to extend Roman hegemony across the whole of Italy. Pailler argues that the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* found at Tiriolo is concrete proof that the suppression of the Bacchanalia was a result of Rome's desire for expansion rather than fear of the cult. Henrik Mouritsen, on the other hand, argues that the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* was erroneously believed to pertain to all of Italy, when in fact it concerns only the areas under Roman jurisdiction. He argues that Livy's narrative is further evidence that the repression of the Senate pertained only to the *ager Romanus*. Mouritsen states that there is no evidence to suggest that the allies were included in the ban. As both opinions are equally valid, it will be necessary to examine the context in which the Bacchanalia occurred in 186 B.C.[1]

By the end of the Second Punic War (201), the Roman state had arguably become the most powerful entity in the Mediterranean. Once the Carthaginians no longer constituted a serious threat, Rome established her dominance militarily throughout the eastern Mediterranean. In 188, with the Peace of Apamea, Rome brought Antiochus III into submission, thus significantly reducing the power of the Seleucid Empire.[2] Such political and military dominance on the part of Rome has led some scholars, such as Erich Gruen, to argue that the Bacchanalia could not have been repressed due to fear of the cult. Others, such as A.H. McDonald, argue that the cult could indeed have threatened the state since as a "popular form of degeneracy," it had the power of "weakening Roman military power."[3] McDonald's statement suggests that such perceived danger, whether real or not, would have warranted suppression by the Senate in order to uphold the stability of the state. Several important questions arise from this debate, namely, what were the underlying causes of the repression, to whom was the repression aimed, and finally, what were the consequences of the actions taken by the Senate?

There are two main sources for this event. Livy dedicates twelve chapters in Book XXXIX to the incident, and the inscription found in Tiriolo sheds light on what the Senate actually decreed. This inscription contains a written version of the senatorial decree which was set out following Postumius Albinus' presentation of the Bacchanalia to the Senate. It is not a treaty and should not be seen as such; rather, it contains a number of clauses restricting Bacchic worship and outlining the consequences for failure to adhere to these provisions. The inscription is complete, as is suggested by the language used throughout the decree and the nature of the last clause. It is important to compare both documents, thus verifying Livy's accuracy with regards to the decree passed by the Senate, a test which he succeeds in rather well. We must therefore look to Livy's narrative to determine the underlying causes of the repression and to explain the suddenness of its outbreak.

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[1] All subsequent dates B.C.E.

[2] App. *Syr*. 38-39; Erich S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (New York: Brill, 1990), 65-66.

[3] A.H. McDonald, "Rome and the Italian Confederation ," *JRS* 34 (1944): 27.

In Book XXXIX, Livy describes a number of politically charged events, including the Bacchanalian affair, the Third Macedonian War, the censorship of Cato and the death of Hannibal. Due to the structure of his work, Livy had to get through approximately eight and a half years in Books XXXIX and XL. His arrangement of events in Book XXXIX however is quite particular. The most important events were placed first within the narrative, and all other events were relegated to but a few chapters at the end of the book, thus ignoring the chronology.[4]

Although Livy seems to have had access to the *SC de Bacchanalibus*, it is certain that he used another source for his narrative; this source however does not seem to have been Polybius, who also wrote an important narrative covering this time period. Livy indeed put Polybius aside for the years 187 and 186, and a comparison between the extant fragments of Polybius for this time period demonstrate how selective Livy was regarding what he included in his own narrative.[5] He may have used the family archives of the Postumii, but for this to have been the case would have been rather problematic. A. Postumius Albinus, consul in 151, wrote a history in Greek based on his family annals which were evidently biased and aimed at glorifying his relative, Sp. Postumius Albinus, consul in 186.[6] As is well known, Livy did not consult archival material himself, but it appears that he used a Latin source for the events he describes.[7] It is most likely that Livy was using a translation of Postumius' history which was originally written in Greek. There is no direct evidence however that this is the source Livy used; nonetheless, he seems very well acquainted with the Postumii, and so it seems safe to infer that he either used Postumius' history or the Postumii family annals.

Livy wrote his history under the auspices of the Augustan regime, during which a religious revival was taking place. P.G. Walsh notes that Livy, Virgil and Horace were all influenced by this revival, and that each included ancient religious practices and customs within their works.[8] These writers all took a somewhat Stoic view of religion, but Livy especially seems to have believed that religion should be both rational and objective. The Stoics sought to rationalize myth, but at the same time maintained that popular notions about the gods should not be dismissed. Livy's belief is especially evident in his discussion concerning *fortuna*, equivalent to the Greek *tyche*. Livy believed that providential protection and a continuation of the *pax deorum* would be granted to the Romans if ritual procedures were carefully observed. This would seem to be in accord with the Stoic belief in determinism. Furthermore, his ambivalence between Stoic tendencies and the religious revival of the Augustan period seems to fit well with the neo-Stoic trend.[9] What is most important regarding Livy's religious beliefs is that he adhered to Stoic principles especially when dealing with providence and providential guidance for Rome. It is this philosophical belief which contributed to Livy's particular severity concerning foreign religions. Such religions were seen as superstitious and subjective, and their worshippers prone to mental illness and bodily corruption.[10] It is in this light that one must study the Bacchanalia Affair of 186. Livy's biases evidently shaped much of his narrative, especially as he believed that the origin of Rome's moral degeneracy occurred within this time period.[11]

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[4] T.J. Luce, *Livy: The Composition of his Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 106. Luce points out that in Livy's account of the year 186, the Bacchanalian affair occupied twelve chapters, leaving only three for other events of the same year. The conspiracy, however, was not so long in duration as to have merited such a large proportion of that year's narrative.

[5] Luce, 105-106.

[6] John Briscoe, "A. Postumius Albinus, Polybius and Livy's Account of the *Bacchanalia,*" in *Hommage a Carl Deroux 4: Archeologie et Histoire de l'Art*, ed. Defosse and Pol (Bruxelles: Latomus, 2002), 302.

[7] Briscoe, 308. Briscoe suggests that the resemblance between Livy's narrative and the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* means simply that he must have used a Latin source since he did not consult archival material himself.

[8] P.G. Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 60-61.

[9] Walsh, *Livy* 59-61.

Livy introduces the Bacchanalia in the following terms:

> A nameless Greek came first to Etruria […] a dabbler in sacrifice and a fortune-teller […] a priest of sacred rites performed by night […] There was not one form of vice alone, the promiscuous matings of free men and women, but perjured witnesses, forged seals and wills and evidence, all issued from this same workshop: likewise poisonings and secret murders, so that even at times not even the bodies were found for burial. This violence was concealed because amid the howlings and the crash of drums and cymbals no cry of the sufferers could be heard as the debauchery and murders proceeded. The destructive power of this evil spread from Etruria to Rome like the contagion of a pestilence.[12]

Thus Livy begins his narrative of the most renowned religious repression in Republican history, and accords to it a large part of Book XXXIX (chapters 8-19). It is odd that a cultic movement that had been present for a number of years prior to this event would merit such unsympathetic treatment, especially as other foreign religions were simultaneously flourishing in Rome. The Egyptian cult of Isis notably had good standing, as did that of the Magna Mater from Pergamum, even though Livy gives the opposite impression.[13] The cult of the Magna Mater however differed considerably from that of the Bacchants and retained its good standing for much longer; this suggests that there was something particular to the Bacchic cult which led to its repression. The cult of Bacchus had in fact spread in Italy *outside of the control* of the authorities, while the Magna Mater had been introduced by Roman authorities themselves.[14] This is one of the underlying reasons why the cult was suppressed by the Senate.

Livy writes that a youth, Aebutius, whose father had died, was tricked out of his inheritance by his mother and his stepfather by being initiated into the Bacchic Mysteries. His lover, the freedwoman Hispala, begged him not to be initiated since she had witnessed many evils relating to the cult of Bacchus as a slave attending to her mistress, an initiate.[15] There is something out of place already at the beginning of Livy's narrative; in a patriarchal system, it would have been unlikely that the young Aebutius would have been entrusted to a step father instead of a male relative such as an uncle or a grandfather.[16] It is highly unlikely that all of Aebutius' male relatives would have died prior to his father's death.

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[10] D.S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (New York: Brill, 1993), 34. Levene believes that while it is impossible to determine Livy's religious inclinations, one merely has to look at his views of the Bacchanalian Affair and the advent of the Magna Mater to see that he had a profound disdain of foreign religions, which he saw as corrupting Roman youths and encouraging moral degeneracy.

[11] Liv. *Epon.* 39.6. P.G. Walsh, "Making a Drama out of a Crisis: Livy on the Bacchanalia," *G&R* 43 (1996): 190.

[12] *Ibid.*, 39.8-9.

[13] Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York: Dover, 1956), 48-49, 55; cf. Richard A. Horseley, *Religion and Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 28. Horseley argues that Isis was very prominent in Graeco-Roman antiquity; initiation into the cult's rights was deemed an extremely prestigious act and a mark of the highest piety for the Roman elite. Horseley does point out however that the Romans altered the cult of Isis in order to fit their constructsof religion.

[14] Marja-Leena Hänninen, "Conflicting Descriptions of Women's Religious Activity in Mid-Republican Rome: Augustan Narratives About the Arrival of Cybele and the Bacchanalia Scandal," in *Aspects of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Lena L. Loven and Agneta Stromberg (Jonsered: Paul Astroms Forlag, 1998), 119.

When Aebutius told his aunt about his dilemma, she sent him to the consul Sp. Postumius Albinus, who verified Aebutius' story by questioning his own mother-in-law.[17] The consul then ordered Hispala to be brought before him. She divulged all the secrets of the cult of which she was aware: it had originated in Campania where a priestess, Paculla Annia, had changed the cult's solely female worship to one of mixed attendance by initiating her two sons. Furthermore, she had changed the number of initiation days from three days a year during the daytime, to five nights a month.[18] Hispala then said that nothing was considered wrong or unlawful by Bacchic cult members, including the murder of objectors, homosexual behavior, orgies, frenzy, nor the initiation of young men not older than twenty years of age.[19] Especially alarming was the fact that their numbers were very great and included men and women of high rank.[20]

In this first part of the narrative, the only truly salvageable incident is that regarding Paculla Annia; it is likely that the priestess of a cult would have wanted to initiate her own sons, and would have changed the cult regulations to those that had been common in the earlier practice of Dionysiac worship in Greece.[21] The number of Bacchants can also be kept as an estimation of how widespread the cult had become. The entire narrative of Aebutius and Hispala, of Aebutia and of the consul's mother-in-law, however, is most likely an invention of Livy's. It seems probable that Livy would have inserted such a storyline in order to present his beliefs regarding the danger and degeneracy of the cult.

Livy writes that Postumius then presented the Senate with the information he had received; the senators were gripped by fear that these nocturnal rituals were promoting treason and that senators were involved. The consuls were promptly given the duty of performing a full investigation, a *quaestio extra ordinem*, which was outside of their regular duties.[22] Subsequently a decree was composed which stated that Aebutius and Hispala were to be rewarded, that Postumius was to be thanked for his service to the state, that all Bacchic priests were to be sought out not only in Rome but also in the *ager Romanus*, and finally that the decree should be sent throughout Italy to prevent an assembly of initiates.[23]

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[15] Liv. *Epon.* 39.9-10.
[16] Walsh, "Drama" 195.
[17] Liv. *Epon.* 39.11.1-7.
[18] *Ibid.,* 39.13.1-10.
[19] *Ibid.*, 39.13.10.14.
[20] *Ibid.*, 39.13.14.
[21] Martin P. Nilsson, *The Hellenistic Mysteries of Greece and Rome*. *Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1957), 17.
[22] This seems to be a reference to the consuls' sphere of influence, which was restricted to the city of Rome and the *ager Romanus*.
[23] Liv. *Epon.* 39.14.4-9.

Postumius told the *contio* that the Mysteries had been known for a long time; one can therefore affirm that “it was not that the senate discovered something that it did not know, but that it decided to act against something it knew all too well.”[24] Postumius then called an assembly of the people to inform them of the senate’s decision, and to declare that they must pray to the ancestral gods and not foreign ones. The decree of the Senate was then read and put into effect.[25]

This latter part seems to be the most accurate section of Livy’s narrative. Postumius’ speech could have been found in the Postumii annals, or perhaps in the *acta senatus*. It is possible that the senate demanded a thorough investigation because it was actually anxious with regard to the size and prevalence of the cult, if we are to accept the figures given by Livy as a rough estimate. There is, however, debate as to the accuracy of Livy’s account of the *quaestio extra ordinem*. Some scholars argue that it is a fabrication of Livy’s. S. Reinach writes,

> Aujourd’hui, le récit de Tite-Live en main, l’histoire constate qu’il n’y eut pas d’enquête sérieuse, mais une dénonciation unique, peut-être extorquée, à coup sûr mensongère, qui donna prétexte à l’établissement d’un régime de terreur; ce ne fut pas le salut des mœurs romaines, mais la ruine de l’hellénisme en Italie.[26]

This is not the only incidence however in which the Senate conducted a *quaestio*; it also did so in Etruria in 209 during the Second Punic War. When Etruria revolted, Marcellus was dispatched by the Senate to determine whether military intervention would be necessary following the arrival of a letter from C. Calpurnius, the propraetor of Etruria, who wrote that unrest had erupted in Arretium.[27] This incident set a precedent for the investigation that took place in 186.

The Senate’s repression of this facet of Hellenistic culture does nonetheless seem quite out of place since during this time the Romans had been increasingly open to Hellenistic influences. The repression thus fits oddly with the general atmosphere of the time.[28] It is clear, however, that the repression was linked to Hellenistic influences; it was very popular in Southern Italy, especially in the cities of Magna Graecia, as well as in Etruria, where it was brought, according to Livy, by a Greek priest.[29]

The cult of Dionysos had grown stronger in Magna Graecia as a result of its ties to other cults such as those of Demeter and Persephone; furthermore, Greek influence in this region had increased during the Hannibalic war.[30] Even though there seemed to be an increase of such cults in areas that had been more or less rebellious during the Second Punic War, an attack by the Romans on a foreign cult was nevertheless out of the ordinary. Rome had previously been quite welcoming of such cults and ritual practices; Aesculapius, Venus Erycina, and the cult of the Magna Mater were all immediately accepted, in fact, the Romans performed an *invocatio* to Venus Erycina, and their acceptance of the Magna Mater in 205 helped establish ties with Asia Minor which would later be useful during the Macedonian Wars. Rome even integrated itself into Hellenistic tradition by establishing ties with the Oracle of Delphi.[31] Most importantly, however, it had integrated into its own prophetic tradition the Sibylline Oracles which had been sold to Tarquinius Superbus; these oracles were still in use during the Middle Republic, and were consulted during the late years of the Second Punic War in order to determine what to do to rid Italy of the Carthaginian menace.[32] Although in this case the Sibylline books demanded the introduction of a foreign deity into Rome, this would seem to have been the exception rather than the rule, since most of the cults that the Oracles requested were actually Italian deities rather than foreign ones.[33] The Romans were not hostile to foreign cults and practices; another factor must therefore have contributed to the downfall of the cult of Bacchus.

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[24] Walsh, “Drama” 199 (see above for the inclusion of men and women of high rank in the rites); Liv. *Epon.* 39.13.14.

[25] This decree will be discussed later in comparison with the one found in Tiriolo.

[26] S. Reinach, “Une ordalie par le poison à Rome et l’affaire des Bacchanales,” as cited in Jean Marie Pailler, “Bacchanalia : la répression de 186av. J.-C,” (Rome: École Française de Rome, 198), 129.

[27] Liv. *Epon.* 27.21.6-8.

[28] Katryn Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks 350 BC to AD 200* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 87. Lomas attributes the repression, occurring within the framework of a general acceptance of Hellenistic culture, to the cult’s secrecy and widespread popularity.

[29] See 5; cf. Liv. *Epon.* 39.8-9. Etruria was not Greek *per se* as Magna Graecia was, but it was associated with the Hellenistic trend that paved the way for the inclusion of the Bacchic mysteries by Greek priests.

[30] Macdonald, 26.

It has been suggested that the Bacchanalia Affair was in some way related to the existing hegemony of the Roman Senate over Italy as a whole. The idea of an Italian-Roman state established by the third century is a construct of nineteenth century German scholarship;[34] T. Mommsen's view of a unified Italy, for example, had been discarded by scholars such as K.J. Beloch. Beloch argues that the state of affairs in the second century was that of an Italian confederacy under Roman hegemony.[35] Although Mouritsen points out correctly that the idea of an Italian confederacy is overestimating the unity of the allies, one cannot discard the analysis of a hegemonic Rome trying to extend her powers outside of the *ager Romanus*.

During the early second century, Rome extended her control throughout Italy by making separate treaties with each of the allies; this was seen to be in the common interest of the Italians.[36] It is evident however that the Romans had gained by such a negotiation. The Italians were forced to send troops, but shared little in the glory of overseas campaigns or in the economic gains that accompanied them.[37] Indeed, the allies contributed between one half and two thirds of the Roman army, a sizeable percentage to be denied the glory of military victory. On the other hand, one might ask whether active Romanization throughout Italy was enough of a success that the allies would have disregarded the expanding hegemonic political role that Rome wanted to pursue.

It seems clear that Rome was seeking opportunities which would permit an expansion of its political power not only with regard to the foreign policy, but also the local administration of its allies.

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[31] Gruen, 39; cf. Franz Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, trans. Harold Mattingly (London: Methuen, 1938), 255-266.

[32] H.W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 76, 201-202.

[33] Eric Orlin, *Temples, Religion, and Politics in the Middle Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 99-100. Orlin gives a number of examples of deities towards which the Oracles were favorable and only three were foreign: Aesclepius, the Magna Mater and Venus Erycina.

[34] Henrik Mouritsen. *Italian Unification: A Study in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1998), 39.

[35] Julius Beloch, *Der italische Bund unter Roms Hegemonie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880), 194; cf. Mouritsen, 39.

[36] Macdonald, 11.

[37] See Arthur Keaveney, *Rome and the Unification of Italy* (Exeter: Bristol Phoenix Press, 2005), 3-44; Mouritsen, 43.

The Bacchanalia Affair provided such an opportunity. In order to determine if political motivations superseded religious ones in this circumstance, it will be necessary to analyze Livy's use of the word *Italia*. This analysis will help to determine if Livy meant the whole of peninsular Italy, or rather only the *ager Romanus*, two very different spheres of influence.

The Romans would not have had jurisdiction throughout all of Italy, but they certainly would have in the *ager Romanus*. Livy wrote under the reign of Augustus, at a time when all of Italy was already under Roman control; *Italia*, therefore, would have roughly meant the whole of the Italian peninsula rather than the *ager Romanus*.[38] In fact, Livy's understanding of the concept of *tota Italia* seems deeply entrenched in the Augustan vision of Roman supremacy throughout the peninsula.

The first instance in which Livy uses the word *Italia* is in 1.2.5 is to describe the extent of the renown of the Etrurians:

> *Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiam longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum siculum fama nominis sui implesset.*[39]

Italiam in this context cannot refer only to territory controlled by Rome simply because this section of Livy's narrative takes place before Rome had extended its hegemony to any area outside of Latium. *Totam Italiam* would mean the whole of Italy as understood in the Augustan era rather than during the Republic. Indeed, *per totam Italiam*, in the whole of Italy, meant all of Italy from the Alps (*Alpibus*) to the Straits of Sicily (*fretum siculum*). Clearly, the breadth of this distance cannot be seen as pertaining only to Rome, especially not during this period of Roman history.

Another instance in which Livy uses the word *Italia* is in 1.18.2; this example is even more telling than the prior one:

> *quia non exstat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Seruio Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona iuuenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat.*[40]

Here, Livy uses the word *Italiae* in order to describe the area of Metaponto, Heraclea and Croton, all three of which were Greek colonies. Roman antipathy towards Croton was evident in the following passage: "The people of Capua, in Campania, becoming wealthy through the fertility of their soil, degenerated into luxury and extravagance surpassing even the common report about Croton and Sybaris."[41] It would seem unlikely that Rome and Croton would be on friendly terms with each other, as Croton is clearly described as the luxurious "other" hated by Rome. It can be assumed that, since Croton, Metaponto and Heraclea are lumped together, the same feeling was extended to the other two poleis in Southern Italy.[42] Yet Livy still includes them when using the word *Italiae*, which suggests again that all of peninsular Italy was included when he spoke of *Italia*.

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[38] Jean Marie Pailler, *Bacchus: Figures et Pouvoirs* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1995). Pailler states that Galsterer argued unconvincingly that *Italia* would only have referred to the *ager Romanus*; cf. Mouritsen, *Italian Unification: A Study in Ancient and Modern Historiography* 50. Mouritsen argues that what Livy meant by *Italia* is irrelevant but then proceeds to discuss a number of instances in which *Italia*'s meaning is of prime importance.

[39] "So great was the power of Etruria that the renown of her people had filled not only the inland parts of Italy but also the coastal districts along the whole length of the land from the Alps to the Straits of Messina."

[40] "His master is given as Pythagoras of Samos, as tradition speaks of no other. But this is erroneous, for it is generally agreed that it was more than a century later, in the reign of Servius Tullius, that Pythagoras gathered round him crowds of eager students, in the most distant part of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Crotona."

In 5.33.5, when narrating the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390, Livy states that:

> *ducentis quippe annis ante quam Clusium oppugnarent urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli transcenderunt; nec cum his primum Etruscorum sed multo ante cum iis qui inter Appenninum Alpesque incolebant saepe exercitus Gallici pugnauere.*[43]

The fact that Livy mentions that the Gauls had traversed the Alps and arrived in Italy would point to a geographical understanding of *in Italiam* rather than that prominent in the Republican era. Across the Alps one would encounter Etruria long before the *ager Romanus*, which was by no means part of the Roman sphere of influence.[44]

In 21.2.1, Livy discusses Carthaginian plans to invade Italy prior to Hannibal's attack:

> *His anxius curis ita se Africo bello quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit ut appareret maius eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum et, si diutius vixisest, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse quae Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.*[45]

It is very clear in this passage that Livy uses *Italia* to describe the whole of peninsular Italy rather than simply the *ager Romanus*. Hannibal did not only invade the *ager Romanus*, but had to pass the Alps in order to get to Italy; it was this crossing which was seen as a hostile gesture by Livy, since Hannibal was entering Roman territory.

Furthermore, in 39.13.6, Livy has the courtesan Hispala ask for safety in the following manner: *ut se extra Italiam aliquot ablegarent, ubi reliquum vitae degree tuto posset*.[46] In this case, it seems clear that *extra Italiam* does not mean outside the *ager Romanus*, since many Bacchic cult members resided there.[47] It is much more probable that this refers to a request to be sent to one of the provinces, which would be a safeguard against "Italian" groups angered at her denunciation of the cult. Another passage again points to such an interpretation: *Si quis eorum, qui tum extra terram Italiam essent, nominaretur, ei laxiorem diem daturos*.[48] This passage directly implies a reference to geographical area; a similar treatment of the word *extra terram Italia* can be found in official documents, as demonstrated by Pailler.[49]

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[41] Polyb. 7.1.

[42] R.M. Peterson, *The Cults of Campania* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1919), 282.

[43] "But it is quite clear that those who attacked that city were not the first who crossed the Alps. As a matter of fact, Gauls crossed into Italy two centuries before they attacked Clusium and took Rome".

[44] Pailler, *Bacchanalia* 330.

[45] "Smarting under these wrongs, he made it quite clear from his conduct of the African War which followed immediately upon the conclusion of peace with Rome, and from the way in which he strengthened and extended the rule of Carthage during the nine years' war with Spain, that he was meditating a far greater war than any he was actually engaged in, and that had he lived longer it would have been under his command that the Carthaginians effected the invasion of Italy, which they actually carried out under Hannibal."

[46] "That they [Sulpicia and the consul Postumius] would banish her somewhere outside Italy, where she could pass the rest of her life in safety."

Although Livy did not use Polybius as a source, the Greek historian can be used to determine the sphere of influence of the Senate during the time of the Bacchanalian Affair and to uncover the Republican understanding of the word *Italia*. Polybius describes the Roman constitution, as well as the area of influence of the consuls and the Senate, by writing that "the consuls […] remain in Rome and exercise supreme authority over all public affairs."[50] This would seem to mean that the consuls did not have authority over private matters. As for the Senate, Polybius writes that "any crimes committed in Italy which require a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning and assassination, also come under the jurisdiction of the Senate."[51]

Badian argues, however, that it is highly unlikely that the Italian allies would have allowed such an intrusion into internal affairs.[52] Indeed, it is implausible that the treaties between the Romans and the allies would have included a clause which allowed such intrusion, and it is also implausible that the Senate would have been interested in intruding unless there was a threat to the treaty between the allies and Rome.[53] When discussing the powers of the Senate, Polybius uses the term "Italy" on account of its convenience versus the term "Roman territories outside of Rome."[54] This would seem to imply that Polybius was not referring to the Italian allies, but rather to the *ager Romanus*; furthermore, he uses the term "all over Italy" to describe areas which clearly are in the *ager Romanus*.[55] He writes, "all over Italy an immense number of contracts, far too numerous to specify, are awarded by the censors for the construction and repair of public buildings […] in a word every transaction which comes under the control of the Roman government."[56] Therefore, the Senate would not have had jurisdiction outside the *ager Ro-*

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[47] Pailler, *Bacchanalia* 331.

[48] "If anyone was named of those who were at that time outside the land of Italy, they would fix a more elastic date if he wished to come to plead his cause" (39.17.2).

[49] Pailler comments on the similarity between this passage in Livy and the *Lex Agraria* of 111BC: "L'expression à caractère indubitablement géographique *terra It*. se retrouve, comme l'observe Galsterer, dans des documents officials de la République, notamment dans ces passages très explicite de la *lex agraria* de 111 : *civis Romanus sociumve nominisve Latini, quibus ex formula togatorum milites in terra Italia imperare solent*" (*Bacchanalia 41*).

[50] Polyb. 6.13.

[51] Polyb. 6.13.

[52] Ernst Badian, *Foreign Clientelae, 264-70 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 142, 145.

[53] Mouritsen, 46.

[54] *Ibid.*, 46.

[55] *Ibid.*, 47. Mouritsen mentions that his claim is highly contested, however, he does make the interesting point that if indeed Livy used Polybius as a source, he would have read the word *Italia* as describing the *ager Romanus* and would have thus believed that it meant the whole of peninsular Italy and not the regions intended by Polybius. Indeed, this would have worked perfectly within Livy's frame of mind, since he was living under a unified Italy.

[56] Polyb. 6.17; cf. Mouritsen, 47 n.30.

manus, and the reason why Polybius does not specify this is that his audience would have known what he was referring to when he said "Italy" instead of "Roman territories outside of Rome." Livy, however, seems to have understood the term as it would have been used under Augustus; his *Italia* resembles much more the *tota Italia* propaganda of Augustus' time. It is by comparing these two historians that we see where the problem of terminology lies.

Now we turn to the Bacchanalian Affair itself. We know that the cult had been present in and around Rome for quite some time; the courtesan Hispala states that she had been initiated when still a child, which would suggest that the cult had been present prior to 200.[57] There is also much physical evidence which points to the antiquity of the cult, most notably in the form of coins, statuettes, sarcophagi and frescoes found throughout Southern Italy, Campania and Etruria, that is, the regions in which the cult of Bacchus had originated, according to Livy, in its corrupted form.[58] Livy also mentions that the cult had ancient standing: *Bacchanalia tota iam pridem Italia et nunc per urbem etiam multis locis esse*.[59] Thus, it is safe to say that the cult was certainly not new in Italy. It had however been introduced by Italians rather than by Romans; this may be a reason why the Senate feared the spread of the cult.

The second century has been seen as a period of growing Roman interventionism amongst its Italian allies. Mouritsen discredits this view by arguing that during the second century Rome needed her allies due to a shortage of manpower needed to fill the ranks of the Roman army.[60] Mouritsen's theory has recently been discredited by N. Rosenstein who argues that there was in fact a surplus of manpower in the *ager Romanus* owing to evidence that Rome's farm economy relied on the family unit, and that there would therefore be no need for such a great allied contribution.[61] Thus the argument that in the second century Rome would not have dared to expand her hegemony and infringe on the jurisdiction of her allies due to a need for allied military support no longer holds sway. However, Rome did generally try to avoid intervention into allied affairs, but there may very well have been exceptions. For the sake of military cooperation, Rome had no choice but to intervene in allied affairs that might threaten the treaties that they honoured.[62] There are several incidents however which do not fit this realist analysis in which the Romans intervened only when the security of an ally, or their own security, was in danger. In both 198 and 196, the Romans crushed slave rebellions in Latium and Etruria, although these did not directly threaten the treaties that Rome had with its allies. These are but two of many instances in which Rome intervened directly into allied affairs without repercussions; in these instances, the allies needed

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[57] Liv. *Epon.* 39.12.6.

[58] Gruen, 50. Gruen further mentions an Etruscan inscription of a priest of Bacchus, Laris Pulenas, c.a. 200 BC, which states that the cult was well established and publicly accepted in Etruria by this time.

[59] "As to the Bacchanalia, I am assured that you have learned that they have long been celebrated all over Italy." This is part of Postumius' speech to the Senate in which he discusses the dangers of the cult in their present form, that is, nocturnal and uncontrolled. Liv. *Epon.* 39.15.6.

[60] Mouritsen, 44-45. Mouritsen states that the allies need not have been antagonized since they contributed between forty-two and forty-five percent of soldiers in the Roman army; cf. footnote n.24 in which Harris states that Rome was constantly placing troops to fill its ranks, and therefore Rome would not have tried to expand its influence in order to avoid a larger shortage.

[61] Nathan Rosenstein, *Rome at War,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) 26-63.

[62] Macdonald, 13.

[63] Gruen, 44-45.

Roman support, even though neither had asked for such support before the Romans intervened.[63] The Romans sent out magistrates with special powers to calm these rebellions in order that the allies would not perceive such an action as a breach of treaty, which would lead to significant military and economic difficulties. Furthermore, many of the cities that were thus encroached upon would have to surrender hostages, see a number of their citizens executed, and in the most extreme of cases, would have a garrison placed within their city walls.[64] At any time the rights of war could be declared in order to guarantee the allied treaties. In the early second century, however, it would nonetheless seem that benevolent relations prevailed between the Romans and the Italians; a number of *civitas sine suffragio* were given the status of full Roman citizenship, and allies were given the right to marry Roman women and have legitimate Roman children.[65]

In comparison to this cooperative atmosphere, the repression of the Bacchanalia seems rather out of place. Later Roman authors in fact mention the Bacchanalia as an example of Roman severity. Cicero, for instance, wrote:

> C'est un sujet sur lequel la sévérité de nos ancêtres se marque dans la décision du Sénat relative aux Bacchanales ainsi que dans l'enquête et répression exécutée par les consuls avec l'appui de l'armée. Mais pour qu'on ne trouve pas que nous sommes trop sévères, rappelons qu'au cœur de la Grèce, Diagondas de Thèbes a supprimé les sacrifices nocturnes par une loi valable à perpétuité.[66]

Similarly, Valerius Maximus, who viewed the scandal as a disgrace which tarnished the reputation of Rome, wrote:

> The Senate was equally severe when it ordered the consuls Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus to hold an investigation into those women who had abandoned chastity and joined the Bacchic cult. Many of the women were found guilty by the consuls, and they were all out to death by their relatives in their homes. The disgrace of this scandal spread far and wide, but it was atoned for by the severity with which it was punished. If these women, by their disgraceful behaviour, had caused such great embarrassment to our state, their heavy punishment won us equally great praise."[67]

As is demonstrated by these two authors, later views regarding the repression were approving of its severity; the eruption of the affair demonstrated that good Republican values that had gone into disrepair or had been corrupted. Thus both consuls were seen as having protected Roman youths and Roman moral standards by repressing the cult.

Some scholars, including Mouritsen, have argued that the Senate dealt with a Bruttian magistrate when writing the decree to ensure that they would not overstep their political boundaries.[68] There is no evidence however for such a magistrate being present, and certainly the decree would have been formulated differently had a Bruttian inscribed it; for example, there would have been no need to include the clause that "Chez les Bacchantes qu'aucun homme ne se présente, ni citoyen romain, ni citoyen de droit latin ou allié à moins de s'être présenté au préteur urbain et que celui-ci, sur avis du Sénat."[69] Similarly with the line that has brought much debate amongst scholars: "Participaient à la rédaction M. Claudius M. f., L. Valerius P. f., Q. Minucius C. f. – Au sujet des Bacchanales des alliés."[70] This last line has been quite controversial because it would seem to suggest direct infringement into allied affairs. The main opponents of this theory have tried to play around with the word *foideratei*. Mouritsen provides no evidence to disprove the theory that this can be translated to "allies," except for stating that "the latter solution does not conform with the status of the *ager Teuranus*, apparently a Roman prefecture, or with the Latin language used in the inscription."[71] Without concrete evidence, Mouritsen applies Mommsen's equally unproven analysis, which argues that the word simply means "Bacchants".[72] Mouritsen, although he points out importantly that if Tiriolo was indeed a prefecture, then it would legally have been under Roman jurisdiction, does not to prove that the treaty was aimed only at those over which Rome had authority. The decree is clearly aimed at the allies, as is evidenced by the use of word *foideratei*.[73] Furthermore, the decree mentions Latins, allies, and Roman citizens; if it had been aimed solely at the *ager Romanus* as has been suggested, this distinction would not have been necessary since all Latin, and many allied peoples living within the *ager Romanus*, could be made Roman citizens relatively easily. Furthermore, the decree states that any contravention of any of the clauses could be punishable by death, and there is no mention of imprisonment as a punishment, as in Livy's narrative. It is possible that in the case of Tiriolo, the Senate was not overstepping its boundaries because the inscription was found in a prefecture. However, the language of the decree suggests that it was aimed at all of the allies, as opposed to only those that were in the Roman sphere of influence, such as the prefectures. There is nowhere else a description of a Bacchant as an ally, and it is clear that the term translates quite literally to "of the allies," as it is in the genitive form. Furthermore, it would have been redundant to say the Bacchanal of the Bacchants, when one is clearly included in the other. This analysis thus discredits Mouritsen and Mommsen's theory, which has no evidence on which to base itself.

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[64] Macdonald, 13.

[65] Gruen, 45. Both the Roman Senate and the people of Rome had allowed for these privileges to be given to both the Latins and the Italians.

[66] Cic. *Leg*. 2.15.37.

[67] Val. Max. 6.3.7.

[68] Mouritsen, 53.

The most telling aspect of the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, however, is what is not included in the decree. Nowhere is there mention of the moral justification which Livy employs in his narrative. The inscription makes no mention of imprisonment for lesser crimes, as Livy does in 39.18.2-

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[69] *SC de Bacchanalibus* lines 7-8. *Bacas vir nequis adiese velet ceivis romanus neve nominus latini neve socium quisquam nisei PR urbanum adiesent isque de senatuos sententiad*.

[70] *SC de Bacchanalibus* line 2. *Duelonai SC. ARF. M. Claudi M. f. L. Valeri P. f. Q. Minuci C. f. de Bacchabalibus quei foideratei*.

[71] Mouritsen, 54.

[72] Theodor Mommsen, *Romisches Sataatsrecht*, 249 n.3, as cited in Mouritsen, 54.

[73] See discussion on the controversial nature of this line in the decree; it has been made clear that this meant "of the allies" as opposed to any other suggested translation, which would be out of place in the context of the decree.

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> Those who had merely been initiated and had made their prayers in accordance with the ritual formula, the priest dictating the words, in which the wicked conspiracy to all vice and lust was contained, but had committed none of the acts to which they were bound by the oath against either themselves or others, they left in chains; upon those who had permitted themselves to be defiled by debauchery or murder, who had polluted themselves by false testimony, forged seals, substitution of wills or other frauds, they inflicted capital punishment.

The *SC de Bacchanalibus* only mentions the death penalty: "les Sénateurs ont décidé qu'il seraient passibles de la peine de mort."[74] These small differences, in conjunction with the nebulous sources Livy uses, as well as his moralizing tendency and a religious zeal fitting of his time, leaves room for a loose interpretation of the events surrounding the repression in 186. It would indeed seem that the Senate wanted, among other things, to extend its influence amongst the Italian allies; the *SC de Bacchanalibus* seems to corroborate this analysis in light of the controversial clause suggesting that the decree was indeed directed towards the allies.[75]

The *quaestio extra ordinem* decreed by the Senate gave the consuls power not only in their sphere of influence, that is, Rome and the *ager Romanus*, but also amongst the allies of Rome.[76] It has been suggested that after the Second Punic war, the allies gave up much of their independent authority to the growing hegemony in the Mediterranean, Rome. Roman dominance stifled the allies' influence, and the treaties between them no longer restricted Rome's powers. The concept of Rome as a centralized government is by far an exaggeration for this time period, as Italy was nowhere near united in the Middle Republic, but Rome nevertheless acted on several occasions as a patron in foreign relations and in local politics.[77] During the Bacchanalia, Roman influence was extended through the *quaestio*, and all rights that the allies had previously held were set aside during this "state of emergency."[78] The *quaestio* allowed the Senate to annul all federal rights by suspending constitutional guarantees to the allies and intervening directly in local affairs.[79] Rome's extending influence was seen most prominently among the Italian cities of Southern Italy and Magna Graecia, which saw their jurisdiction encroached upon by the Roman administration in the early second century.[80] By the second century, the Romans were in a position of such great power that they could infringe upon civic authority without much resistance; Rome could therefore regulate a foreign cult which had been corrupted by Campanian and Etruscan, but also feminine, influences.

The presence of women is striking in Livy's narrative; Aebutius is tricked by his mother, but saved by his lover Hispala. He goes to see his aunt Aebutia who speaks with the consul's mother-in-law Sulpicia about a cult perverted by the Campanian priestess Paculla Annia. Livy's dichotomy between good and evil women is at the heart of the Bacchanalian Affair and should be dealt with in detail when studying the repression. The fear that this cult produced within the Senate was a determinant factor with regard to the cult's repression.

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[74] *Scriptum est eeis rem capitulem faciendam censuere*; see Pailler, *Bacchanalia*.

[75] See n. 61.

[76] Gruen, 35.

[77] Mouritsen, 40.

[78] Pailler, *Bacchanalia* 173.

[79] Macdonald, 16.

[80] *Ibid.*, 13. Macdonald states that this encroachment was seen as especially tyrannical and caused great resentment since these cities treasured their civic identities, which differentiated them inherently from the rest of Italy.

Sulpicia is referred to as *gravis* or *gravissima* and these adjectives are constantly used when she is spoken of. She may be the same Sulpicia who was chosen in the Second Punic War as the chastest of women and who received the cult image of Venus Vericordia.[81] Aebutia was also a well respected matron, renowned for her decency and for her adherence to ancient traditional customs.[82] As for Hispala, she is not particularly brave, but she has a good heart and is eventually rewarded by the Senate and declared an honourable lady. These are the three women who helped the consul and the Senate uncover the Bacchanalian scandal.

In opposition to these women who uphold traditional Roman values are the Bacchants, portrayed by Livy as wicked and cunning women who try to distort such values. Paculla Annia is the villain of the story, since she dared to change an exclusively female cult into one which accepted men. This is no doubt one of the reasons why the cult was feared by senatorial authorities: it had been changed drastically from its original form which had posed no threat to the Rome. Furthermore, the Bacchants portrayed by Livy are madwomen who evoke the image of the frenzied Maenads of Greek literature. Interestingly enough, they acted outside of the private sphere, and outside official control, and created laws of their own. This is another important reason why the authorities were fearful of the cult, which had only recently developed into something that the Senate could no longer control. As long as it had been exclusively female, it had been tolerated, but as soon as men became involved, the Senate felt it had to act.

The idea that young men were initiated before the age of twenty meant that they were getting initiated at exactly the same time as they were supposed to obtain their *toga virilis*; this could not be tolerated by the Senate. In addition, the young men were required to begin their military service between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The initiations of the cult would have interfered with this, and thus directly with the Roman Senate.[83] Furthermore, "for the authorities, the most alarming aspect of this gathering of marginals […] was the fact that very young men were initiated by their mothers […]. In short, women were taking the place of both the father and the city."[84] This statement points to a growing problem of the second century, that is, the rise of maternal power,[85] although Livy does not seem to point much towards this at all. Livy, however, saw not only women as a source of evil, but also effeminate men: "a great number are women, and they are the source of this evil; next there are men most like women."[86]

This internal hierarchy within the Bacchic cult undermined the established, traditional, patriarchal hierarchy of the Romans. Furthermore, the young men were initiated prior to their military service and to their grant of citizenship. This seemingly unimportant aspect of the cult is in fact extremely significant when compared to the importance of the allies in the Roman military; although it was argued previously that the Romans were not at this time in dire need of the allies in order to fill their ranks, it would have been impossible for the Roman army to continue to levy legions at the same rate without the allies entirely, was cult membership to grow to such an extent.

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[81] Hanninen, 116.
[82] *Ibid.*, 115-116.
[83] Sarolta A. Takacs, "Politics and Religion in the Bacchanalian Affair of 186 BCE," *HSCP* 100 (2000): 306.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] J. Scheid, "The Religious Role of Roman Women," as cited in Takacs, 306.
[86] Liv. *Epon.* 39.15.9.

If the cult had thus threatened both the institution of Rome and its military, the Senate would hardly have needed more of an incentive to intrude into allied jurisdiction to prevent Bacchic worship from spreading. By establishing impossible requirements for the legal worship of the cult, the Senate discouraged the practice of Bacchic rituals entirely.[87] It has been suggested that it was the highly structured group hierarchy that was truly feared by the Senate, and that they genuinely saw it as threatening to the Roman social order.[88] The cult may be seen as a form of public degeneracy that would have threatened the established order; with numbers only in the thousands, however, one can still hardly believe that the cult was threatening enough to justify the Senate's severity. As the Senate was able to dictate religious terms, it was in a good position to ensure and crystallize its political control over the whole of Italy. It is very important to note that the Senate exerted control over religious activities pertaining to the *res publica*;[89] senators became the religious officials and its leaders would make decisions that guided the behaviour of the citizens, whether they pertained to sacrifices, festivals or traditional cult rituals. In this context, one can see that both unsanctioned religious cults and popular foreign unregulated cults would make the Senate rather uneasy.

Livy's narrative is highly romanticized and on many occasions he undermines his own credibility by contradicting himself, as can be seen in Postumius' speech, in which the consul states both that the cult is widely known, but yet none know what it is.[90] If indeed the cult was widely known, and the senators were afraid of finding conspirators amongst their ranks, then it hardly seems necessary for Postumius to have waited for Hispala to confide in him in order to find out about the Bacchic rituals. Furthermore, it must be understood that speeches are generally fabricated by the historian; while this fabrication is not detrimental to the narrative, the speeches surely furthered a point which Livy wanted to make. It is also important to note that as Livy developed as a writer, his work became more mature; at the same time however it was increasingly filled with speeches which the historian felt made his point stronger.

In Livy's account, there is no senatorial debate regarding what to do about the Bacchanalia; even when the Magna Mater was to be brought to Rome the Senate held a debate concerning the cult.[91] This is extremely telling since the introduction of the Magna Mater was made at the demand of the

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[87] The *SC de Bacchanalibus* sets a requirement of one hundred senators in order for the demand of assembly of a Bacchant be granted; it is highly unlikely that such a trivial matter would interest one hundred senators, and even less that more than this number would show up to the hearing. Therefore, it was practically impossible for the Bacchants to get permission to assemble, and if by a slim chance they were granted permission, their freedom of assembly and ritual performance was incredibly restricted.

[88] Mary Beard et al., *Religions of Rome*, Vol. I, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 95.

[89] Gruen, 55.

[90] See Liv. *Epon.* 39.15.6-8 for an elaboration of the speech of Postumius; also see above for discussion on the speech itself.

[91] Liv. *Epon.* 29.10.4.11.

Sibylline Oracles, which was a much more reliable source of information than a courtesan present at but a few rituals during her youth as a slave.

It is evident that the debate surrounding the Bacchanalian Affair may never be resolved. However, I have made an attempt to present the opinions of both sides of the debate in order to highlight a more nuanced understanding of the underlying factors of the repression. On the one hand, the Senate was genuinely fearful of the cult in the form in which Paculla Annia had transformed it. Not only did it offer women much more power in society due to its internal hierarchy, but it also hindered the political and military training of Roman citizens. Furthermore, membership of the cult seems to have been quite widespread, with both lower and upper class citizens mingling in nocturnal orgies. The fact that the cult was highly hierarchical and very well organized can also be seen as threatening Roman authority. The cult furthermore had originated outside of Rome and, in addition to being foreign, it had not been brought into Italy under the auspices of the Senate, as was the case for the cults of Asclepius, Venus Erycina and the Magna Mater. These were all determining factors in the repression of the cult of Bacchus. The *SC de Bacchanalibus* however does not seek to abolish the cult completely, but only to have the Senate regain authority and control over it. Granted, the Senate makes it very difficult to hold Bacchic rituals, but there is no clause suggesting that it aimed to destroy the cult of Bacchus in Italy.

On the other hand, the Senate may have acted more rashly than necessary because it saw an opportunity to expand its hegemony throughout Italy. As has been mentioned, there is no doubt that the Senate feared the cult, however, this would not rule out their desire to expand their hegemony. It has been proven that the decree was in fact aimed at all of the allies as opposed to those under Roman jurisdiction or having the status of prefecture. The term *foideratei* is proof that the Senate had sent this decree throughout Italy and imposed its decision over all its allies. This was a breach of allied jurisdiction, and the Senate was fully aware of what it was doing. We have no record of the allies complaining of this encroachment simply because Livy would not have felt the need to record such complaints in his narrative. Rather, he believed that the Senate had acted properly in crushing a foreign, immoral and degenerate cult.

The Bacchanalian Affair was the result of both fear and an opportunity for expansion; neither explanation is in itself sufficient. Gruen, Pailler and Mouritsen's arguments are all flawed since they dismiss important elements which might contradict their theses. The repression was much more complicated than either side claims it to be. It is, in fact, an excellent example of Roman ingenuity. Although the Senate feared an attack on their authority, they used such an attack to expand their hegemony. The Senate reacted rapidly to threats from within Italy. Indeed, if the change in cult membership was made relatively late, then the Senate in fact acted as soon a threat was presented. It can be argued that because the Senate believed that the cult posed a dangerous threat, it acted for the common good by expanding Rome's hegemony. Rome was the most powerful political entity in the Mediterranean, so surely it was in a position to protect Italy from such a debauched and perverted cult. The extent to which the Senate reacted may have been excessive, but the reaction itself was warranted. Gruen, Pailler and Mouritsen are all too radical to grasp the true motivations behind the Bacchanalian Affair; hopefully the debate will be more nuanced in the future.

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Vanessa Peters

The Shields of Achilles and Aeneas: *The Worlds Portrayed by Homer and Vergil*

The epic simile is a common device in epic poetry; it forms a relationship between two unlikely things and causes one to be viewed through the lens of the other. Unlike a normal simile, an epic simile has a fully developed vehicle that reflects the complexity back on the tenor; that is, an epic simile, in its increased length and depth, can have layers of complexity that a normal simile cannot. The shield of Achilles (Hom. *Il*. 18.558-709) in Book 18 of Homer's *Iliad* and the shield of Aeneas (Verg. *Aen*. 8.738-858) in book 8 of Vergil's *Aeneid* are examples of epic similes, in which the poet takes the role of the god who forges the shield and can comment on society unobtrusively.[1] These shields convey different perspectives of Greek and Roman society. Whereas Homer shows the world of peace in contrast to the world of war to illustrate the tragedy of the *Iliad*, Vergil expresses Roman triumphalism to glorify Rome and her people.

Book 18 of the *Iliad* marks a turning point in the epic. In it, Achilles decides to return to battle in order to avenge Patroclus' death by killing Hector. Since he has lost his armour to the enemy, his mother Thetis, knowing that his fate is sealed, beseeches Hephaestus to forge him a new set (*Il*. 18.534). The god agrees to her request and sets out to work, creating a magnificent shield for Achilles to wear in battle. Correspondingly Book 8 of the *Aeneid* is also a turning point within the narrative. As war breaks out with the Latins, Aeneas sets out in accordance with a dream to seek and form an alliance with Evander. Meanwhile, his mother Venus, fearing for his life, begs Vulcan to fashion armour for Aeneas (*Aen*. 8.447). He acquiesces and forges a new set, which Venus delivers to Aeneas. Upon receiving these arms he gazes admiringly at the gifts and most especially at the workmanship of the shield (*Aen*. 8.727).

In both cases these shields form epic similes, both in their relation to their creators, as well as in the descriptions of their designs. An elaborate comparison is drawn between the god Hephaestus/Vulcan and his shield to the poet and his poem. Hephaestus and Vulcan are manifestations of Homer and Vergil in the poem. Homer's description of the shield opens with "*Hephaestus makes a great and massive shield*" (*Il*. 18.558) and "*the god creates a world of gorgeous immortal work*" (*Il*. 18.564). Similarly Vergil begins his description with the lines: "*the story of Italy, / Rome in all her triumphs. There the fire-god forged them*" (*Aen*. 8.738-739). The god creates what the poet wishes the audience to see. Like Homer and Vergil, Hephaestus and Vulcan are craftsmen and fashion a work of art through their own medium: the gods via metals and the poets by means of words, both of which shape a world.

The shield of Achilles consists of five concentric circles, which Homer describes from the centre outward. In the innermost circle Hephaestus forges the earth, the heavens and the sea (*Il*. 18.565-571). In the following circle he places depictions of city life, where examples of the city at peace, such as marriage celebrations (*Il*. 18.572-579) and a law case (*Il*. 18.580-592), are in apposition to examples of the city at war, such as the siege (*Il*. 18.593-604), the ambush of the herd (*Il*. 18.605-622) and the ensuing mêlée (*Il*. 18.623-628). Scenes from rural life compose the next circle, which is divided by season: spring (*Il*. 18.629-638), summer (*Il*. 18.639-653), autumn (*Il*. 18.654-669) and winter (*Il*. 18.670-688).

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[1] I will follow Fagles' translation of both *The Iliad* and *The Aeneid* in order to maintain the same stylistic translation for my analysis.

The fourth circle shows dancing (*Il*. 18.689-707) and the outermost circle is the River Ocean, encircling the rim of the shield (*Il*. 18.708-709).[2]

In contrast the shield of Aeneas contains scenes drawn from Rome's past, divided into a series of six vignettes, which surround the shield's prominent centrepiece. The images are in chronological order, beginning with the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus (*Aen*. 8.742-747). Then follows the rape of the Sabine women (*Aen*. 8.747-754). Afterwards there is the segment about Mettus (*Aen*. 8.754-758) preceding the images of Porsenna and the attempted return of the Tarquins (*Aen*. 8.758-764). The next section of scenes at the top of the shield depict the crisis of the 390s B.C.E. (*Aen*. 8.764-780) including Manlius' repulse of the Gauls, the dancing of the Salii and the Luperci, and the parade of the matrons. The final division depicts Catiline and Cato in the underworld (*Aen*. 8.780-785). The description ends with the portrayal of Caesar Augustus' climatic battle at Actium against Mark Antony and Cleopatra (*Aen*. 8.785-836), and his subsequent triumphal entry into Rome (*Aen*. 8.836-853) is the shield's centrepiece.[3]

These elaborately structured shields are examples of *ekphrasis*. Kurman defines *ekphrasis* is a literary work that describes an object of art or some other created thing.[4] In the case of these shields, *ekphrasis* shares a similar function with the epic simile. Both operate to slow the pace of the narrative by presenting images that are not or only remotely related to the plot of the epic. Kurman equally states that *ekphrases* and similes cause breaks in the narrative by turning the audience's mind and making them forget the present action in thought of something else.[5] In the passages cited above, Achilles' rage and strife recede into the background, as does the imminent war Aeneas is about to begin fighting. Achilles' shield transports the reader spatially away from Troy to another place, whereas Vergil takes this a step further by causing not only a spatial shift, but also a temporal one to other times in Rome's history.[6]

Homer and Vergil both accomplish this transportation of the reader's attention from one place in space and time to another through their selective use of diction. Becker argues that in Homer the static visual images of Achilles' shield translate into stories, using the particular virtues of the verbal medium.[7] Putnam similarly remarks upon this in Aeneas' shield, stating that Vergil is able to make the static imagery mobile through the activity of words.[8] Thus the poets use descriptive verbs of motion and sound in the present tense rather than in the past tense and therefore convey a sense of vividness in the imagery. Verses such as "*living, breathing men / grappling each other's corpses, dragging off the dead*," (*Il*. 18.627-628) or "*the fresh blood running / red on Neptune's fields*" (*Aen*. 8.815-816) would lose their impact and vibrancy if the underlined verbs were in a past tense.

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[2] Arrangement and divisions of shield imagery as presented in: Oliver Taplin, "The Shield of Achilles within the *Iliad*," *Greece & Rome, 2nd Ser.* vol. 27, no. 1 (1990), 5-11.

[3] Divisions of the shield images as presented in: S.J. Harrison, "The Survival and Supremacy of Rome: The Unity of the Shield of Aeneas," *The Journal of Roman Studies* vol. 87 (1997), 71-76.

[4] As defined in: George Kurman, "Ecphrasis in Epic Poetry," *Comparative Literature* vol. 26, no. 1 (1974), 1; similarly, see: A.S. Becker, "The Shield of Achilles and the Poetics of Homeric Description," *The American Journal of Philology* vol. 111, no. 2 (1990), 139.

[5] Kurman 1974, 5.

[6] Kurman 1974, 6.

[7] Becker 1990, 141.

[8] Michael C.J Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 120.

Homer completes the transportation of the reader's attention by the use of the imagery of sound. The audience would not feel as if it were in Homer's world of the shield without hearing the wedding song of choirs rising on high (*Il*. 18.576), or the young boy singing and playing his lyre in the field (*Il*. 18.664-667), or the roaring of savage lions attacking cattle (*Il*. 18.676-677). Although Vergil's description does have some imagery of sound, such as the goose's squawking warnings of the Gauls' attack (*Aen*. 8.768-769), he is able to shift the reader to another realm through the meticulousness of his descriptions and by leading up to a climatic centrepiece.

Though the poets remove the audience from the present action of the story by the careful use of words, these places still have some relation to the rest of the poem. The scenes that Homer and Vergil create are echoed throughout their respective narratives. The most prominent of these on the shield of Achilles is the city at war, which is a reflection of Troy and of the entire poem itself. Homer describes that this city on the shield is under siege by an army and the city's inhabitants are resisting by arming themselves for a raid in the hope of breaking the siege (*Il*. 18.597-598), all of which expresses Troy's circumstances. Upon the shield there are old men, women and children on the ramparts watching their armed men go out of the city (*Il*. 18.599-601), which calls to mind a variety of scenes. These include Helen speaking to Priam and the elders on the walls above the gates (*Il*. 3.175-288), and Priam and Hecuba beseeching Hector from the ramparts (*Il*. 22.43-107). This is also the place where Hector finds Andromache instead of at home (*Il*. 6.464-466), and where Andromache rushes to when she learns of Hector's death (*Il*. 22.541-545).

Consequently the armed men on the shield succeed in ambushing some shepherds, which reflects upon the activities of the Achaean army over the past nine years. The Greeks in the Iliad consistently raid the surrounding countryside of Troy in order to sustain themselves. For example, Andromache relates to Hector the fate of her seven brothers, whom Achilles killed during the sacking of Cilicia while they tended flocks (*Il*. 6.500-503). Similarly Homer mentions Priam's two sons, ransomed after Achilles had captured them as they watched their flocks (*Il*. 11.122-124).[9]

In contrast the city at peace suggests what Troy would be like in the absence of war. In peaceful times men and women marry and celebrate their nuptials, yet there are no marriage scenes in the narrative. The shield's marriage scenes remind the audience of the conjugal happiness that Hector and Andromache shared before the war. It makes their situation more pitiable in light of Hector's impending doom, as they will never again enjoy happiness in marriage. Moreover, this passage reminds the audience that war also affected the marital happiness of the Achaeans, who had left behind their homes.

The litigation scene, however, shows that even in an idyllic city disputes can arise. A quarrel ensues over a murdered man in the marketplace, in which one man offers compensation for the murder and the other refuses, wanting revenge instead. This scene recalls the embassy to Achilles in Book 9. In this scene, after Achilles refuses Agamemnon's reparations, Ajax remarks that any man would accept the blood-price for murdered kin and that the injured party should curb his want for revenge once he takes payment (*Il*. 9.772-777). Similarly, at the end of the poem Achilles accepts a ransom from Priam for the recovery of Hector's body (*Il*. 24.167, 587).

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[9] Isus and Antiphus, who are killed by Agamemnon (*Il*. 11.118).

As Hephaestus creates these images of human activity, he frames the mortal sphere with divine boundaries, thus making the shield a veritable microcosm. This microcosm looks to the everyday life of anonymous people in the pastoral world, which includes conflict and discord. It also reminds the audience of the peaceful world the warriors abandoned upon the onset of the war. Homer and Hephaestus show a world of opposition and diversity that contrasts city and countryside, civilization and wilderness, and war and peace.

Throughout the *Iliad* Homer makes allusions to the world of peace by contrasting it to the world of war, and Achilles' shield acts as a lens that focuses upon this opposition of war and peace. It emphasizes Achilles' choice to forego this peaceful existence for undying fame in war. Byre comments that his choice is more poignant since the image of the benevolent king overseeing the harvest (*Il*. 18.646-648) represents what Thetis had wanted for her son.[10] The shield also contrasts Troy's past to its present state by showing what Troy lost in the advent of war. Thus the two finest things in the *Iliad*—Achilles and Troy— will never enjoy what Hephaestus portrays on the shield; this shows the tragic greatness of the poem by revealing the cost of war and of undying fame. The shield allows the audience to see and sympathize with both aspects of warfare. The great deeds of Achilles' and Troy might be worthy of remembrance, but they are accomplished at a terrible price: the loss of peace.

The images Vergil places on Aeneas' shield, however, and the meaning he conveys with them, differ from Homer. The subject matter of the shield recalls and compliments the hero pageant that Anchises shows Aeneas in the underworld (*Aen*. 6.874-1000). Vergil chooses renowned figures from Rome's history and describes them as Aeneas' descendants (*Aen*. 6.876-877, 8.741). In this manner both the underworld episode and the shield serve to portray Roman history by turning historical events into an apparent prophecy of the future.[11]

One further link to the underworld episode is the shield's vignette of the underworld. After the Sibyl points out the roads to Elysium and Tartarus (*Aen*. 6.629-633), Aeneas learns that the men who go to Tartarus are those who "*dared an outrageous crime*" (*Aen*. 6.723). This description contrasts the men in Elysium whose tactics Anchises states "*save our Roman state*" (*Aen*. 6.975). On the shield Vergil characterizes the virtuous of the underworld with Cato, whom Anchises mentions in the parade of heroes (*Aen*. 6.968), and the wicked with Catiline. These figures epitomize the above descriptions and refer to the Catilinarian conspiracy of 63 B.C.E., [12] in which Cato urged the Senate to execute Catiline for his crimes against the State rather than allow him life imprisonment.

However, unlike Homer, Vergil's shield has a prominent centrepiece, which relates to the dénouement of the poem. It depicts Augustus' victory at the battle at Actium, which ends civil strife in the Roman world. Vergil's favourable portrayal of Augustus reflects the popular opinion of him as a civilizing man, whom Vergil says through Anchises "*will bring back the Age of Gold / to the Latian fields*" (*Aen*. 6.915-916). Aeneas is a civilizing hero and will fight his own epic battle in the last four books for the right to found his predestined civilization on Latin soil. By this juxtaposition the reader is meant to associate Augustus with Aeneas. Vergil's decision to place his description of the shield after Aeneas' meeting with Evander is not accidental as the story of Hercules and Cacus (*Aen*. 8.220-309) is still fresh in the reader's mind. This story exemplifies Hercules as the archetypal civilizing hero since he freed Evander's people from Cacus. This second juxtaposition identifies Aeneas, and through him Augustus, with Hercules,[13] who is not only a patron god of Rome,[14] but also civilizing force. Vergil thus places Augustus on par with Aeneas and Hercules.

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[10] Calvin S. Byre, "Narration, Description, and Theme in the Shield of Achilles." *The Classical Journal* vol. 88, no. 1 (1992), 34-35.

[11] Kurman 1974, 6.

[12] Harrison 1997, 74.

The theme of Roman survival and triumphalism underlies the centrepiece and unifies it. Vergil chooses these images from Roman history and represents them as crucial to the survival of Rome.[15] In each instance some danger threatens its existence, but is overcome. At a time when Rome's existence is most at stake, Aeneas receives this shield as a pledge of fulfilment of the mission indicated to him at Troy. He will be victorious and be able to found what will become Rome. The shield acts like a mirror in which Aeneas can look into and take pride in his future descendants— the Roman people. They can simultaneously look back and glorify in their past and know that their greatness was predestined, which Aeneas acknowledges and accepts when he lifts the shield onto his shoulders (*Aen*. 8.857-858). His shield shows the names and deeds of those who throughout the ages would bring Rome to its dominance of the Mediterranean.

The climax of the shield is in the representation of the deeds of the shield's greatest name, Augustus, who according to Vergil decisively establishes Rome as the master of the known world. Vergil declares that Augustus' victory had ended civil strife and averted danger, and Vergil further states that Augustus would bring a peaceful golden age to Rome (*Aen*. 8.915-916). Throughout the poem Vergil compliments and pays tribute to the emperor, and this shield is the crux of his praise. However, Casali claims that the shield is the culmination of the Augustan political propaganda.[16] Undoubtedly here Augustus receives a formidable weapon made of words, but his praises are not unmerited, since he brought back stability to the State.

Vergil bases his shield on Homer's, yet with important differences. Both shields are exemplars of epic simile and *ekphrasis*, serving the same function in slowing the pace of the narrative. Homer creates a microcosm of the pastoral world recalling a past lost in the advent of war. Contrary to Homer, Vergil uses the shield device to portray an apparent future prophecy of Roman military supremacy. These differences arise from the meanings the poets wish to convey through the rhetorical device. Homer sets his shield of peace on a background of war to emphasize the opposition of the two, which illustrates the tragic quality of the *Iliad* by putting it into perspective. Vergil glorifies the greatness of Roman destiny and venerates Augustus' central role in it. Regardless of their meanings, however, the descriptions of the shields of Achilles and Aeneas provide an opportunity where the audience can retreat from the narrative and thus contemplate the passage and the entire poem.

Vanessa Peters

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[13] Christine Perkell, ed., *Reading Virgil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 154.

[14] Homer, *The Aeneid*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Books USA Inc., 2006), 421: The translation's notes indicate that the Greatest Altar was dedicated to Hercules Invictus (the Unconquered) suggesting that he was the most prominent of the Roman pantheon.

[15] H.C.R. Vella, "Vergil's *Aeneid* VIII and the Shield of Aeneas : Recurrent Topics and Cyclic Structures," *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* vol. 5, no. A1 (2004), 9.

[16] Sergio Casali, "The Making of the Shield: Inspiration and Repression in the *Aeneid, Greece and Rome* vol. 53, no. 2 (2006), 185.

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Dan Ruppel

Caesar’s Corny Commentaries: Provisions as Power in *The Gallic War*

“Famine makes greater havoc in an army than the enemy, and is more terrible than the sword.” (Vegetius, *Rei Militaris Instituta, 3.3.1)*

As Rome’s armies set out on wars of conquest and pacification, famine became one of Rome’s greatest fears, but also its harshest tool. Hunger took a significant hold on the Roman conception of military matters. In the mad rage that followed the breach of Jerusalem’s last walls, Josephus attributes a curious turn of pity to the soldiers on behalf of those who died of hunger, before they return to skewering helpless men, women and children en masse (BJ 6.402). Similarly, Julius Caesar describes the Gallic War in terms of the procurement and management of corn. Though the Roman siege engines took several Gallic camps, these were but episodic victories, whereas the legions’ domination of hunger reigned throughout. Caesar’s flashy moments in the heat of battle garner the most attention in discussions of his self-aggrandizement in *The Gallic War*. However, Caesar constructs his narrative so that the interplay of food and famine show that his victories and ultimately, the pacification of Gaul, relied on his superior ability to control the Gallic food supply.

The prevalence of Caesar’s references to corn within such a carefully constructed work indicates the importance of the subject not only to the author, but also to his audience. These references, laconic but often pregnant descriptions of how the various armies secured food (or failed to), permeate his account of the war. Few units set out before Caesar has guaranteed their corn supply. Moreover, the basic justification for his attack of the Helvetii – the threat to the Province – rests on the “important, corn-producing areas” within it (BG 1.10).[1] The famously sparse prose of Caesar does not leave room for extraneous elucidations of esoteric logistical concerns. Rather, the inclusion of these details indicates the broad acknowledgement of the significant well-managed victuals exercised in a well-managed army. By its very repetition, provisioning becomes a rhetorical device that demonstrates Caesar’s superior military competence in an area of recognized importance outside of active warfare. As the legionnaires *qua* construction workers feature prominently on Trajan’s column to illustrate the fundamentality of tasks besides sword-swinging to the outcome of campaigns,[2] so do Caesar’s corn discussions show his mastery over all the arts of a conqueror.

Caesar uses hunger to demonstrate not only military inferiority, but also lack of civilization among his foes, weaving it into the complex tapestry of ethnography in his work. His first campaign ends when the Helvetii capitulate not to his prowess of arms, but to their own stomachs (BG 1.27). The plight of this forlorn vestige of the once proud tribe contrasts with the proud mustering of the German Suebi in their home country. Caesar’s plan to starve them by drawing the local cattle from the fields relies on his consideration that these “ignorant barbarians, would be affected by the lack of food supplies” (BG 6.10). Such reasoning resounds in Caesar’s historiographic successors, and even in modern sources. Adrian Keith Goldsworthy uses the Germans' ignorant oversight of carrying supplies, revealed in Tacitus' *Germanicus,* to support his general thesis that they could not mount a guerilla war against Rome.[3] Despite such subsequent legitimization of his assertion, Caesar's assumption fails to yield results, forcing him to mask the problematic development with the largest digression of his book – fittingly, an ethnography. When Caesar returns to his German foes (BG 6.29), it is he, not they, who is strapped for food. That he uses his anxiety about the corn supplies to justify his retreat reveals the extent to which such concern implied strong leadership. He excuses his own failure to provision by stating that, "the Germans hardly practice agriculture" (*Ibid*.), another thrust at their lack of civilization.

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[1] Quotations from Caesar, *The Gallic War*, trans. Carolyn Hammond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[2] J.E. Lendon, *Soldiers and Ghosts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 250-1. (cf. photograph 245-6).

As he used poor provisioning to indicate barbarism, so did Caesar use the way that Roman commanders dealt with dearth to define an image of strong leadership and place himself within it. Caesar repeatedly renders occurrences as *exemplum*, exhibiting two alternative opinions indicating by favorable or disastrous outcomes, which was the proper path to take.[4] At 5.28-9, Sabinus and Cotta, joint commanders in a winter camp, argue over whether they should abandon the isolated fortifications or stay to withstand the assault threatened by the Gallic chief Ambiorix. Caesar's acknowledged absence from the scene, and the death of its witnesses, attest to the argument's nature as a rhetorical construction. Caesar makes hunger the symbolic seal on Cotta's argument, placing it at the end of his speech. This does not persuade Sabinus or the right-minded centurions, "but [Cotta] raised his voice so that a large number of soldiers could hear him." This demagoguery prevails, but entails a brutal massacre. The demagogue's destruction represents a theme common among ancient historians from Thucydides to Livy, but the capitulation to the fear of hunger, a bodily desire, offends a particularly Roman mentality.

The solution, however, was not dreaded starvation, but action. Severus Galba, faced with a similar situation, follows his centurion in a sortie that leads to an astounding victory (BG 3.3-6). Moreover, when Caesar's unsuccessful stratagem of starving an advancing army came crashing back in his face during his climactic campaign against Vercingetorix, his decisive response further enhanced the image he sought to construct. This Gallic leader's complex strategy combining 'slash and burn' defense, coupled with an offensive system of ambushes (cf.7.15, 7.65) puts Caesar in a dire predicament. In 7.55 he reveals how the perfidious Aedui leaders capture "all [Caesar's] Gallic hostages, his corn, his funds, his own baggage and that of the army," destroying what corn they could not carry. Like the Helvetii mentioned above, the Romans have lost their supplies to the enemy, but they do not capitulate. Rather, this hyperbolized description of their losses serves to make his troops' successful extrication more glorious.

When, during the seventh book, the dining tables have inexplicably turned against the Gauls, Caesar completes his complementary depictions of the Gauls' barbarism and his personal brilliance in the field. Attempting to lift the siege of Avaricum, Vercingetorix finds himself without food (7.18). Caesar gives no justification for this, despite the fact that Vercingetorix controls the very lands that Caesar's troops are trying to forage, which must therefore be plentiful with corn. A literalist explanation could explore Vercingetorix's unwillingness to exact the same type of tribute from his countrymen, or his inability to establish a system sophisticated enough to effect it. On the other hand, living off the people is precisely the expectation that Caesar ascribes to the Gallic commander. Therefore, one may better interpret their shortage as a rhetorical exigency, foreshadowing the grim situation at Aliesia.

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[3] Andrew Keith Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC - AD 200* (Oxford: Oxford Univerity Press, 1996), 46. Contrasting Caesar's concern about Gallic tactical maneuvering (BG 5.15), Goldsworthy notes, "In any study of Rome's opponents, it immediately becomes clear that these were markedly inferior in organization, discipline and tactics to the Roman army," making guerilla war the only possibility of success, 41.

[4] Cf. 6.40 for another example. This narrative tool would resound in Livy's history,

The narrative at Aliesia presents several contradictions that require an interpretation deeper than that of Gallic barbarism to comprehend Caesar's meaning. Caesar clearly intends a connection when, at 7.71, he identifies the Gallic food supply as sufficient for 30 days, and then at 7.74, states that he gathered 30 days of food for his camp. The Gauls run out of food before he does, despite the fact that he states that by rationing, the food could even have lasted longer. A literalist interpretation would argue that his sources were mistaken, or perhaps even that the Gauls were incapable of rationing. Rationing constituted an attribute of Roman military administration unusual even among the army's most refined foes, who often required their troops to acquire their own food,[5] and therefore such a system would be inconsistent with the barbarism of the Gauls. Conversely, one could argue that the crisis is a mere literary device to permit the speech of Critognatus. In the context of Caesar's narrative, however, this event represents the pivotal episode of the longest book. Caesar presents his opponent as capable of systematized distribution of food in order to elevate him above the barbarous practices of his people, forging a suitable foe by utilizing the same framework he has employed for self-aggrandizement throughout.

Few examples of Caesar's rhetorical acumen as potent as Critognatus' speech (BG 7.71) still remain, and so it has been the center of many debates about his work.[6] In the midst of a tirade about the Gaul's need to fight for its freedom, many strangely Roman devices emerge.[7] Stranger still, however, and the subject of most commentary, is the reference to cannibalism. Despite his sharp ethnic distinctions, Caesar makes no other reference to the barbarism of the Gauls – or the Germans for that matter – as being so deplorable that they would consider eating each other. Rather, the speech performs a rhetorical function in the narrative to portray the absolute desperation in the camp, of which Caesar is the cause. Caesar's siege has been so complete, his domination of access to food so dominant, that these relatively civilized people are considering eating their weak. Caesar, critically, does not take the town by force. The crucial victory of his narrative is delivered to him from the starving hands of his most terrible foe.

Retaining the power of distribution gave Caesar control over both his own troops, and dependant peoples. Rationing allowed Caesar to assume the role of patron, on whom his troops relied for their basic needs. The impact this loyalty may have had on later political developments is outside the scope of this essay, but within *The Gallic War*, the proconsul took a clear interest in augmenting this image by giving his narrated self an active role in gathering the corn supply. Reprimanding his subordinates' presumption in refusing his order to follow Ariovistus, he emphasizes that any anxiety over corn supplies would have to be "pretended" unless they doubted Caesar's "commitment" (1.40). Throughout the conquest, he exercises this position on subject peoples to varied effect. The women of the Mandubii who flee to his mercy and his food stores from Ailesia, receive only his snub (BG 7.78).

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[5] Jonathan Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 B.C.-A.D. 235),* (Boston: BRILL, 1999), 14.

[6] Andrew M. Riggs *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words (*Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006*)*, 109-110.

[7] *Ibid.*

On the other hand, after losing their supplies to Caesar's troops, the remainder of the once-proud Helvetii have no option but to accept Caesar's offer to return to their ravaged home and accept the food he orders the Allobroges to deliver (BG 1.28). Caesar's generosity does not extend to those who plead for it, only to those who submit to it – from the former he gains a dependent tribe, from the latter, a slew of dependents.

The order to the Allobroges, meanwhile, demonstrates another way in which he utilized food as a mechanism of control. The Allobroges have a questionable position in relation to Rome at the time of writing, expressed in his own and Cicero's evaluations of them.[8] Thus, when he describes potential perils to their welfare (1.28), he is constructing a relationship in which they depend on his protection, and in ordering the distribution of their corn supplies, he is exerting control over this fundamental aspect of their society to demonstrate – both to them and to his audience – that he can. This type of instilled dependency arises on a more profound level in Caesar's dealings with the Aedui. Caesar's emphasizes their power, but tries to prove that this power derives and depends on his will (cf. BG 5.55). The actual situation is more precarious – he often seems to hide a more balanced distribution of power beneath a veneer of prose. His very vulnerability to Vercingetorix's plan results from his inability to extract corn from the Aedui (BG 7.17), forcing him to resort to the foraging parties that the rebel leader targets. For a practice described as relatively rare,[9] Caesar's troops do a lot of foraging. This may well indicate that his grip on Gaul was not as tight as he would have his reader believe. However, foraging was not a mere act of surrender to unfavorable circumstances.

If the commanders could subject peoples through the management of their food resources, then the legionnaires were apt tools with which to do it. The implements carried by the legionnaire included not only javelins, swords and weapons typically associated with war, but if we presume continuity from Caesar's age to Josephus, equipment to reap the sown lands of the conquered (BJ 3.95). The acquisition of comestibles occupied an entire legion (BG 4.32) not only because it was a massive undertaking,[10] but also because it wreaked great enough havoc on the population to incite resistance. Caesar's legions took their corn and cattle directly from the fields of farmers who had raised it, and the general makes it known that, in Gaul, these farmers were the same men who would form the armies that opposed such forced requisitions (BG 5.1). Indeed, Caesar makes little distinction between foraging or requisitioning and simple pillaging (cf. BG 8.4). At 6.43, Caesar is explicit – his army, whose swords could not reach the Eburones hiding in the forest, could yet get them in the gut; "huge numbers of pack animals and people" engaged in the onslaught of offensive eating, whose destruction ensured that "any people at present in hiding seem likely to die from lack of provisions." Thus did Caesar overcome the terrain, and for this reason guerilla warfare was ineffectual.

As the Gallic War progressed, the campaign season grew more and more irrelevant to determining when Caesar's legions took the fields. Winter campaigns accompanied the increasingly permanent winter camps, for these increasingly became the target of revolts. The Gallic soldiers who nearly overcame Quintus Cicero's northern camp insisted: "they were not of a mind to refuse anything except the provision of winter quartering, which they did not wish to become a fixed practice" (BG 5.41). The camps were not innocent edifices converted into symbols of oppression by the oppressed, but actively oppressive. In addition, the care he takes in describing his distribution of his troops across the country after a poor harvest draws attention to the pressure that these camps exert on the surrounding region (5.24). By purposely sending his troops to winter in areas that had given him the most opposition in the summer (BG 3.29), he uses the camps to punish and quell the populace. The pressure of Roman domination was hardest felt in the winter, but also hardest pressed. That the Carnutes' winter invasion should target "the Roman knight who presided over the corn supply on Caesar's orders" (BG 7.3) garners no surprise – he was the embodiment of Caesar's domination.

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[8] Jane F. Gardner "The 'Gallic Menace' in Caesar's Propaganda" *Greece & Rome*, 2nd Ser., Vol. 30, No. 2. Oct., 1983, (181-189), 182.

[9] Roth, 130.

[10] *Ibid*. 130-2.

Lendon describes Greek warfare as a struggle between the epic virtues espoused in the *Illiad*;[11] an analysis of the Roman art of generalship requires a similar division. Caesar proclaims that the sight of him in battle inspired his troops, and the awareness of his oversight infused his men with the will to accomplish deeds brave and great (BG 2.25). His audience surely applauded this majestic dominance, as have centuries of classicists since. However, his mastery of logistics, particularly provisioning, bore equal responsibility for his success in defeating the Gauls, and more for initiating their transformation from conquered peoples to subjects of an Imperial province. This ability to dominate made the Consul into the first man in Rome. Caesar, therefore, made sure his readers knew that he stood behind the Roman triumph over the 'Belly Gallico.'

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[11] Lendon, 157-8.

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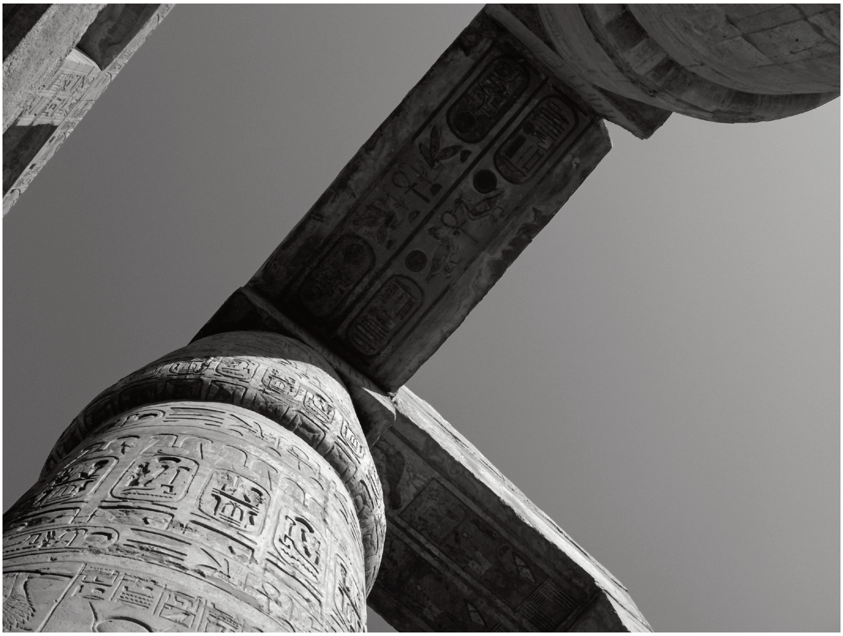

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Detail from the Great Hypostyle Hall, at the Karnak Temple Complex. Luxor, Egypt.
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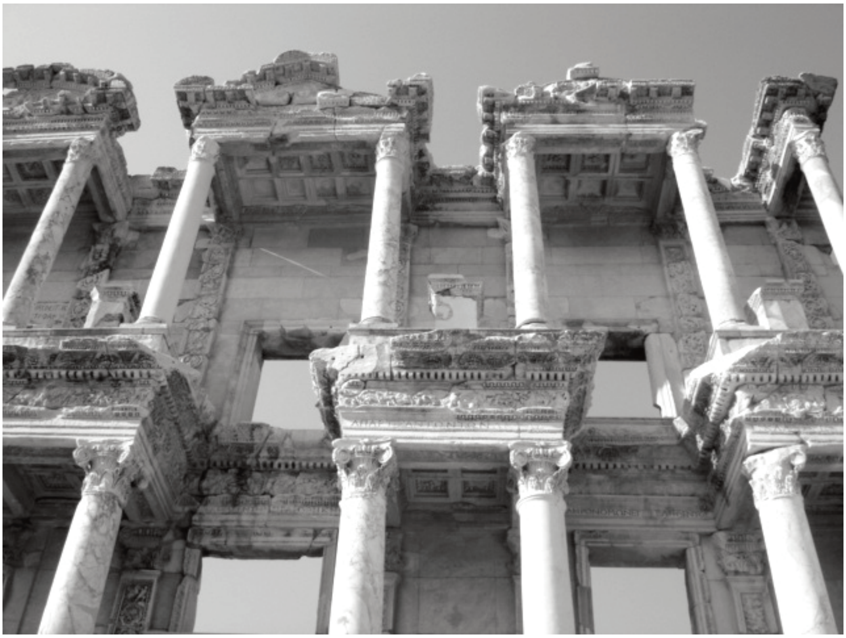

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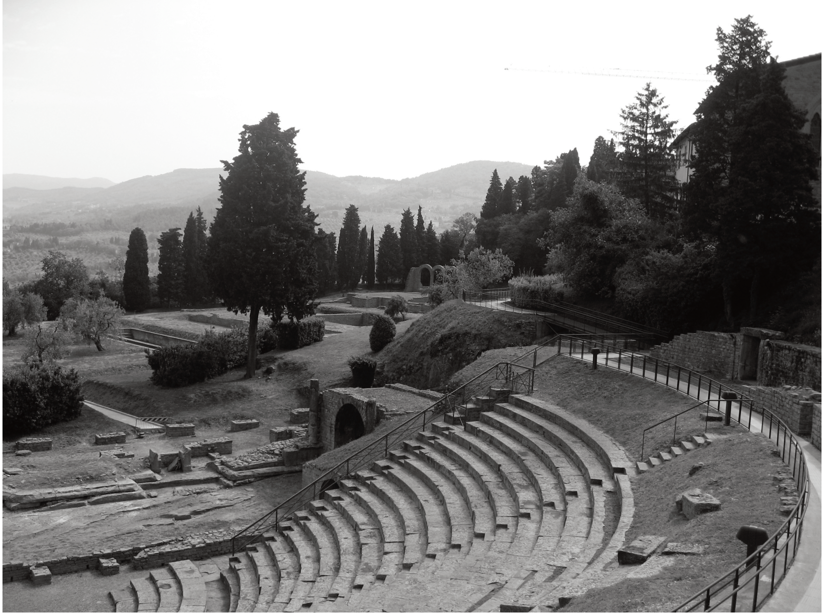

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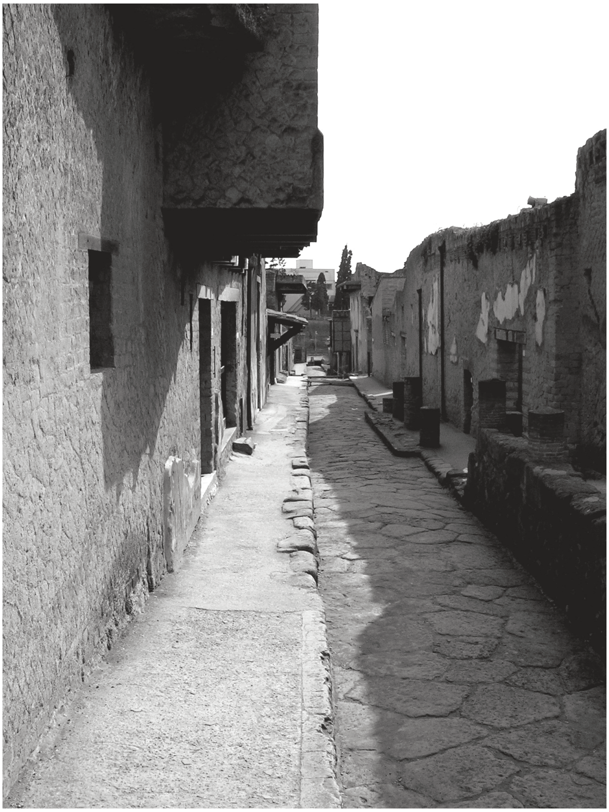

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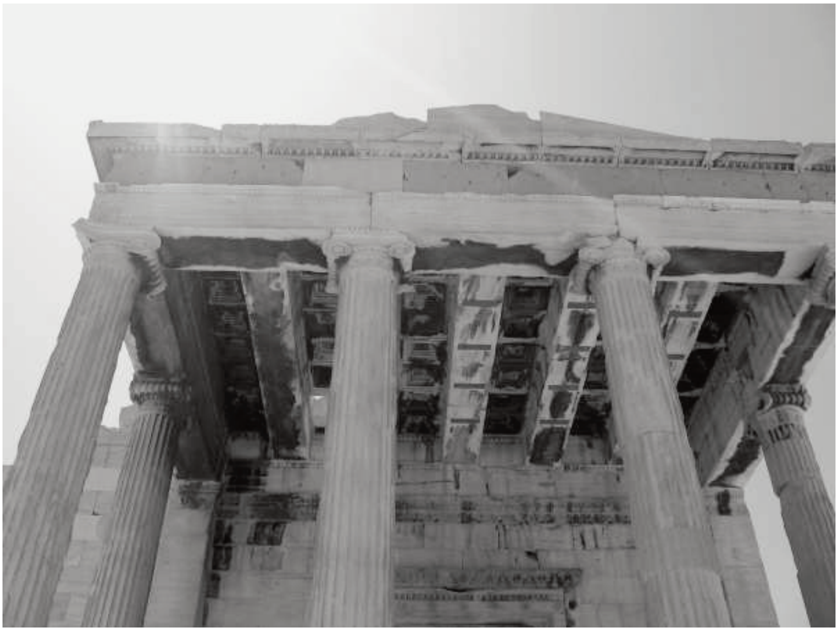

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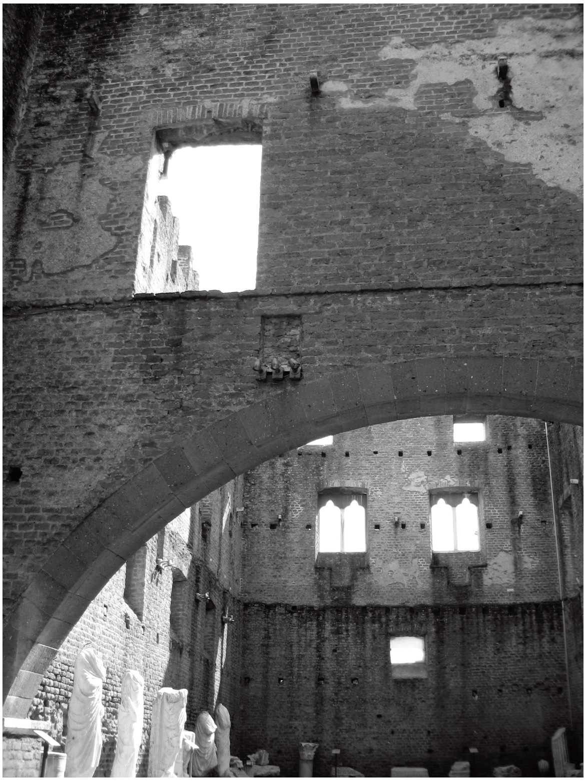

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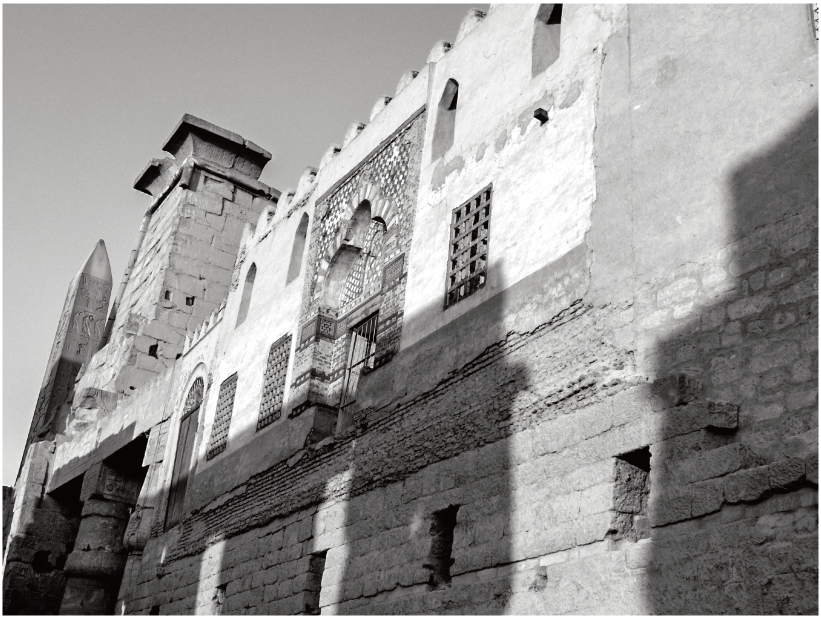
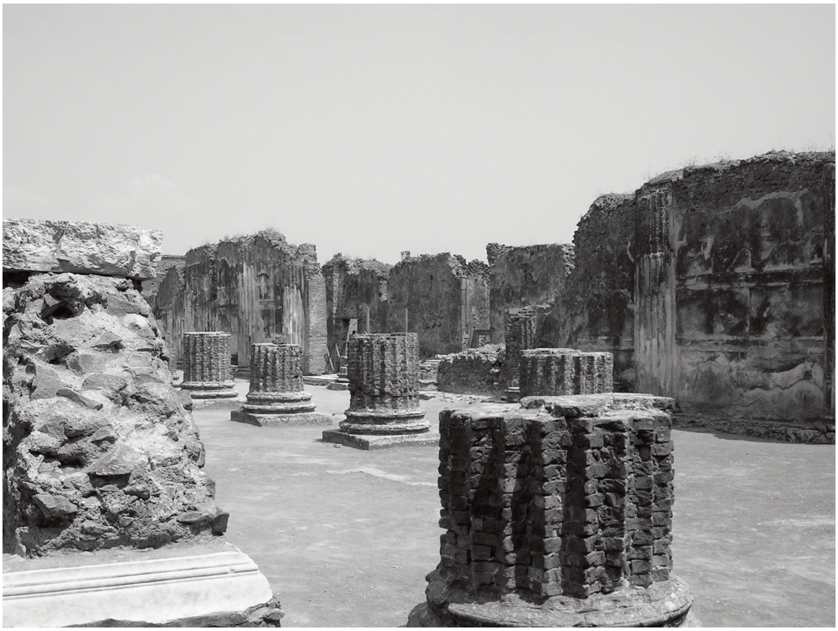
Margherita Devine



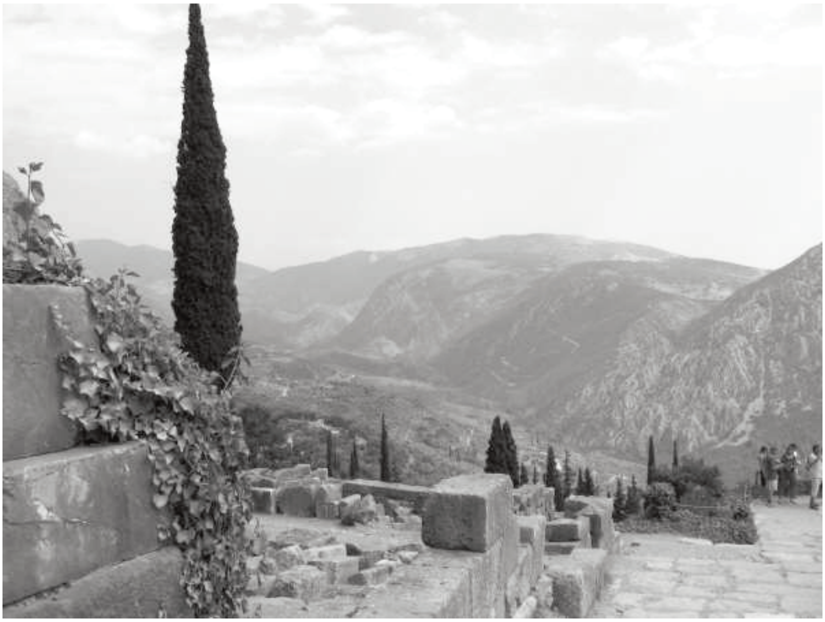
“Young Upon Old.”

Mosque built upon the Luxor Temple Complex before the ancient temple was uncovered from the sand dunes. Luxor, Egypt.
Paul Vadan



“Stumps.”

Pompeii, Italy.
Margherita Devine



“The Oracle.”

Delphi, Greece.
Catherine McPherson

Welcome, Professor Gladhill!

In 2008, Professor Bill Gladhill joined the Department of History and Classical Studies at McGill. Professor Gladhill is an expert in Roman poetics, and such varied and interesting topics as Roman cosmology, law and treaties, and is also an avid sports fan. Samantha Perera discussed this and more in her interview with the newest member of the Classical Studies faculty.

Interview by Samantha Perera

Where are you from? From Michigan. Grew up in Ann Arbour, lived in Georgia and California for a little while.

Where did you study? Michigan State University and University of Georgia, and Stanford - didn't get into classics until my junior year of college.

How did you know you wanted to be a classicist? It took about a year, first year in college, I felt very disenfranchised with the classes I was taking, and I realized that I wanted to leave school with an education rather than a degree, something both intellectually stimulating and spiritually satisfying. So after a very unenthusiastic first year, second year I chose classes that interested me, history or philosophy or literature, took one class in particular that was more or less translation, going from Homer to Gargantua. I knew right during Oedipus Rex that I wanted to do something to do with literature. At the same time I was taking this myth class with William Blake Tyrrell, and it kind of dawned on me as I was watching him teach Sophocles' Ajax in the context of sacrificial ideology that I could do that for a living, and that was the moment where I felt very inspired. Then that summer I took Greek, and Latin in the beginning of my third year.

What are your academic interests? Latin poetry, religion... I'm interested in space, geopoetics, definitely cosmology. I have subinterests in law in poetry, the development of Roman epic in particular. I'm also interested in inter and intratextuality (allusion), reformulation of Greek models in Latin literature, and reception of classics.

Who is your favorite classical author? Plato and Virgil, about equivalent. If Plato had written poetry, it'd be Plato without a doubt. Plato's my favorite because he's a master of the Greek language, I like the fact that his dialogue form creates philosophical drama, which puts it into various context that move through drama and comedy, or, you know, the theater of Athenian democracy... I'm not interested as much in his philosophy as how he shaped his narratives and characters. Virgil for me is someone that inspires thought, I enjoy him because he's good to think with, and in terms of work, especially issues of space, empire, religion, and cosmology - even ancient body, all the things I'm interested in.

What are your hobbies? Sports - running, swimming, basketball... music, classics actually was my hobby and still is - I wanted to make my hobby my career... I wouldn't say it's a hobby but I spend a lot of time with my family doing stuff with my kids [Korinna, aged two and a half, and Gwendolyn, aged four months] has opened up a whole new set of hobbies - searching for kids' books, scoping out good slides at parks, and when winter comes, obviously sledding is going to be a big hobby.

Any unusual skills or talents you'd care to disclose? I'm really good at weaving through traffic... also good at sleeping.

What kinds of music do you like? All sorts of music - more so bands. I've been listening to lots of Tool, Ween I'm a big fan of, still a fan of Phish, Miles Davis, Pink Floyd, Dylan ... I like classical music for sure, psychedelic rock, techno, industrial (Skinny Puppy) ... even a fan of Danzig and punk. Basically everything but country.

What are your favorite things about Montreal? The restaurants, the fact that it's bilingual, it has just a great general atmosphere. I love the way this city's organized, and the various pockets that you can explore - very family-friendly, far more than I thought when we moved here.

What do you think of poutine? Gross. It was the cheese curd that got me.

How tall are you, anyway? I'm 6'6".

That's ridiculous. *smiles*

Helpful Ancient History Resources

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

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

Ancient Medicine/Medicina Antiqua
Resource for the study of Greco-Roman medicine and medical thought from Mycenaean times until the fall of the Roman Empire.
http://www.ea.pvt.k12.pa.us/medant/

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

Beazley Archive
A research unit of Oxford's Faculty of Literae Humaniores. Includes an online display of the contents of Sir John Beazley's archive of ancient Greek and Roman art, which are housed in the Ashmolean Museum.
www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/BeazleyAdmin/Script2/default.htm

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

Cambridge Classics External Gateway to Humanities Resources
Provides access to internet resources of general interest to classical scholars, including links to materials on philosophy, ancient science, linguistics, drama and art.
http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/Faculty/links.html

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/

Helpful Ancient History Resources

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

Gnomon Online

http://www.gnomon.ku-eichstaett.de/Gnomon/Gnomon.html

Internet Classics Archive

Offers hundreds of works of classical literature in translation, mainly Greco-Roman but with some Chinese and Persian texts also.
http://classics.mit.edu/