HIRUNDO

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

Front and back pictures were taken by Catherine McPherson. The cover photo features the Temple of Vesta in the forum in Rome. The back cover picture features the Arch of Titus in Rome.

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

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Editor's Preface:

Another year has passed and the Classics Programme at McGill University continues to grow in exciting ways. As the number of students in Classics and Ancient History grows, so too does the enthusiasm for *Hirundo*, and I am honoured to introduce this eighth edition. This year's journal begins with Alexander McAuley, as he examines how Argos integrated the other poleis of the Argolid through the artificial invention of common genealogies and ethnicity. Next, Anne Rémillard compares the Herodotean account of Solon with Solon's surviving lyric poetry and notes several similarities between the two. Catherine McPherson reaches new conclusions concerning the old problem of Marcus Licinius Crassus and the *Spolia Opima*. Margherita Devine then looks for continuity and changes in the Roman aristocrat ideal as expressed in Roman literature of the late Republic and early Principate, and argues that the same values endured despite great changes in Roman society. Michèle Smith analyzes Alexander the Great's administrative and military failures in Bactria-Sogdiana as a case study for Alexander's overall inability to govern the Persian Empire. Next, Ioana Tutu shows that the motivation of Sophocles' Antigone is more complex and multifaceted than past scholars have admitted. Tzveta Manolova studies the topography of Thebes and shows that the physical space of the polis often mirrored its structural and political developments. Parrish Wright then compares Plautus and Catullus to assess how they define and deconstruct the ideals of Roman masculinity. Robert Eisenberg offers a comprehensive military account and analysis of the Battle of Adrianople in 378 A.D. Finally, Paul Vădan traces the development of scholarship on the often ignored Hellenistic Period and demonstrates how the field may develop in the future.

I would like to thank Professor Michael Fronda, *Hirundo*'s academic advisor, for his constant support, patience and advice throughout the year. I also want to offer thanks to our patrons and supporters: the Classics Programme, the Department of History, the Department of Philosophy, the Dean of Arts' Development Fund, the Classics Students' Association of McGill and the AUS. Without your support, this year's Hirundo would not have been possible.

Most of all, I want to thank *Hirundo*'s editorial board and layout editors, who have put so much hard work into this year's edition of *Hirundo*. You have my greatest thanks for your energy, enthusiasm, responsibility and for just being generally awesome. You have produced a great journal and made my job all the more rewarding and enjoyable.

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Brahm Kleinman
Editor-in-Chief

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Hirundo

Ethnicity, the Polis, and the Negotiation
of Identity in the Argolid, 500-440 B.C.

By Alexander McAuley

　　　　Classical scholarship has conventionally focused on the polis as the fundamental constituent body of the Ancient Greek world, and has operated on the presumption that local identity was intrinsically tied to the urban political community. In this model, ethnic identity is merely vestigial, a remnant of Bronze Age tribal allegiances, and quickly fades in importance as urban communities begin to emerge. Of late, however, scholars such as Jeremy McInerney and Jonathan Hall have posited a radically different　approach in which the *polis* did not supplant the *ethne* as the foundation of communal allegiance. Rather, the *ethne* continued to form the basis of communal identity into the Archaic and early Classical periods. As McInerny aptly notes, "the Greeks never stopped thinking of themselves as a people composed of different tribes," and they continued to identify themselves and others in relation to *ethne* which were decidedly not contingent on the political structures with which they were associated.[1] These *ethne* themselves were far from static and unchanging; they shifted and evolved in response to the social and political context, resulting in a concept of identity which is constantly constructed, negotiated, and infinitely susceptible to change as well as deliberate manipulation. This constant negotiation of ethnic identity permeated the Greek world and remained present in social and political discourses not out of old tribal attachment but, again to quote McInerney, "because tribal identities serve some useful purpose in the present."[2] As seen in Argos and the Argolid during the fifth century, these ethnic identities played a definitive role in political and social developments, and especially in the process of consolidation during which the unified Argive democracy was formed. This period can perhaps be best understood as one in which conflicting identities vied with each other, clashed, and were ultimately fused into a newly coherent community through the reconciliation of previously disparate components. The relationship between *ethnos* and *polis* was often uneasy, tumultuous, and bloody, though ethnicity, when redefined through a process of synthesis and integration, proved to be a critical source of cohesion for the new Argive democracy.

　　　　At the dawn of the fifth century B.C., Argos held a loose hegemony over the neighbouring *poleis* of the Argolid maintained predominantly through military dominance rather than through more formal bonds of association. In terms of ethnic composition, the Argolid was a remarkably diverse corner of Greece with a wide variety of easily identifiable *ethne* living within a relatively small geographic area. As Jonathan Hall's ethno-

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1 Jeremy McInerney, *The Folds of Parnassos: Land and Ethnicity in Ancient Phokis* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 6.
2 McInerney 1999, 9.

graphic analysis of the Argolid circa 500 B.C. concludes, Argos itself was "a typically Dorian" city, writing in the Doric dialect, dividing its tribes amongst the three traditional Dorian tribes, and worshipping Apollo Pythaeus as the patron god of the city itself.[3] Despite the predominantly Dorian population of Argos and some areas of the Argolid, they were neither the only nor oldest sizeable ethnic group in the region. In an instance of ethnic dispersion which supports McInerney's argument for the continued importance of ethnic identity well into the Archaic period, the Argolid was organized along ethnic divisions which shaped the political and religious landscape of the region.[4] The surrounding cities of Mykenai, Tiryns, and Midea were almost entirely Herakleidai in ethnic composition, and Dorians are not recorded in the literary tradition of either Mykenai or Tiryns.[5] Accordingly, each ethno-regional group in the Argolid had their specific religious devotions: at Mykenai, Hera was the principal deity and Mykenai traditionally controlled the Heraion, Apollo Pythaeus was the principal deity of Argos proper, in the region of Tirynth Herakles was most frequently worshipped, and both Hera and Herakles figure prominently in Herakleid ethnic groups.[6] To add 1<?> Hdt .6.77-8; Aris. *Pol.* 1302b33; Paus. 2.20.8-10. to the diversity, groups of Akhaians, Pelasgids, and some Dryopes were also present throughout the Argolid, as well as small groups of Ionians in Hermione and Epidauros. Each *ethnos* worshipped their own dynastic heroes, further contributing to the ethnic and cultic diversity of the plain which at the time was under a primarily Dorian hegemony.[7]

        Although the literary sources provide little in the way of direct evidence of the precise governmental structure of Argos at the time, certain elements of its political institutions can be inferred by comparison with the larger trajectory of Argive governmental development. The ancient sources are frustratingly vague on the exact chronology of the process, but it is clear that by at the latest c.570-60 B.C., the Temenid dynasty had lost control of the city as a result of some form of popular revolution against the inept or abusive rule of the Herakleidai Temenid kings, described by Diodorus and Plutarch.[8] The precise constitution which emerged from this popular revolution is not explicitly described by the sources, although Herodotus' reference to a *basileus* who continued to exercise military command at the time of the Persian War hints at the persistence of some vestiges of the monarchical system.[9] This persistence, however, was only titular, as city officials, according to epigraphical sources dated to c.560, appear to have been elected rather than dynastically appointed.[10] Essentially the only continuous thread uniting the ancient sources on the matter is the role of popular discontent in the transition away from the Temenid monarchy at Argos,

3 Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 69-71, 99.
4 McInerney 1999, 4-8; Hall 1997, 69-70.
5 McInerney 1999, 4-8; Hall 1997, 69-70.
6 Charalambos Kritzas, "Aspects de la vie politique et économique d'Argos au cinquième siècle av. J-C," in *Polydipsion Argos*, ed. Michel Piérart, (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1992), 239.
7 Hall 1997, 87.
8 Hdt. 6.127; Diod. fr. 7.13.2; Plut. Lyc. 7.
9 Hdt. 7.149.
10 Eric Robinson, *The First Democracies* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 83.

though only Pausanias explicitly states that the monarchy ended after Meltas.[11] Although the Temenid dynasty had by all accounts been overthrown by 500, Argos had not yet developed a full-fledged democracy and, as Eric Robinson suggests, "perhaps a polity, with its mixture of contrasting institutions, offers the safest hypothesis."[12] It was thus with an unclear constitutional hybrid of monarchical and oligarchic, orearly democratic, institutions holding military sway over the ethnically heterogeneous population of the Argive Plain that predominantly Dorian Argos entered the fifth century, though its control was at best tenuous.

The *status quo ante* of loose Argive dominion of the Argolid, and more importantly, the ethnic composition, governmental structure, and regional perception of Argos, was shattered by Sparta's defeat of Argos at the Battle of Sepeia in c.496. The events of the battle itself are discussed primarily by Herodotus, and echoed by Pausanias, Aristotle, and Plutarch. According to the literary tradition, Cleomenes, having consulted an oracle assuring him of success, invaded the Argolid and met the Argive forces at Sepeia, near Tirynth.[13] Following a protracted battle, the Argives were utterly defeated with the catastrophic loss of what Herodotus describes as six thousand citizens, a number which, even if exaggerated, nonetheless represents a substantial portion of the Argive citizen body.[14] The unity of the sources ends with Cleomenes' victory at Sepeia; authors disagree about the aftermath of the battle and its impact on the constitutional structure of Argos, prompting a contemporary scholarly debate that has reached little consensus. Herodotus describes the so-called "servile interregnum" in which, because of the greatly depleted citizen body, slaves intermarried with Argive citizens and took control of governmental affairs and offices, remaining in power until the maturation of the surviving sons of Argive citizens who later expelled the slaves and began a conflict between the two groups.[15] Aristotle, in a discussion of how changes in factional influence and demographics incites constitutional change, cites Argos as a supporting example with a brief description of how after Sepeia, the Argives were forced to admit serfs to the citizen body to restore their numbers. Plutarch contradicts Herodotus by asserting that the Argives did not intermarry with slaves but rather admitted the best of *perioikoi* into the citizen body.[16] Despite the lack of consensus amongst ancient and contemporary scholars, nevertheless certain conclusions can be made: the scale of the Argive defeat at Sepeia fundamentally changed the demographic composition of the city by depleting the dominant citizen body, allowing for the emergence of a previously inferior group (of some sort) to governmental prominence. The defeat also necessitated a radical restructuring of the Argive political organization and institutions.

Argos emerged from the tumultuous years after Sepeia greatly weakened and diminished in power and influence. With the loss of a substantial part of its citizen body,

11 Paus. 2.19.2.
12 Robinson 1997, 83.
13 Hdt .6.77-8; Aris. *Pol*. 1302b33; Paus. 2.20.8-10.
14 Hdt. 6.78.
15 Hdt. 6.83-4; Robinson 1999, 85.
16 Aris. *Pol*. 1303a; Plutarch, quoted in Robinson, 85.

it subsequently lost control over the neighbouring cities and groups of the Argolid. In the power vacuum following Sepeia and the collapse of Dorian power that this entailed, the other communities of the Argolid rapidly began asserting their independence. Despite Argos' declared neutrality during the Persian War, Mykenai and Tiryns defiantly sided with the Greeks and sent detachments of troops against the Persians who are listed on the Victors' Column and recorded by Diodorus.[17] Mykenai proceeded to assert its independence, as epigraphic evidence indicates, by retaking control of the Heraion and its games. Meanwhile Argos itself had earlier been beset by internal disagreement over the war between Athens and Aegina, and later by being forced to pay a tithe for having remained neutral against the Persians.[18] During this period of Argive weakness old assertions of independence re-emerged in the form of political and religious practices that indicate a rejection of the previous Dorian Argive hegemony in favour of more local ethnic traditions. Despite being greatly weakened, Argos gradually rebuilt over the course of a decade during which the sources frustratingly fall silent, though it can be safely inferred that Argos was cognizant of its fading influence in the Argolid and by around 470 began attempting to exert pressure on its *perioikic* neighbours to return to the fold.[19]

        Argos' attempts to re-consolidate control of the Argolid was met by strong resistance by the inhabitants of Tiryns, Mykenai, and presumably other communities, informed by a reinvigorated sense of distinctness and independence from Argos. At around 478, as Diodorus tells us, war broke out between Argos and Mykenai precisely because of this newly resurgent sense of ethnic and political independence. As he writes: "the Mycenaeans, on account of their country's ancient high repute, would not subordinate themselves to the Argives like the other cities throughout the Argolid."[20] With the support of its remaining allies, Argos proceeded to defeat and destroy Mykenai, and we can also infer that the Argives destroyed Tirynth, retook Midea, and reconsolidated control of the Argolid.[21] Argos was unquestionably successful in its campaign of reconsolidation, though the sources again are silent regarding the aftermath of the Argive victory and the sweeping reorganization of the Argolid that occurred in the following decades. Michel Piérart, discussing the aftermath, posits two possible models of Argive control: first, a 'desertification' model in which Argos completely destroyed the recalcitrant communities, transplanted most of their populations, and took control of their land, or second, a 'synoecistic' model in which Argos gradually incorporated neighbouring communities into the Argive political fold.[22] While Argos did by all accounts destroy the physical *poleis* of Mykenai and most likely Tiryns, as

17 Diod. 11.3.3.
18 Diod. 11.3.3; Kritzas 1992, 232.
19 Kritzas 1992, 233; Michel Piérart, "L'attitude de l'Argos à l'égard des autres cités de l'Argolide," in *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*, ed. Mogens Herman Hansen, (Copenhagen: Special-Trykkeriet Viborg, 1997), 328-330.
20 Diod. 11.65.2-3.
21 Piérart 1997, 329-330; Strabo 8.6.11; Paus. 8.27.1.
22 Piérart 1997, 331.

McInerney is quick to assert that the communal identity of an *ethnos* is not contingent on political or urban structures, but in many ways supersedes them. Thus, the ethnic communities of Mykenai and Tiryns, as well as numerous others in the Argolid, can be presumed to have survived the destruction of their physical political structures with their identity and traditions intact.[23] Argos, for its part, had emerged from the decades following Sepeia drastically changed in terms of demographic composition, and although it had militarily defeated Mykenai and others, the Argives must have been aware that they could not continue to dominate the plain through military intimidation alone, but that some other deeper, more permanent strategy of integration was necessary. In considering the actions following Argos' victory, it will become clear that Argive reorganization of the plain was not only synoecistic in its political policy, but also involved integrating the disparate communities it had now reconquered by incorporating - and at times appropriating - their ethnic identities into the new Argive federation in a process that can perhaps be considered 'synethnic.'

        Until relatively recently the process by which the Argolid was consolidated into a coherent democratic unit remained unknown, as there existed in the literary sources a large gap between the Argive reconquest of the Argolid and its reappearance during the Peloponnesian War as a unified democracy. The discovery of three engraved bronze plaques in a bronze workshop located north-west of Argos have, however, shed new light on our understanding of the consolidation and democratization of the Argolid during the years following the destruction of Mykenai. All three plaques have holes for nails at each corner, implying that these plaques were mounted on public buildings, and after detailed analysis two of the plaques have been dated by to roughly 450, the third to roughly the end of the fourth century B.C.[24] The first two are most pertinent to the present discussion, as they are concerned with administrative and financial matters which prove to be critical to our understanding of the organization of the early Argive democracy.[25] In the first, a group of previously unmentioned Argive magistrates (*duodeka*) disperse large sums of money to twelve groups that have since been termed "phratries," the names of some of which had not previously been found at Argos. The sums of money themselves are unequal, implying selective distribution to certain phratries. The second discusses the distribution of funds which are to be spent on the games of Hera, other funds dispensed to a board of magistrates to be spent as a contribution mandated by law, and further sums to be dispensed to the officials themselves without interest.[26] The structural implications of the text of the inscriptions are far-reaching.

        On the level of governmental organization, the model of Argive democracy that emerges is one that is remarkably similar to the Cleisthenic reforms at Athens and, as Kritzas and Piérart assert, "semble assez artificiel et trahit l'intervention d'un législateur."[27] The artificiality of the system itself fits neatly into the trajectory of constitutional reforms at

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23 McInerney 1999, 24-27.
24 Kritzas 1992, 234-5.
25 Kritzas 1992, 235.
26 Kritzas 1992, 235-6.
27 Kritzas 1992, 235-6; Piérart 1997, 333-334.

Argos in the decades prior to the composition of the inscription. As the epigraphs indicate, there were twelve magistrates, representing the twelve phratries, named as recipients of the funds and classified according to the rubric of the four phylai of Argos. Thus, the newly restructured Argive democracy was composed of four phylai, each with twelve phratries, with elected magistrates from each. What is perhaps most striking about the phylai mentioned is the presence of a completely new tribe, the Hyrnathioi, an exclusively Argive tribe name that represents a non-Dorian addition to the traditional tribal structure of Argos, implying that this new tribe was created for the newly integrated citizens of the Argolid.[28] Similarly striking are the names of the phratries within the Hyrnathioi, which are an interesting combination of references to traditional Argive figures such as Daiphontes and Temenides as well as new geographic names such as the phratry of the Nauplidai, presumably from nearby Nauplia.[29] The names of the phratries within the new tribe thus represent a conscious synthesis of traditional Dorian and Herakleidian figures with the new ethno-regional communities integrated into the Argive democracy. Further consideration of the redistribution of land during the consolidation of the Argive democracy shows that such ethnic considerations were not simply token nods to tradition but were critical to the successful integration of new citizens and communities through the construction of a newly fused ethnos in the Argolid.

        The manner in which confiscated and conquered land was redistributed and administered during the consolidation of the Argive democracy provides a strong indication of the ethnic and religious sensitivity that underscored the entire process of integration. As Piérart and others have concluded, rather than simply confiscating all of the land it had conquered, Argos instead redistributed a portion of the land amongst the four tribes of the new federation.[30] Another portion was distributed amongst the shrines and sanctuaries of the Argive plain and dedicated to their respective gods and goddesses.[31] Although the land distributed to the temples was most likely a concealed source of governmental revenue, the titular distribution of it to the temples represents a delicate effort at appeasing the various local cult practices of the Argolid's *ethne* as well as a gesture of integration with Argos, not domination by it. The third plaque, dated to the fourth century, discusses the consecration of these lands "by the ancients" to various deities, which were then parcelled into individual tenants.[32] The subsequent list of gods to whom the land was given is quite interesting, as it includes Hera, Herakles, Apollo Pythaeus, and Alektryon. Considering that the primary god traditionally worshipped by the Dorian Argives was Apollo Pythaeus, the inclusion of the others is striking given their connection with the other *ethne* of the Argolid: Hera with the Herakleidai of Mykenai, Herakles with the Herakleidai of Tirynth, and Alektryon, another member of Herakles' family, which had a traditional connection to the Eastern

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28 Kritzas 1992, 235-6; Piérart 1997, 333-334; Hall 1997, 69.
29 Kritzas 1992, 236-7.
30 Piérart 1997, 333-6.
31 Piérart 1997, 333-6; Kritzas 1992, 234.
32 Kritzas 1992, 236-7.

Argolid.[33] Rather than simply imposing the traditionally Argive cult of Apollo Pythaeus on the newly conquered, the Argives instead elected to integrate their ethnic religious traditions into the new Argive state to provide a source of ethnic and religious unity. The Argive democracy pandered to the religious traditions of the various Argolid *ethne* through the system of land benefaction, which was ultimately connected to the new Argive democracy.

This process of integration of various *ethne* into the new Argive federation was not limited to territorial reassignment but extended into the realm of cultural synthesis. Jonathan Hall, when discussing the problems of Archaic mythical reconstruction in the Argolid, writes "the … problem is the remarkable Argive propensity for rapid mythological innovation."[34] Dorian and Argive mythical and ethnic identity was remarkably malleable, and a strong indication of this ethnic flexibility is the remarkable speed and fervour with which the fledgling Argive democracy incorporated Hera - who was never previously a prominently worshipped deity in Argos proper - into the Argive mythical and cult traditions. With the Argive defeat of Mykenai, Argos regained control of the Heraion, the principle sanctuary of Hera on the Peloponnese and the traditional *lieu de culte* of the Myceneans.[35] Rather than maintaining the primary worship of Apollo, the Argives instead massively expanded the importance of Hera in the ritual calendar, spiritual life, and physical presence of the Argive democracy as a method of appeasing and incorporating the Herakleidai. The choice of Hera was particularly shrewd as it simultaneously appealed to the communities of Mykenai and Tiryns due to their Herakleidic connection. As Jacques des Courtils notes in his analysis of fifth-century Argive architecture, around 460 B.C., Argos began a large public building campaign which included the construction of many temples in the countryside and most notably the sizeable expansion of the Heraion and its surrounding complex. Interestingly, during these renovations a new style of architecture emerged which included Ionian as well as traditionally Doric elements in a physical manifestation of the fusion that was occurring.[36] To augment Hera's newfound importance to Argos, the Argives rebuilt the 'Sacred Way' that previously led from the Heraion to Mykenai, so that it now led from the Heraion to Argos. Thus, the Argives integrated the cult traditions of their surrounding communities and built what Hall describes as a "confederate sanctuary for all the communities of the Argive plain."[37]

To further strengthen Hera's new place of prominence in the Argive pantheon, at around the same time as the renovation of the Heraion, the Games of Argive Hera were cre-

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33 Kritzas 1992, 236-7; Hall 1997, 96.
34 Jonathan Hall, "How Argive Was the 'Argive' Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.," *The American Journal of Archaeology* vol. 99, no. 4 (October, 1995), 580.
35 Hall 1995, 610-12.
36 Jacques des Courtils, "L'architecture et l'histoire d'Argos dans la première moitié du cinquième siècle av. J-C.," in *Polydipsion Argos*, ed. Michel Piérart (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1992), 249.
37 Hall 1995, 613.

ated and given great importance in the city's ritual and civic life.[38] The oldest archaeologi-cal evidence of the Games of Hera dates from around 460 B.C., and consists of celebratory victory inscriptions dedicated to the goddess. Between 460 and 420 B.C., five prize inscrip-tions have been found honouring the winners of the games.[39] Pierre Amandry, in his analysis of the inscriptions, asserts that the creation of the games signalled an end to the traditional rivalry between Argos and Mykenai, and the correspondence between the creation of the games and the renovation of the Heraion implies a far-reaching effort on the part of the gov-ernment to make previously Mycenaean cults appear as newly Argive.[40] It was around 460 that the image of Hera appears for the first time on Argive currency. Furthermore, literary fragments contemporaneous with this cultic realignment have led Hall to suggest that Argos intentionally rewrote its own 'mythohistory', and that of its surrounding *ethne*, in an effort to forge a mythological tradition to support the new federation. For instance, Hellenikos' "engineering of Argive myths detached Io from the ancestry that served to connect her to the communities of the Eastern plain and gave her instead an Argive father."[41] This mytho-historical fusion of previously disparate ethnic traditions is echoed in the titular organiza-tion of the Argive democracy, and by all accounts seems to have worked quite well: later in the fourth century, Argos commissioned a series of statues at Delphi which included Perseid heroes amongst Argolid *ethne* in addition to the traditional Proitid heroes of Argos proper. [42]

The success of the process of ethnic and political fusion of the communities of the Argolid is best indicated by the subsequent unity with which Argos is portrayed in sources describing the Peloponnesian War. By as early as 421, less than fifty years after the process of re-consolidation began, Thucydides describes a unified – and above all highly democratic – Argos negotiating treaties which are subject to ratification by the citizen body with Corinth, Mantinea, and several other *poleis*.[43] It merits mention that Argos was so commonly perceived as democratic that the oligarchic Boeotians hesitated to join the new Argive coalition, fearing that the rest of the Greek world would readily adopt the newly democratic identity of the Argolid as well.[44] In 420, Argos and Athens negotiated a treaty using terms and formulae common to the two democracies, thus after six decades of rela-tive obscurity Argos had returned to prominence within the Greek community.[45] The ethnic and cultural fusion of the Argolid endured into the Hellenistic period and beyond, docu-mented by the persistence of the games of Hera, the inscription from the fourth century not-ing the 'ancient' distribution of land, and the later bestowing of "the honours of Herakles

38 Pierre Amandry, "Sur les concours argiens," in *Études Argiennes: Supplément VI du Bulletin de Correspon-dance Hellénique* (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1980), 233.
39 Amandry 1980, 234.
40 Amandry 1980, 235-9.
41 Hall 1995, 612.
42 Hall 1995, 612.
43 Thuc. 5.28.
44 Thuc. 5.29-32.
45 Thuc. 5.41-7, cf. Paus. 5.13.1.

and Perseus" on prominent Romans.[46] As we have seen, throughout the first half of the fifth century, concepts of ethnic identity, and their religious and mythical components, were far from being irrelevant legacies of a bygone tribal era. Ethnic communities in fact outlived their physical *poleis* and played a critically influential role in political and social integration. The artificial intervention so prominent in the political reorganization of the Argolid also extended into the realm of ethnicity, and by careful consideration – and at times elegant manipulation – of ethnic identity, the previously-fractured Argolid was rapidly forged into a unified ethnic and political community through the construction of a new Argive *ethnos*.

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46 Hall 1997, 98.

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A Herodotean Reading of Solon

By Anne Rémillard

      One of the most famous passages in Herodotus' *Histories* is the encounter between Solon and Croesus early in Book I.[1] It is generally agreed among scholars that Solon expresses Herodotus' own ethical, religious and philosophical views, not only because this episode is so prominently placed at the beginning of the work, but also because the conceptions of divinity and human prosperity introduced in Solon's lengthy speech recur throughout the *Histories*.[2] It is meaningful, then, to ask where these ideas come from, and in particular to inquire about the relationship between them and the extant fragments of Solon's poetry. In this paper, I will compare Solon's poetic fragments with his speech in Herodotus, and argue that the latter is not a free creation, but Herodotus' cautious adaptation of his knowledge of Solon's verses. Therefore it both contains views borrowed from Solon and distinct views that are original to Herodotus.

      First, there is clear evidence – without which this task would be much less relevant – that Herodotus knew at least some of Solon's poetry. In his final speech to Croesus, Solon "sets the limit of life for a man to seventy years."[3] This statement strongly echoes one of Solon's poems, which discusses the characteristics of each of the ten seven-year stages of human life, and ends with the declaration that "if someone completes a tenth seven and reaches the measured line, his due of death will not befall him prematurely."(*fr*.27 West) Moreover, in Book V, Herodotus directly mentions verses from a fragment we still have in which Solon praises the Cypriote king Philocyprus (*fr*.19): "that Philocyprus whom Solon of Athens, when he came to Cyprus, extolled in a poem above all other tyrants."[4] In addition to this basic evidence for Herodotus' acquaintance with Solon's poetry, Herodotus' views concerning the jealousy of the gods and the fragility of human happiness – expressed in the speech of his character Solon, reveal an ideological connection between the historian and the poet. Although Herodotus' work does not contain other direct allusions to Solon's verses than those aforementioned, there are plenty of indirect references to be found in the similarity in content and themes between the Herodotean speech of Solon and the poems themselves. This analysis requires detailed overviews of both texts, beginning with Herodotus.

      After taking a tour of the Lydian royal treasury, Herodotus tells us, Solon is asked by Croesus who is the *olbiōtatos* man he has seen.[5] In Croesus' mouth, who expects his present material success to constitute the supreme human achievement, *olbios* refers merely to material prosperity – the traditional meaning of this word and the only one found in nearly all early Greek poets.[6] However, Solon's answer – the stories of Tellus and of

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1 D. Asheri, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 97; Hdt.1.29-33.
2 S. Shapiro, "Herodotus and Solon," *Classical Antiquity* vol. 89, (1996), 348.
3 Hdt.1.32.2.
4 Hdt. 5.113.2.
5 Hdt. 1.30.2.
6 C. De Heer, *Makar, Eudaimon, Olbios, Eutuche: A Study of the Semantic Field Denoting Happiness in Ancient Greek to the End of the 5th Century B.C.* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1969), 51.

Cleobis and Biton – gives a completely different and more complex connotation to the word *olbios*, which we would translate as "happy" or "blessed", rather than "prosperous" in Croesus' sense.[7] The *olbiōtatos* man is the Athenian Tellus: he lived in a flourishing city, was moderately well-off by Greek standards, had noble sons and surviving descendants, and, most importantly, had a most glorious death – he died bravely after routing Athens' enemy in battle, and was granted the honor of a public burial.[8] Next, Solon declares the Argive brothers Cleobis and Biton as second in *olbos*: they had a sufficient livelihood and the physical strength of champion athletes, which enabled them to accomplish a glorious deed – they carried their mother by chariot to the far-off temple of Hera in front of the whole citizen body applauding them in the context of a religious festival.[9] At this moment of greatest glory, they were granted the best possible death by Hera, a high honor for mortal men, and the citizens of Argos dedicated statues of them at Delphi "as if they had become the best of men."[10] According to Solon, this event "shows that it is better for a man to die than to live."[11]

Taken together, the examples of Tellus and Cleobis and Biton provide us with a description of the nature of the ideal life for Herodotus: the highest achievement for a man is manifold – it involves moderate wealth, family, civic achievements witnessed by the whole community, an honorable death, and permanent commemoration after death. However, the most crucial information on Herodotus' moral views is found in Solon's last speech to Croesus, and is expressed in three main sentences.[12] First, the divine (*to theion*) is wholly jealous (*phthoneron*) and troublesome.[13] Second, as a consequence of divine jealousy, human happiness is unstable and "man is entirely chance" (*pan esti anthrōpos sumphorē*).[14] Third, because human affairs are so ephemeral, every matter – including human life – should not be judged before we examine the end it comes (*skopeein de chrē pantos chrēmatos tēn teleutēn*).

The key element, then, is the instability of human prosperity, and Solon brings in further specification to help explain what he means. Since earthly beings are not self-sufficient, no man can enjoy every advantage: "it is impossible for one who is human to gather all these things, just as no land is fully sufficient itself in what it produc-

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7 J. A. Arieti, *Discourses on the First Book of Herodotus* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 1995), 45.
8 Hdt. 1.30.4-5.
9 Hdt. 1.31.1-2.
10 Hdt. 1.31.5.
11 Hdt. 1.31.3.
12 Hdt. 1.32.1-9.
13 The explanation of misfortunes as a manifestation of divine phthonos is repeated later in Amasis' warning to Polycrates (3.40.2) and Artabanus' advice to Xerxes (7.46.4). See Shapiro 1996, 352-355 for a detailed discussion of the recurrence of this notion throughout the Histories.
14 See Shapiro 1996, 355-357 for an analysis of the importance of Solon's principle of the instability of human fortune in the Histories. Interestingly, this notion corresponds to Herodotus' conception of the nature of human affairs stated in the proem: "I will speak of small and great cities of men alike, for many states that were once great have now become small; and those that were great in my time were small before. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never continues in the same place, I shall mention both alike." (Hdt. 1.5.4) Some scholars argue that it is the main guiding principle of the Histories; Cf. Harrison 2000, 38 and Murray 2001, 32.

es, but has one thing and lacks the other."[15]   For this reason, Herodotus makes it clear that we must draw a distinction between *olbios* and *eutuchēs*: *olbos* is a permanent, long-lasting state of prosperity and well-being, which can only be measured at one's death.[16] Accordingly while a man still lives, we can only call him *eutuchēs*, "lucky".

Solon has thus given to Croesus two reasons why excessive wealth is not desirable. First, it invites divine *phthonos*: the resentful gods will punish the very wealthy man and ruin him. It appears, then, that in Herodotus' view of the universe, the role of divine *phthonos* is to maintain balance, to preserve a natural order and ensure that the boundaries between human and divine realms are not trespassed.[17]   Indeed, extraordinary wealth – or, in fact, any excess – sets itself as a challenge to the gods: the very rich man is responsible for a sort of *hubris*, insofar as he has thought himself superior to a man and similar to a god, and in so doing has blurred the boundaries between heaven and earth. Second, since man is not self-sufficient and cannot accumulate all advantages, extraordinary wealth is not desirable: the moderately well-off man is more likely to obtain the other elements which form the combination of happiness – family, honor, noble death, etc. – and is especially likely to be blessed with good luck – since his moderation will not cause him to face divine resistance.[18] As a consequence, for Herodotus, any excessive wealth or power is an inevitable path in the direction of ruin. In the *Histories*, whenever a character is said to have outstanding possessions, not matter how he has acquired them – justly or not – it is also an ominous sign of his impending downfall.[19]

Let us now turn to the historical Solon. His work is dated to the late 7th century and early 6th Century B.C.E.[20] In general, Solon's verses reveal that their author was highly concerned with the potential dangers of wealth and civic strife caused by the unequal distribution of money in the community. Indeed, Athens was facing an economic crisis at this time, and in 594, Solon was given the power to reform Athens' laws in order to relieve the citizens from various injustices and burdens, notably by abolishing some problems concerning landownership and debt bondage.[21] Unfortunately, we only have 40 extant fragments of Solon's poetry, and most of them are very short. Many of the fragments considered in this paper are quoted by Plutarch (*fr*.14-15-21-24), some by Plato (*fr*.18-23) and another by Clement of Alexandria (*fr*.16). However, the most interesting poem is the longest – a complete poem preserved by Stobaeus, which is traditionally referred to as the Hymn to the Muses (*fr*.13).

First, the theme of human happiness is present in many of Solon's verses. He always uses the word *olbios* to denote a happy man, except in one poem where he uses the word *makar*: "Nor yet is any mortal fortunate [*makar*], but all are wretched that the sun looks down upon (*fr*.14)."

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15 Hdt. 1.32.8.
16 Hdt. 1.32.5-6.
17 C. Chiasson, "The Herodotean Solon," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* vol.27, no.3 (1986), 261.
18 Solon explains in detail how illusory are the only two advantages of the wealthy man who is not eutuchēs over the moderately well-off who is lucky (1.32.6).
19 D. Lateiner, "A Note on the Perils of Porsperity in Herodotus," *Rheinisches Museum* vol. 125 (1982), 98.
20 D. Mulroy, *Early Greek Lyric Poetry* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 63.
21 Mulroy 1992, 64.

In the other instances of the word *makar*, it is used only to denote divine bliss. For instance, in the opening lines of the Hymn to the Muses, Solon prays to receive *olbos* from the *makares* gods (*fr*.13.3). For Solon, there is a clear division between gods and men: while men can become *olbioi*, only gods can be called *makares*.[22] It is already plain, then, that human *olbos* is limited, and somewhat inferior to divine blessedness. We find here the same negative overtone that was present in the speech of the Herodotean Solon, but at a different level: for Herodotus, no man can be called *olbios* while he lives, whereas for Solon, a man can actually become *olbios* – but not *makar* like a god.

Before going any further in this comparison, one must understand what Solon means exactly by *olbios*. It is important to note that Solon is the first preserved Greek poet to depart form the traditional meaning of *olbios*, which used to connote merely material prosperity up to the late 5th century.[23] For Solon, sufficient material comfort is only one part of being *olbios*:

> Equally rich is he who has abundancy
> of silver, gold, and acres under plough
> horses and mules, and he that only has the means
> to eat well, couch well, and go softly shod,
> and by and by enjoy a lad's or a woman's bloom
> with youth and strength still his to suit his need.
> This is a man's true wealth: he cannot take all those
> possessions with him when he goes below. (*fr*.24,1-8)

This poem does not compare wealth and poverty, but outstanding wealth and moderately sufficient wealth.[24] This conception of *olbos* as something other than material prosperity is very similar to the Herodotean view. Indeed, Herodotus uses very similar terms in Solon's speech, when he asserts that: "The very rich man is not more fortunate than the one who has enough for his day."[25] For both Herodotus and Solon, wealth – in moderate quantities – plays only a supporting or secondary role in human happiness. However, the last two verses of the same fragment (*fr*.24.7-8) show that this belief is not based on the same reason in both cases: extraordinary wealth, for Herodotus, stirs the jealousy of the gods, but for Solon, excessive wealth is simply wasted.

For Solon, therefore, wealth is not undesirable, but certain-

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22 De Heer 1969, 51.

23 Chiasson 1986, p. 250. Cf. De Heer 1969 who goes in detail over usages of the word by early greek poets: 8, 12-14 (Homer); 16-19 (Homeric hymns); 20-31 (Hesiod) and 32-38 (archaic poets). Based on different observations from Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric hymns, Allen (1949, 52) also concludes that wealth was a crucial element of prosperity in Greek thought "until the revolution in values which came with the end of the fifth century."

24 Chiasson 1986, 255.

25 Hdt. 1.32.5.

ly not the best of man's possessions and only of secondary importance in a successful life. The other main component of *olbos*, for him, is *aretē*:

> For many curs [*kakoi*] are rich, and men of class [*agathoi*] are poor,
> but we'll not take their riches in exchange
> for our virtue [*aretē*], which always stays secure,
> while wealth belongs to different men in turn. (*fr*.15)

This poem shows that wealth and virtue are separate qualities, which do not often come together. Moreover, virtue is more valuable than wealth, which confirms the previous idea that wealth is not the most important part of happiness. In addition, *aretē*, since it is an internal quality, is constant and long-lasting, whereas wealth, by contrast, is only contingent, ephemeral and beyond human control. By looking at the elements constituting the ideal life throughout the Solonian corpus, it is possible to reconstruct a general idea of Solon's notion of *aretē*: it presumably encompasses public service, involvement in the community as a citizen, health, friends, family and descendants.[26] This view is perfectly reflected by Herodotus' story of Tellus, and also by some elements of the lives of Cleobis and Biton; both authors agree on the elements integral to the ideal life.

      In his prayer to the Muses, Solon also specifies that *olbos* (qualified by "*aiei echein*", fr.13.4) is a permanent state: success should be long-lasting. This poem illustrates *olbos* as a state of general well-being and as a gift of the gods to mankind.[27] However, this gift is rarely obtained and hard to maintain: Solon, just like the Herodotean character, insists on the fragility of human happiness and uncertainty of man's hopes:

> We mortals, good and bad alike,
> believe our expectations will be fulfilled, until we suffer. Then we
> weep. But up to then
> we take fond pleasure in our mindless hopes (*fr*.13,33-36).

These verses are strongly echoed by the last line Herodotus puts in Solon's mouth: "For the god, having displayed fortune to many men, ruins them from the root."[28] The prospect of sudden failure and the unpredictability of our lot are present in both. Therefore, Solon believes, like Herodotus, that human affairs are unstable and that *olbos*, by contrast, is a permanent state. Although he does not draw the distinction between the words *eutuchēs* and *olbios*, Solon clearly adheres to the idea that there is an opposition between impermanent, unstable fortune and true, eternal happiness.

      In short, Herodotus and Solon's notions of happiness bear striking similarities: the secondary role of material prosperity, the inferiority of our mortal condition, the long-lasting value of *olbos*, and necessary elements of virtue such as civic achievement and

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26 See fragments 4, 13, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 32, 33, 36.
27 De Heer 1969, 52.
28 Hdt. 1.32.9..

familial posterity. Nonetheless, there is a major point on which Solon and Herodotus disagree concerning the ideal life, namely the notion articulated in the example of Cleobis and Biton according to which death is the best thing that can happen to a man. This pessimistic view of human life – that it is better to be dead than alive – is not found at all in Solon's poetry. By contrast, Solon has a particularly optimistic view of life in general and especially of old age. First, as I have already mentioned, he describes the ideal and archetypal life as lasting seventy years (*fr*.27). Moreover, he proudly claims that he is still engaged in intellectual activity even as an elder: "As I grow old I'm always learning more" (*fr*.18). According to Chiasson, Solon's views on this topic are unusual in the gloomy context of archaic thought, and the traditional Greek view of death is a particularly grim one.[29] Therefore, the example of Cleobis and Biton would not have been supported by the poet Solon, and it is likely that the story of Cleobis and Biton was not transmitted to Herodotus by the historical Solon, but by another source closer to the traditional view of death – and to the bleak Greek folk wisdom that it is better to be dead than alive. It has been suggested that this story comes from Delphi: the moral of the story has a notable Delphic cast, since it emphasizes "the immense gulf separating lowly mankind from the Olympian gods."[30] In addition, this origin would explain Herodotus' mention of the statues dedicated in Delphi.

Besides, Solon also has a moral theory concerning the role of the gods in human success. In the *Hymn to the Muses*, Solon insists on the role of Zeus as the god of righteousness who will punish unjust deeds. Any injustice, but in particular unjust greed is punished by Zeus sooner or later and results in *atē*:[31]

> I long for riches, but not unjustly [*adikōs*] gained;
> for surely sometime justice [*dikē*] comes.
> […] But wealth that men extort gets out of control.
> A reluctant attendant, constrained
> by unjust actions, it quickly mixes with ruin [*atē*].
> […] Such is the punishment [*tisis*] of Zeus. He does not flare at every
> insult, like a mortal man,
> but all the time he is aware whose heart is marked
> with sin, and in the end it shows for sure (*fr*.13.7-8;11-13;25-28).

Moreover, according to Solon, injustice arises because men are never satisfied by their present possessions: "In the race for wealth, there is no finishing line [*terma*]. The richest of us are straining To double our possessions. What could satisfy us all" (fr.13.71-73)? Thus men's endless pursuit for becoming ever wealthier, in the end, proves to be self-damaging: the thoughtless efforts of greedy men are likely to make them transgress the *termata* of justice, and therefore to encounter ruin, the tisis of Zeus.[32]

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29 Chiasson 1986, 250.
30 Chiasson 1986, 253.
31 R. Lattimore, "The First Elegy of Solon." *The American Journal of Philology* vol. 68, no. 2 (1947), 175.
32 A. Allen, "Solon's Prayer to the Muser," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* vol.80, (1949), 53.

As such, injustice takes place when men trespass the proper limits of property and go beyond their due portion to step into what is rightly due to their neighbors.

Many scholars agree that Herodotus and Solon have the same basic notion concerning the role of the gods in human prosperity, but that Herodotus has demoralized or a-moralized Solon's views.[33] Both the *Hymn to the Muses* and the *Histories* contain the idea of a certain form divine retribution, and both agree that ruin comes from the transgression of boundaries, and that moderation is the key for success. However, for Herodotus, Zeus has become a nameless divine essence, and divine *tisis* for unjust actions has become *phthonos* for any outstanding achievement, good or bad. Although the *Histories* contain countless very powerful and wealthy characters, Herodotus never has anything to say about the way in which they became rich: as Oswyn Murray puts it, "prosperity causes the envy of the gods, regardless of the hero's moral status."[34] In other words, for Solon, what the gods punish is injustice, whereas for Herodotus, what the gods envy is simply human success – and they destroy this success not for moral reasons, but in order to defend their position of supremacy in the cosmos.[35]

There is one last Solonian idea which compares particularly well with the speech of Solon in Herodotus. In the *Hymn to the Muses*, Solon insists on the importance of looking at the end, a notion that is highly stressed by the Herodotean Solon as well, but, as I will show, with a completely different connotation. This idea appears in the explanation given by Solon for the instability of human affairs, namely that men are unable to foresee the final outcome of their undertakings:

> Fate brings to mortal men both good and ill: the gifts the immortals
> give are inescapable.
> There is risk in every undertaking. No one knows,
> when something starts, how it will finish up.
> One man makes noble efforts, but despite them all

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33 To name only the few I came upon who agree on this point: Harrison 2001, 38; Chiasson 1986, 259; Munson 2001, 33; De Ste-Croix 1997; 140.

34 O. Murray, "Herodotus and Oral History," in *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, ed. N. Luraghi, 32. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

35 Chiasson 1986, 259 makes an interesting point: "This conception of deity bears a striking resemblance to the conduct of the tyrant, who must cut down the leading citizens in order to eliminate competition for the leadership of his state." Indeed, there are striking resemblances between the demonstration of Thrasyboulos (5.92ζ.2) on how to maintain one's power as a Tyrant (i.e. to murder those of the citizens who rise above the others), and the speech of Artabanus to Xerxes : "You see how the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of greatness and does not suffer them to display their pride, while little ones do not move him to anger; and you see how it is always on the tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for the god loves to bring low all things of surpassing greatness. Thus a large army is destroyed by a smaller, when the jealous god sends panic or the thunderbolt among them, and they perish unworthily; for the god suffers pride in none but himself." (7.10ε) Moreover, during the Persian constitutional debate, Otanes argues that the tyrant is driven by *phthonos*. (3.80.3)

falls into unforeseen calamity;
(*fr*.13,63-68)

The uncertainty of human expectations is a direct consequence of our lack of fore-
sight. In contrast to the omniscient knowledge of the gods, men's knowledge is limit-
ed and based on illusions.[36] This idea is also found in another fragment:

It is difficult to see wisdom's farthest boundary,
where the ends of all things lie.
(*fr*.16)

Solon thus explains why the presumed innocent suffer misfortunes: even if someone wants
to respect the laws of justice, his incapacity to foresee the consequence of actions can lead
him to commit unjust deeds unwillingly and unknowingly. Because of the natural limita-
tions of mankind, men both commit unjust acts deliberately and ignorantly. Therefore, man's
lack of foresight is the cause of the fluctuation of his fortune and of the instability of his lot.
          In this way, Herodotus and Solon both insist on the importance of looking
at the end: for Solon, to look at the end means to look at the outcome of our actions,
but for Herodotus, it is to look at the end of human life. It is plausible that Herodo-
tus has borrowed this notion from Solon, but he has given a whole new meaning to
the word *telos*. For Herodotus, the only way to secure happiness is death, but for the
more optimistic Solon, wisdom is the remedy. In fact, what he prays for in the *Hymn
to the Muses* when he asks for *olbos* is wisdom, by which proper boundaries are rec-
ognized, injustice avoided, and retribution prevented – the key for becoming *olbios*.[37]
          To sum up, the similarities between Solon's poetry and Solon's speech in Herodo-
tus are striking. Some of the most important elements are the following: they both offer
a similar conception of the role of wealth and of other virtues in human happiness, the
same notion that human affairs are fickle, a strong sense of differentiation between divine
condition and human condition, and the idea that misfortunes are caused by a form of
divine agency. What we can infer from these similarities is that Herodotus was clearly
well acquainted with Solon's poetry and that the speech of Solon at the beginning of the
Histories is a careful adaptation of Herodotus' knowledge of the poet.[38] According to T.
Harrison, there are enough similarities to affirm that "Herodotus intended in some sense

36 Allen 1949, 54.
37 Allen 1949, 50.
38 M. Miller, "The Herodotus Croesus," *Klio* vol. 41. (1963), 89: Herodotus "possessed […] a learned knowl-
edge of Solon's life and writings." See also Chiasson 261: "Herodotus consciously and explicitly evokes the
memory of Solon's verse. […] The conceptual affinities between them are sufficiently striking to suggest that
Herodotus knew Solon's poetry well and attempted, with remarkable historical conscientiousness, to incorporate
its most prominent themes into the speeches he composed for the Athenian."

to be faithful to the historical figure, to create, as it were, a collage of Solonian thought."[39]

However, the differences are equally meaningful, and inform us on the views that are distinctly Herodotean in Solon's speech of Book I. Solon's ironical insistence to Croesus that only death can secure happiness for mortals and the amoral principle found throughout the *Histories* that any exceeding human prosperity inevitably incurs ruin have no counterpart in the extant fragments. That world view suggests an unprincipled universe, which is not characteristic of Solonian but of Herodotean thinking.[40]

However, the views contained in Solon's poetry can be a useful and more optimistic way to understand Herodotus. In some sense, rethinking parts of the *Histories* in light of a Solonian explanation can give a new cast to some narratives and makes Herodotus somewhat of a subtler moralist. For instance, from the point of view of Solon the poet, Croesus and Xerxes' undertakings did not fail only because it was fated, or because of a divine *nemesis* incurred by the *phthonos* of the gods in front of outstanding wealth and power, but also because they were not wise men: they were unable to foresee the final outcome of their actions and undertakings, as well as to decipher the true meaning of oracles. Their ignorance – a limitation shared by all human beings except those gifted by wisdom – is the moral explanation for the reversal of their success. Perhaps the reason why excessively wealthy individuals and cities are often corrupted and fall in ruins – the reason why excessive prosperity is ominous – is in some sense explained by Solon's wisdom and thus given a deeper meaning: great success tends to make people overconfident, and as a consequence they do not question themselves and take the time necessary to think concerning the possible outcomes, which makes them act foolishly. People take their present success for granted and do not beware of possible eventual threats to those goods, even more so if this success is outstanding. Wisdom – the ability to think, to question well – is the key to permanent success. The very ending lines of the histories are quite revealing:

> "Go ahead and do this," he said; "but if you do so, be prepared no longer to be rulers but rather subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." The Persians now realized that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than dwelling in tilled valleys to be slaves to others.[41]

This is certainly no coincidence that Herodotus ends with these words. Cyrus is the wise man, capable of foreseeing the outcome. He lived at a time when Persia was not extraordinary in wealth and power. Xerxes ruled over the empire later, when it was great and luxurious, but overconfident, unwise, unable to understand the truth in the words of his adviser Artabanus, he undertook a thoughtless campaign and suffered the fate he deserved.

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39 Harrison 2000, 37.
40 Chiasson 1986, 249.
41 Hdt. 9.122.4.

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Fact and Fiction: Crassus, Augustus, and the Spolia Opima

By Catherine McPherson

       Dedicating the *spolia opima* was the highest honour a Roman commander could achieve, outstripping even the most lavish triumph. Such a dedication occurred when a Roman commander personally killed the enemy's king or general in battle, stripping the body of its armour, which was then brought back to Rome and dedicated at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol. The extreme rarity of such an occurrence, as well as its semi-mythical history, ensured that the *spolia opima* remained a particularly exalted honour, more ingrained in legend than in reality. This paper provides an attempt to study the transition from the late republic to the early imperial period through the changing nature of this important honour. Such a study requires an analysis of the accomplishments of Marcus Licinius Crassus, who in 29/28 B.C.[1] won the right to dedicate the *spolia opima* at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, but did not do so. The reasons behind this decision are illustrative of both the uncertain, but also influential, nature of Octavian's power in the years between Actium (31 B.C.) and the Settlement of 27.

       The *spolia opima* were reputedly dedicated only three times in Roman history. This tradition allegedly began under Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, after he killed King Acron of the Caeninenses following the abduction of the Sabine women. Romulus returned in triumph to Rome with the armour of the slain king, vowing to build a temple to Jupiter Feretrius at which future generals would dedicate the *spolia opima*. In fact, this temple was the first to be consecrated at Rome.[2] The *spolia opima* were again dedicated by A. Cornelius Cossus in the mid-fifth century after he killed Lars Tolumnius, King of Veii.[3] They were dedicated for the last time by M. Claudius Marcellus in 222 after the Battle of Clastidium during which Marcellus killed the Gallic leader Viridomarus.[4]

       The *spolia opima* should have been dedicated a fourth time by M. Licinius Crassus following his campaigns on the Danubian frontier in 29/8 B.C., when he killed Deldo the Bastarnae king.[5] This event is difficult to understand and interpret for two reasons: first, because of the scant and ambiguous nature of the sources covering it, and second, due to the weighty political implications of the episode. Crassus' lengthy campaigns were recorded solely by Cassius Dio (51.23-27) and Livy (*Per.* 134 and 135), however Dio's is the only complete extant account. There is also an inscription from Athens noting Crassus' victory over the Thracians and the Bastarnae.[6] While the lengthy excurses in both works (especially

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1 All dates are B.C.
  Livy 1.10, among others.
3 Liv. 4.19-20.
4 Liv. *Per.* 20.
5 Cass. Di. 51.24.
6 *ILS* 8810.

in Livy) point to the significance of the campaign, it is troubling that no other source makes any mention of it, as both Suetonius and the *Res Gestae* are silent on this matter. This is perhaps just one manifestation of the influence of the political implications of Crassus' deed on our sources. Similarly, our sole source on Crassus' killing of the enemy chieftain and his right to dedicate the *spolia opima*, Cassius Dio, is both cryptic and exceptionally brief: he writes simply that "Crassus himself killed their king, Deldo, and would have dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius the king's armour as *spolia opima*, if he had been in supreme command."[7]

One other source exists that might corroborate Dio's account of Crassus' deed: Livy's account of Cossus' dedication of the *spolia opima*, which was first connected to the Crassus affair in an article published in 1906 by H. Dessau.[8] Livy writes that

> In stating that Cossus placed the *spolia opima secunda* in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius when he was a military tribune I have followed all the existing authorities. But not only is the designation of *spolia opima* restricted to those which a commander-in-chief has taken from a commander-in-chief-and we know of no commander-in-chief but the one under whose auspices the war is conducted – but I and my authorities are also confuted by the actual inscription on the spoils, which states that Cossus took them when he was consul. Augustus Caesar, the founder and restorer of all the temples, rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which had fallen to ruin through age, and I once heard him say that after entering it he read that inscription on the linen cuirass with his own eyes. After that I felt it would be almost a sacrilege to withhold from Cossus the evidence as to his spoils given by the Caesar who restored that very temple. [...] Everyone is at liberty to form his own conjecture; these doubtful points, in my belief, can be made to support any opinion. The fact remains that the man who fought the battle placed the newly-won spoils in the sacred shrine near Jupiter himself, to whom they were consecrated, and with Romulus in full view – two witnesses to be dreaded by any forger – and that he described himself in the inscription as 'A. Cornelius Cossus, Consul.'[9]

Books one through five of Livy must have been written after 27 B.C., since as early as 1.19 Livy makes reference to the emperor as Augustus, a title which was bestowed in early 27; it is thus possible that they refer to Crassus' case. This passage is unanimously viewed by his-

7 Cass. Dio. 51.24. We do not know if Livy recorded this incident. The Periochae only state that "an account is given of the war fought by Marcus Crassus against the Basterni, Moesians and other peoples" (134).
8 H. Dessau, "Livius und Augustus," *Hermes* vol. 41 (1906): 142-151.
9 Liv. 4.20.

torians as a later insertion resulting from Augustus' 'discovery' of Cossus' corselet as evidence which would prevent Crassus from being eligible to dedicate the *spolia opima*. This emendation is evident as Cossus is described only twelve chapters later as military tribune.[10]

        A brief picture of Crassus' family background and achievements, focusing particularly on his position at the time of his campaigns in 29/28 B.C. is necessary before tackling the problem of Crassus' dedication. The Licinii are often considered to be among the most important plebeian families in Rome, their rise beginning in the late third century and the Crassi were (for the most part) the most eminent branch of this family.[11] Our Crassus was the grandson of the *triumvir* of the same name who shared power with J. Caesar and G. Pompeius until his death in 53 B.C. The eldest son of the triumvir, Crassus' father, was quaestor in 54 and held important military positions under Caesar in Gaul, ultimately being put in command of Cisalpine Gaul in 49.[12] However, he died soon after, before being able to attain higher office.[13] Crassus' mother was a member of the Caecilii Metelli, another very important family whose prominence dated back to the second century.[14]

        Relatively little is known of the life of Marcus Licinius Crassus and even some of what is known is contested or unclear. However, his important military achievements ensured that he would not be forgotten in the public memory, as was the case for the vast majority of Roman aristocrats. Crassus was born around 60 B.C.[15] though the first record of him is as a supporter of Sextus Pompey, who deserted to Antony in 36.[16] Numismatic evidence suggests that he was a quaestor 'pro praetore' in Cyrene, but never officially held the praetorship.[17] Like many aristocrats, he deserted Antony just before the Battle of Actium.[18] Crassus held the consulship in 30 with Octavian, highlighting his high status, and subsequently held a proconsular command in Macedonia and Greece during which time he undertook his campaigns against the Dacians, Moesians, Bastarnae, Getae, and Thracians, as well as other tribes "which had never before been subject to Rome," bringing all to under Roman dominion.[19] During this time, he was reputed to not only have killed the Bastarnae king himself, but also to have recovered the legionary standards which the Bastarnae had captured from G. Antonius, the brother of Antony, in 43 B.C.[20] Crassus

10 See, for example, J.W. Rich, "Augustus and the Spolia Opima," *Chiron* vol. 26 (1996): 188; echoed by H. Dessau and T.J. Luce, among others. Liv. 4.32.
11 "Licinius," *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Brill, 2009).
12 Caes. B. Gall. 6.1.1; App. B. Civ. 2.41.
13 Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939), 64.
14 "Caecilius," *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (Brill, 2009); ILS 881.
15 "Licinius."
16 Cass. Dio. 51.4.3.
17 T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* Vol. II (New York: American Philological Association, 1952), 397; Cass. Dio. 51.4. An ambiguous position, and contested by some historians, but one which seems to have held some influence; he was perhaps acting in place of a praetor.
18 Cass. Dio. 51.4.
19 II 13.1.170; Cass. Dio. 51.23-27.
20 Cass. Dio. 51.24, 26.

was voted a triumph *ex Thraecia et Geteis* by the Senate which he celebrated in July 27.[21]

       In sum, Crassus was the descendent of two prestigious and established families, and the grandson of a very important politician in Rome. Furthermore, he rose to an extremely high political and military position by his early thirties, holding the consulship and an important and lengthy proconsular command. He had thus risen farther than the vast majority of aristocrats of his time, a fact which is especially revealing given that Octavian still monopolised one out of two annual consulships. With regard to Crassus' dedication of the *spolia opima*, however, it is particularly important to be clear on what position and what powers he held in 29/28. Neither Dio nor Livy give Crassus a precise title, but the general consensus seems to be that he was acting as proconsul, as both the *fasti triumphales* and the Athenian inscription list Crassus as proconsul.[22] However, the difficulty lies in ascertaining the position of proconsuls under Octavian in the period between Actium and the Settlement of 27. It is clear that Crassus held independent *imperium* as he was voted a triumph by the senate and such an honour could only be celebrated by a commander with *imperium* who was fighting under his own authority.[23] This position was not unusual; in the period between 31 and 27, several proconsular governors held independent *imperium* and celebrated triumphs, including C. Carrinas and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus in Gaul as well as L. Autronius Paetus in Africa.[24]

       The Athenian inscription furthermore cites Crassus as holding the title of *imperator*.[25] This assertion conflicts with Dio, who writes that Crassus "was not granted the title of *imperator*, as some sources report: it was Octavian alone who received this."[26] This statement however can be fairly conclusively shown to be mistaken. First, as has been noted, it would have been impossible to strip Crassus of his imperatorial status and still allow him to celebrate a triumph.[27] Historians supporting Dio's statement, including R. Syme, usually cite *ILS* 881 (which lists Augustus as IMP VII for the year 29) as evidence

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21 II 13.1.334.

22 II 13.1.334, ILS 8810. See also "Licinius" in *Brill's New Pauly*; H. Flower, "The Tradition of the *Spolia Opima*: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus," *Classical Antiquity* vol. 19 no. 1 (2000): 34-64, and Rich 1996.

23 Rich 1996, 93. It seems clear that proconsuls fought under their own auspices (based on Republican precedents) although this is somewhat contested. Recent work has tended to support this argument however (see Rich and Flower).

24 *Fasti Triumphales*.

25 *ILS* 8810.

26 Cass. Dio. 51.25.

27 Rich 1996, 96. While T. Mommsen argued that Dio was right in his claim, and thus that the inscription was erected before or in ignorance of the verdict from Rome, Badian, Reinhold and Brunt argue that Crassus did take the imperatorial salutations for his victory. E. Badian, "'Crisis Theories' and the Beginning of the Principate," in *Romanitas-Christianitas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der rmischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. G. Wirth (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1982), 38: "it is difficult to see on what legal grounds a commander who was later allowed to triumph would be deprived of imperatorial acclamation." However, even proconsular governors such as Statilius Taurus (Spain) won imperatorial salutations without ever having triumphed. Furthermore, John Carter writes in his note to Cass. Dio. 51.25 that "since the triumph was the greater honour, to strip him of the title of *imperator* was senseless."

for Octavian having stripped Crassus of his title and claiming the victory on the Danubian frontier as his own.[28] These historians fail to take into account Octavian's Egyptian campaigns of the same year, for which he later celebrated a triumph and it is to this campaign that the inscription refers.[29] This evidence, demonstrating that Crassus held *imperium* and imperatorial status, indicates that he was not acting as one of Octavian's legates (a title which is   never attributed to him in the sources) but held independent command.

Dio is further mistaken on a second point in his account, namely that "a triumph and *supplicationes* were decreed not only for Octavian but also for [Crassus]."[30] This error is similar in substance to his belief that Crassus did not hold the title of *imperator*. The passage cited above can be compared to an earlier one in which Dio states that on the first day of Octavian's triple triumph, he celebrated the conquest of several tribes of Germans and Gauls who had been subdued by C. Carrinas. Dio also notes that "this triumph was celebrated both by Carrinas and by Octavian, who was duly entitled to the credit for the victory by virtue of his position as supreme commander."[31] However, Carrinas celebrated his own triumph in July 28, and according to both Suetonius and Livy, Octavian did not amalgamate Carrinas' victory with his own.[32] Similarly, Crassus is listed as celebrating an independent triumph in July 27.[33] These errors all derive from Dio's view of the relationship between the princeps and proconsular governors, and form a wider pattern of misconceptions in which Dio retrojects later imperial developments into the early years of Octavian's dominance.

In 29/28, during an independent proconsular command and under his own auspices, Crassus killed the Bastarnae king Deldo and celebrated a triumph in 27. This act would seem to be in accordance with fulfilling the requirements for dedicating the *spolia opima* at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Sources dating from Augustus' reign and after all state that the *spolia opima* can only be dedicated by a Roman 'supreme' commander, though there is earlier evidence to the contrary. Festus writes that "M. Varro says that the *spolia opima* can be such, even if a common soldier has taken them, provided it is from an enemy commander,"[34]   while the later historian Plutarch notes that

> Spoils in general they call '*spolia*,' and these in particular, '*opima*.' And yet they say that Numa Pompilius, in his commentaries, makes mention of three kinds of '*opima*,' prescribing that when the first kind are taken, they should be consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, and the

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28 Ronald Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 274, backed by Mommsen. Augustus was thus not, as Syme notes, "asserting abnormal potency for his *imperium* as consul."

29 See Rich 1996, 96 and Badian 1982, 40-41. Mommsen/Syme's interpretation would contradict the information provided by ILS 8810, which is unlikely to be wrong, especially due to its location.

30 Cass. Dio. 51.25.

31 Cass. Dio. 51.21.

32 *Fasti Triumphales.*

33 II 13.1.334.

34 Festus 204L.

third to Quirinus; also that the reward for the first should be three hundred
asses, for the second two hundred, and for the third one hundred. However, the general and prevailing account is that only those spoils are '*opima*'
which are taken first, in a pitched battle, where general slays general.[35]

This suggests that previously the exact requirements for dedicating the *spolia opima* were rather vague, but after Octavian's ascendency a consensus was reached that the Roman commander must have *imperium* in order to dedicate the spoils. This ambiguity is likely due to the extreme rarity of such dedications, their semi-legendary nature, and to Octavian's discovery of Cossus' corselet (whether authentic or not) during the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in 30 B.C.

Thus even by Octavian's standards, Crassus should have had the right to dedicate the *spolia opima* in Rome. Yet Dio writes that Crassus "would have dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius the king's armour as *spolia opima*, if he had been in supreme command," suggesting that Crassus was prevented from performing the dedication. The argument proposed by Dessau and others (notably R. Syme and more recently H. Flower) is that Augustus could not allow Crassus to perform his dedication due to the obvious political implications of such an act. Syme notes that Crassus' military glory "infringed the martial monopoly of the new Romulus," and Dessau argues that Augustus simply feared being overshadowed.[36] Not only was a dedication of the *spolia opima* the highest military honour a Roman general could achieve – accomplished only three times in Roman history – but it consisted of a tradition initiated by Rome's founder, and thus put the dedicator on par with Romulus himself. Unluckily for Crassus, Octavian actively strove to achieve Romulus' position as a new 'founder' of Rome. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that it had not been very long since Actium and Octavian's position was not yet unassailable. Therefore, he could ill-afford his power to be threatened. Livy's description of Cossus' dedication pperfectly demonstrates the prestige involved in such an act of dedication:

> successful in all directions, the Dictator [M. Aemilius]
> returned home to enjoy the honour of a triumph granted him
> by decree of the senate and resolution of the people. By far
> the finest sight in the procession was Cossus bearing the
> *spolia opima* of the king he had slain. The soldiers sang rude songs
> in his honour and placed him on a level with Romulus. He solemnly
> dedicated the spoils to Jupiter Feretrius, and hung them in his temple
> near those of Romulus, which were the only ones which at that time
> were called *spolia opima prima*. All eyes were turned from the chariot

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35 Plut. *Marc*. 8.
36 Syme 1985, 274. See also S.J. Harrison, "Augustus, the Poets and the *Spolia Opima*," *Classical Quarterly* vol. 39 (1989): 409 and K. Raaflaub and L.J. Sammons, "Opposition to Augustus" in *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, eds. Raaflaub, Kurt and Mark Toher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 424.

of the Dictator to him; he almost monopolised the honours of the day.[37]

Thus even the renowned dictator M. Aemilius was far outshone by Cossus' feat.

It is clear that Octavian could not allow Crassus to enter Rome in triumph and dedicate the *spolia opima*, but how was he to prevent such an act? It has generally been argued that the substance of Livy's passage in 4.20 reflects an attempt on the part of Octavian to show that only generals fighting under their own auspices could dedicate the *spolia opima*. As Livy points out, Cossus was a military tribune when he killed Lars Tolumnius in 437, and only became consul in 426.[38] Although some ancient sources state Cossus' rank differently, the widely held opinion among ancient and modern sources is that Cossus did not hold *imperium* when he killed the King of Veii.[39] However, what has largely been neglected is the fact that Augustus' assertion that Cossus, Romulus, and Marcellus were each fighting under their own auspices would not be sufficient to dismiss Crassus' right to dedicate the spoils. As has been noted, a few scholars, such as Syme, argue that Cassius Dio was correct in stating that Crassus did not hold the title of *imperator* during his campaigns. However, this has been shown to be mistaken. Others such as Dessau and Flower accept that Crassus was hailed as *imperator*, but view Octavian's demonstration of Cossus' consular status as an adequate rebuttal to Crassus' demand.

It may perhaps be argued that Octavian needed only to show that the dedicator had to be a consul, and that a proconsular general did thus not fit the requirements.[40] However, there is no trace of such an argument in the sources, but only the notation that the general had to hold 'supreme' command – that is, *imperium* – which proconsuls did indeed hold.[41] Furthermore, the power of proconsuls was exactly the same as that of consuls, as both had *imperium* and fought under their own auspices in their different *provinciae*.[42] Moreover, though Octavian was consul at the time of Crassus' campaigns, it has been demonstrated that Crassus was still commanding independently of Octavian. Thus, it would have been extremely difficult for Octavian and the Senate to have dismissed Crassus based on his rank.[43] Such a dismissal would have been inconsistent with Octavian's program of the 'restoration' of the Republic, a program which was of critical importance in securing the support of the aristocracy.[44] Clearly, Crassus' feat threatened Octavian in two very crucial ways.

37 Liv. 4.20.
38 Liv. 4.19-20.
39 Livy is supported in particular by Dion. Hal. and by all modern scholars; both Val. Max and Diod. Sic. state that Cossus was *magister equitum* and a consul. However, this seems to be due to a compression of events and thus a confusion in chronology.
40 See Syme, 1939, 309 and Flower 2000, 52.
41 See references from Livy, Cassius Dio, and Plutarch.
42 Rich 1996, 100-104, Flower 2000, 52.
43 Rich 1996, 93, 98-99.
44 P.A. Brunt, "The Role of the Senate in the Augustan Regime," *The Classical Quarterly* vol. 34 no. 2 (1984): 423-444.

First, he challenged Octavian's military supremacy, and second, his demand to dedicate the *spolia opima* – which Octavian could not afford to grant him – jeopardised the *triumvir*'s long thought-out attempts to restore the republic, thus weakening his base of support among the senatorial aristocracy. Therefore, contrary to Raaflaub and Sammons argument that a dismissal of Crassus' claim would in fact have been "one of the most important political crises of the early years of Augustus' reign […] [and] a political development of considerable moment" which may have caused some resentment among the aristocracy.[45]

The modern scholar is faced with a number of factors when considering the Crassus case. It has been demonstrated that Crassus' feat posed a considerable threat to Augustus on both military and political fronts, augmented perhaps by the general's illustrious family background. Furthermore, Crassus' independent proconsular rank (attested to by numerous sources) was in every way sufficient to allow him to dedicate the *spolia opima* at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, ensuring that any attempt to dismiss the general based on rank would be exceedingly difficult. Finally, there is a notable lack of information in the sources concerning this event, even though it would seem that such a refusal of honours would have constituted an important and visible step by Octavian to consolidate his political power. These facts seem to point to an acceptance of J.W. Rich's thesis that Crassus did not even apply to dedicate the *spolia opima*.[46] This reluctance may have been the result of a private meeting with Octavian in which Crassus was persuaded not to make his demand. On the other hand, it is plausible that Crassus, being an astute political figure, would have recognized that such a demand exceeded the accepted bounds of aristocratic prestige under Octavian, and perhaps decided not to claim his right of his own accord.[47] However, it is most likely that Octavian asked Crassus not to request the honour and that the latter agreed. A private agreement such as this one would have been preferable to the rejection of a public demand by Crassus to the senate.

This explanation may account for the problematic nature of the sources. Crassus' campaigns would for the most part have been relegated to the background like those of so many other generals, therefore explaining its lack of coverage in most sources. Dio's statement – the only one describing Crassus' feat – has been shown to be the result of a mistaken conception of the relationship between Octavian and his generals in the early years of the *princeps*' rule. The Livy passage might be explained in two ways, or per-

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45 Rich 1996, 107-8, 126; contra Raaflaub and Sammons 1990, 423: "There is no reason to assume that Augustus refuted Crassus' claim because he saw in him a political enemy." Raaflaub and Sammons are right to argue however that Crassus was in no way involved or even the motivating factor behind later opposition to, or 'conspiracies' against, Octavian/Augustus.
46 Rich 1996, 86.
47 Rich 1996, 107; contra Flower 2000, 51, who argues that "there can be little doubt that he aimed to excel and to attain a reputation equal to that of the leading Roman heroes of the Republic and of his grandfather, the triumvir," and given his family pedigree and personal merits, "it is hard to imagine that he would not have aspired to the *spolia opima*."

haps by a combination of the two. It may account for a genuine initial attempt to demonstrate Crassus' ineligibility (at least very superficially), perhaps as a means of placating aristocrats who were upset with Octavian's stifling of their rights and ability to hold office. On the other hand, it may be the result of the antiquarian interests of Octavian and the aristocracy in general; such interests were, as Rich notes, a "notable feature of the cultural life of the Roman elite in and after the later Republic."[48] Unfortunately, the paucity and intricacy of the sources on the matter precludes any definite conclusions.

Crassus' feat has often been painted as the driving factor behind the settlement of 27 B.C., which constituted a legalisation of Octavian's consular powers and gave him formidable legionary support by granting him control of 'troubled' provinces. It was Dessau again who first argued this thesis, though it quickly gained wide circulation and was actively promoted by Syme.[49] It has even been argued that without Crassus' feat the settlement would never have occurred (Dessau), or that the settlement would most likely have occurred at some point in time, but Crassus' achievement made decisive action by Octavian necessary (Syme). The settlement of 27 ensured that no general would ever again fight under his own auspices. However, more recent scholarship tends to dismiss the views advanced by Dessau and Syme, instead emphasising the premeditated nature of Octavian's settlement and thus rejecting Dio's insinuation that the 'transfer of power' occurred on two days in January 27.[50] This is demonstrated by Augustus' own statement in the *Res Gestae* that "in my sixth and seventh consulships [28/27 B.C.] […] I transferred the republic from my power to the control of the Senate and the Roman people."[51] Furthermore, gold coins dating from 28 commemorate the fact the Augustus returned *iura et leges* to the Roman people.[52] It is clear that the settlement was underway at least as early as 28, meaning that from a purely chronological standpoint Crassus could not have provoked Octavian's action.[53] Crassus' feat was only the first real instance which demonstrated to Augustus the necessity of what he had long been planning to carry out, but in no way influenced such plans.

Another reason that Octavian could not allow the honour to be awarded to Crassus was that the imagery of the *spolia opima* was to be incorporated into Augustan propaganda. Some have argued that Octavian planned to use such imagery to augment his position and prestige as early as his victory at Actium.[54] This is demonstrated most explicitly by the fact that Octavian rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in 31 or 30 B.C., much earlier than the rest of his monumental building program. Dio also notes (though he is the only one to do so) that the senate gave Julius Caesar, Octavian's adoptive father, "the right to offer *spolia opima*, as they are called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius as if he had

48 Rich 1996, 112.
49 Syme 1939, 309; Syme 1985, 275.
50 Cass. Dio. 53.2-16. See especially Badian 1982, but also Flower 2000, 50-1 and Rich 1996, 110.
51 RGDA 34.
52 Werner Eck, *The Age of Augustus* (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 50.
53 Flower 2000, 50.
54 Flower 2000, 48, Harrison 1989, 409.

slain some hostile general with his own hand."[55] If this statement is accurate, it would support Flower's argument that "the renaissance of Romulus' image was a marked phenomenon of the late republic that was part of the family propaganda of the Julii."[56] It is known with certainty that Augustus had been contemplating a connection to Romulus before the settlement of 27, when he decided instead to take the name 'Augustus'.[57] Flower additionally notes that in his early years, Octavian "was in a good position to appreciate in some detail how Marcellus had used an array of triumphal spectacle and of dedications at specific shrines to further his career and public image in the third century."[58]

Therefore, it is possible that Octavian had a premeditated desire to form a connection to Romulus and the *spolia opima* before Crassus' campaign, but it is certain that he actively pursued such a connection in the years following Crassus' victories. This can be seen in the works of Augustan poets such as Vergil and Propertius.[59] One of the most impressive public works in the Augustan Forum is the statue and the images on the roof and doors depicting Romulus carrying the *spolia opima* that he won from King Acron.

Furthermore, Augustus built an altar next to Marcellus' temple to *Honos et Virtus*, where one of the *princeps*' cuirasses demonstrates a trophy of enemy armour depicted very similarly to the traditional representation of the *spolia opima*.[60] Significantly, Augustus' treatment of the standards regained from Parthia in 19 B.C. mimicked a special dedication of enemy spoils as depicted by Dio: "Augustus received them as if he had conquered the Parthians in a war […] in honour of this success he commanded that sacrifices be decreed and likewise a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, in which to dedicate the standards."[61]

Suetonius notes that Augustus' adoptive son Drusus, brother of the future emperor Tiberius, aspired to win the *spolia opima*.[62] Drusus' aspirations, however, differed significantly from Crassus' attempts to make the same honourary dedication. As Rich notes, imperial 'princes' were under considerable pressure to attain distinction, and were assisted in such efforts by the emperor himself who would often (like Augustus) hold the consulship together with them. This was an important succession mechanism used throughout the imperial period which ensured a smooth transition of power. Augustus would therefore most likely have encouraged Drusus in his attempts to win such an honour, which would only serve to enhance and solidify the reputation and prestige of the Julio-Claudian family. Such an event would have been entirely different than Crassus' dedication, which instead threatened this

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55 Cass. Dio. 44.4.
56 Flower 2000, 48. Supported by Harrison 1989; contra Syme.
57 Cass. Dio. 53.16.
58 Flower 2000, 59.
59 Prop. 4.10; Verg. *Aen*. 6.779-90, 855-9, 10.462-3, 449-50. Harrison 1989, 414: "the example of the *spolia opima* is one of many instances in which the poets of the Augustan period incorporated material of political importance to Augustus into their poetry"
60 Flower 2000, 57-9.
61 Cass. Dio. 54.8.
62 Suet. *Claud.* 1.4; Cass. Dio. 55.5.

reputation.[63] However, Drusus is the last Roman to be recorded as having such an ambition and upon his death, Augustus returned to Rome "and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius."[64] This episode demonstrates the importance of the *spolia opima* and its imagery as a propagandistic tool, one which was so valuable that it could only be used by members of the Julio-Claudian family. Once associated with old-fashioned 'republican' aspirations, the *spolia opima* was transformed in the years following Actium into the "iconography and self-definition of the new ruling family." [65] As Flower notes, the *spolia opima* was a tradition "invented (and reinvented) by specific individuals at certain moments,"[66] but always for the same purpose so that by the time of Octavian's ascendancy such a tradition was usurped by the imperial family and could be claimed by no one else.

Most scholars agree that Crassus' feat put an end to his political and military career, since following his triumph in 27, there is no trace of him in any records.[67] It is possible that Octavian forced him to retire from public life following his campaigns in 29 and 28, though considering his career path, it may not be so surprising that there is no mention of Crassus again. After all, he had already held the consulship and an extensive two-year proconsulship in Macedonia, thus completing a highly successful aristocratic career.[68] Furthermore, Crassus' adopted son M. Licinius Crassus Frugi was consul in 14, signalling that the family had not been 'blacklisted' following Crassus' campaigns.[69]

From a historiographical perspective, this paper has sought to question the "unchallenged orthodoxy"[70] of the Dessau-Syme thesis, which states that Octavian, threatened by Crassus' achievement, dismissed him on a flimsy pretext based on Cossus' rank in 437 B.C, and that this achievement was the catalyst for Octavian's 'settlement' in 27. This paper has attempted to emphasize the importance and value of the *spolia opima* as a propagandistic tool and as a means of increasing one's reputation and prestige.

Moreover, following Actium, Octavian was the single most powerful Roman aristocrat, but his powers were not well defined, nor were they 'legal'. At this stage of Octavian's rise to power (particularly from 31 to 27) there remained powerful and successful aristocrats with notable family backgrounds in important political and military positions, and some of these aristocrats were capable of threatening Octavian's power. Crassus' feat, which entitled him to dedicate the *spolia opima*, is a good example of this, since the power and imagery of this honour was a highly valuable means of gaining prestige and glory,

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63 J.W. Rich, "Drusus and the *Spolia Opima*," *The Classical Quarterly* vol. 49 no. 2 (1999): 545-6, supported by Brunt 1984; contra B. Levick, who views Drusus' aspirations as issuing a challenge to Augustus based on the prince's republican sympathies, and Flower 2000.
64 Cass. Dio. 55.5.
65 Flower 2000, 59.
66 Flower 2000, 40.
67 See Eck 2007, 61 and Raaflaub and Sammons 1990, 425.
68 Rich 1996, 109.
69 *Fasti Triumphales.*
70 Rich 1996, 85.

which could not be afforded to anyone other than Octavian. Indeed, Octavian used the imagery of the *spolia opima* to his own advantage throughout his reign as Augustus. The episode involving Crassus on one hand indicates the tenuousness of Octavian's position in the early years of his dominance and the need for him to tread carefully while securing his position above other aristocrats. On the other hand, the fact that Octavian was able to convince Crassus to step down from claiming the highest and most prestigious honour open to a Roman general is a testament to his influence and his ability to have his requests respected, even by very important aristocrats. It is also a notable step upward in his ascendency. As Raaflaub and Sammons note, Crassus, a high-ranking aristocrat, "tested the limits of the powerful individual's freedom of action and self-advertisement under the new regime."[71] Events surrounding Crassus' rise to power are thus more broadly illustrative of Octavian's shifting position in the years between 31 and 27 B.C. Interestingly, the *spolia opima* faded from both the political and military arena as an honour to be achieved after Augustus' reign and were never mentioned thereafter, except in a purely annalistic manner.[72]

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[71] Raaflaub and Sammons 1990, 425.
[72] Flower 2000, 35.

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Aristocrats and Assumptions

By Margherita Devine

"Art imitates life." Andy Warhol once said, and though his quotation has become a cliché, its overuse points to the universal acknowledgement that an artist's work contains truth about the culture in which he creates. Warhol made his declaration in an age of Technicolour photographs and abstract sculptures, some two thousand years after the tumultuous transition in Rome from Republic to Empire, but his words apply just as well to the past as to the present. Art is effective only when it arouses emotion, an impossible feat if the message of the art does not resonate within its particular cultural context. A painting of dining and reclining patricians would have been confusing and aesthetically displeasing to a Roman art collector if it contained no depictions of food, just as Cicero's long-winded reassurance that it is possible to win the consulship without noble ancestry would have seemed redundant and repetitive to his listeners and readers had they not themselves been obsessed with the nexus of lineage and political office. Roman art, from literature to paintings and sculptures, is teeming with data about Roman cultural assumptions. Since direct observation of Roman cultural structures is clearly impossible, critical analysis of Roman art is the most powerful tool available for the study of Roman culture and society.

This paper will examine one aspect of Roman culture in particular – aristocratic values – through one type of Roman art – Latin literature. It will consider Roman literature of many genres, including epic and lyric poetry, prose history, philosophy, satire and oratory. I include oratory as literature in this paper because although it is not written in meter, and usually recorded only after a speech is given, it is crafted beforehand for a specific purpose.[1] Literature is a rich resource of culture: by peeling away the layers of rhetorical device, literary context and authorial intent, the latent beliefs are laid bare.

Latin literature is obsessed by the Roman aristocracy. From Republican orators such as Cicero exhorting the Senate to meet the ideals of nobility, or outlining how best to electioneer, to Imperial satirists like Juvenal decrying the fallen standards of noble behaviour, aristocracy and the aristocratic ideal are common fixtures in Roman literary works. Even after the collapse of the Republic, and the resulting drastic reduction of aristocratic power, the nobility remains a central topic of discussion. This paper has two components of inquiry: first, what the qualities of an ideal aristocrat were, and how those qualities are reflected in Latin literature of various genres; and second, how the aristocratic ideal changed, if at all, from the Republic to the early Empire, and what accounted for that change or lack thereof. The period of transition from Republic to Empire was tumultuous, and the aristocracy played an important role in managing the Roman state during that crisis period, as it had during the Republic, when it was the government, and as it would during the Empire, when it struck an unsteady power balance with the Emperor. It is important to emphasize that the ideal I will construct is how Romans thought that

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1 It is also important to note that literature is not automatically made by virtue of being recorded. Graffiti, for example, is fascinating and certainly sheds light on Roman culture, but I do not include it as literature.

nobles ought to behave, even if most did not behave that way at all. No noble could be behaving "nobly," but the ideal would still exist, as ideals are prescriptive, and not descriptive, constructions. The Roman aristocratic ideal encompassed the qualities that made one an ideal politician: eloquence, education, manliness, morality and good family heritage; yet it also dictated that while being wealthy and refined one behave modestly. Though the status of aristocrats and the amount of power they held changed from the Republic through the transition to Empire, the aristocratic ideal itself did not change.

In the late Republic, more specifically in the first half of the first century BC, the Roman nobility was at the peak of its power. In theory, the structure of the *res publica* was balanced about the people: although not every Roman person was enfranchised, elections did occur; although the consulship existed as the pinnacle of Roman authority, the office's power was divided in two moreover was checked by the Senate. In practice, however, the only men with the time and resources to run the government were nobles, people with free ancestry, usually for many generations prior. Unsurprisingly, there is much written on the ideal statesman of the time, as well as on the state itself. These writings provide the most direct analysis of the nobility of the time for the simple fact that Roman aristocrats were politicians; the characteristics valued in those running the state blend into the aristocratic ideal because the nobility was entirely engaged in politics. The portrait of elections shows how Romans viewed the process behind selecting those in power; as nobility ruled or tried to rule, "electable" qualities or practices became synonymous with aristocratic ones. The admired values in a Roman aristocrat were ultimately public: the most explicit characteristics desirable in a noble were moral excellence, rhetorical skill and a strong family reputation. There are two important components of the discussion of the aristocratic ideal in a political context: the characteristics valued, and more subtly but equally important, the lifestyle required to achieve those characteristics.

The concept of *virtus* lies at the heart of the Roman conception of aristocratic character. *Virtus* is notoriously difficult to define; the word can be translated into English as "courage,"[2] "human excellence,"[3] "valour,"[4] and, most obviously, "virtue."[5] The nebulousness of the term reflects its broad application to a diverse range of aristocratic behaviour. On the most general level, *virtus* can be understood as pertaining to proper personal conduct; an inelegant, but all-encompassing definition of virtus is "doing the right thing." For politically-minded Roman authors, *virtus* refers to moral excellence in public service, for military historians it suggests martial virtue and physical courage, while for social critics it carries connotations of appropriately masculine sexual conduct and identity.

2 Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 13.
3 McDonnell 2006, 105.
4 Cic. *Comment. pet*. 3.5-6. The examples cited here for each translation of virtus are a small sampling of the works in which the word is translated as such. The citations given were selected as indicative of the contexts in which virtus is used in a specific manner.
5 Cic. *Comment. pet*. 15.38-39.

Marcus Tullius Cicero's *Commentariolum Petitionis*, or "Handbook of Election-eering", provides valuable evidence for the political implications of *virtus*, both through his explicit advice to would-be political candidates, and through his subtler rhetorical implications. The *Commentariolum Petitionis* (*CP*), written in 64-63 BC, is a guidebook to winning a consular election; although it purports to be a letter from Cicero's younger brother Quintus, it was probably written by Cicero himself to console his brother, who was abroad in Asia and having difficulty with his career. Cicero, a novus homo, without consular ancestry,[6] was elected consul in 63 BC, defeating more established aristocratic candidates, a remarkable feat for a novus homo; his analysis of Roman politics in the *CP* is thus especially valuable, both because of his political success and his status as an outsider eager for success. Cicero asserts that even with the presence of an opponent's prestigious ancestry, *virtus* distinguishes good candidates from bad ones. Early in the *CP*, Cicero writes, "Another great help for your status as a "new man" is that your noble competitors are persons of whom nobody would venture to say that they should get more from their rank than you from your moral excellence [*virtutem*]."[7] Cicero maintains that even the men with the noblest ancestry could not defeat a man of good character, if their character left much to be desired. Dismissing the importance of ancestry for electoral success, Cicero argues that Roman politics are full of morally bankrupt men who have nothing to offer but references to family members who held the consulship, and that a *novus homo*, if he exhibited *virtus*, could easily be elected.[8] He emphasizes the significance of a candidate's *virtus* by contrasting the idea of *virtus* with hyperbolic descriptions of the atrocities committed by former and potential candidates. For example, Cicero writes of Catiline:

> *In quibus ille hominem optimum, Q. Caucilium, sororis suae virum, equitem Romanum, nullarum partium, cum semper natura tum etiam aetate iam quietum suis manibus occidit. Quid ego nunc dicam petere eum tecum consulatum qui hominem carissimum populo Romano, M. Marium, inspectante populo Romano vitibus per totam urbem ceciderit, ad bustum egerit, ibi omni cruciatu laceraris, <vix> vivo <et> spiranti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit, cum sinistra capillum eius a vertice teneret,*

6 Novitas was an ambiguous term in the late Republic. T.P. Wiseman offers the two most common usages: referring to a consul, or candidate for the consulship, whose ancestry included no consuls; or referring to a senator whose ancestry was limited to the class of equites, and had no senators. Wiseman uses the latter term in his discussion of 'new men' but Cicero's usages vary more widely. Novitas was not a clearly delineated concept; however it is clear that it denotes a candidate whose ancestry does not contain the kind of prestigious offices that would help him win an election. In this sense it does not matter that there is no consistent definition, even within Cicero's works: 'newness' meant that the candidate could not rely on family name, and it is this focus on the role of name that the aristocratic ideal incorporates. See T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate: 139 B.C. – A.D. 14* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 1971), 1-7.

7 Cic. *Comment. pet.* 9-10.

8 Cic. *Comment. pet.* 9-10.

caput sua manu tulerit, cum inter digitos eius rivi sanguinis fluerent…[9]

That Catiline would kill his sister's husband in order to further his career is repugnant enough, but Cicero emphasizes the horror of the deed by characterizing the murdered man as a mild-mannered politician; he juxtaposes the apolitical man, "*nullarum partium*," (literally, "of no parties/factions") with the sordidness of politics. He goes on to describe Catiline's cruelty in explicit detail: he explains that Catiline did not just kill the "*hominem carissimum*," he beheaded Marcus Marius and held the bloody head "*sua manu*" in his hands. This disturbing image emphasizes Catiline's cruelty more vividly than the simple statement that he kills. Cicero's use of hyperbole in his brutal (and perhaps fallacious—his description of Catiline's relish of murder smacks of gossip) imagery as well as his use of juxtaposition and contrast in his choice to use of the superlative of "*carissiumum*" instead of the positive adjective "*carus*," leaves the reader not only with a sense of Catiline's the moral depravity but also with an awareness of the importance and value of virtus for the Republic's aristocratic leadership.

Cicero's discussions of *virtus*, moreover, make it clear that the term applies specifically to the public sphere of politics. Throughout his entire corpus, which contains, in addition to the CP, treatises on Roman law, the role of the state, and the ideal orator, Cicero pays almost no attention to altruism, kindness, love of family and other features of interpersonal relationships.[10] McDonnell writes, "Only once does Cicero write of his own *virtus* in relation to his fatherly duties, and there the reference is to the consequences of his lack of courage in public life."[11] The public character of *virtus* is a significant feature of its place in the aristocratic ideal. For the Roman aristocracy, defined as it was by its political activity and involvement, to behave like an aristocrat was to behave like a politician. *Virtus* was perhaps the single most important characteristic for a politician to have: it separated men who would make a good rulers from men who would not. Clearly "right" behaviour might vary in different situations, but right behaviour was always public behaviour: a concern for the preservation of the Roman state, rather than any private interests or qualities, defined a man who was possessed of *virtus*. Sallust, who drew upon Cicero's works as sources, summarizes the centrality of *virtus* to the aristocratic ideal most elegantly when he writes, "It is glorious to serve one's country by deeds; even to serve her by

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9 Cic. *Comment. pet*. 9-10: "Among them he killed with his own hands his sister's husband, the excellent Quintus Caucilius, a Roman Knight, neutral in politics, a man always inoffensive by nature and by that time also through advancing age. Need I go on? He to be running for the consulship with you—he who scourged Marcus Marius, the Roman People's darling, all around the town before the Roman People's eyes, drove him to the tomb, mangled him there with every torture, and with a sword in his right hand, holding his head of hair in his left, severed the man's neck as he barely lived and breathed and carried the head in his hand, while rills of blood flowed between his fingers!"
10 McDonnell 2006, 168-9.
11 McDonnell 2006, 172.

words is a thing not to be despised; one may become famous in peace as well as in war."[12]

Cicero expounds further on the values encompassed by *virtus* in *De Re Publica* (*DRP*), "On the Commonwealth," his treatise on the workings of the Roman Republic and the proper behaviour of its citizens and rulers. Cicero argues that men should enter into public life in order to protect the state from corrupt rulers;[13] he acknowledges, however, that worthy motivation provides no guarantee that, once in power, the well-intentioned will not become corrupt themselves. He addresses this problem by insisting on the association of *virtus* with action. He writes, "It is not enough to possess virtue, as if it were an art of some sort, unless you make use of it… the existence of virtue depends entirely upon its use."[14] This is a clever rhetorical distinction—Cicero, in categorizing *virtus* as a characteristic that can only exist if it is exercised, eliminates all uncertainly in the discussion of morality. If a man has *virtus*, he shows it. Virtus manifests itself in many ways, such as "*iustitias, fides, aequitas*,"[15] "justice, loyalty, fair-dealing" and "*pudor, continentia, fuga turpitudinis, adpetentia laudis et honestatis*,"[16] "decency, self-restraint, fear of disgrace, eagerness for praise and honour." These various manifestations of *virtus* appear in different circumstances: *continentia* is reflected in civil conduct during a heated debate, while *aequitas* consists of not taking advantage of peers or inferiors.

Virtus also encompasses the appropriate public display of masculine sexuality. T. Wade Richardson cites Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* 6.12.4-5, in which the author describes a speech given by Publius Scipio Africanus against Publius Sulpicius Gallus for wearing effeminate togas. Scipio is described as "*vir omnibus bonis artibus atque omni virtute praeditus*," in apposition to Gallus, "*homini delicato*."[17] Richardson argues that the description of Scipio implies that "he is the 'default setting' of maleness"; while he acknowledges that none of the words in the passage necessarily imply sexuality, he argues that the juxtaposition of *virtute* and Gallus's homosexual behaviour suggests that *virtus* can mean proper male sexual display.[18] McDonnell, in contrast, although he acknowledges that some of the cognates of *virtus*, such as *virilis* or *virilitas*, can connote sexual activity, ultimately concludes that *virtus* was not used to refer to sexuality or sexual display.[19] His objection however relies heavily on the absence of this sense of *virtus* in the poetry of Catullus.[20] While this absence might demonstrate that *virtus* has little importance for the private sexual behaviour with which Catullus is concerned, it does not preclude the application

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12 Sall. *Cat.* 7; 3.1.
13 Cic. *Rep*. 1.4.
14 Cic. *Rep*. 1.2.
15 Cic. *Rep*. 1.2.
16 Cic. *Rep*. 1.2.
17 Gell. *NA* 6.12.4-5. "A man gifted with all worthy arts and every virtue" versus "An effeminate man."
18 T. Wade Richardson, "Sexuality and Roman *Virtus*: A Link?," Unpublished paper given at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of Canada, St. John's, Newfoundland, May 2007, 3-4.
19 Richardson 2007, 167.
20 McDonnell 2006, 167.

of the term to public sexuality, the context in which it used by Aulus Gellius. *Virtus*, then, may be applied to the sexual bravado or machismo exhibited by aristocratic Roman men.

Finally, *virtus* describes a Roman aristocrat's military prowess. In the contexts of warfare in the abstract or specific battles, *virtus* means bravery or valour. In his *Ab Urbe Condita* Livy uses this sense of the term in his account of Roman battles with various Italian tribes. Describing a battle against the Albans, he writes, "*Romani, si umquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit quod primum dis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit.*"[21] For Livy, *virtus* is directly correlated with skill in battle—the Romans survive the battle due to "*dis immortalibus*" and "*vestrae virtuti.*"

Virtus was not, of course, the only important moral quality for an aristocrat to possess. Augustus's *clupeus virtutis*, or "shield of virtue," which was set up by decree of the senate and the people in the curia Iulia, displayed four attributes: *virtus, clementia, iustitia*, and *pietas*.[22] These values were equally prominent on the shield, implying their equal, or at least comparable importance to the character of a good Roman. As the shield's overall identification as "*virtutis*" suggests, however, *virtus* is the most flexible and encompassing of these concepts. None of the terms on the shield can be narrowly defined—*pietas*, for instance, has a range of meaning from mere diligence to the insistence of the observance of rituals—but *virtus* has the most expansive, nebulous and diverse range of meaning. Without denying significance to these other values, *virtus* served, uniquely, as a kind of summation of a broad range of expectations and ideals for noble behaviour.

For a politically-minded aristocrat, however, his *virtus* was of little use unless he could effectively advertise it to his peers and the electorate. The most powerful way to do so was through oratory, which consisted of both legal speeches and politically addresses made, for example in the senate. Cicero writes, "Great prestige has always been attached to [oratory]; an advocate deemed worthy to defend ex-consuls cannot be thought unworthy of the consulship."[23] It was not enough just to be able to make a speech—that speech needed to be compelling. Style and argumentation were oratorical skills a speaker needed in order to be successful in Roman politics. As a man gained supporters from those whom he defended, his command of the Roman legal system became more fluent from his frequent defenses, and most importantly he learned to be persuasive. The Senate was suffused with oratory—men argued constantly over which course of action to take in both domestic and foreign policies, and a good politician was one who could articulate his ideas both clearly and convincingly. As Cicero makes clear, oratorical brilliance was essential if a *novus homo* was to use his *virtus* to advance his political career: the very first piece of advice which he of-

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21 Liv. 1.28. "Romans, if ever anywhere in any war you have had reason to give thanks, first to the immortal gods and then to your own valour, it was in the battle of yesterday."

22 Glanville Downey, "Tiberiana," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neueren Forschung*, ed. Hildegard Temporini (Rome: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 96.

23 Cic. *Comment. pet.* 1.2.

fers in the CP is "*Nominis novitatem dicendi gloria maxime sublevabis*."[24]

In more concrete terms, oratorical ability allowed an aristocratic to increase the number of his *clientes*, or clients. These men were not business partners, nor were they friends; instead, they had an unofficial agreement, under the terms of which that the *cliens* would ask for favours in return for political support. Cicero writes, "*Et omnino, quoniam eo genere amicitiarum petitio tua maxime munita est quod ex causarum defensionibus adeptus es, fac ut plane iis omnibus quos devinctos tenes discriptum ac dispositum suum cuique munus sit.*"[25] The aristocratic *patronus*, or patron protected his *clientes* in legal matters, and vouched for their reputations, while the *clientes* provided the politician with the prestige of having many followers; having loyal *clientes* showed that a man was clearly skilled at defense, that he kept his word in their agreements and did not just use his *clientes* for his own benefit. Indeed, a Roman would not have chosen the terms *patronus* and *cliens* to describe this reciprocal, asymmetrical relationship. Richard P. Saller notes that *patronus* and *cliens* were infrequently used, and restricted to formal usages, such as to legal advocates or ex-masters of freedmen.[26] He uses the terms, as I do, for their precision, but their limited usage sheds light on the psychology of the relationship. Saller writes, "The reason for the infrequent appearance of *patronus* and *cliens* in literature lies in the social inferiority and degradation implied by the words."[27] No client would want to admit to being in a subordinate role, and no patron would want to humiliate his current clients and discourage potential clients. This pretended equality, or *jovialité*, made both partners feel their relationship was fruitful. The patron/client relationship fits neatly within Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital,[28] since each man in this relationship is indebted to the other without any tangible, wealth-based tie. *Patroni* were constantly vying for *clientes*, and it was not uncommon for *clientes* to attempt loyalty to two or more *patroni*. Having loyal clients was thus a testament to a *patronus*' ability to provide material assistance to his clients and to his powers or oratorical persuasion; as well, having large numbers of loyal clients was essential to political success.

Cicero claims that having enough *virtus*, here manifesting itself as compelling rhetoric, could override the benefits of a prestigious family name: *sublevare* literally means "to lift up from under" and is best translated here as "to overcome." Cicero could have phrased the notion of oratory being important in a variety of ways. He could have written that a *novus homo* would win an election due to his oratory, or merely mentioned that oratory was a useful skill to have. Instead, he uses a verb that implies there is an incredible burden to being without consular ancestry.

24 Cic. *Comment. pet*. 1.2. "For your status as a "new man" you will compensate chiefly by your fame as a speaker."
25 Cic. *Comment. pet*. 1.2. "In general, since your campaign is amply supported by the kind of friendship which you have acquired by defending cases, make quite sure that a particular duty is apportioned and assigned to each of all whom you have laid under obligation."
26 Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982), 9.
27 Saller 1982, 9.
28 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990), 119-120.

Even as he argues vehemently that rhetorical skill might allow a *novus homo* to obtain the consulship, however, Cicero's own rhetoric draws attention to the importance which the aristocratic ideal placed on the possession of a good family name. In the *CP*, urging his brother not to be discouraged by status as a new man, he writes:

> *Quanto melior tibi fortuna petitionis data est quam*
> *nuper homini novo, C. Coelio! Ille cum duobus*
> *hominibus ita nobilissimis petebat ut tamen in iis omnia Iuris essent*
> *quam ipsa nobilitas, summa ingenia, summus*
> *pudor, plurima beneficia, summa ratio ac diligentia*
> *petendi; ac tamen eorum alterum Coelius, cum multo*
> *inferior esset genere, superior nulla re paene, superavit.*[29]

Although it is intended to be an example of the triumph of a *novus homo* over his more illustrious aristocratic competitor's, the story of Coelius also shows that the expectation in Roman elections was that breeding would trump a candidate's individual characteristics; it reflects what Romans claimed they ultimately value in a candidate, although in actuality they might vote for men who do not possess those characteristics. Cicero's hyperbole draws further attention to the importance of ancestry in Roman politics. He describes the consular candidates in only superlatives: they are "*nobilissimis*," and their good characteristics are all modified by "*summus/a*." By contrast, and again using hyperbole, Coelius is not just "*inferior…genere*" but "*multo inferior…genere*." His rhetorical emphasis on the significance of ancestry in the election reflects his understanding of broader Roman political sentiments; in *DRP* Cicero writes, "*opulentos homines et copiosos, tum genere nobili natos esse optimos putant.*"[30] For a *novus homo* like Cicero, the election campaign presented special challenges. T.P. Wiseman writes:

> The greatest advantage of the *nobilis* was the Romans' notorious obsession with *mos maiorum*, their belief that 'what is done by precedent is done by right.' There were ample precedents for the election of a Lentulus or a Scipio; the task of the new man was to find analogous ancient *exempla* to whom he might appeal and for whose reputation he might claim some affinity.[31]

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29 Cic. *Comment. pet*. 3.11. "How much better luck has fallen to you in your canvass than to C. Coelius, another 'new man,' a while ago! He stood against two men of the highest nobility, yet whose nobility was the least of their assets—great intelligence, high conscience, many claims to gratitude, great judgment and perseverance in electioneering; yet Coelius, though much inferior in birth and superior in almost nothing, defeated one of them."
30 Cic. *Rep*. 1.51. "[Roman men] think that the best men are those who are rich, prosperous, or born of famous families."
31 Wiseman 1971, 107.

Even in his adamant defense of the electability of *novi homines*, Cicero reveals the ultimate gap between a *novus homo* and an ideal aristocrat; in the minds of both the aristocracy and the Roman electorate more broadly, the ideal aristocrat was not just himself noble, but had noble ancestry as well.

Moreover, by assigning a set of noble characteristics to the candidates, Cicero affirms the valued qualities in elections; by assigning them to every candidate, he renders them irrelevant to the discussion and focuses on the importance of ancestry. The "*ingenia…pudor… beneficia…ratio ac diligentia petendi*," ("intelligence… modesty…[much to be] thankful for…judgment and doggedness in the pursuit [of the consulship]") which Cicero attributes to the two candidates standing for election alongside Coelius are useful in the construction of the aristocratic ideal, because they are "stock" noble characteristics. Cicero's argument relies on all three candidates being equal in *virtus*, and only having differences in ancestry. They are all pristine candidates, and Cicero's elaboration of what makes them so speaks directly to the aristocratic ideal—he is not giving a nuanced description of the men's characters, just mentioning the standard for what makes one a good candidate, and thus a good noble.

A final important quality in an ideal aristocrat was modesty. Although discussion of moral character was often incorporated into the broad category of *virtus*, the idea of *pudor* deserves special consideration as a separate entity, especially in the context of concrete qualifications such as prestigious lineage. Sallust writes, "*Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant.*"[32] Here again is the notion of the notion of *virtus*, as well as the specific manifestation of *virtus* in *pudor,* with the addition of the idea that a noble should not greedy or take bribes. This idea of moderation and modesty is one that runs through Cicero as well, but is best articulated through Sallust's condemnations of the Roman state "*postquam divitiae honori esse coepere.*"[33] Some wealth was clearly necessary for one to maintain aristocratic status: canvasses and campaigns were costly and time-consuming. Yet wealth was a necessary but insufficient condition in the aristocratic ideal. If an aristocrat had money, it was improper to make vulgar displays of it or be so greedy as to take bribes. Sallust's view that the esteem of money and the lack of modesty was symptomatic of greater Roman problems shows how essential modesty about wealth was to the aristocratic ideal: once aristocrats stopped behaving as they "should" have, the Republic was doomed. This passage clearly articulates the aristocratic ideal of the late Republic: Sallust is an historian of decline, explaining the mid-century tumult. He sets up a contrast between what he expected of public life and what he found once he entered it, a contrast that only has meaning if his expectations are familiar to the reader—he expected politicians to behave in a certain way based on a commonly-held ideal, and the power of the contrast relies on how disparate the ideal and reality are.

These four components of the aristocratic ideal: *virtus*, oratory, prestigious ancestry and modesty are articulated explicitly in Roman literature. Beneath them, in the

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32 Sall. *Cat*. 3.3. "For instead of modesty, incorruptibility and honesty, shamelessness, bribery and rapacity held sway."
33 Sall. *Cat*. 12.1. "As soon as riches came to be held in honour."

subtext of late Republican texts, lie a set of assumptions about the kind of lifestyle required to cultivate these worthwhile qualities. Particularly important among these assumptions are the ideas of *otium* and *negotium*. *Otium*'s primary meaning is "leisure" or "free time"; when contrasted with *negotium* it can also mean "lack of business" or "freedom from business." Perhaps the most obvious and important implication of the aristocratic ideal is the amount of time one needed in order to foster noble traits: one needed tremendous *otium* to be educated enough to be able to engage in politics at all, as well to be a successful politician once that threshold of education was met. *Negotium*, on the other hand, which literally means "not leisure," is best translated as "business" or "occupation"—what one does to fulfill a certain practical purpose, such as making enough money to support one's family, or garnering support for an upcoming election. What *negotium* implied for a Roman man varied according to his social status and economic position: out of necessity, the common man engaged in *negotium* for money, while aristocrats directed their *negotium* towards the accrual of political glory and honour that politics conferred. In Bourdieu's terms, commoners largely sought blunt economic capital whereas aristocrats sought intangible social capital.[34] *Otium* was, of course a crucial component of aristocratic *negotium*, since it allowed would-be politicians to form alliances and campaign in unofficial capacities. The line between business and leisure was a blurry one for Roman politicians: loitering in the Forum and talking to potential clients could be viewed as both as a business errand and a product of leisure-time. Indeed, only with the freedom *otium* conferred from concerns with everyday subsistence could one engage in politics at all, since Roman politics was an unpaid profession in which *negotium* might obtain delayed or intangible gains; *otium* was thus a crucial attribute for Roman aristocrat politicians.

Cicero's discussion of *amicitia* provides a good illustration of the inseparability of *otium* and *negotium* in political life. Cicero writes:

> *Amicorum studia beneficiis et officiis et venustate et facilitate ac iucunditate naturae parta esse oportet. Sed nomen amicorum in petitione latius patet quam in cetera vita; quisquis est enim qui ostendat aliquid in te voluntatis, qui colat, qui domum ventitet, is in amicorum numero est habendus.*[35]

Cicero points to the different roles of friendship in the life of a private man and in that of a politician. Although links to *amici*, or "friends," would, for a private man, be based on personal characteristics like *venustas, iucunditas*, and *facilitas*, a candidate for office, as Cicero explains, must treat anyone who pays attention to him, even

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34 Bourdieu 1990, 122.
35 Cic. *Comment. pet.* 5.16. "The endeavours of friends should be enlisted by kindnesses and observances of duties and old acquaintance and affability and natural charm. But that word 'friends' has a wider application in a canvass than in the rest of life, for anybody who shows you some good will, or cultivates you society, or calls upon you regularly, is to be counted as a 'friend.'"

just by *domum ventitet* (calling on at home, paying respects), as a friend. Although the words *amicitia* ("friendship") and amicus derive from the verb *amo, amare*, meaning "to love," and although they are thus associated with *otium*, Cicero uses them here is the more public sense of "ally." In public life leisure and business mix: in the aristocratic ideal, in keeping with the idea of *virtus* being a public value, friendships were not just private enjoyments of another's company, but rather public alliances.

In addition to alliance-building, *otium* allowed aristocrats to obtain social capital through education and the flaunting of knowledge. Elaine Fantham writes, "In republican Rome's more hierarchical world the two main forms of public speaking, political and judicial, were relatively open to members of the governing class, just as they were virtually closed to the ordinary citizen;"[36] this informal exclusion of common classes from political power was enforced by the aristocratic monopoly on historical and philosophical literacy. Aristocratic education was neither practical nor vocational, but instead centered about philosophical ideas and Roman history. In a certain sense, an education in Roman history and law, and ancient philosophy was practical for a politician: he needed to understand law to plead cases, to have knowledge of history and philosophy to strengthen his rhetoric, as well as presumably to act with prudence once in office. More importantly, education was an indirect mark of one's class. In *De Re Publica*, Cicero's dialogue between Scipio and Tubero touches on the report of "*de isto altero sole quod nuntiatum est in senatu*."[37] To pass the time before others arrive at their gathering, they try to explain what those reporting the second sun saw. Their discussion is saturated with philosophers' names, both famous and little-known: Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Aratus, Eudoxus. The fluent mention of many philosophers in what is depicted as a casual social gathering shows both the content and extent of the education an aristocrat might receive. In order to be able to participate in politics, as we have seen, men needed to be able to socialize strategically with other men. Familiarity with various philosophical concepts acted as a Shibboleth for class: men could show that they too were of the class which concerned itself with loftier ideas.

Education in rhetoric, moreover, shaped the aristocratic ideal because of the immediacy and potency of speech as a class marker. In *Post Reditum in Senatu*, a speech given on his return to Rome from exile in 57 BC, Cicero describes the unsavoury impression which a rival politician, Caesoninus Calventius, might make on one meeting him for the first time, "*sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguem, tardum, inhumanum negotium, Cappadocem modo abreptum de grege venalium diceres.*"[38] Cicero consistently draws attention to the contrast between Calventius' behaviour and the behaviour expected of him as a result of his high degree of *otium*; he notes that "*Caesoninus Calventius ab*

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36 Elaine Fantham, "The Contexts and Occasions of Roman Rhetoric," in *Roman Eloquence: Rhetoric in Society and Literature*, ed. William J. Dominick (New York: Routledge, 1997), 112.
37 Cic. *Rep.* 1.15. "… In regard to that second sun which has been reported in the senate."
38 Cic. *Red. Sen*. 6.14. "You would call him stockfish, insipid, tongue-tied, a dull and brutish clod, a Cappadocian plucked from some slave-dealer's stock-in-trade."

adolescentia versatus est in foro."[39]   The object of Cicero's critique is not Calventius' deep moral turpitude, but rather the superficial signs that he is un-aristocratic; in doing so he highlights the importance of oratorical and speech training. Cicero calls Calventius "*elinguem*," which literally means "tongue-less" or "speechless" and is best translated here as "without eloquence." The choice of this insult shows how integral refined speech was to the aristocratic ideal; the emphasis on proper, eloquent speech in turn demonstrates the equal importance of education. Furthermore, by calling Calventius a Cappodocian (where many of the toughest slaves originated), Cicero equates stupidity and lack of eloquence with the lower classes, specifically those without free ancestry.

This, then, was the state of affairs at the death of the Republic: the ideal aristocrat was well-spoken, educated, and from a good family; he had enough wealth to be able to concern himself with politics, and above all tried to express *virtus* through public acts. With Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, however, the nature of Roman political power changed permanently. The culmination of the Civil Wars in the introduction of a *princeps*, whose power was unchecked, changed the political power balance; moreover, the rise of the Principate was a blow to the identity of individual Romans, who apart from experiencing the terror of civil war, had to come to terms with the new Rome. It is evident that the civil war and the changes it wrought weighed heavily on the Roman people: Horace, the brilliant and prolific lyric poet and satirist who belonged to Maecenas's circle of artists, writes in the opening ode of his second book:

> *quis non Latino sanguine pinguior/campus sepulcris impia proelia/testatur auditumque Medis/Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?/qui gurges au que flumina lugubris ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae non decoloravere caedes? quae caret ora cruore nostro?... quaere modos leviore plectro.*[40]

The personification of natural features such as "*campus*," "*gurges*," "*flumina*," and "*mare*," suggests both the ubiquity of civil strife, and the intensity of the conflict. The choice of natural features which are by definition expansive amplifies the scale the carnage and of the damage done to Rome: in Horaces's poem it is not a small lake or a single waterfall or tree, but entire bodies of water and wide plains which "*sepulcris... testa[n]tur.*"   Bodies of water in particular represent Rome's boundaries; Horace implies that Rome was so saturated with trouble that even its farthest reaches felt the effects of the war. Horace's desire for "*modos leviore plectro*," and in particular his emphasis on the songs being "*leviore*", implies how seriously (in the literal sense as well—*gravis* is the opposite

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39 Cic. *Red. Sen*. 6.13. "Caesoninus Calventius has been engaged from his youth in public affairs."
40 Hor. *Carm*. 2.1.29-36. "What plain has not been enriched with Latin blood, bearing witness by its graves to our unholy battles, and to the crash of Westland's downfall, which has been heard by the Medes? What sea, what river, is unaware of war's desolation? What ocean has not been stained with Daunian carnage? What shore is uncontaminated with our blood?... Let us think of a tune for a lighter quill."

of *levis*) the conflict was felt. The revolution was, in colloquial terms, kind of a big deal.

      The period beginning with the inception of Civil Wars in 49 BC and ending with Augustus' death in 14 AD (a period which I will refer to as the "Principate"), saw an intense flourishing of Latin literature; Augustus' restoration of stability in particular encouraged a new burst of literary creativity, and a new interest in generic and metrical innovation. Although there is certainly something to S.J. Harrison's remark that "interesting literature is often the product of interesting times,"[41] this literary flourishing also reflected important social and political trends. Patrons, such as Augustus' close associate Maecenas, were increasingly willing to sponsor truly gifted artists over long periods of time. A community of talented writers from rather humble beginnings found patrons in Rome[42] and were given the *otium* needed to be educated and write. Horace and Virgil were friends; Horace writes an ode for Virgil as he traveled to Greece.[43] Catullus, writing a generation before Horace and Virgil, describes a typical meeting of artistic minds: "*Hesterno…die otiosi/multum lusimus in meis tabellis/ut convenerat esse delicatos/ scribens versiculos uterque nostrum/ludebat numero modo hoc modo illoc/reddens mutual per iocum atque vinum*."[44] The cultural climate was inviting to collaboration as well as innovation, and the sort of scene Catullus describes only became more frequent with more patronage. In the early Principate, moreover, Augustus, out of concern for his image, oversaw works that examined Rome's evolution as a state. Augustus exploited his relationship with Maecenas' literary circle, and understood the power of literature to reach the common people through public recitations. Augustus famously overrode Virgil's dying wish to have his unfinished *Aeneid* burned, sparking a two thousand year debate over Virgil's authorial intent in the *Aeneid*'s message; while the work has most often been read as a glorification of Augustan Rome and a justification of the Augustan political settlement, other critics see its true brilliance lying in its subtle, ironic denunciation of the Principate. The *Aeneid* tells the story of a minor Trojan character mentioned in Homer's *Iliad* who is destined to found the proto-city of Rome, as well as the line that would produce Romulus and Remus; he and the other Trojan survivors of the sack of Troy make their way across the Mediterranean and into Italy, where they must conquer the tribes living there. Virgil retroactively creates a mythological history for Rome, one that has great relevance in the understanding of how Romans viewed the *princeps* and the reduction in aristocratic and common peoples' power (little though it was). Francis Cairns writes, "[There is a] link between kingship and Aeneas: he is at once the character most frequently and consistently treated in terms of

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41 S.J. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), vii.

42 Horace dedicates many of his odes, most famously 1.1, to Maecenas, as well as writing poetry to him specifically, as in 3.29.

43 Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.

44 Catul. 50.1-6. "Being at leisure yesterday, we had great/fun…with impromptu verses/(on agreement to be light and witty),/each alternately scribbling little squiblets,/playing around with every kind of metre,/matching jest with jest, vintage with vintage."

kingships and the one who, as the ancestor of the Julian house, which Augustus had joined by adoption, ties the *Aeneid* most closely to the concerns of Virgil's contemporaries."[45]

Despite its potentially critical association of Augustus with kingship, the *Aeneid* is ultimately a pro-Augustan work. Although there is a compelling case for the *Aeneid* as a criticism of the Principate, authorial intent can never be proven; perhaps a Republican listening to the epic would hear strains of criticism, but Augustus would never have encouraged Virgil, nor saved his manuscript against Virgil's explicit request, if Augustus felt it was critical, or if the Roman people thought it was critical enough to rebel against the *princeps*. Regardless of the conclusion, however, an exploration of the *Aeneid* is valuable in its reflection of Augustan values and views on the changing roles of the nobility. Nor was commentary on the end of the Republic limited to historically informed epic; Horace, in Ode I.35 addresses Fortune and asks her, "*serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos orbis Britannos*."[46] The invocation for protection during the British campaign is juxtaposed with mentions of "*cicatricum et sceleris pudet/ fratrumque*;"[47] Horace clearly does not shy away from writing explicitly of current events.

Even as they engaged with current events, however, in moments of crisis, Roman poets and prose authors, products of their conservative society, turned to the past, both real and constructed. Far more than their Republican predecessors, writers of the Principate looked to the history of Rome's foundations, and sought clues to Rome's ultimate fate and destiny. Horace alludes to the Trojan War[48] as well as countless deities and mythical figures; Livy constructs a history of Rome guided by the gods to her current glory; and Virgil in his epic poetry makes indirect references to the Roman Civil War in his descriptions of "proto-Roman" figures and events: the tension between Aeneas's love for Dido and his duty to settle in Italy, coupled with the *Aeneid's* emphasis on destiny, fate and divine intervention announced that Rome was special, she was worth any trouble, and she was destined to be. In keeping with this conservative, historical outlook, writers of the Principate clung to a Republican ideal of aristocratic behaviour, in spite of the fact that actual Roman political behaviour was changing radically. The literature of the period is bursting with commentary on the changing reality of Rome, but the aristocratic ideal appears not to have changed at all; indeed the traditional values of the politician-aristocrat are affirmed at every turn.

From Horace's contemporary commentary on the values of noble Romans to Virgil's emphasis on Aeneas' *pietas*, and Livy's teleological account of the founding of Rome, the literature of the Principate embraces *virtus* as the chief attribute of the aristocracy. The reduction in senatorial power due to the emperor's increase in power seems not to have dampened any enthusiasm or desire for office holding. Horace writes, "*hunc, si mobilium*

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45 Francis Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), 4.
46 Hor. *Carm*. 1.35.29-30. "Protect Caesar as he sets out for Britain at the edge of the world."
47 Hor. *Carm*. 1.35.33-34. "The shame of our scars and crimes and what brother has done to brother!"
48 *Carm*. 1.15, among others.

turba Quiritium/ certat tergeminis tollere honoribus."[49] He makes this declaration in his opening Ode, his dedication to Maecenas: he lists the pleasures of men in order to express how he desires nothing more than "*doctarum hederae praemia frontium*."[50] Horace's long list of human passions is not intended as exotic or unusual. He catalogues common activities, such as racing, sailing and being in the army; his inclusion of canvassing as one of the first and most obvious pursuits is thus a testament to the continuing interest the *cursus honorum*, and to the institution's enduring prestige But beyond this basic affirmation of the continued importance of politics to the nobility, Horace's observations on Roman values show that not only did the same offices garner respect from potential politicians, but they also required the same characteristics as they did before the fall of the Republic. In an Ode about military and social virtues, Horace writes, "*dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.../virtus repulsae nescia sordidae/ intaminatis fulget honoribus/ nec sumit aut ponit securis/ arbitrio popularis aurae.*"[51] Horace's use of the word shows that *virtus* has retained its nebulous meaning of "doing the right thing." He urges men not to be cowards and to show their devotion to Rome, but his language blends the military meanings of *virtus* with the more abstract layers of the word. The discussion of proper *virtus* is in the context of military values, such as a willingness to die for one's country, but it is clearly both a political value and a value focused on doing what is best in any given situation, not just what is easiest. Horace defines political *virtus* as "ignorant of base rebuffs", which Rudd confirms is specifically a rebuff at the polls. Ideal politicians are thus above petty politics and desire not power but the chance to lead Rome. Furthermore, when Horace writes that "*nec sumit aut ponit securis/ arbitrio popularis aurae*" he criticizes politicians who play to the whims of the crowd; like Sallust he not only defines an ideal but critically displays the failure of many men to adhere to that ideal; although Horace is a poet of crisis, rather than an historian of decline, he and Sallust both show the aristocratic ideal by their delineations between current behaviour and ideal behaviour.

Virgil's and Livy's critique of aristocratic behavior is more obscure than Horace's; their works contain the same insight into Roman values but do so through discussion of the past. In both Virgil's epic account of the founding the beginnings of Rome,[52] when Aeneas "*dum conderet urbem/ inferretque deos Latio – genus unde Latinum/ Albanique patres*

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49 Hor. *Carm*. 1.1.7-8. "One man is delighted if the mob of fickle citizens strive to elevate him to the three great offices" (Rudd notes: "Those of quaestor, praetor and consul").

50 Hor. *Carm*. 1.1.29. "The ivy crown, the reward of poetic brows."

51 Hor. *Carm*. 3.2.13, 17-20. "It is sweet and fitting to die for one's country… A man's true worth does not acknowledge a demeaning rebuff, but shines forth with its glory undimmed; it does not take up or lay down the axes of authority at the people's whim."

52 Although Aeneas does not found Rome but rather the line which eventually produces Romulus and Remus, Aeneas' successful journey to Italy marks a distinction between Aeneas and his followers as Trojan survivors and those whose progeny would become Romans. I will therefore distinguish the beginning of Rome from the foundation of Rome: the former connotes the idea of 'proto-Rome' while the latter is a more legal, technical term for when the city began to take its current shape.

atque altae moenia Romae,"[53] and Livy's exhaustive and aptly titled history *Ab Urbe Condita*, fate, destiny and divine intervention are invoked to explain the turn of events. Roman history thus appears as an inevitable progression; the teleological slant of these works suggests that contemporary Roman society and the Principate itself are pre-ordained and unavoidable. The past is used both to explain and justify the present, and to insist on the unshakeable continuity of Roman values through time. Perhaps the most striking instance of this historical foreshadowing of Roman values is Virgil's description of Aeneas as "*pius*." Aeneas, as the most important figure in Roman mythology (apart from the gods, of course), embodies the characteristics that shape Rome and make her successful. *Pietas* appears more broadly in Republican and Imperial literature, but Virgil makes such frequent use of it that it becomes epithetical: Aeneas is "*pius*" in contexts in which his devotion or diligence are only peripherally apparent. Virgil writes, for example, "*At pius Aeneas, per noctem plurima volvens/ ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque/ explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras/ qui teneant, nam inculta videt, hominesne feraene/ quarere constituit, sociisque exacta referre*."[54] Aeneas is surely performing a service to his comrades by scouting the lands they are shipwrecked onto, but the emphasis Virgil places on the potential danger of the land from its description as "*novos*" to the possibility of "*hominesne feraene*" seems more aptly described as bravery, not diligence. Yet he is not "*fortis Aeneas*" but "*pius*." By describing him thus to the point of redundancy and in irrelevant contexts, Virgil makes a point about Aeneas' character that is outside each individual episode of the epic: Aeneas is not just "*pius*" in particular instances, but is "i*nsignem pietate*,"[55] "marked by dutifulness," by traveling to Italy undertaking to fulfill Rome's destiny. *Pietas* often appears in contexts of rituals or religious rites, and so Aeneas' defining characteristic has both the meaning of mere diligence as well as the observance of divine orders. In its broad range of meaning *pietas* in the Aeneid thus prefigures Republian *virtus*. Just as Horace's ideal noble is not swayed by *popularis aurae*, so Aeneas does not let anything sway him from his ultimate goal.

          Moreover, Aeneas' *virtus* is a public value; he privileges the good of Rome over his personal affairs, and sacrifices his relationship with Dido and her well-being in order to create the Roman state. Dido's love for Aeneas accomplishes two primary objectives: it first shows how powerful and appealing Aeneas is, and how powerful and appealing Rome must be for him to give up love in order to found her. The language surrounding Aeneas' departure contains a suggestion of ritual sacrifice. Virgil writes:

          Aeneas… moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae/ conlu-

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53 Verg. *Aen*. 1.5-7. "Till [Aeneas] should build a city and bring his gods to Latium; whence came the Latin race, the lords of Alba, and the lofty walls of Rome."
54 Hor. *Carm*. 1.305-309. "But loyal Aeneas, through the night revolving many a care, as soon as kindly light was given, determines to issue forth and explore the strange country; to learn to what coasts he has come with the wind, who dwells there, man or beast—for all he sees is waste—then bring back tidings to his friends."
55 Hor. *Carm*. 1.10.

cent flammis. quae tantum accenerit ignem/ causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores/ polluto, notumque furens quid femina posit/ triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.[56]

The walls of Carthage alight with Dido's funeral pyre contains an element of poetic exaggeration: at sea, Aeneas would not actually be able to see Carthage's walls, much less the light of Dido burning. The hyperbole suggests the extent of Dido's passion, and thus the resolve required of Aeneas to leave her behind. In killing herself at Aeneas' departure, she turns herself into a human sacrifice to Rome. Although Aeneas' departure might appear harsh and single-minded, it confirms the affiliation of *pietas-virtus* with the public interest of the Roman state; for a Roman reader to condemn him as a selfish, fanatical, pugnacious monster, he would also have to condemn Rome itself. Indeed, even if Virgil is read as being critical of Aeneas' actions, his description of *pietas* still involves him in the construction of *virtus* and his acknowledgment of its place within the aristocratic ideal.

Livy, too, in his treatment of the founding of Rome, relies on Virgil's articulation of *virtus*. Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* records Rome's trajectory from Aeneas' arrival in Italy to the politics of his day. Although his work is expansive and highly detailed, Livy does not write with a consistent methodology. He does not have the same sources available for a discussion of Aeneas as he does for a discussion of senatorial politics in the early first century B.C.; nevertheless, what a modern historian would leave to the realm of mythology, Livy includes as legitimate history. His early books are thus extremely valuable cultural artifacts; in the absence of actual sources, Livy's Roman history becomes an etiological myth of the origins of contemporary Roman values. Livy writes, "*iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consulisse.*"[57] His history is motivated by the glory of Rome: he refers to Romans as "*principis terrarum populi,*" a clear indication of his admiration for Rome and her place in the world. Livy further reveals his bias in his discussion of Aeneas' conquest of the Latin tribes; like Virgil, his teleological explanations link proto-Roman history with contemporary Roman values. Livy describes Aeneas as "*ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis,*"[58] in his wanderings, imposing a strict sense of purpose to the hero's otherwise accidental settlement in Rome; although Aeneas lands in Macedonia and Sicily as well, Livy makes sure to reassure the reader that Rome was always the final destination. He also frames the political turmoil of the Etruscan kings as part of the gods' plan for Rome, writing that, "*debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum*

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56 Verg. *Aen*. 5.3-7. "Aeneas… looking back at the city walls, which now were alight with the unfortunate flames of Dido. They did not know what the cause of such fire was; but the harsh grief from a love defiled, and the knowledge of what a frenzied woman is capable of, led the hearts of the Trojans to grim foreboding."
57 Liv. 1.3. "It will be a satisfaction to have done myself as much as lies in me to commemorate the deeds of the foremost people of the world."
58 Liv. 1.4.

opes imperii principium."[59] This invocation of higher powers gives divine sanction both to the actions of Rome's ancestors, and to their personal qualities, which played, as Livy suggests, an essential role in the creation of the city. In Livy's descriptions of the Roman conquest of the Latin tribes, his emphasis on Rome's military destiny promotes the idea of *virtus*, although the word itself is not given special emphasis. He invokes *virtus*' technical sense of courage in warfare in his battle scenes, as well as its more abstract meaning of "doing the right thing" in his justifications of Roman expansionism: the early Romans did not go to war, Livy claims, in order to gain wealth and plunder, as other peoples did, but to make room for the greatest city ever. The literature of the Principate thus loudly affirms the preeminence of *virtus* in its ideal conception of aristocratic behaviour.

Family affiliation also remained important for writers of the Principate. In pseudo-historical works, such as the *Aeneid*, Virgil inserted references to specific Roman lineages, and stressed the value of prominent ancestry. In Book Five of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas holds a series of contests to commemorate his father on the anniversary of his death, Virgil spends much of the text listing the names of the various competitors. In these inventories Virgil puts in side-notes connecting the names of the men mentioned in the epic to contemporary Roman families; he writes, for example, "*Scyllasque Cloanthus/ caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti,*"[60] and, making two allusions in one passage, *"ducit quam parvus ovantem/ nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite/ progenies, auctura Italos… alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini.*"[61] Since Virgil's work would have been recited in a public context, his text itself a site for aristocratic boasting over ancestry. His decision to include these genealogical references points to the continued importance of within the aristocratic ideal; his inclusion of these quasi-historical details must reflect both their continued interest in the subject, and their continued ability to recognize "big" family names. As well, the association between mythical figures and contemporary Roman families reflects the importance of a family's age to its prestige. Horace summarizes this preoccupation with noble lineage most aptly when he writes, "*fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.*"[62] Romans clearly still thought that what guaranteed a man's *virtus* was being born of those with *virtus*. This preference for ancient lineage has clear political ramifications. Horace writes:

> *cum referre negas quail sit quisque parente/ natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere/ ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum/ multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos/ et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos… namque esto, populus Laevino mallet honorem/ quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret/ Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus.*[63]

59 Liv. 1.4.1.
60 Verg. *Aen*. 5.122-123. "And Cloanthus in the sea-blue Scylla, whence is your family, Roman Cluentius."
61 Verg. *Aen*. 5.563-565, 568. "[One line of boys, which] rejoicing, a little Priam leads, named after his grandfather, your distinguished ancestry, Politus, destined to increase the Italian race… the other, Atys, whence the Latin Atii have drawn their lineage."
62 Hor. *Carm*. 4.4.29. "The brave are born from the brave and good."
63 Hor. *Sat*. 1.6.6-11, 19-21. "When you say it matters not who a man's parent is, if he be himself free-born,

Horace draws a stark contrast between a glorious past, in which men were elected to office on the basis of merit, rather than name, and harsh reality of the present, in which the people only trust "brand" lineage; moreover, the image of the *censor* literally not counting a man who does not have a freeborn father is a powerful indication of the importance of family in politics.

Horace acknowledges, however, that not all Romans were snobs. He writes, "*non quia, Maecenas…ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco/ ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.*"[64] Maecenas had a specific reason to overlook Horace's genealogical shortcomings. Horace, like Virgil, was in possession of the most potent tool to overcome class boundaries: oratorical skill; the success of the two poets is a clear of example of the continued importance of eloquence as an expression of worth. Both poets were adopted into Maecenas' inner circle in the closing half of the first century B.C. Horace, who had attended university in Athens before fighting as a military tribune on the losing side at Philippi,[65] was able to navigate Roman politics thanks to his brilliant poetry. Even though he did not give political speeches, his powers of elegant recitation allowed him access to a patron, and, therefore, to a more aristocratic lifestyle. Horace did not hold any offices, and his consistent, frank address of his status as a son of freedman throughout his work points to a lingering insecurity about his status. Yet both he and Virgil were thrust into the company of aristocratic peers, solely on account of their rhetorical skills, a remarkable achievement of social mobility and a testament to the continuing importance of oratorical skill.

Horace declares, "*fides et ingeni/ benigna vena est, pauperemque dives/ me petit.*"[66] His self consciousness about his humble beginnings not only emphasizes the power of eloquence as a tool for social mobility, but is also, situated as it is within his observations on his relationships with wealthy aristocrats, a commentary on the proper way to approach the question of personal wealth. In the same Ode, he chastises a wealthy man for such crimes of spending as, "*tu secanda marmora/ locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri/ immemor struis domos/ marisque Bais obstrepentis urges/ summovere litora/ parum locuples continente ripa.*"[67] Horace argues that acquiring such wealth is silly, as "*aequa tellus/ pauperi recluditur/ regumque pueris.*"[68] His claim, while not directly related to questions of aristocratic behaviour, nevertheless reflects accepted attitudes towards noble display of

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you rightly satisfy yourself of this, that before the reign of Tullius and his lowly kingship, number of men, sprung from ancestors of no account, often lived upright lives and were honoured with high office… for let us grant that the people would rather given office to a Laevinus than to an unknown Decius, and that an Appius as censor would strike out my name if I were not the son of a free-born father."

64 Hor. *Sat*. 1.6.1, 5-6. "Yet you, Maecenas, do not, like most of the world, curl up your nose at men of unknown birth, men like myself, a freedman's son."

65 Hor. *Carm*. 2.

66 Hor. *Carm*. 1.18.9-11. "I do have good faith and a generous vein of talent, and, poor as I am, the rich seek my friendship."

67 Hor. *Carm*. 2.18.17-22. "But you, though in the very shadow of death, place contracts for cutting marble slabs, and build houses without giving a thought to your tomb. You press on to move back the coastline where the sea roars in protest at Baiae, for you have insufficient property as long as the shore hems you in."

68 Hor. *Carm*. 2.18.32-4. "The earth opens impartially for the poor and for the sons of princes."

wealth in its assignment of stupid behaviour to an ostentatiously rich man. The juxtaposition of Horace's own admission that despite his poverty, wealthy men deem him worthy of their company, and the image of a rich man voraciously acquiring possessions and building larger and larger houses show that class was not correlated directly with wealth. Horace, because of his *virtus*, is drawn into the company of aristocrats, but the subject of Ode II.18's vulgar wealth does not make him nobler: modesty about wealth was an important aspect of the aristocratic ideal, and wealth was still ultimately an insufficient condition for nobility.

  Perhaps because of his background, Horace was acutely aware of excess in its varied manifestations. In Odes such as II.18, he decries the *luxuritas* that men mistakenly pursue, but in Ode I.38 his criticism of excess explicitly links modesty to Romanness. Horace writes, "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus/ displicent nexae philyra coronae… simplici m*yrto nihil allabores/ sedulous curo: neque te ministrum/ dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta/ vite bibentem.*"[69] The most striking feature of this short Ode is the prominent position of "*Persicos*"; Horace exploits the flexibility of Latin word order to create a contrast between Roman moderation and Persian luxury. Persian luxury, as Horace illustrates, is essentially the practice of gilding the lily: wreathes are bound with another plant, and Horace begs his servant not to add anything to myrtle. Even the smallest details help create a distinction between Roman and foreign character, from the choice of "*philyra*," a Greek borrowing, as the plant which makes a decoration ostentatious, to the relative brevity of the Ode, a product of a Roman poet: the Roman ideal was one of *simplicitas*, not of *luxuritas*.

  The aristocratic ideal of the late Republic survived the transition to Empire. *Virtus*, family name, oratory and modesty continued to be its central components. Because no part of the ideal changed, neither did any of its substantive requirements, in particular, its demand for *otium* and education. The continued prevalence of *otium* and liberal education among the aristocracy is reflected in the highly allusive quality of the literature of the Principate. Horace, for instance, comforts a friend who is in love with a slave girl by reminding him that, "*prius insolentem/ serva Briseis niveo colore/ movit Achillem;/ movit Aiacem Telamone natum forma captivae dominum Tecmessae.*"[70] Most Romans would recognize Achilles and Ajax, but not be intimately acquainted with the details of their affairs with slave-women; the allusions are written for an audience educated enough to understand them, and whose enjoyment and understanding of the poem would have been enriched by Horace's precisely chosen examples. Here again, poetry becomes a means of displaying cultural capital; the allusive literature of the Principate both participates in the creation of a class division between those with *otium* and those without, and provides good evidence for the characteristics of that class division.

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69 Hor. *Carm*. 1.38.1-2, 5-8. "I dislike Persian frippery, my boy; I do not care for garlands tied with linden bast… please don't go to the trouble of adding anything to plain myrtle; myrtle is entirely suitable for you as a servant, and for me as I sit drinking beneath the thick vine leaves."
70 Hor. *Carm*. 2.4.2-7. "In earlier days the slave girl Briseis with her snow-white skin roused the haughty Achilles; the beauty of the captive Tecmessa roused Ajax, son of Telamon, though he was her master."

Given the inherent conservatism of Roman society, it is of course possible that changes in the aristocratic ideal resulting from the tumultuous transition from Republic to Empire might only have appeared in the generations following the completion of the tradition. To fully understand the ramifications of Rome's political transformation, therefore, it is important to examine the works of authors like Seneca, Tacitus and Juvenal, all written in the latter half of the first century A.D. These authors had grown up with the new political regime; indeed, by the time they reached the peaks of their careers, the Republic had passed from living memory. These authors could no longer cling nostalgically to Republican cultural ideals; instead, their works must reflect the actual ideals of Roman imperial culture.[71] The literature of the Empire expresses two distinct notions about the aristocracy: that aristocratic behaviour had changed, and that it deviated from the expected norm. These two ideas are most clearly articulated in discussions of individual behaviour, especially in discussions of virtus. Because of the complexity of *virtus*, it is often given more treatment, and so it is here that much of the evidence lies: while the condition of the aristocracy had changed, or at least was perceived to have changed, the ideal itself had not.

Three of the prominent genres of the first century A.D., biographical history, philosophy, and satire, are each uniquely qualified to proscribe behaviour. Tacitus' profile of Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, his father-in-law and commander of the forces that conquered much British territory, is a laudatory account of his life. Tacitus relies on comparisons between Agricola's values and characters and those of other men in order to lavish praise on the Roman general; in doing so Tacitus makes explicit the qualities valued by Roman society. Moral philosophy, such as Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, addresses how people should treat each other, as well as offering reflections on life, death, and other existential topics. Although Stoic philosophy's rejection of hierarchy and emphasis on private reflection limits its interaction with the public world of aristocratic display, Seneca's wideranging and worldly letters nevertheless offer valuable insights into the nature of the aristocratic ideal. Satire is perhaps the most useful genre in exploring the aristocratic ideal. Satire, specifically Juvenalian satire, is a nebulous term, but it generally connotes a criticism of society that is wry, cynical and often relies on an assumption that behaviour has declined from previous years. By focusing on decline and on deviation from expectations, Juvenal participates in the construction of those expectations and the aristocratic ideal. Indeed, all three of these authors express dismay over a perceived decline in the observance of proper values. In the opening statement of *Agricola*, Tacitus writes:

Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum,
ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit,

71 I have limited the examination of the aristocratic ideal to the next full generation after the Principate because any extension of the time period allows new and unrelated forces to enter into the equation; the purpose of this paper is to explore whether the reduction in aristocratic power had any impact on the ideal, and the influence of Christianity, for instance, would obscure the reasons for potential change.

quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium
parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam.[72]

      As the beginning of Tacitus' account, this passage frames the way he will explore the life and character of Agricola. His grudging admission that even in his "*aetas*" the conservative and respectful tradition of recording the lives of notable figures endures is an indictment of the morality of his time, and his classification of his time as "*incuriosa suorum*" only furthers the pessimistic portrayal of contemporary values. Angered by the difficulties he faced in attempting to publish his work, Tacitus condemns his time as "*tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.*"[73] Yet even amidst his criticism a familiar definition of *virtus* emerges. Tacitus juxtaposes the opposites *virtus* and *vitium*, with *vitium* defined as "*ignorantia[m] recti,*" or "Ignorance of what is right" – an almost precise antonym for the Republican sense of *virtus* as "doing what is right." Although there is a sense in the literature of the Republic and the Principate that *virtus* is not just knowing what is right, but doing it, this sense of action is not necessarily excluded from Tacitus' definition. A man whose character was able to discern the proper course of action, even if it were not the easiest course, would most likely follow it.

      Seneca too describes the nobility as departing from expected standards. Seneca discusses the meaning of friendship, "*Itaque si proprio illo verbo quasi publico usus es et sic illum amicum vocasti, quomodo omnes candidates bonos viros dicimus, quomodo obvios, si nomen non succurrit, dominos salutamus, hac abierit.*"[74] Seneca argues that one should sometimes call people what they perhaps should be, but are not. Politicians should be honourable, he asserts, and should be called so, but are not. Seneca here contrasts the degraded and changed behaviour of politicians, with a fixed ideal. The casualness with which Seneca offers the case of dishonourable politicians shows how familiar this contrast would be to his readers, since he generally elucidates more complex and subtle concepts more fully. Juvenal, in his satire on life in Rome, agrees with this view of politicians. Juvenal uses a mouthpiece for his rant about Rome, a middle class man named Umbricius who is leaving the city because of its vices and corruption. He complains, "*me nemo ministro/ fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo tamquam/ mancus et extinctae corpus non utile dextrae.*"[75] The choice of "*fur*" to describe political corruption

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72 Tac. *Agr*. 1.1. "To hand down to posterity the works and ways of famous men was a custom of the past: our age has not yet abandoned it even now, indifferent though it be to its own affairs, whenever, at least, some great and notable virtue has overcome and surmounted the vice common alike to small states and great—ignorance of what is right and jealousy."

73 Tac. *Agr*. 1.4. "So harsh was the spirit of the age, so cynical towards virtue."

74 Sen. *Ep*. 3.1. "Now if you used this word of ours in the popular sense, and called him 'friend' in the same way in which we speak of all candidates for election as 'honourable gentlemen,' and as we greet all men whom we meet casually, if their names slip us for the moment, with the salutation 'my dear sir,'—so be it."

75 Juv. 3.46-48. "No one will be a thief with my help. For that reason, I never get out to the provinces on a governor's staff. It's as if I were crippled, a useless body with a paralyzed hand."

is both harsh and effective; Juvenal uses a blunt, almost technical word to refer to an activity more associated with euphemism and slyness. Umbricius clearly expects different standards of behaviour in Rome; his anger at political corruption reflects again the disparity between the aristocratic ideal and its reality. Juvenal, through Umbricius, pithily summarizes the chasm between expectation and behaviour, "*probitas laudatur et alget.*"[76]

The literature of the Empire is rife with criticism of the nobility. The ideal was not only made distinct by discussion fallen standards, but was also articulated independently. Seneca consoles his correspondent Lucilius about the difficulty in moving up the cursus honorum by telling him how to be a good politician: "*si mala bonaque non populo auctore distinxeris.*"[77] Lucilius' anxieties stem from his status as an *equites*; Seneca echoes Cicero's examination of the proper way for an aspiring politician to act by prescribing a set of behaviours and characteristics that seem not to apply to how the political realm actually functioned, but how it should. The ideal aristocrat was still expected to do what was right at every turn.

In the Imperial age *virtus* continued to be a political and militaristic value determined from public actions. *Virtus* still applied to military prowess; Tacitus praises Agricola for his genius as a general by writing a biographical history of him. Seneca also confirms the continued idea of *virtus* as a public value. He writes, "*Ne Gnaeo quidem Pompeio externa bella ac domestica virtus aut ratio suadebat, sed insanus amor magnitudinis falsae.*"[78] Seneca asserts that the only legitimate motivation for drastic political action, such as warfare, is *virtus*, what is good. The juxtaposition of "*virtus*" and "*insanus amor magnitudinis falsae*" carefully delineates the two motivations: *virtus* is a selfless characteristic, and is good because it promotes only what is best for Rome, whereas *insanus amor* is immoral because of the interference of a private desire in the public realm—personal desire obscures the "right" course of action. Seneca presents the Imperial attitude best when he philosophizes about what is good. He writes:

> *Bonum putant esse aliqui id, quod utile est; itaque hoc et divitiis et equo*
> *et vino et calceo nomen inponunt; tanta fit apud illos boni vilitas et adeo*
> *in sordida usque descendit. Honestum putant, cui ratio recti officii con-*
> *stat, tamquam pie curatam patris senectutem, adiutam amici pauperta-*
> *tem, fortem expeditionem, prudentem moderatamque sententiam… Nihil*
> *est bonum, nisi quod honestum est. Quod honestum est utique bonum.*[79]

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76 Juv. 1.74. "Honesty is praised—and left in the cold."

77 Sen. *Ep*. 44.6. "Simply by distinguishing between good and bad things without patterning your opinion from the populace."

78 Sen. *Ep*. 94.64. "It was not virtue or reason which persuaded Gnaeus Pompeius to take part in foreign and civil warfare; it was his mad craving for unreal glory."

79 Sen. *Ep*. 120.2. "Some believe the Good to be that which is useful; they accordingly bestow this title upon riches, horses, wine and shoes; so cheaply do they view the Good, and to such base uses do they let it descend. They regard as honourable that which agrees with the principle of right conduct—such as taking dutiful care of an old father, relieving a friend's poverty, showing bravery on a campaign, and uttering prudent and well-

Here philosophy shows the aristocratic ideal well, because philosophy is concerned entirely with morals in their purest form; it is a prescriptive genre of literature, and so matches the prescriptive nature of the aristocratic ideal. Seneca emphasizes that true "*bonum*" and "*honestas*" are concerned with behaviour, and not just thoughts. He equates *honestas* exclusively with *bonum*, and thus connects "doing the right thing" to proper conduct. While Seneca's advice extends to people of all classes, the examples he presents imply behaviour of the upper class; "*adiutam amici paupertatem*" requires considerable wealth, and moreover "*fortem expeditionem*" is an important component of aristocratic *virtus*.

Even in an age when the behaviour of those in power was criticized generally, Romans retained the specific components of the ideal; Romans connected noble behaviour with well-known families. Tacitus describes a fierce British chieftain giving a rousing speech, "*inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur.*"[80] Although Calgacus was a British chieftain, Tactitus highlights him and the qualities that make him an excellent leader through a Roman lens. Calgacus makes a speech, then Agricola counters with a speech to his own men, and Tacitus pits the two generals against each other before a close battle. Agricola and his men win the battle, but Tacitus heightens the dramatic apposition by naming those of Calgacus' characteristics which make him a worthy adversary: "*virtute et genere.*" This focus on noble birth appears in Seneca's works as well. Seneca flips the notion of virtue and prestigious ancestry when he writes, "*Quis est generosus? Ad virtutem bene a natura conpositus.*"[81] Lucilius is upset because he is only a knight, and seems unable to progress beyond others with the advantage of noble birth; all of Seneca's soothing words about the possibility of advancement by character alone, just like Cicero's exhortations to his brother, achieves the opposite effect: it shows just how important noble birth was. Juvenal, like Seneca, argues against the idea that political success should be restricted to those whose families had previously held office. He writes, "*tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.*"[82] If what Juvenal professes were actually true, it would be unremarkable and unfit for discussion; instead Juvenal rejects the preconceived notion of the importance of noble birth at the exclusion of character. It is important to note that Juvenal does not state that birth should be eliminated from any consideration of worth; what he satirizes is the over-

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balanced opinions…only the honourable can be good; also, the honourable is necessarily good."

80 Tac. *Agr*. 29.4. "Pre-eminent by character and birth among the many chieftains was one named Calgacus. To the gathered host demanding battle he is reported to have spoken in the following strain."

81 Sen. *Ep*. 44.5. "Then who is well-born? He who is by nature well-fitted for virtue."

82 Juv. 8.324. The "veteres…cerae" refer to the practice of displaying wax masks of successful ancestors in the foyer of a Roman house; these masks were reminders to the family of their own reputation but moreover to the callers, who would be intimidated and impressed bythe family lineage. For more on ancestor masks, see Harriet I. Flower, Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996).

whelming importance of birth at the expense of men whose pedigrees are less prestigious but would perhaps be better leaders. Within his corpus of work, Juvenal does affirm the importance of ancestry to the aristocratic ideal. In Satire 1, Juvenal notes with disdain that the "*Troiugenas*," or Trojan born, another name for nobles, must collect hand outs along with the common folk; however they are given no special treatment by the freedmen in line with them.[83] Juvenal most importantly decries the lack of "proper" treatment of the nobility solely based on their birth; everyone in the breadline would presumably have the same amount of money, but Juvenal argues that because they are "*Troiugenas*" the nobility should be given preference. The class distinction is entirely due to birth.

Tacitus' description of Agricola and Calgacus rousing their troops points not only to the continued importance of noble birth, but also to oratory. Strong rhetoric was incredibly powerful: it could rouse troops or rouse the senate. Tacitus defines oratory as limited to the leaders—the British troops "*excepere orationem alacres… fremitu cantuque et clamoribus dissonis*"[84] and even the more civilized Roman troops follow Agricola's speech not with words but "*ingens alacritas*."[85] The difference between vocal noise and oratory is the difference between the masses and the nobility. Seneca too implies the importance of eloquence when he urges Lucilius, "*si mala bonaque non populo auctore distinxeris*."[86] As shown before, *virtus* was not just the private weighing of courses of action; the responsibility lay with the individual to make clear what the right choice was, and why. The only way to do this was through convincing others of its value, which required oratorical skill. When Juvenal asks, "*fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit anulus ingens*."[87] Juvenal's anger at the privileging of vulgar wealth over eloquence proves the ideal's component of oratory by his hysteria over the departure from it. Finally, Imperial Romans still expected nobles to be modest about their wealth. The keenest evidence of an unchanged view of modesty is the invective against corruption and greed. Tacitus writes, in praise of Agricola, "*sors questurae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali*."[88] Tacitus contrasts the unscrupulous quaestors with Agricola in order to show what is good and what is not; he

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83 Juv. 1.100-102.
84 Tac. *Agr*. 33.1.
85 Tac. *Agr*. 35.1.
86 Sen. *Ep*. 44.6. "Simply by distinguishing between good and bad things without patterning your opinion from the populace."
87 Juv. 7.139-140. "Do we put our faith in eloquence? There's no one these days who will give Cicero two hundred, unless there's a huge ring flashing on his hand."
88 Tac. *Agr*. 6.2-3. "The allotment of quaestorships brought him Asia for his province, and Salvius Titianus for his pro-consul; neither corrupted him; yet the province was rich and an easy prey to the unscrupulous, and the proconsul, ready for every kind of rapacity, was prepared to show any amount of indulgence in order to purchase mutual silence about wrongdoing."

argues that Agricola was remarkable in this instance because he did not participate in the pervasive corruption, although it would have been easy to succeed. Greed is the opposite of monetary modesty; aristocrats needed to maintain a certain amount of wealth but it was not the central focus of their noble qualification. As Juvenal states of an aristocracy which behaves most unaristocratically, "*quid enim salvis infamia nummis?*"[89]

  Even in the midst of this perceived epidemic of avarice, *otium* and education remain necessary features of aristocratic self-fashioning. Seneca focuses on education and oratory as a way to elevate one's status.[90] Even outside of Rome, Roman subjects sought to obtain education and *otium* in order to imitate the Roman upper class. Tacitus writes of Agricola's efforts to assimilate the conquered Britons, "*iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.*"[91] The chieftain's sons serve as a powerful analogue for the aristocracy at Rome. As soon as they are given a liberal education, they aspire to oratory: this progression from Briton to Roman through *otium* reflects the unchanging implications of the aristocratic ideal.

  The aristocratic ideal, despite the trials and tribulations of the shift from Republic to Empire, endured. Perhaps it is ultimately impossible to know the reasons for the lack of change, however, there are two potential causes which either independently or in combination could account for the continuity of the ideal: the conservatism of Roman society, and the emperor's expression of his power within a familiar framework. Most societies cling to their histories for guidance in times of turmoil, and Romans behaved no differently. As they looked to the past for guidance, however, they also explored their present through an expansion of their mythic history. The *Aeneid* is not just a retelling of Rome's origins; rather, Virgil creates Aeneas as the ultimate proto-Roman and imbues him with the values of the Republic in order to guide the new era of imperial power. The Romans could thus have retained the same ideal by a simple refusal to accept cultural change. The continuity of cultural assumptions can also be explained by the fact that the fall of the Republic was actually accompanied by a fairly minimal disruption of existing political structures. Augustus, aware that kingship was necessarily associated with the Tarquins and thus anathema to the Roman aristocracy and people, did not call himself *rex*, but instead adopted the less threatening title of *princeps senatus*. Romans could retain their ideas of aristocracy because the offices of the *cursus honorum* still existed, while the emperor's supreme power was obscured, tucked away in familiar titles. Just as aristocrats needed the support of the lower classes, so the emperor needed the support of the *nobiles* in order to stay in power. Encouraging continuity in aristocratic values would thus have been a crucial component of the Augus-

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89 Juv. 1.48. "After all, what's disgrace, if their money is safe?"
90 Sen. *Ep*. 39.
91 Tac. *Agr*. 21.2. "Moreover, he began to train the sons of chieftains in a liberal education, and to give a preference to the native talents of the Briton as against the trained abilities of the Gaul. As a result, the nation which used to reject the Latin language began to aspire to rhetoric."

tan effort to provide political stability and create class concord within his new Principate. Beyond these speculations, of course, literature cannot provide concrete conclusions as to why no cultural change took place. Nevertheless, lyric poetry's attention to everyday Roman social interactions, philosophy's concern with personal conduct, and history's and epic's self-conscious interest in Roman values all produce a rich and diverse supply of information on the very fabric of Roman society. Straightforward readings of prose history can tell us what the Romans did, but only by immersing ourselves in the literature which the Romans wrote and read for the purposes of political advancement, philosophical self-improvement, or simple enjoyment can we begin to understand what Romans thought.

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The Failure of Alexander's Conquest and
Administration of Bactria-Sogdiana

By Michèle Smith

Both during his lifetime and following his death, Alexander III of Macedon became a legend for his conquest of the Persian Empire until "the limits of the known *oecumene*."[1] Despite this fame, several of Alexander the Great's conquests were not as successful as popular memory suggests. The ancient evidence clearly states the difficulties during Alexander's campaigning in the upper satrapies of Bactria-Sogdiana in 329-327 B.C., which took approximately eighteen months to suppress.[2] Some scholars have dismissed this as a difficult campaign in which Alexander ultimately succeeded. However, an in-depth study of the ancient evidence not only reveals the failures in the method of conquest which Alexander used in these satrapies, but also his inability to control the satrapy once he had re-crossed the Hindu Kush to conquer India.[3] Thus, the events at Bactria-Sogdiana as recorded by the available ancient evidence demonstrate that Alexander only succeeded in "extricat[ing] himself from a problem largely of his own making" in these satrapies, as well as his greater failure in administering the empire.[4] A study of the vulgate tradition reveals that his inflexible assertion of control on local practices caused revolt, which was impossible to completely suppress during his lifetime due to locals' use of guerrilla tactics and unrelenting determination. This example illustrates the fact that Alexander was famous for his conquests, not the management of his empire. Alexander's speech after the revolt at Hyphasis clearly indicates his preference to conquer new lands rather than to return to his *doriktetos chora*, "which are not held securely."[5] This proved to be one of his largest failures, as his empire was already unravelling even before his premature death in 323 B.C.

A case study of Alexander's conquest and administration of Bactria-Sogdiana requires a brief discussion of the existing ancient evidence. Diodorus Siculus provides little information, since there is an extensive lacuna in his manuscripts for this period, while Plutarch and Justin's accounts provide little information about these campaigns.[6] We must therefore rely on Quintus Curtius Rufus and Arrian's accounts, with some supplementary information from Strabo's *Geographica*. This is particularly challenging, since these two accounts are somewhat contradictory in both the chronology and details of the events which occurred in Bactria-Sogdiana. Although Bosworth's analysis, which concludes that

1 Paul Cartledge, *Alexander the Great: the Hunt for a New Past* (Oxford, Pan Books, 2005), 3.
2 A.B. Bosworth, "A Missing Year in the History of Alexander the Great," *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* vol. 101 (1981), 37.
3 The Hindu Kush is a mountain range between Pakistan and Afghanistan. For views that Alexander was ultimately successful in his campaigns in Bactria-Sogdiana: Ibid; N.G.L. Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 159.
4 Frank Holt, *Alexander the Great and Bactria: The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia* (New York, E.J. Bill, 1988), 69.
5 Arrian. *Anab*. 5.25-26.
6 R. Hamilton, *Alexander the Great* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1974), 18.

Curtius' account is more reliable for this period is undoubtedly ambitious, his arguments will be used throughout this paper.[7] Indeed, Bosworth is correct in stating that Arrian's account seems to suffer from distortions, caused by a break in the narrative to discuss incidents such as the Cleitus affair, as well as recording "doublets" in Ptolemy and Aristobulus' accounts.[8] Thus, despite the fact that the vulgate tradition is often dismissed as less reliable than Arrian's account, Curtius' chronology, with a more spaced campaign narrative rather than a crowd of events in 327 B.C., will be generally accepted due to the weakness of Arrian's version of events for this period.[9]   In any case, these accounts are not so divergent that they hinder a study of Alexander's attempt to conquer and administer these satrapies.

        A   close   examination   of   the   causes   of   the   revolts,   which   took nearly two years to suppress, is seminal for an understanding of the conquest of Bactria-Sogdiana.[10] Both Arrian and Curtius' accounts agree that when Alexander first crossed the Hindu Kush into this satrapy he encountered little resistance. The Bactrian cavalry abandoned Bessus as Alexander approached, and Alexander was able to take both the cities of Bactra and Aornus on his first attempt.[11] In fact, Bessus was captured and given to Alexander as a form of submission by his own nobles after Alexander crossed the Oxus River in pursuit of this claimant to the Persian throne.[12]

        However, the ease of this expedition was to prove misleading, since within weeks of Bessus' capture revolt erupted.[13] This change in attitude towards Alexander can be explained by Alexander's more direct and controlling methods of administration in this area compared to previous Persian rule. Archaeological data from the Achaemenid period infers that military conquest did not leave a large material impact on the region, and there was much stability in local customs, particularly in pottery and hydraulic technology. This strongly suggests that Achaemenid rule was "no more than a kind of politico-military epiphenomenon," in which the Persian kings imposed relatively little direct control on these satrapies.[14] Considering

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7 P. Gaukowsky, "Recherches Récentes sur Alexandre le Grand" (1978-1982), *REG* 96 (1983), 239. Gaukowsky described Bosworth's method as "égaliser une matière historique dont la plasticité étonne."
8 See Bosworth 1981, 17.
9 Ibid, 33.
10 A.B. Bosworth, "Review: Alexander the Great and Bactria: The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia" *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* vol. 110 (1980), 256.
11 Bactrian cavalry abandoning Bessus: Curt. 7.4.20; Arr. *Anab*. 3.28.10; Conquest of Bactria: Arr. *Anab*. 3.29.1; Curt. 7.4.22-32, 7.5.1.
12 Curt. 7.5.22-26; Arr. *Anab*. 3.30.1-5. Arrian relates two accounts, the first by Ptolemy in which he personally delivered Bessus to Alexander since Bessus' subordinates were still uncertain of whether to submit, as well as Aristobulus' account which states that Spitamenes gave Bessus to Alexander himself. Aristobulus' story is more likely, see A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: the reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 108.
13 Frank Holt, *Into the Land of the Bones: Alexander the Great in Afghanistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 45; Hammond 1997, 144; Unrest began with a group of foraging Macedonians being ambushed: Arr. *Anab* 3.30.11, 4.1.4-5; Curt. 7.6.1-4.
14 Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: a History of the Persian Empire*, trans. Peter T. Daniels (Winona

this, it is unsurprising that Alexander's pillaging of villages along the Tanais following an ambush, as well as his preparations to built Alexandria-Eschate as a new military-political center in the area, would cause outward rebellion. This was a strong imposition on local institutions and necessitated the annexation of land from locals, which was sure to ignite opposition.[15] These rebellions were in fact led by Bessus' usurpers, principally Spitamenes, which suggests that the local aristocracy did not support this new form of administration.[16]

Furthermore, the appointment of the "alien" Artabazus from the Western satrapies followed by the Macedonian Amyntas, rather than leaving an incumbent satrap as he did in Areia, would have also stirred resentment.[17] Bessus' local support (albeit short-lived) as satrap of Bactria was apparent when Bactrians supported his claim to the throne; the appointment of such a foreign satrap therefore appeared to the locals as a significant change from previous Achaemenid custom.[18] Furthermore, although Onesicritus' account of Alexander banning the "barbarian" custom of "underdogs" eating the remains of the dead in Bactra has been doubted, this may suggest that Alexander also encountered native customs with which he was not familiar or respectful.[19]

Bosworth criticizes the argument that regulating contact between the Sogdians and Scythians would have also caused revolt, but archaeological evidence points that there was active trade between the Scythians and Bactria-Sogdiana. For instance, the carpets with Achaemenid motifs found in a Uralic tomb on Pazyryk.[20] Furthermore, Arrian writes of how the Scythian and Bactrian horsemen fought alongside one another. [21] Thus, Alexander's warning against the Scythians "not to cross the river Tanais without the king's order," and therefore the imposition of direct control over exchange and movement across the river, represents a break with previous socio-economic customs and would have also caused resentment and revolt from both Bactrian-Sogdian and Scythian locals.[22] Although similar methods of creating military barriers had worked with the Scythians in the Balkans in 336 B.C., these tactics proved too rigid to adapt to this new geographic and cultural situation.[23] Thus, the management of this satrapy reflected Alexander's lack of understanding of the importance of maintaining previous Persian administration methods, since their balance of local and Persian institutions al-

Lake, IN: Eisenbraun, 2002), 76.

15 P.M. Fraser, *Cities of Alexander the Great* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 67; Holt 2005, 48; Bosworth 1980, 257; Curt. 7.6.10, 12-13; 7.6.24-27; Arr. *Anab*. 4.1.3; 4.4.1-4.

16 Curt. 7.6.15; Arr. *Anab*. 4.3.6.

17 Bosworth 1980, 257; Arr. *Anab*. 3.29.1; Curt. 7.5.1-2.

18 Curt. 5.10.5-6; Arr. *Anab*. 3.21.4.

19 Onesicritus' account is found in Str.11.11.3; Holt 200, 526; W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India* (Chicago, Ares Publishers, 1985), 115-116.

20 Briant 2002, 747.

21 Ibid; Arr. *Anab*. 3.13.3.

22 Briant 2002, 747; Curt. 7.6.12; Arr. *Anab*. 4.1.3.

23 Arr. 1.4.1-5; Holt 2008, 47.

lowed the Achaemenids to maintain legitimacy and at least nominal control of these areas.[24]

      The revolts and guerrilla warfare caused by these changes in administration and infrastructure were disastrous to the Macedonian army since this alien form of warfare proved extremely difficult to suppress. Alexander responded to the first guerrilla assaults against his troops by destroying several cities. Although this was meant to "serve as an example to keep the others in line," the destruction of local settlements seems to have only contributed to the locals' animosity towards Alexander since the revolt quickly spread from northern Sogdiana southward to the Hindu Kush.[25] One assault against a Macedonian contingent which was sent by Alexander to defend Maracanda against Spitamenes was particularly catastrophic. Arrian and Curtius do not record the same the details of this event, but they generally agree that this was a military disaster in which the Macedonian troops were caught by surprise and killed en masse.[26] This emphasizes a great failure in Alexander's expectations of this mission. If Arrian's account is correct that Alexander appointed an interpreter rather than a general to lead this operation, this demonstrates that Alexander was not expecting the Macedonian force heading to Maracanda to encounter a guerrilla military engagement.[27]

      In any case, Alexander's "hammer-and-anvil" tactics could not be used against the Bactrian-Sogdian rebels, since these opponents would not fight a decisive battle against him, preferring guerrilla warfare instead.[28] In order to regain control of the satrapy, in the spring of 328 B.C. Alexander resolved to divide his forces into smaller formations in order to deal with each of the revolts individually.[29] The risk in Alexander's spreading of his troops so widely across the upper satrapies can be seen by the defeat of a small garrison of invalid soldiers at Zariaspa in 328 B.C. while Bactrian-Sogdian troops were raiding neighbouring villages. Although Craterus was able to come rapidly and defeat the insurrection, both Arrian and Curtius record that several of the enemies managed to flee, including Spitamenes.[30] These measures of destroying towns and villages to stop any form of resistance have caused some scholars to estimate that over 100,000 Bactrians were killed.[31]   Only after Spitamenes was betrayed by his own subordinates, or wife according to Curtius, as well as the successful siege of Sisimithres' rock in eastern Sogdiana in late 328/327 B.C., did the rebellion begin to subside.[32]

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24 Maria Brosius, "Alexander and the Persians," in *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. Joseph Roisman (Leiden, Brill, 2003), 192.

25 Curt. 7.6.16; Bosworth 1980, 256; Barry S. Strauss, "Alexander: the military campaign," in *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. Joseph Roisman (Leiden, Brill, 2003), 141-142. Destruction of cities: Arr. *Anab* 4.2.4-4.3.4; Curt. 7.6.16-23.

26 Curt. 7.7.30-39; Arr. *Anab* 4.5.5-6.

27 Holt 2005, 54; Arr. *Anab*. 4.3.7.

28 Holt 2005, 66; Strauss 2003, 152-153.

29 Curt. 8.1.1-2; Arr. *Anab*. 4.16.1-3.

30 Curt. 8.1.1-6; Arr. *Ana* .4.16.4- 17.2.

31 Holt 2005, 58; deriving figure from the index of Diodorus Siculus' Book 17.

32 Death of Spitamenes: Curt. 8.3.1-16; Arr. *Anab* 4.17.7; Capture of Sisimithres' rock: Curt. 8.2.19-33. Cal-

These difficulties would have greatly reduced the morale of the Macedonian army. Unlike previous decisive battles, the military confrontations in Bactria-Sogdiana were continuous. Furthermore, the ancient sources' reports of Alexander's injuries while fighting against these guerrilla attacks show the continuous risk that every soldier faced.[33] It has been recorded that Artabazus' retirement in 328 B.C. could not have been due to old age, since he was barely sixty. This further suggests the great difficulty in administering Bactria-Sogdiana if Artabazus did indeed plead to be removed from his office.[34] These military difficulties were compounded by the harsh environment. The soldiers had to endure both the fierce cold of the Hindu Kush Mountains and Sogdian blizzards as well as the unbearable heat of the Turkestan desert from Bactra to the Oxus River.[35] Although this may be a literary exaggeration by the ancient sources, it is well known that the environment in modern-day Afghanistan is not particularly amenable to travelers.[36] It is estimated that approximately 7,000 Macedonian soldiers died, which far exceeded casualties in any campaigns before that time.[37] These military and environmental conditions would have contributed to unrest and dissatisfaction, which eventually led to the mutiny at Hyphasis.[38]

Considering these difficulties, it is interesting to see Alexander's change of tactics in 327 B.C., especially concerning Sisimithres' treatment in comparison to Arimazes' punishment in 328 B.C.[39] According to Curtius, after Arimazes' rock surrendered in 328 B.C., Alexander ordered that his family and prominent noblemen should be crucified and the rest of the population enslaved.[40] Although Arrian, who places this account later in 327 B.C., does not mention this, Bosworth has concluded that this incident would be consistent with Alexander's general military policy, and that one could argue that Arrian's sources would be likely to omit this event due to the harsh nature of this punishment.[41] Thus, this plausible event can be heavily contrasted to Curtius' account of the surrender of Sisimithres' rock in 327 B.C. Rather than destroying the settlement as he had done to several cities including Cyropolis, or massacring the whole population, Alexander allied himself to Sisimithres.[42] This proved to be particularly useful when he sent Alexander

lim. 4.21.1-9. The narrative above is relying on the Curtius' rather than Arrian's chronological narrative; see Bosworth 1981.

33 One of first assaults Alexander shot through the leg: Arr. *Anab*. 3.30.11; Curt. 7.6.1-4; Alexander knocked unconscious during siege of cities (perhaps Cyropolis): Curt. 7.6.22; Arr. *Anab*. 4.3.3.

34 Bosworth 1988, 237; Curt. 8.1.19; Arr. *Anab*. 4.17.3. Both sources attribute his retirement to old age.

35 Crossing Hindu Kush: Curt. 7.4.22; Arr. Anab 3.28; Crossing Turkestan desert: Curt.7.5.1-18; surviving the Sogdian blizzard: Curt. 8.4.1-17.

36 Holt 2005, 107.

37 Ibid; Frank Holt, *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 14.

38 Arr. Anab. 5.28.1 – 29.1; Curt. 9.3.1-20.

39 This is assuming that one except Curtius Rufus' chronology of events; see Bosworth 1981.

40 Curt. 7.11.27-29.

41 Bosworth 1981, 32-33; Curt. 7.11.27-29; Arr. *Anab*. 4.19.4.

42 Curt. 8.2.28-33.

rations during the Sogdian blizzard.[43] Alexander's marriage to Roxane can be similarly viewed as politically motivated, rather than due to infatuated love as the sources suggest.[44] As the daughter of the Bactrian baron Oxyartes, Alexander's marriage to Roxane would create a tie between him and a prominent clan of the region, which would therefore aid in conciliating the remaining unrest in Bactria.[45] These policies therefore suggest that Alexander could have been attempting a policy of conciliation, after realizing that solely using methods of repression was not subduing the revolt. These methods of conciliation would have also been more likely after the betrayal of Spitamenes, since this would suggest the "war weariness of most Bactrians and Scythians."[46] Thus, Alexander was finally able to extract himself from Bactria-Sogdiana to continue on his Indian Campaign in 326 B.C.

However, events described by the ancient sources after Alexander left the upper satrapies for his Indian campaign demonstrate that this area was far from subdued. Although Alexander's departure from Bactria-Sogdiana naturally causes the literary evidence to shift away from these satrapies, "leaving everything else in shadow," there are several indications that there were continuing difficulties in managing this area.[47] According to Arrian, Alexander left a large garrison of 10,000 infantry and 3,500 cavalry, which was approximately a quarter of the size of the Macedonian army at Gaugamela and the largest defence force left in the empire.[48] This large garrison strongly suggests that Bactria-Sogdiana had not been completely pacified when Alexander left for India. Furthermore, according to both Diodorus Siculus and Curtius, Greek colonists began an armed insurrection with the cooperation of locals and attempted to return to Greece in approximately 326 B.C.[49] This behaviour is reminiscent of a comment Cleitus supposedly made regarding his satrapy of Bactria during the banquet before his murder, that "I am being sent against wild animals with bloodthirsty natures."[50] This revolt also mirrors the later attempt of thousands Greek colonists in the upper satrapies to return West after Alexander's death in 323 B.C.[51] Thus, these events indicate that the Greek mercenaries left in Bactria-Sogdiana were unwilling to colonize these areas. Furthermore, these rebellions equally suggest that Alexander's methods of repres-

43 Ibid: 8.4.18-20.
44 Arr. *Anab*. 4.19.5-6; Curt., 7.4.23-26, Str 11.11.4.
45 Holt 2005, 90-91; Elizabeth D. Carney, "Women in Alexander's Court," in *Brill's companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. Joseph Roisman (Leiden, Brill, 2003), 245-246; A.B. Bosworth, "Alexander and the Iranians," *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* vol. 100 (1980), 10.
46 Holt 2005, 84.
47 Other authors, such as Hammond (1997, 159) suggest Bactria-Sogdiana was in "settled conditions."
48 Holt 1988, 81; Bosworth 1988, 238; Fredrick Hiebert and Pierre Cambon,
Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul (Washington, D.C., National Geographic, 2008), 81.
49 Curt., 9.7.1-6. Diodorus states that the soldiers, upon hearing that Alexander had died when he was badly injured during his campaign against the Sydracae in 326 B.C., began to revolt and demand to return home. Diod. Sic. 17.99.5.
50 Curt. 8.1.35. Arrian does not record that Cleitus was appointed as satrap of Bactria before he was murdered.
51 Diod. 18.7.

sion could only work effectively when he was in the vicinity. As soon as Alexander continued onwards to his next conquest dissatisfied Greeks and locals alike were free to rebel.

　　　　Arrian reveals in 326 B.C. that the Assacenians near Bactria-Sogdiana were also revolting; the fact that Tyriespis, the governor of the Kabul region, was sent to deal with the revolt suggests the gravity of the situation.[52] Alexander executed the same Tyriespis for "outrageous" behaviour in 325 B.C., indicating further unrest and problems with administration in the upper satrapies.[53] In fact, the appointment of Roxane's father, Oxyartes, over greater territory than Bactria suggests his dependence on marital ties to this particular Bactrian clan to keep control.[54] One may argue that some form of administrative control and influence is demonstrated by the excavation of the Greek colony of Aï Khanoum, which was inhabited until the late second century B.C., and shows continuing influences founded by Alexander. However, it has recently been concluded by archaeologists that the foundations date from Seleucus' reign in 300 B.C. [55]Thus, it is apparent that Bactria-Sogdiana continued to suffer from military and political unrest throughout the 320s B.C., and seems not to have had any strong politico-military centers and infrastructure, due to the fact that both locals and Greek colonists were disaffected and prone to rebellion.[56]

　　　　Thus, the case study of the campaigns and administration of Bactria-Sogdiana reveals several of the overarching problems Alexander faced after having conquered the Persian Empire. Alexander's lack of understanding of local socio-economic and administrative institutions caused resentment and rebellion in satrapies which were initially willing to cooperate with his nominal control. Moreover, the institutions and colonies which he did create before rapidly turning to the conquest of India were incomplete, as demonstrated by rebellions of both the Greek colonists and local inhabitants when Alexander left. Similar problems of administration and control can be detected in other areas of the empire: for example, Satibarzanes began a revolt in Areia shortly after Alexander left in pursuit of Bessus in 329 B.C.[57] In fact, on Alexander's return from India in 325/324 B.C. most satrapies were revolting against Macedonian control.[58] Thus, perhaps Plutarch's description of Bactrian revolts as "the heads of hydra which ever grew again" could apply to the other satrapies of the empire.[59] Thus, the events in Bactria-Sogdiana, although somewhat hidden in our sources, provide an interesting case study of Alexander's failed methods of administration in the Persian Empire.

52 Arr. *Anab*. 5.20.7; Holt 2005, 109.

53 Arr. *Anab*. 6.15.3; Curt. 9.8.9.

54 Curt. 9.8.10; Arr. *Anab*. 6.15.3.

55 Holt suggested that Aï Khanoum could have grown from a settlement founded by Alexander or Hephaestion, Hiebert states that the archaeological evidence supports a later foundation date. Holt 1988, 42; Hiebert 2008, 82-83.

56 Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Khurt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A new approach to the Seleucid empire* (London, Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1993), 9.

57 Curt. 6.6.20; Arr. *Anab*. 3.25.5.

58 Brosius 2003, 189.

59 Plutarch, *Mor*. 341 F.

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The Motivation of Antigone

By Ioana Cristina Tutu

> Est-ce que j'aime Antigone? Non, je n'aime pas Antigone. Car elle est terrible comme Thanatos, cruelle comme les Érinyes, inflexible comme le désespoir. Est-ce que j'aime Antigone? Oui, j'aime Antigone. Car elle est magnifique dans la passion qui l'excède et qui lui fait aborder la vie ... éternisée dans notre imaginaire dans ce mouvement de franchissement de l'Atè – de l'atroce - qui illustre magnifiquement la pulsion de mort.[1]

So wrote Louise Grenier on Antigone's characterization in her eponymous play by Sophocles. Antigone and her willingness to sacrifice her own life in order to bury her brother Polyneices have captured readers' imaginations for millennia. Yet despite centuries of Sophoclean scholarship, there has not been a wholly satisfactory explanation of Antigone's course of action within the play. At first, she justifies her behaviour by claiming that she is upholding divine law, which supersedes the edict pronounced by Creon; however, a notorious speech made before she is led to her death by the guards seems to belie this earlier claim.[2] Moreover, in her rhetoric about kinship duties, one can detect the powerful love she feels for her brother, which goes beyond any lofty political opinions she might express. Furthermore, the chorus suggests that Antigone's fate is caused by her share of Oedipus' tainted blood and his crime of incest. Was Antigone's defiance motivated by filial love, principle, or fate? A close reading of the play, as well as the voluminous scholarship it has spawned, indicates that these categorizations are too simplistic, and rather that a complex amalgam of familial love and divine predestination shapes Antigone's personality and course of action.

A popular interpretation of the *Antigone* among scholars is that Antigone advocates divine law as opposed to Creon's human law, family loyalty as opposed to obedience to the state. Caught by the guards while attempting a second burial of her brother's remains, Antigone is brought to Creon, who asks her if she was aware of his edict. She replies,

> It wasn't Zeus, not in the least, who made this proclamation – not to me. Nor did that Justice … ordain such laws for men. Nor did I think your edict had such force that you, a mere mortal, could override the gods, the great unwritten, unshakable traditions … These laws – I was not about to break them, not out of fear of some man's wounded pride, and face the retribution of the gods.[3]

1 Louise Grenier, "Antigone entre la mère et la mort," in *Le Projet d'Antigone : Parcours vers la mort d'une fille d'Oedipe*, eds. Suzanne Tremblay and Louise Grenier, 51-59 (Montreal: Éditions Liber, 2005), 52.
2 Soph. *Ant*. 995-1005.
3 Soph. *Ant*. 500-510.

Antigone undermines Creon's authority, reminding him that the gods are much more pow-
erful and fearsome than he is, and that it is to them that they are both ultimately answerable.
She points out that he is hubristic to dare make a decree that contradicts divine law, which
dictates that without burial the dead can have no rest. In defying his edict and pointing out
its contradiction of divine law, she confronts Creon with the choice between admitting and
amending his wrong or insisting upon his righteousness and authority. This in turn leads
him to exacerbate his own hubris and the divine retribution that awaits him. In this way, the
Antigone recalls Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* : "As Clytaemnestra drives Agamemnon to put
himself on a level with the gods, so … Antigone drives Creon to put himself above them;
as Clytaemnestra in dramatic appeal outweighs Agamemnon, so Antigone, until her part is
played, outweighs Creon."[4] His law, in fact, is no law at all: the edict was intended to apply
to a single case because the circumstances on which it hinges (the non-burial of Polyneices'
corpse) are non-reproducible in any other context. Creon's law is little more than a cruel
and petty whim, especially in light of the fact that Athenian law denied traitors burial in
Attica, but allowed their relatives to inter them elsewhere.[5] This view of the law can also
be found in Anouilh's adaptation of the play, in which Creon tells his stricken niece: "J'ai
fait ramasser un des corps … pour mes funérailles nationales, et j'ai donné l'ordre de
laisser pourrir l'autre où il était. Je ne sais même pas lequel. Et je t'assure que cela m'est
égal."[6] It can be considered Antigone's duty, and not merely her right, to defy an auto-
crat who rules according to his own caprices instead of considering the good of the state.

       The kinship ties between the two add a personal aspect to her struggle with her un-
cle. Family ties were extremely important in Greek society. Society, after all, is little more
than an amalgamation of families sharing a geographical space, and in order for a society to
be healthy it needs to be comprised of familial units which have healthy and strong relation-
ships within themselves, with other families and with the state. Creon, as Polyneices' sole
surviving male relative, "actually has an obligation to bury him"[7] and his edict denies his
responsibilities toward his family – and by extension, his responsibilities toward Thebes:
he is the head of his family and of the *polis*. It also deprives Antigone of the role she would
have played had Polyneices been granted a proper sepulture, namely that of preparing his
body and lamenting over it; in breaking the "law" and sprinkling dust over her brother, she
not only underlines the injustice of Creon's decree, but reaffirms her own rights over the
body as Polyneices' sister.[8] This defiant act repeats her brother's own rebellion and affirms
the fact that Antigone's loyalty is to her family, not to Thebes. It would appear, at first
blush, that Antigone acted out of a sense of duty, first toward the gods and second toward

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4 S. M. Adams, "The Antigone of Sophocles," *Phoenix* vol. 9, no. 2 (summer, 1955), 47-62, 48.
5 Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, *Greek Tragedy* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 159.
6 Jean Anouilh, *Antigone* (Paris: Éditions La Table Ronde, 1967), 96.
7 Rabinowitz 2008, 159.
8 Rabinowitz 2008, 159.

her family. Flickinger even states that "the thesis of the play is that the rights of the individual may in certain cases rank higher than the rights of the state."[9] Nevertheless, this analysis is rejected by some scholars, notably D. A. Hester, who discredits the view of Sophocles as a philosopher: "Why should a single playwright in a single play so transcend the normal thought- processes of his age as to set a milestone in the history of thought?"[10] Indeed, an important question to ask at this point is: would Antigone have given up her life to bury the corpse if the deceased were a complete stranger instead of her brother? The answer to this question must be yes if we are to accept the notion of an Antigone acting solely based on principle, on her need to right the divine law wronged by Creon's proclamation. Yet it is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to imagine Antigone sacrificing herself for anyone other than kin. Her motivations must go far deeper than her desire to respect divine law.

The reader's view of Antigone as a young woman who is ever mindful of family duties is shaken by the speech she gives before she is led to her tomb. "Never, I tell you, if I had been the mother of children, or if my husband died, exposed and rotting," she says, "I'd never have taken this ordeal upon myself, never defied our people's will."[11] Surely her duty would be the same toward her husband or her child; her reasoning that, their parents being dead, her brother is the only relative who is irreplaceable does not hold up to scrutiny. This speech is problematic enough that its authenticity has frequently been called into question because it appears to contradict Antigone's numerous previous comments about family loyalty.[12] Adams suggests that Antigone's attempted burials of Polyneices were not rational defenses of divine law but acts of pure instinct;[13] seeing her brother's corpse rotting in the open plain, she was moved by atavistic intuition, "an instinctive certainty that her brother must be buried" and therefore strove to cover his body in dust despite the illegality of the act.[14] This idea had previously been promoted by Flickinger, who noted that "[Antigone] feels instinctively that she must bury her brother, and it is not until much later that she proclaims … [a] reason."[15] Yet there are alternate explanations. Rabinowitz claims that Antigone makes her speech in order to gain the respect of the chorus before she dies.[16] One must also keep in mind that when she makes this statement, Antigone is moments away from being walled into her tomb; she is inescapably faced with the knowledge that she will never marry and have children of her own. Perhaps her claim that she would not sacrifice her life for her husband or offspring is an attempt to lessen the pain of this terrible truth by telling herself that she could never care for a lover or a child as much as she cared for Polyneices.

Another problematic element of the play is the burial of Polyneices itself, or rather

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9 M. K. Flickinger, *The Hamartia of Sophocles' Antigone* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Press, 1935), 36.

10 D. A. Hester, "Sophocles the Unphilosophical : A Study in the *Antigone*," *Mnemosyne*, Fourth Series vol. 24, Fasc. 1 (1971), 11-59, 12.

11 Soph. *Ant*. 995-1005.

12 Flickinger 1935, 24.

13 Adams 1955, 58.

14 Sheila Murnaghan, "Antigone 904-920 and the Institution of Marriage," *The American Journal of Philology* vol. 107, no. 2 (summer, 1986), 192-207, 195.

15 Flickinger 1935, 21.

16 Rabinowitz 2008, 162.

the double burial, for Antigone is making a second attempt at covering her brother's body with dust when she is caught by the guards. A single burial would have been enough to grant Polyneices' soul rest; why risk discovery a second time?[17] It seems plausible that Antigone wished for a more elaborate ritual. At the beginning of the play, when she asks Ismene for help, she says, "Will you lift up his body with these bare hands and lower it with me?"[18] She thus suggests that she had intended to build Polyneices a funeral mound or dig him a grave. Her love does not allow her to settle for the bare minimum. Other early words of Antigone reinforce this impression and add decidedly incestuous undertones: "I will bury him myself … I will lie with the one I love and be loved by him."[19] Marie-Claire Lanctôt Bélanger argues that "l'amour pour le père se cache souvent sous l'amour frère-soeur … Chez Antigone, l'amour du frère Polynice s'adresse à Oedipe, son père-frère dont l'ombre nimbe toute la tragédie."[20] Family love in the Labdacid line is a complex affair, and it is important to remember that Antigone has three brothers: Polyneices, Eteocles and Oedipus himself, her mother's son. Is the beloved brother that Antigone is referring to always Polyneices, or do shades of Oedipus colour her rhetoric? The second burial might well be a symbolic one for her brother/father. After all, Oedipus's burial in the sacred grove at Colonus had no witnesses save Theseus.[21] Antigone's twofold performance of the ritual can be interpreted as two separate burials, one for Polyneices and one for Oedipus. Antigone refers to her tomb as her "bridal-bed"[22] and her method of committing suicide echoes the way Jocasta, her mother and grandmother, took her own life after discovering her family's incestuous nature.[23]

That nature, the sinful and criminal truth of Antigone's and her siblings' birth, is inescapable. One of the lessons of *Oedipus Tyrannos* is that it is impossible to escape fate; in a universe where one's actions are inexorably preordained, it is plausible that Antigone's actions were entirely fate-dictated. She is the fruit of an incestuous union, in the middle of a tangled knot of kinship ties: her father is her brother, her mother is her grandmother, and as their grandmother's children, the siblings are aunt and uncle to each other. As such, it would have been impossible for Antigone and for any of the Labdacids to enjoy a long, happy life. Oedipus tells his daughters himself: "Such disgrace, and you must bear it all! Who will marry you then? Not a man on earth. Your doom is clear: you'll wither away to nothing, single, without a child."[24] The cursed bloodline must be stamped out. Creon wishes to be an agent of its destruction, brazenly telling the chorus leader: "Sister's child or closer in blood than all my family … she'll never escape, she and her blood sister, the

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17 Flickinger 1935, 56.
18 Soph. *Ant.* 52.
19 Soph. *Ant*. 85-88.
20 Marie-Claire Lanctôt Bélanger, "Le sang d'Antigone" in *Le Projet d'Antigone* : Parcours vers la mort d'une fille d'Oedipe, eds. Suzanne Tremblay and Louise Grenier, 17-34 (Montreal: Éditions Liber, 2005), 21.
21 Soph. *O.C.* 1879-1881: "By what doom Oedipus died, not a man alive can say, only Theseus."
22 Soph. *Ant*. 978.
23 Antigone is found "hanged by the neck in a fine linen noose, strangled in her veils" (Soph. *Ant*. 1347-1348) and Jocasta "cradled high in a woven noose" (Soph. *O.T.* 1396).
24 Soph. *O.T.* 1641-1644.

most barbaric death."[25] Even innocent Ismene is intended for the slaughter; Creon intends to eliminate all of Oedipus' descendants and establish his own side of the dynasty as the only remaining, pure line – the tragic irony here is that both his son and wife will commit suicide as a direct consequence of his actions (while Ismene's fate at the end of the play is unclear). Antigone, a victim of fate like all her kin, could not but act as she did. The incestuous aspect of her temperament has been previously discussed; it is evident in the way she refers to her brother as "the one [she] loves" and to her tomb as her "bridal-bed," and in her choosing Polyneices and death over Haimon, marriage and the possibility of a normal life, by which "she is in effect reproducing the incest that has shadowed her decision all along."[26] (If, in this fatalist analysis, it can be referred to as a choice – and if a marriage to a cousin could bring a sense of"normalcy" to a girl of Antigone's lineage.) Antigone could not have married after the death of all her close male relatives because, being a daughter of Oedipus, there is nobody outside her immediate family that she could have loved: "La mort de Polynice marque la fin du désir de l'Autre pour Antigone. La fin de tout désir, la fin de toute attente. Dès lors, elle n'existe plus que pour incarner ce qu'elle a perdu. Reste le Rien … l'extase de son propre anéantissement."[27]

Another one of Antigone's Oedipal characteristics is her arrogance; her behaviour demonstrates considerable hubris. Creon's edict is disseminated throughout the entire city of Thebes; Antigone claims that her uncle is "coming here to alert the uninformed in no uncertain terms,"[28] but she herself wants her gesture to be advertised: "Shout it from the rooftops," she tells Ismene. "I'll hate you all the more for silence – tell the world!"[29] Yet later on, when Ismene attempts to share in Antigone's punishment by accepting equal guilt for Polyneices' burial, Antigone violently rejects her: "Who did the work? I have no love for a friend who loves in words alone … Never share my dying, don't lay claim to what you never touched."[30] According to Flickinger, this rebuke is motivated by Antigone's desire for sole authorship over the act: "the deed would be so much more worthy of renown if she alone should carry it out. Consequently it occurred to her that she must take some measure to prevent Ismene from sharing any of the glory, even indirectly"[31] – strangely reminiscent of her father-brother's refusal to let the stranger on the road to Delphi have the right of way.[32] In Anouilh's adaptation of the play, Antigone's resemblance to her father is even more strikingly described as Creon tells the young girl,

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25 Soph. *Ant.* 542-546.
26 Rabinowitz 2008, 162.
27 Grenier 2005, 58.
28 Soph. *Ant.* 39-40.
29 Soph. *Ant.* 100-101
30 Soph. *Ant.* 610-616.
31 Flickinger 1935, 46.
32 Soph. *O.T.* 885-896, especially "The old man himself … about to thrust me off the road … shouldering me aside … I strike him in anger! … with one blow of the staff in this right hand I knock him out of his high seat"

> Tu es l'orgueil d'Oedipe … je l'ai retrouvé au fond de tes yeux … Tu
> as dû penser que je te ferais mourir. Et cela te paraissait un dénoue-
> ment tout naturel pour toi, orgueilleuse! Pour ton père non plus – je
> ne dis pas le bonheur, il n'en est pas question – le malheur humain,
> c'était trop peu. L'humain vous gêne … dans la famille. Il vous faut
> un tête-à-tête avec le destin et la mort. Et tuer votre père et coucher
> avec votre mère et apprendre tout cela après, avidement, mot par
> mot. Quel breuvage, hein, les mots qui vous condamnent? Et com-
> me on les boit goulûment quand on s'appelle Oedipe, ou Antigone.[33]

The Antigone described here is not only one for whom normal human happiness is un-
reachable because she is the daughter of Oedipus and Jocasta, but also one who disdains
the idea of simple happiness because of her lineage. Yet even this Antigone, fiercely and
defiantly proud of her genealogy, a daughter of kings, who has suffered every kind of
pain, has not outlived her usefulness to the gods: is she not used in the play as an un-
knowing agent of Creon's downfall, the catalyst that sets into motion the events that
will end with Creon as a "wailing wreck of a man"?[34] Antigone's attitude toward her
sister hints that she inherited her father-brother's hubris, but Creon is veritably bloated
with arrogance. Just as the gods punished Oedipus for his pride, so too did they pun-
ish Creon, using Antigone as their unwitting agent. "Antigone in her death is an instru-
ment of the gods … Antigone alone is the instrument of Creon's punishment. Antigone's
rebellion is … part of the mechanism of retribution."[35] Antigone, like her father before
her, serves to remind the audience that fate and the will of the gods are inescapable.

      In short, Antigone is an extremely complex character; she and her motives continu-
ue to evade a singular, straightforward analysis. The "divine law versus human law" inter-
pretation is too simplistic if used on its own as a justification and explanation of Antigone's
actions. The argument that Antigone is defending the rights of the family against those of
the state comes somewhat closer to the truth. Antigone's real motivation is composed of a
mix of fraternal and incestuous love for Polyneices as well as inescapable predestination.

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33 Anouilh 1967, 72-73.
34 Soph. *Ant.* 1-12, especially "Do you know one … grief that Zeus will not perfect for the two of us while we
still live and breathe? There's nothing, no pain – our lives are pain – no private shame, no public disgrace, noth-
ing I haven't seen in your grief and mine;" Soph. *Ant.* 1462.
35 M. Cropp, "Antigone's Final Speech (Sophocles, Antigone 891-928)," Greece & Rome vol. 44 (1997), 137-
160, 154.

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The Mytho-Historical Topography of Thebes

By Tzveta Manolova

   A study of the topography of Thebes is particularly challenging due to the serious dearth of archaeological evidence. Centuries of continuous occupation, a series of destructions including the nearly complete razing by Alexander the Great, and modern construction have obliterated or effectively made inaccessible much of the ancient topography. Furthermore, the only coherent description in the literary evidence is that of Pausanias, to which are added a series of eclectic brief references in sources of varying antiquity, most notably Pindar who was a native resident. These significant limitations are directly reflected in modern scholarship, which conspicuously and unlike with respect to other regions of Greece is much more exhaustive about the Boeotian *chora* than the urban center itself. However, there are reasons why Classical archaeology has tended to focus on an analysis of the Greek world as one of "town dwellers" since the site of a *polis* may be literally defined as the physical nucleus of the political community.[1]

   Ironically, the lack of physical remains of the city of Thebes is contrasted by the richness of its mythical oral tradition; this stands out, according to Effenterre, as "une des plus fournies de toute la tradition greque."[2] The scope of this paper does not allow for an exhaustive analysis of the entire Theban topography. Thus, certain elements are highlighted through a conscious selection with a focus on developments in the Archaic and Classical periods, although the evidence does not always allow for very precise distinctions in the time framework. The goal of the present analysis is to examine the ways in which ancient Thebes developed within the larger structural patterns of *polis* emergence on the Greek mainland, while pointing to the elements that provided this development with a distinctly local, Theban twist. An examination of Theban topography demonstrates the close parallels between physical space and an evolving social and political community. Theban fortifications, the Kadmeia, as well as the city's sanctuaries and hero cults form a complex web of memory markers, physical hierarchies and boundaries which actively reflect and shape communal identity. Finally, this paper argues that local circumstances and the particular strength of Theban oral traditions resulted in a mytho-historical topography inspired by the city's Mycenaean past to an unusual degree.

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1 Anthony M. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece: The present State and Future Scope of a Discipline* (Berkley, University of California, 1987), 67: "Only an urban center that served as a center for the political community," could be termed a polis, and conversely that "only those political communities [which] possessed an urban center could be described as poleis." See Jonathan M. Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World ca.1200-479 BCE.* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2007).
2 Henri Van Effenterre, *Les Béotiens: aux Frontières de l'Athènes Antique* (Paris, Editions Errance, 1989), 36.

Theban Fortifications

It is appropriate to begin a mytho-historical analysis of the topography of Thebes with its walls due to their centrality to the identity of this *polis*. The mythical foundation of Thebes stands out as an anomaly because it involves two distinct acts of foundation: one involving the *oikistês* Kadmos coming from abroad and guided by the Delphic oracle to found the city, as well as another about the twins Amphion and Zethos, who build the city's famous seven gated walls.[3] This duality, although acknowledged, had not been reconciled until very recently; Berman has proposed that the standard narrative combining the two stories was a late result from the work of prose mythographers and logographers such as Hekataios and Pherekydes, who combined stories that in the early Greek poetic tradition existed in parallel.[4] Berman convincingly argues that "the two stories represent two narratives of a single act of the city's foundation, created at two separate times and reflecting features of the *milieu* in which they were composed."[5] That is, the twins represent a Mycenaean setting while Kadmos corresponds to an Archaic Greek one.

The earliest mention of the city appears in Homer and relates directly to the twins building its walls: "they first founded the seat of seven-gated Thebe, and fortified it, since they were unable to inhabit wide-open Thebe unfortified, powerful though they were."[6] This statement, which implies the obvious need of an important settlement to be protected, gains great poignancy when put in the context of the local Theban topography and Boeotia more broadly. Although strategically sound in terms of access to agricultural land and water provisioning, the site contained several significant difficulties in terms of protection. Durable material was far away while the terrain on which it was built was soft, forcing the builders to dig all the way to bedrock for solid surface.[7] Most importantly, the Kadmeia was not naturally

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3 First foundation myth: Kadmos, who is a stranger from Phoenicia and in search of his sister Europa, is given an oracle from Delphi ordering him to give up on her and rather follow a cow until she falls from exhaustion; this location should be the foundation of a new city. Having reached this location at Thebes, he defeats a dragon whose teeth he sows on the advice of Athena, from which spring the *Spartoi*. These fight each other until only five are standing. These *Spartoi* are the first to become the race of Kadmeians under the orders of Kadmos. As his first act of establishing the city, Kadmos builds the Kadmeia – the central acropolis. For a full treatment of the oral tradition see Francis Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963).
Second foundation myth: In its most purified form, the twins Amphion and Zethos, sons of Zeus, build the famous Theban walls with seven gates: Zethos uses his pure physical strength while Amphion moves stones with the music of his lyre.

4 Effenterre 1989, 69; Apollod. *Bibl*. 3; Daniel W. Berman, "The Double Foundation of Boiotian Thebes," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-), 134. 1 (Spring, 2004).
5 Berman 2004, 2.
6 Hom.*Od.*.11.260 (trans. Berman)
7 Transporting durable material was one of the biggest challenges facing ancient engineers since the nearest source of limestone is Mt. Korsika which is 5.5km west of Thebes. See Sarantis Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985), 8.

high, and the irregular, low-lying terrain required a much greater human investment in order to make it practically defensible. This "necessitate[ed] the creation of terraces and landfills and forc[ed] the builders to give the walls extra height to provide any real protection."[8]

This geographical reality throughout Boeotia meant that the effort and extent of fortifications was unprecedented and on a much more impressive scale than anywhere else in Greece.[9] The incredibly rich mythical narrative surrounding the foundation of Thebes, with its great emphasis on its walls, is ironically in stark contrast with the dearth of archaeological remains.[10] The reconstruction by Symeonoglou for the Middle Helladic suggests a wall size (1,150m long) that appears almost inconceivable for the period when compared to other contemporary constructions around Greece, including the longest well attested fortifications of Malthi-Dorion in Messenia (420m long). In this context, the great emphasis and mythical centrality of the Theban walls in the identity of the city is not out of place.

In Pausanias' description of the city, the fortifications are given attention separately; it is significant that the famous seven gates are highly personalized, each being provided with its own name.[11] The number of gates has been seriously contested, with some scholars rejecting them as mere fabrication. Symeonoglou, however, argues for the plausibility of seven gates in the Middle Helladic which were further reduced to four in the Late Helladic.[12] In any case, it should be stressed that in terms of their mytho-historical relevance the actual number of gates does not matter, since the notion of seven gates affected the city physically throughout its history regardless of how many gates were actually in use. Pindar speaks of the Kadmeia as having seven gates and so does Pausanias who, visiting Thebes in the first century A.D., saw only three of them in use, but whose guides nevertheless pointed out the locations of all seven.[13] The powerful hold of this tradition over the topography is expressed in the roles that the gates play as memory markers and central reference points in relation to which all later spaces and buildings on the acropolis are defined.

It is significant that by the Archaic and Classical periods their demarcation

8 In referring to the Kadmeia I speak of the Theban acropolis as a physical location without any mythological or temporal implication for the sake of convenience. Symeonoglou 1985, 8
9 Effenterre 1989, 76.
10 The general trend of reusing stone was ever more pressing in Thebes due to the lack of close proximity of materials. Modern construction and habitation has either obliterated or rendered completely inaccessible any archaeological evidence that may provide the possibility to reconstruct anything beyond a few fragmentary sites. See Symeonoglou 1985, 21.
11 Paus. 9.7.4-9.8.7; Ten gate names occur in ancient sources, but some of the names clearly refer to the same gate. With the exception of Nonnus and Hyginus, who offer an entirely different set of names, ancient authors are in very close accord. With the exception of the Borraia, all belonged to legendary women, two of them associated with Kadmos and four with the twins. For a detailed discussion see Symeonoglou 1985, 34-36.
12 Symeonoglou argues that seven gates were strategically acceptable in the Middle Helladic, but much less so in the Late Helladic since it would have greatly weakened the fortifications. He provides the comparative example of the contemporary Boeotian citadel of Gla which had only four gates and suggests the same number for Thebes. See Symeonoglou 1985, 36.
13 Pind. *Pyth*.11.12; The three gates in use were Elektrai, Proitides and Neistai.

quality persists, although the *polis* greatly exceeded in size the Kadmeia of which they served as boundaries. As will become clear with regard to the sanctuaries and hero cults, the oral tradition of the city's fortifications, founded in early Mycenaean times, played a seminal role in firmly establishing a historical depth that was hard to equal, although highly sought after, by other *poleis*.[14] Such connections to the land figured prominent in political discourses both at the regional and international level, not only for establishing legitimacy but also for claiming a Greek identity.[15] As one of the most significant physical imprints of the city, the foundation story of Amphion and Zethos and the building of the seven-gated walls prominently served all of these functions.

With the rise of the *polis* in the early Archaic period, the new political and social realities required for an additional foundation story along with a mytho-historical topography. Boundaries, both external and internal, were vital in providing a new tangible cohesion to communities emerging from the amalgamation of various smaller and older organizational units.[16] In this regard, fortifications are the most straightforward means of boundary creation. André Hurst thus perceives the foundation of the Theban walls as an exemplar of a universal process of marking out territory while Camp actually argues that "fortifications were, in fact, *a sine qua non* in the rise of the Greek polis."[17] There is no need, however, to push the argument to its extreme in order to recognize the significance of walls beyond their purely utilitarian function. For example, it is clear that the dismantling of city walls could amount directly to the political dissolution of the community and could be used purposefully towards such an end.[18] The foundation story of Kadmos frames the construction of Theban fortifications within a discourse symptomatic and responsive to the cultural upheaval of eighth century Greece, and fits well within a common pattern of foundation heroes for the period.[19] Since there are no archaeologi-

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14 For a similar importance of such claims at Athens, see François de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-state* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995), 86.

15 Such debates could become particularly heated, as the case of the Persian war illustrates, where the Thebans were repeatedly accused of medism.

16 Joseph M. Bryant, Moral Codes and Social Structure in Ancient Greece (New York, State University of New York Press, 1996), 45; K.-J. Hölkeskamp, "The Polis and its Spaces: the Politics of Spatiality," *Ordia Prima* vol. 3 (2004), 29.

17 André Hurst, "Bâtir les murailles de Thèbes," in *Presenza e Funzione della Città di Tebe nella Cultura Greca. Atti del Convegno Internazionale* (Urbino 7-9 Iuglio 1997) (Paola Angeli Bernardini (ed.). Pisa, Rome, 2000); John McK. Camp II, "Walls and the Polis," in *Polis & politics: studies in ancient Greek history* (41-59) Pernille Flensted-Jensen, Mogens Herman Hansen, Thomas Heine Nielsen, Lene Rubinstein, eds. (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000), 49.

18 For example, the Spartan capture of Mantinea on 385 B.C.: "after this the wall was torn down and Mantinea was divided into four separate villages, just as the people had dwelt in ancient times" (Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.7). At the end of the sacred War in 346 B.C Philip II similarly demanded from the defeated Phokians to "abandon their cities, the walls of which were dismantled. All the cities of the Phocians were to be razed and the men moved to villages, no one of which should have more than fifty houses" (Diod. Sic. 16.60.2).

19 His name most likely "represents a personalized linguistic construct signifying ethnic identity," where the

cal remains of fortifications in the Archaic period, the foundation by Kadmos, the surviving evidence for substantial population growth, and our historical knowledge of Thebes emerging as a dominant *polis* in Boeotia serve as significant guides. They suggest that fortifications and boundaries played a similar structural and organizational function as other developing communities throughout Greece during the period.[20] Emphasis on ties to the land and legitimacy is provided through autochthonous origins and a divinely sanctioned foundation. Following a reconstruction by Symeonoglou, population growth required the expansion of the city beyond the Kadmeia in the area referred to as Hypothebai.[21] Meanwhile, the Kadmeia was imbued with a second, additional meaning; it was not only a link with the Mycenaean past, but a sacred precinct ordained by Apollo.

The gradual growth of the city in terms of population, wealth and power culminates in the Classical period, which is expressed by the second ring of fortifications alluded to in Xenophon and Arrian.[22] This second wall was a truly tremendous undertaking,[23] and given the dearth of nearby construction material, there is no doubt that it required a great amount of communal effort and resources. Although the date of its construction is not established beyond certainty, a construction after the Theban victory over Athens at Koroneia in 446 B.C., when the *polis* emerged as the greatest power in Boeotia, offers the strongest case.[24] Needless to say, this construction had very significant political implications. The inner wall of the Kadmeia, which had been extended in the Archaic period to encompass the Hypothebai, was large enough to protect the population of Thebes at this time; the city had neither the need nor the means to construct a seven-kilometer long wall. Rather, the construction was achieved through the cooperation of neighboring towns, a partnership that ensued from a realization of the need to consolidate efforts in order to provide adequate common protection. These fortifications, designed to accommodate 100,000 people,

Kadmeians provide the name for their founder Kadmos. See Daniel W. Berman, "The Double Foundation of Boiotian Thebes," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-), vol. 134 no. 1 (Spring, 2004), 15. The story follows the relatively set pattern of Greek colonial foundation narratives, which although mostly pertain to colonies, could also be used retrospectively for the foundation of *metropoleis*.

20 The earliest references to Thebes as a fortified city are c.540 (Thgn. 1.1209) and 479 (Hdt. 9.41.2, 9.86–88) but the uncertainty about which fortifications this refers to (the Kadmeia or the enlarged area including the Hypothebai) is not of much help in tracing the expansion enclosing the lower city as well.

21 Symeonoglou 1985, 117.

22 The double ring is made clear in the capture of Thebes by the Spartans in 382 B.C (Xen. *Hell*.5.2.25-29) and the description of the siege by Alexander (Arr.*Anab*.1.7.4-1.10.2).

23 The greater wall was 7,000m long, nearly twelve times the size of the Kadmeia. See Symeonoglou 1985, 118.

24 The archaeological evidence for dating is limited to its method of construction characterized by regularity in terms of size of the stone blocks and precision in their execution, which for Symeonoglou suggests a Classical rather than Archaic construction, Symeonoglou 1985, 120. Furthermore, the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* speaks of a large Boeotian population moving to Thebes at the outbreak of hostilities with Athens (*Hell.Ox*.12.3). Hansen thus argues that the *synoecism* of 431 must be the *terminus ante quem* (Hansen 2004, 456) while the most likely *terminus post quem* is the liberation of Boiotia from Athenian domination in 446 (Symeonoglou 1985, 118–22).

caused the population to double, effectively causing another process of *synoikism*.[25] The political environment which allowed for the wall's construction and the effect of its completion in a mutually reinforcing process consolidated Thebes as the central Boeotian power.

The construction of the wall of Greater Thebes shows how political development and physical space interact and develop in parallel over time in the *polis*. Symeonoglou argues that "it is no exaggeration to say that the wall provided the initial impetus that brought the city to its zenith from 371 to 362 B.C."[26] To further the parallels between its political and topographical developments, it suffices to note that the life of the wall was as short lived as the political hegemony which it embodied and at the same time propelled. The siege in 335 B.C by Alexander caused both the destruction of the wall and Theban power, neither to ever recover to its previous eminence.

In the Classical period the evidence makes it possible to demonstrate that walls can also be perceived as artistic statements of identity. Camp highlights that fortifications exhibit stylistic features in the same way as other architectural monuments, often constructed with the sentiment they should be an adornment to the city, "aesthetically pleasing and deliberately so."[27] The visual display of regional styles of construction could extend its impact even outside the local scope, such as in the case of skilled Theban workers who were sent by the polis to help the rebuilding of the Athenian walls in 394 B.C.[28]

Thus, the evolution of the Theban walls both reflected and actively shaped the development of the community through time.[29] The earlier foundation myth of its seven-gated walls provided uniquely strong memory markers that were used as points of reference for the rest of the Theban topography, granting great historical depth and claim to the land. The second mythical foundation by Kadmos conferred additional significance and divine sanction in answer to new organizational needs of the *polis* community in the eighth century. Similarly, the construction of the wall surrounding Greater Thebes was the most tangible expression of Theban hegemony and prosperity in the Classical period.

The evolution of the Theban walls, like the *polis'* topography in general as pointed out by Kühr, can be read as a physical expression of changing and competing claims to Theban identity.[30] Nevertheless, one may wonder why this single topographical feature

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25 "When Athens began to fight Boeotia, the inhabitants of Erythai, Skaphe, Skolos, Aulis, Schoinos, Potniai, and many other such communities moved to Thebes because their towns did not have fortifications; this caused the size of Thebes to double"(*Hell.Ox*.12.3).

26 Symeonoglou 1985, 122.

27 Camp 2000, 44.

28 For the Thebans too sent 500 skilled workers and masons, and some other cities also gave assistance" (Diod. Sic.14.85.3). Participation of the Boeotians is also attested in Xen.*Hell*.4.8.10 and *IG* II 1657.

29 This is true for the *polis* more broadly as well, where "the characteristic organization of space in the *polis* is also a precondition as well as, at the same time, the result of this specific form of community life." See Hölskeskamp, 27.

30 Angela Kühr, *Als Kadmos Nach Boiotien Kam: Polis Und Ethnos Im Spiegel Thebanischer Gründungsmythen* (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2006).

among many others deserves such attention, or to phrase it in terms of a general critique of archaeology, why spend so much effort talking about two grains of sand?[31] The answer lies in the second purpose of this paper's argument, namely the examination of elements that make Thebes stand out as unique and unusual, albeit in terms of degree rather than kind. Due to circumstances that must be understood in local terms, Theban fortifications became a cornerstone for the polis' mytho-historical topography and communal identity, which is reflected by their focal role in several of the city's most important oral traditions.

The Theban acropolis (Kadmeia) is another topographical unit that should be discussed as a whole. As the earliest area of human activity on the site and continuously occupied throughout the entire life of the city, the Kadmeia remained the central physical space in the community with the strongest links to the past. In the Mycenaean period two typical palatial structures were constructed that are spatially distinct albeit close to each other. The first and smaller one, referred to as tomb of Semele, became subject of an extremely prominent Theban oral tradition preserving the association of a destruction by fire from Zeus' lightning with the birth of Dyonisus and the subsequent emergence of an open-air sanctuary sacred to the deity.[32] The archaeological evidence suggests a particularly intense destruction by fire that "burned for such a long time, that it reduced the building materials to a density and hardness rarely, if ever, encountered in an archaeological excavation."[33] For reasons partly practical and as evidence of divine intervention, the site was converted into an open-air sanctuary of Kadmeian Apollo, thus corroborating with the main outline of the oral tradition. The ruins of the burnt palace were left as is and no structure was ever built over it until the Byzantine period. Thus it was displayed as a conspicuous relic of the distant past, imbued with new religious authority. The second larger palace was likewise converted after its destruction and abandonment into the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros.[34] The two main sanctuaries

31 This way of framing the question was presented by Ian Morris during a guest lecture at McGill University in 2009. The famous walls of Thebes were obviously no grains of sand, but the pun may be taken literally to the archaeological context where physical remains of the fortifications are extremely scanty and for some periods, virtually nonexistent.

32 The story is already well established with the earliest writers at the international level. Hesiod, Homer (Hes. *Theog*. 940-942; Hom. Il.14.323-325) as well as Aischylos who dedicated an entire play to the myth. The story recounts that the house of Kadmos was destroyed when Zeus appeared to Semele in all the thunder and lightning of his true nature, in the process of which Semele was consumed but Dionysus saved. In Euripides, (Eur. *Bacch*. 1-63) Dionysos relates that the site of the burned palace called the tomb of Semele continued to smolder from the fire of Zeus for a long time. Praising Kadmos for sanctifying the site, the god covers it with vines and establishes the city as the first location of his cult. A slightly different version which Symeonoglou (Symeonoglou 1985, 45) attributes as most probably Theban, after the destruction of the palace by fire ivy suddenly grew around the columns at the same time covering the divine child to protect it from the fire (schol. Eur. *Phoin*. 649). This version explains the epithet "around the column" and Pausanias mentions a column fetish at the sanctuary of Dyonisus Kadmeios during Roman times (Paus. 9.12.4).

33 Symeonoglou 1985, 57; Keramopoulllos, who was the original excavator of the site, found it covered by a cement-like crust one meter thick of burnt wood and mud-brick baked together.

34 Also identified by Pausanias' guides as the previous house of Kadmos (Paus. 9.16.5) which allows for the

on the Kadmeia therefore are both directly connected with the most prominent Myce-naean structures, leaving their physical remnants on display and as a focus of worship.

The phenomenon relates to a general larger trend throughout Greece where "the political power that had collapsed was replaced – in a concrete topographical sense – by reli-gious power," but with a conspicuously local twist; the ancient remnants were not overridden by new structures, or at least to a much lesser degree.[35] There were undoubtedly several other sanctuaries on the Kadmeia in the Archaic period, none of which survive archaeologically but whose evidence is preserved in Pausanias and other scattered sources. With the expansion of the city however, a general trend can be observed where fewer temples were constructed on the Kadmeia with a greater predominance of open-air sanctuaries due to the lack of space. Instead, most of the temples were constructed in the new lower area of Greater Thebes.

In general then, the oldest sanctuaries associated with the mythical past occupied the core citadel of the city while the novel creations of the Archaic and Classical Ages oc-cupied the larger city around it. Pausanias' description of the Kadmeia is striking for its general richness and density of spaces imbued with mythological reference, markers that his Theban guides readily point out everywhere as he walks around the city. In addition to buildings and ruins, Pausanias adds a number of relics and statues such as a *xoanon* at the sanctuary of Dionysus Kadmeios, allegedly fallen from the sky, and three wooden statues of Aphrodite.[36] The Kadmeia was thus conspicuous in Pausanias' time, and even more so in the Archaic and Classical periods, for its rich mythical and religious topography; here, memory markers and relics constituted the main topographical fabric for which the Mycenaean past procured the building material. As such, the complex addressed a vital new need arising in the eighth century, requiring the appearance of the city to express a collective memory.[37]

Greater Thebes

The development of the area of Greater Thebes in the Archaic and Classical periods provided the opportunity to shape a previously unoccupied space according to the immediate communal needs of the rising *polis* in the eighth century. The increasing elaboration and constitutionalization of the city's social and political life was paralleled by a physical monumental expansion and the emergence of an additional new network of boundaries.[38] In Thebes as elsewhere in Greece, the enlarged city was first and foremost defined by a religious topography, thus arguing that at the boundary of the late Geometric and early Archaic periods, one of the remarkable developments was that "the *polis* consti-tuted the formal expression of a religious cohesion."[39] The growth of the predominance of Thebes over Boeotia through *synoikism* can certainly be examined as a politically deliber-

deduction that it was close to the sanctuary of Dyonysus Kadmeios. Their proximity is confirmed in Pindar (Pind. *Isth*. 7.3-5).

35 T. Hölscher. "The City of Athens: Space, Symbol, Structure," in *City-states in Classical Antiquity and Medi-evla Italy*. A. Molho et al, Eds (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), 360.

36 Paus. 9.12.4; Paus. 9.12.4.

37 Hölscher 1991, 361.

38 Hölkeskamp 2004, 28.

39 De Polignac 1995, 78.

ate process which in turn engendered resistance, but the particular importance ascribed to cults also promoted a much less conscious cohesion where their "powers of protection and integration was neither artificial nor forced."[40] The case for an active policy should thus not be overstated since, like the developments of walls, the response was to a large extent intuitive and self-feeding. As both a mirror and an active shaper of communal development, the religious topography deserves special attention since it is a synthesis of qualities directly answering the new needs of cohesion, social identity and communal memory of the emerging *polis*. As the very first cult to whom a temple was dedicated in the Geometric period, Apollo Ismenios can be used as a particular case study exemplifying these trends and suggesting the centrality of this deity for the emerging *polis*.[41] The deity's sanctuary is the best documented at Thebes both archaeologically and in the ancient sources, which is no mere coincidence. The fullest description is provided by Pausanias,[42] who situates it on a hill that stood on the right on the Elektran gates, beside the river Ismenos and south-east of the Kadmeia.[43] Excavations by Keramopoullos uncovered the eastern end of a Doric building, with sequences underneath allowed for the reconstruction of three phases.[44]

        This evolution, much like that of the Theban walls, parallels the development of the community over time. The first temple construction is contemporary with a general flourishing of religious monumentality throughout Greece. This was followed by a long-lived second construction, which was the one known to Herodotus and Pindar; a third final one, that much like the walls of Greater Thebes, was initiated and halted with the rapid rise and fall of Theban hegemony. The sanctuary housed several distinct cults, which are indicative of the political evolution of Thebes in relation to its neighbors.[45] Schachter traces the development of these cults beginning with the first establishment of an oracle, followed by an introduction of Apollo and lastly "the attraction to the Ismenion of several cult types and practices originally associated with other parts of Boiotia."[46] For example,

40 Ibid., 79.

41 Symeonoglou 1985, 184; other evidence that it was already of great importance in the eighth century is an inscribed bronze statuette of a warrior dedicated to Apollo by a certain Mantiklos (Boston Museum of Fine Arts 03.997), which is a rare practice at this time. See Symeonoglou: 96.

42 Paus. 9.10.2-3

43 For location see also Pind.*Pyth*. 11.1–11; *IG* vii 2455 (C6); *SEG* 22 417 (C6).

44 A geometric temple destroyed by fire c.700 B.C, a second temple build during the seventh century and a third temple from the first half of the fourth century that was never finished.

45 A combination of different cult sites within a major sanctuary was not unusual but rather the norm. At the temple of Ismenian Apollo these include the female/male pair Melia and Teneros, the dying boy Kaanthos/Klaaitos, a "log procession" and Athena Pronaia to name a few. For a full description see Schachter 1981, 78-80.

46 Schachter argues for a later introduction of Apollo due to Delphic influence contra Wilamowitz (1922, 44) cited in Symeonoglou (1985, 96), who believes it was established or at least became prominent earlier than Delphi. In Boeotia, Apollo was known primarily as a god of divination and many sanctuaries were dedicated to him. The practice of divination herself traces back to Mycenaean times with the famous seer Teiresias who was a Theban (ibid.)

the female/male deity pair of Melia and Teneros, first attested in Thebes by Pindar, is found in the region surrounding the Kopais; Teneros' name suggests that the origin of this pair was in this region.[47] Schachter argues that the movement of a cult from one area to another is symptomatic either of population movement or a shift in political power; in this case the shift occurred from a rural area to Thebes, indicating a growing influence of the *polis*.

Another way to examine the political environment is through cult dedications, which are always surrounded by a lively political discourse. The Ismenian Apollo is conspicuous for its tripods thanks to Herodotus and Pindar, who called it a "treasury of golden tripods."[48] Herodotus first mentions a dedication by Croesus of a tripod of gold, suggesting the shrine was of significant international renown at the time.[49] In a famous passage describing his visit to the temple, he speaks as an eye witness to three other tripods and quotes their dedicatory inscriptions by mythic individuals.[50] The strong likelihood that these were forgeries is arguably irrelevant: as a foreign visitor, Herodotus provides us with an example of the effect and immediacy these tangible relics had upon the viewer, conferring great antiquity and venerability to the sanctuary. Even more interestingly, Ammonius quoting Didymos mentions a dedication of a golden tripod by the Thebageneis whom Ephoros, quoted in turn by Didymos, identifies as people who had previously lived independently in southern Boeotia, but were later absorbed by the Thebans.[51] The dedication thus alludes to the process of *synoikism* and suggests, according to Schachter, the probability of a regular ritual performed in recognition of Theban hegemony.[52]

The tradition of dedications must have been vibrant and strong, since some tripods were still observed by Pausanias.[53] Herodotus mentions one of the most politically relevant dedications, allegedly given by Croesus, saying that "to the shrine of Amphiaraus […] he sent a shield of solid gold and a spear, also of solid gold throughout, both shaft and head; the shield and spear were still at Thebes in my own day, in the temple of Ismenian Apollo."[54] Some scholars have interpreted this to mean that the Amphiareion consulted by Croesus no longer existed by the mid fifth century but it appears more likely, as Schachter agrees, that the dedications were transferred after a sack

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47 The female/ male deity pair is found at the Ptoion, Tegyra, Thourion, Ledabeia and Telphousa. Schachter 1986, 78.
48 Pin. *Pyth*. 11.4.
49 Hdt. 1.92.
50 Ibid 5.59-61.
51 Ammon.*Diff*.231; Ephoros FgrH 70F21. The Thebageneis described by Ephoros fit neatly with the absorbed towns listed in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* early in the fourth century with the rise of the Boeotian confederacy, including Erythrai, Skaphai, Skolos, Aulis, Scgoinos, Potniai.(*Hell.Ox*.16), and during the early part of the Peloponnesian War, with Erythrai, Skaphai, Skolos, Aulis, Schoinos, Potniai(*Hell.Ox*.17).
52 Schachter 1981, 83.
53 Pausanias notes with some surprise that there were only a few at the time he visit, which is however to be expected, especially since they were made of precious metals (Paus. 9.10.4).
54 Hdt.1.51.

of the oracle; this sack perhaps created hostilities still evident in Herodotus' time, as suggested by another passage from Herodotus about a consultation of the oracle by Mys.[55]

Tensions and competition between different cults and oracles were, however, not merely confined to such a local level. The Amphiareion, as made clear by Herodotus, was considered a prominent oracle in all of Greece, consulted alongside those of Delphi and Dodona. As already demonstrated, an attempt to shift its prestige towards the temple of Ismenian Apollo which also housed an oracle clearly caused conflict.[56] However, other cities claimed to be the true site of the hero Amphiaraus, and the oracle suffered decline after the Persian War. Hubbard argues that as in the case of other Theban cults, in response to foreign challenge Pindar counteracted in his odes by insisting on "Amphiaraus' identity as a chthonian hero on Theban soil."[57] Symeonoglou stresses that the lack of appreciation of the Theban Apollo was certainly partly due to a deliberate attempt by Delphi to diminish its reputation. For example, in the *Pythian Hymn* to Apollo the writers record the Boeotian cities visited by the divinity on his way to Delphi, but Thebes is conspicuously excluded.[58] The case of Apollo Ismenios is thus a poignant example, demonstrating the complex web of political tension, competition and prestige surrounding cults and oracles.

Finally, the topography of Thebes can be examined as a whole in terms of the numerous hero cults and other land markers alluding to mythological figures that abounded on the Kadmeia and the area of Greater Thebes alike. Like the flourishing of sanctuaries, the appearance of the worship of heroes went hand in hand with the birth of the *polis*.[59] Together they functioned as carriers of mythical memory, which was central for the formation and perpetuation of Theban identity. To name only a few, there was the sacred stone of Alkmene,[60] the Ampheion (joint tomb of Amphion and Zethos),[61] the tomb of Hector,[62] and the tomb of the

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55 V.C Petrakos cited in Schachter 1981, 22. The story given by Herodotus in which Mys consults Amphiaraos on Madronius' instructions is a rationalization of a clear hostility of the oracle towards the Thebans who were thus banned from its ground: he " also paid somebody to pass the night at the temple of Amphiaraus. The person he persuaded to do this was not a Theban. Thebans are forbidden to consult this oracle, because Amphiaraus, through the mouth of the Priestess, once gave them the exclusive choice of two alternatives – whether, that is, they would prefer to have him as a prophet to foretell the future, or as a friend to help them in war: and they chose the latter. And that is why no Theban may pass the night in this shrine." See Hdt.8.134.
56 Hdt.8.134.1. We know that this oracle was consulted during the Peloponnesian War (Plut. *Lys*. 29 (450C-D), before Leuktra (Paus. 4.32.5) and in 335 B.C. before the arrival of Alexander (Diod. Sic.17.10.3)
57 Thomas K. Hubbard, "Remaking Myth and Rewriting History: Cult Tradition in Pindar's Ninth Nemean," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* vol. 94 (1992), 107; for example, in Pindar (Pind. *Pyth*. 11.3-6), written in honor of a Theban victory in the Delphic games of 474 B.C., he opens his ode by inviting legendary Thebans to a celebration at the temple of Apollo Ismenos, "the sanctuary of golden tripods, the treasury that Loxias honored most, and named Ismeion *and made the true seat of diviners*" (emphasis mine).
58 Symeonoglou 1985, 97.
59 De Polignac 1995, 128.
60 Diod. Sic. 4.58.6; Paus. 9.11.1; 9.16.7.
61 Xen. *Hell*. 5.4.8; Schol. Pind. *Pyth*. 9.145c; Schol. Eur. *Phoen*. 145; 606; Paus. 9.16.4-7; 10.32.10-11.
62 Paus. 9.18.5; Lycoph. *Alex*. 1204-1213.

Alkaidai (sons of Herakles and Megara).[63] The latter was connected with Herakles, perhaps the most prominent hero cult of Thebes. According to the prevailing tradition the hero was conceived and born at Thebes, where he spent his youth prior to his labours for Eurystheus.

Since the hero had no conventional death, but his body was consumed, he had no tomb on earth. The solution was a celebration of tombs of his ancestors and relations, such as that of Iolaos, in addition to his main monument – the Herakleion. Situated south of the Kadmeia beyond the Elektran gates, it is first mentioned by Pindar and provided with the most exhaustive description by Pausanias.[64] The sanctuary provides the most detailed account of sculptural reliefs which no doubt adorned many other monuments of the city. These include the pedimental sculptures of eleven of the twelve labours and a colossal relief depicting Athena and Herakles dedicated by Thrasybouloos and his followers, likely after their success in 403 B.C.[65] The Herakleion, together with the numerous other monuments associated with Herakles, interspersed throughout the city, created a fabric providing a visual reminder of the hero's association with the entire Theban topography as a single unit. Like Apollo Ismenios, the cult of Heracles was charged with political meaning.

Angela Kühr argues that the hero was used as a vehicle for advancing Theban claims to regional pre-eminence.[66] The treatment of heroines followed a similar pattern, as their "remains could be the object of the same covetousness, motivated by political considerations, as the relics of heroes."[67] For example, Alkmene was claimed by three different parties: the Thebans and the Megarians, whose discrepancy of accounts Pausanias acknowledges, and the Spartans, who opened her tomb under the order of Agesilaos with aim to retrieve her remains.[68] Disputes over the possession of remains and the high emphasis on grave locations are characteristic of Greek heroic cults in general.[69] They are thus a potent case in point of the importance of locality in political discourses. As in Athens and other *poleis*, "the mythical-religious horizon was not [that] of a general past of humankind, or even of all Greeks […] but a specific past of an individual city," highlighting the individual profile of Thebes.[70]

To conclude, the analysis of the topography of Thebes must take into consideration a number of less conventional sources of material, such as myths and poetry, alongside archaeology and historical texts in order to grasp the complex mytho-historical symbolism with which the physical space is imbued. In the pursuit of such an understanding, the authenticity of memory markers and monuments is not as relevant as

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63 Eur. *Heracl*. 1389-1392; Paus. 1.41.1; 9.11.2.
64 Pind. *Isth*. 4.79; Paus. 9.11.4-9.11.6.
65 "Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, and the Athenians who with him put down the tyranny of the Thirty, set out from Thebes when they returned to Athens, and therefore they dedicated in the sanctuary of Heracles colossal figures of Athena and Heracles, carved by Alcamenes in relief out of Pentelic marble" (Paus. 9.11.6).
66 Kühr 2006.
67 Larson 1995, 92.
68 "The Theban account does not agree with the Megarian. The Greek legends generally have for the most part different versions." See Paus. 9.16.7.
69 Larson 1995, 93.
70 Hölscher 1991, 362.

the significance and meaning they were conferred by the people who lived among them. Given the unique characteristics of the polis, the connection between physical space and the political community inhabiting it is unusually strong in the ancient Greek context, making the social analysis of urban topography a particularly meaningful undertaking. The examination of Theban topography from the eighth century and throughout the Archaic and Classical periods shows all the important structural trends witnessed at the level of the entire Greek mainland. At the same time, it points to developments that are distinctly Theban and thus unique, albeit in terms of degree rather than kind. It is possible to argue that much like Athens, an examination of the topography shows that Thebes is very typical in some regards, while simultaneously exceptional and unusual in others.

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Sexuality and Masculinity in Catullus and Plautus

By Parrish Wright

Plautus' comedies gave Romans the freedom to "mock all that is Roman."[1] The plays took the stringent Roman social hierarchy and strict Roman values and turned them on their heads. In the comedies, slaves control the action and prostitutes are noble and sought-after lovers. There are scenes in which slaves are able to trick and humiliate free men, and yet throughout the works slaves are demonstrated as subservient. The abuse of slaves, both physical and sexual, is often ridiculed in the plays. Similar language is used in the invective poetry of Catullus. Catullus scathingly, sexually, and socially insults and belittles his opponents through his poetry. However, when slaves in Plautus' comedies make fun of each other for being sexually submissive or abused, it is not intended to mock and effeminate the slaves as is the case for those who are addressed in Catullan invective. Indeed, when we consider the humor of sexual violence in the plays of Plautus within the context of Catullan invective, we realize that Plautus is mocking the aristocratic Roman notion of what it means to be a man.

There are at least two stumbling blocks inherent to a comparison of Plautus and Catullus. First, it might be noted that many of Plautus' plays are translations of various Greek plays; and second, that Plautus and Catullus were not contemporaries. But these objections can easily be overcome. Despite the fact that Greek originals Plautus worked off of have not survived, we can identify that Plautus has translated the humor and jokes into a Roman context. The plays contain references to Roman history, as well as puns and plays on words which can only make sense in Latin. According to Erich Segal, "there is one undeniable fact to be faced: Plautus made them laugh. And the laughter was Roman."[2] We also know that Plautus was widely popular in Rome. Plays written by authors after his time were ascribed to Plautus in order to draw a greater crowd in the theater. Eventually, over 130 plays were attributed to him; the 20 plays that have come down to us were labeled as definitively Plautus in the late Republican period.[3]

And although Plautus composed his plays at the beginning of the 2rd century BC and Catullus wrote in the middle of the 1st century BC, it is possible to compare the attitudes of Catullus and Plautus due to the nature of Roman culture itself. The Romans believed that their culture had only degraded as time passed, and therefore constantly looked back in order to follow the *mos maiorum*, the acts of their ancestors.[4] This created a rather

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1 Erich Segal. *Roman Laughter* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 39. All translations of Catullus are my own; all other translations are listed in the bibliography.
2 Segal 1968, 7.
3 Amy Richlin. *Rome and the Mysterious Orient* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 10.
4 Beert C Verstraete. "Slavery and the Social Dynamics of Male Homosexual Relations in Ancient Rome." *Journal of Homosexuality* vol. 5, no. 3 (1980), 227- 236. 229.

static civilization, in which very little change occurred within society and culture. The Romans themselves believed their *res publica* had existed in more or less the same state since 509 BCE. Therefore, there is sufficient congruence between their cultural contexts and the Roman nature of their literature to allow us to consider the values and societal implications of the works of Catullus and Plautus in conjunction, despite their temporal distance and different working methods.

This is not to deny the fact that that Plautus and Catullus wrote in two very different genres and for two very different audiences. Catullus wrote poetry intended for an upper class literary circle, to whom he addressed some of his poems, and who would appreciate his wit and truly elegant style. In Catullus' poetry, though the abusive and sexual language can and is meant to be funny, the humor is more witty than truly comical. His loaded poems are meant for insult and demonstration of his literary talent rather than pure entertainment. Violence and sexual abuse is present mainly in Catullus' invective poetry, in which his ill-treatment is directed towards other aristocratic males. Though Catullus' poems can be aggressive and what we would call vulgar, they rise above the lower class genre of graffiti on account of their elegance.[5] According to David Wray, this mix of abuse and literary sophistication exemplifies Catullus' *urbanitas*, which turns this "poetic act of aggression into the performance of [the] 'poetics of manhood.'"[6] Thus, Catullus' poetry itself is a manifestation of his masculinity.

Plautus, on the other hand, wrote comedies for the *vulgus*, the slaves and commoners who would watch his comedies.[7] In his entertainment for commoners and slaves, we see a mockery of the aristocratic culture and especially of the notion of virility. At least half of Plautus' surviving plays contain jokes about the sexual submission of slaves.[8] Since the audience for these plays was the lower class—those who were themselves inferior and likely abused physically and sexually—it is important to understand how much reality the plays convey. Although Romans were extremely concerned with their own sexuality, they had no concern for the sexual desires of their slaves. Slaves were property and would be forced into whatever sexual category their masters desired, typically that of the passive object in intercourse. An important aspect of Plautus is not only slaves' assertion of their power, but an assertion of their own sexuality. There was a Roman stereotype of the adult man who both sexually submissive and preferred to be the passive sexual object, a *cinaedus*. It can be conjectured that there would have been no real social fear of the *cinaedus* since he was not seen as a threat; and there also must have been some form of pathic sub-

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5 Amy Richlin. *Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1.
6 David Wray. *Catullus and the Poetics of Roman Manhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124.
7 Richlin 2005, 21.
8 Marilyn B. Skinner. *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (Grand Rapids: Blackwell Limited, 2005), 214.

culture in Rome, and therefore individuals who identified with the taboo label of *cinaedus*.[9] Romans imposed this label, imposed this sexuality, upon their slaves and Plautus helps us to understand to what extent the slaves truly identified with this notion.

Of course, when analyzing the sexual rhetoric in their works and how they catered it to their audiences, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the cultural and sexual norms of Roman society. Roman social structure was defined by wealth and, while each rank had specific meanings and honors, the ultimate distinction between a Roman citizen and a slave was protection. In a social context this meant protection from sexual penetration and in a legal context protection from physical beatings and torture.[10] For example, to contrast the Roman attitudes: a Roman citizen was free from violence by any Roman magistrate, while the evidence of a slave was only trusted in court if it was given under torture.[11] In the Roman mind, physical abuse and sexual penetration were both forms of corporeal assault and were viewed as equivalent offenses.[12]

Roman society was not just a dichotomy of man/woman, patrician/plebian, freedman/slave, and so on. The social hierarchy, as we can see in these works of literature, is intrinsically tied to a sexual hierarchy. At the top are the *viri*, the "men." At least in his invective, this concept of a *vir* was the standard Catullus believed all Roman men should follow. These are not simply anatomical "men." Being a Roman *vir*, apart from conferring wealth and virtue, meant being beyond the threat of violence and abuse similar to the previous notion of guaranteed safety of the body. In a purely sexual manner, it meant being the superior, active player in all sexual relationships, the "impenetrable penetrator."[13] Rome did not define sexual relationships in modern homosexual/ heterosexual terms, but in terms of active/passive. For a *vir* to play the passive role in any sexual relationship was humiliating, and in the eyes of the Romans it reduced him to the status of a woman or slave.[14] According to Holt Parker, there are "exactly three things [a man] can do sexually: he can penetrate someone (male or female) in the mouth, anus or vagina."[15] Romans attached no stigma to the dominant partner in what we would define as homosexual activities; indeed, as long as his partner is not a freeborn citizen, male-male relationships were a demonstration of true

9 Amy Richlin. "Not before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the Cinaedus and the Roman Law Against Love Between Men." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* vol. 3 (Apr,. 1993): 523-73. 526.

10 Johnathan Walters. "Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought," in *Roman Sexualities*, ed. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner. 29-46 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 37.

11 Skinner 2005, 215.

12 Walters 1997, 39.

13 Walters 1997, 30

14 Anthony Corbeill. "Dining Deviants in Roman Political Invective." *Roman Sexualities*, ed. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, 99-128 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 111.

15 Holt N Parker. "The Teratogenic Grid." *Roman Sexualities,* ed. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, 47-65 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 53.

masculinity.[16] Thus, one of the worst insults, the worst reputation to have was that of the aforementioned *cinaedus* – a willing anal receiver. In literary tradition, a *cinaedus* would be characterized by effeminacy, a strolling gait, pretty hair, etc.[17]

These attitudes are readily apparent in Catullus' works. His love poems have earned him the reputation of being a great love elegist. However, his invective poetry is anything but tender. Catullus himself resolves this paradox best in Poem 16: "nam castum esse decet pium poetam/ ipsum, uersiculos nihil necesse est" (For the sacred poet ought to be chaste himself, his verses do not have to be). Perhaps this inferiority complex arises from his status as an outsider in Rome—perhaps, since he was from Verona, "he is determined to show himself as cool and supercilious as any aristocrat born on the Palatine."[18] Poem 16, addressed to his friends, Furius and Aurelius, is indeed a direct assertion of his masculinity:

> Pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo,
> Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi,
> qui me ex uersiculis meis putastis,
> quod sunt molliculi, parum pudicum.
> nam castum esse decet pium poetam
> ipsum, uersiculos nihil necesse est;
> qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,
> si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici,
> et quod pruriat incitare possunt,
> non dico pueris, sed his pilosis
> qui duros nequeunt mouere lumbos.
> uos, quod milia multa basiorum
> legistis, male me marem putatis?
> pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo.[19]

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16 Walters 1997, 54.
17 Corbeill 1997,118.
18 Skinner, 2005, 217.
19 Cat. 16: I will ass- and face-fuck you both,
Faggot Aurelius and buttfucked Furius,
You who think that I'm a pussy
Because of my delicate verses.
For the sacred poet ought to be chaste
himself, this is not necessary for his verses;
Verses which then have wit and charm,
If they are delicate and not at all chaste
And when they can incite an itch,
And I don't speak for boys, but for
Those hairy old men who can't get their dicks up.
You, because you read of my thousand kisses,

Furius and Aurelius had been mocking Catullus for his tender love poems. Catullus characterizes himself as the hyper-masculine poet, writing verses which are *salem ac leporem*, witty and elegant. He will violate Furius and Aurelius for their slight to his masculinity, which seems the proper action to take. While Catullus insults most others as being *pathicus* or *cinaedus*, in the case of Furius and Aurelius he is going to physically impose these labels on them himself. The verbs *pedicabo* et *irrumabo* mirror *pathice* et *cinaede*, the latter labels being the direct result the two first person verbs. These verbs are not only sexually but physically degrading as they contain senses of violence, rape and penetration. Like slaves, Furius and Aurelius are not given a choice about their sexuality; Catullus is giving assigning them a pathic sexuality that would befit a slave. Thus Furius and Aurelius are not *viri* - they are in actuality sex objects, and the opposite of *viri- pueri*.

In poem 33, Catullus again uses the word *cinaedus* as an insult in one of his harsher invectives. This piece is a mockery of an aristocratic male, Vibennus, whose son Catullus labels as a *cinaedus*, and moreover as a prostitute, claiming that he attempted to sell his body, albeit unsuccessfully.

> O furum optime balneariorum
> Vibenni pater et cinaede fili
> (nam dextra pater inquinatiore,
> culo filius est uoraciore),
> cur non exilium malasque in oras
> itis? quandoquidem patris rapinae
> notae sunt populo, et natis pilosas,
> fili, non potes asse uenditare.[20]

Catullus understands that the most effective way to insult an enemy is by means of attacking his sexuality. Vibennius has demonstrated a lack of morality and dignity by his thieving, and consequently does not deserve to be a Roman *vir*. Catullus automatically translates this into a lack of masculinity, which manifests itself not only in Vibennius, but also in his son. In labeling them as pathics, Catullus is both degrading their masculinity and increas-

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You think I'm bad at being a man?
I will ass- and face-fuck you both.

20 Cat. 33: Oh most talented thief of the bathhouses,
father Vibennius, and buttfucked son,
(for the handy father is more foul,
and the son more voracious with his asshole),
why not go into exile on miserable shores
Since the thieveries of the father are popular knowledge
And that hairy ass, son, are you not able to sell it for a penny?

ing his own masculinity by aggressively defending his personal property.

Catullus is placing Vibennius' son at the level of one of the stock characters in Plautus' comedies - a young male sex slave. In Rome, free boys were considered objects of desire, but it was not acceptable for a man to act upon that desire. This poem also hits upon another serious preoccupation of Roman men- the end of adolescence, when a man was still young, perhaps unable to assert his sexual masculinity, but too old to acceptably be a *puer delicatus.*[21] Catullus is implying that Vibennius' son has not matured, and seeks to remain in his young, effeminate state, as a sex slave would in order to continue as long as possible in such a profitable occupation.

The following interaction between slaves and a pimp from Plautus' Persa highlights the positions of slaves as objects of domination. However, since Plautus has inverted the social rules, the slave Toxilus is making fun of the pimp, Dordalus, by offering him as a *cinaedus* to another younger slave, Paegnium.

> Toxilus. Vin cinaedum novom tibi dari, Paegnium?
> quin elude, ut soles, quando liber locust hic.
> hui, babae, basilice te intulisti et facete.
> Paegnium. Decet me facetum esse, et hunc inridere
> lenonem lubidost, quando dignus est.
> Toxilus. Perge ut coeperas.
> Paegnium. Hoc, leno, tibi.
> Dordalus. Perii perculit me prope.
> Paegnium. Em, serva rusum.
> Dordalus. Delude, ut lubet, erus dum hinc abest.
> Paegnium. Viden ut tuis dictis pareo?
> sed quin tu meis contra item dictis servis
> atque hoc, quod tibi suadeo, facis?
> Dordalus. Quid est id?
> Paegnium. Restim tu tibi cape crassam ac suspende te.
> Dordalus. Cave sis me attigas, ne tibi hoc scipione
> malum magnum dem.
> Paegnium Vtere, te condono.
> Toxilus. Iam iam, Paegnium, da pausam.
> Dordalus. Ego pol vos eradicabo.[22]

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21 Marilyn B. Skinner. "Ego Mulier: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus," in *Roman Sexualities,* ed. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, 129-50 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 136.

22 Plaut. Pers. 5.2.805-820: Toxilus. Say, Paegnium, want a new partner? This is a place of freedom. Hey, what a come-on! Watch those hips!

Paegnium. They're worth the watching. I'm no amateur – I'd love to play with Dordalus. He's a pro too.

Toxilus. Keep it up kid.

Cinaedus is sometimes translated here as "partner," but in fact has a much more demeaning sense, our equivalent of "fag" or literally, "a buttfucked one." In actuality, Paegnium, a slave whose name means "plaything" or "darling" is the *cinaedus*, not Dordalus. In this role reversal Toxilus justifies Paegnium's need for a *cinaedus* with "*quando liber locust hic*," which is to say, "It's a free country, do what you want."

This brings up an essential word in Roman rhetoric, *libertas*. The notions of freedom, liberty, free speech, etc. were all contained in this word. Here, Plautus is laughing at those who value their "land of the free," yet force others to do their sexual bidding. Paegnium surprisingly rejects having the desire to penetrate a *cinaedus*, which according to Roman culture was an act that would have increased his masculinity. Paegnium, a slave, asserted his own sexual desires, something that Roman aristocrats overlooked and rejected. In this way, Plautus demonstrates a role reversal, where slaves not only have power, but they have sexual feelings and emotions which are reserved traditionally for *viri*.

The ancient Roman male is supposed to dominate everyone and everything. Inherent to Roman society, however, is the reality that there will always be one man superior to another.[23] Therefore, a Roman's masculinity can always be called into question; it is not a status bestowed upon birth, but an "achieved state."[24] In Catullus' poem 52, not even Julius Caesar is free from his biting lines. Insulting Julius Caesar, and then claiming the lines as one's own, was a bold move in the Late Republic. Catullus simultaneously degrades Caesar and Mamurra and affirms himself as a *vir*.

> Pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis,
> Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique.
> nec mirum: maculae pares utrisque,
> urbana altera et illa Formiana,
> impressae resident nec eluentur:
> morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique,
> uno in lecticulo erudituli ambo,

Paegnium. How do you like that, pimp?
Dordalus. Hey, damn it all, he nearly knocked me over!
Paegnium. Once more, with feeling.
Dordalus. You – you little bastard, so play your games, as long as your master's away.
Paegnium. That's what I'm doing – just what you tell me to. But now it's your turn to take advice from me.
Dordalus. What's that?
Paegnium. Find a strong rope and go hang yourself.
Dordalus. Keep your hands off, or I'll thrash you black and blue with this cane of mine.
Paegnium. I give you permission, try it.
Toxilus. Ah, that's enough of that Paegnium.
Dordalus. I'll wipe out the bloody lot of you.
23 Skinner 2005, 216.
24 Skinner 1997, 134.

> non hic quam ille magis uorax adulter,
> riuales socii puellularum.
> pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis.[25]

This poem places Caesar and Mammura, his close associate, in almost every role with a negative sexual connotation in Roman society. Not only are they both *cinaedii*, but Mamurra is a *pathicus*, and they even go after *puellulae*, little girls, which was illegal. In the same tone, his poem 29, addressed to *cinaede Romule*, is also understood to refer to Julius Caesar. The validity and impetus for these poems can perhaps never be known, but what we can take from them is that these acts were deemed embarrassing and unacceptable. Catullus, by labeling Caesar and Mamurra as submissive, equates them with slaves. What are they slaves to? Each other perhaps. We have existing rude solider songs discussing Caesar's sexual relationship with the King Nicomedes, implying sexual depravity, but also a subservience to him outside of the sexual realm. This is probably what Catullus is trying to show here, that Caesar and Mammura are not ruled by themselves, but by their desire. Desire is characterized here as sexual, but is probably meant to parallel their political ambitions or greed. We do know that Caesar forgave Catullus for his insults to his reputation, which suggests that we ought not to interpret Catullus as some form of upper class graffiti artist, but, "following Caesar's lead, we ought to regard Catullan polemic as blond and imaginative rather than mean-spirited."[26] If Julius Caesar, the conqueror, writer and statesman was not a true Roman man, who was?

Much of the humor in Plautus is directly derived from this notion of the ideal Roman man. In addition to his virtus, a Roman man was wholly preoccupied with his dignitas and gravitas, both of which were based on typical aristocratic and societal norms. The following passage is from Plautus' Curculio, "The Weevil," which contains advice from the slave Palinurus to Phaedromus, a free youth.

> Palinurus. Nemo hinc prohibet nec vetat,
> quin quod palam est venale, si argentum est, emas.
> nemo ire quemquam publica prohibet via;

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25 Cat. 52: It is coming together beautifully for those disgraceful buttfucked ones
Caesar and Mamurra the faggot
No wonder: the stains are equal for both,
One urban and the other Formian,
And retain an imprint that cannot be washed off,
They are equally debauched, and both are twins,
Both are experienced in one little bed,
Nor is this one a more voracious adulterer than that one
They are allied rivals even for little girls.
It is coming together beautifully for those disgraceful buttfucked ones.
26 Skinner 2005, 218

> dum ne per fundum saeptum facias semitam,
> dum ted abstineas nupta, vidua, virgine,
> iuventute et pueris liberis, ama quid lubet.

Palinurus is mocking the social mores of Roman society in which everyone is off limits; it is impossible to "love anyone you like." What wasn't "private property" was "whatever's for sale." Though Palinurus here is referring explicitly to prostitutes, a Roman man had to "purchase" all his sexual partners. Even marriages were treated as contracts between families and were mainly political alliances. A man's wife became, similar to a slave, his property. Other viable sexual options were purchased slaves or rented prostitutes. Thus, as long as the Roman man is operating within these approved sexual spheres, he is always in control of his sexual partners, dominating what becomes simply his own property. The passage also demonstrates the Roman notion of the purchased partners' the lack of sexuality. The Roman man can love anyone he likes, but whoever he chooses is forced to submit, regardless of his sexual desires and inclinations, to love the Roman man.

An example of Plautus' reversal of this Roman sexual hierarchy is present in his comedy *Persa*. The scene takes place at the end of the play, in a typical scene where the pimp has been defeated and is getting beaten up.

> Dordalus. Quae haec res est? ei, colapho me icit.malum vobis dabo.
> Toxilus. At tibi nos dedimus dabimusque etiam.
> Dordalus. Ei, natis pervellit.
> Paegnium. Licet: iam diu saepe sunt expunctae.[27]

Simply stealing the pimp's money and beating him up is not enough. He has to be humiliated. His ass is pinched, he is physically threatened, and he is labeled as a pathic. In this way the pimp is reduced to the status of the very slaves who are beating him up. Though we could take Paegnium's comment that his ass has been abused far more than their pinching as a sign that Dordalus is truly a *cinaedus*, it is more likely here that this is a simply a joke. As in the previous quote from *Persa*, Paegnium is making fun of Dordalus by ascribing his own position and treatment to him. Because he is not protected from beating and penetration, Dordalus is no longer a Roman citizen and therefore he no longer has that level of dignity and morality.

In the above passage, Plautus has completely reversed the system of the roles of

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27 Plaut. Pers. 5.2.846-850: Dordalus. What do you mean? Hey, ow! Hit me again like that and I'll fix you!
Toxilus. But you're the one we've fixed and are still fixing.
Dordalus. Stop that! He pinched my ass!
Paegnium. There, there, my friend.
It's been through lots before this.

slaves and citizens. Dordalus is the very opposite of what the typical Roman citizen should be: he is immoral, greedy and generally repulsive. The slaves, though perhaps not extremely laudable characters, have good intentions and end up the beneficiaries at the end of the play. Plautus is mocking the notion of domination in that the pimp who thinks he controls his slaves is really at their mercy, and by the end of the play he is even less of a man then they are.

An even more complete social reversal takes place in *Pseudolus*, in which the slave Pseudolus usurps the power not of the low class pimp, but his own master, and the master is in debt as well as at the mercy of the slave. Pseudolus has managed to trick the pimp and obtain the prostitute-girlfriend for his master's son, the *amans* et *egens*.

> Simo. Quid ego huic homini faciam? satin ultro et argentum aufert et me inridet?
> Pseudolus. Vae victis.
> Simo. Vorte ergo umerum.
> Pseudolus. Em.
> Simo. Hoc ego numquam ratus sum fore me, ut tibi fierem supplex. heu heu heu.
> Pseudolus. Desine.
> Simo. Doleo.
> Pseudolus. Ni doleres tu, ego dolerem.
> Simo. Quid? hoc auferen, Pseudole mi, aps tuo ero?
> Pseudolus. Lubentissimo corde atque animo.
> Simo. Non audes, quaeso, aliquam partem mihi gratiam facere hinc argenti?
> Pseudolus. Non: me dices avidum esse hominem nam hinc numquam eris nummo divitior; neque te mei tergi misereret, si hoc non hodie ecfecissem.[28]

28 Plaut. Pseud. 1316-1324: Simo. What am I going to do with him? He intends to take my money and publicly humiliate me as part of the bargain.
Pseudolus. Woe to the vanquished!
Simo. I never thought I'd be brought so low, on my knees before you! Oh dear, oh dear, oh dear!
Pseudolus. Now cut that out!
Simo. Just think how I suffer!
Pseudolus. I'm thinking how I'd be suffering if you weren't.
Simo. You really intend to take this from your own dear master?
Pseudolus. With the greatest possible pleasure.
Simo. Oh now, dear Pseudolus. Do please let me keep some of it for myself.
Pseudolus. No way ! Call me a greedy cheeky Greeky slave, but you'll never get a penny. How much mercy would you have shown my hide and backside, if I'd failed today?

Pseudolus contrasts his treatment of his master Simo with the way he has and would have been abused and beaten. Thus the viewer understands that Simo, supposedly a *vir*, the dominator and abuser of Pseudolus, is not truly so masculine. Earlier in the play, Simo's role as the *pater familias* is undermined when his son Calidorus encourages Pseudolus to try and steal the money he needs from Simo. Though Pseudolus does not have to resort to this, he nevertheless is successful; Simo has lost a bet, and as a result his ever important dignity. Simo is the one who has to beg for mercy- he is physically on his knees before Pseudolus. He has completely relinquished his *dignitas* to a slave and, in essence, his masculinity. Though there are no explicit sexual aspects of this interaction, one's power and station is his sexuality. Therefore, if Pseudolus has physical power over Simo, it can be assumed he also has sexual power and dominance.

The passages from Plautus have demonstrated a pervasive theme in which the powerful man, the typical penetrator, is actually at the mercy of the penetrated. Roman slavery was intensely fluid, since it was not (theoretically) based on race or ethnicity, and by some change in fate any free man could become a slave and any slave could be freed.[29] This theme is present throughout Plautus and refers to the aforementioned Catullan notion that a Roman man's masculinity was by no means stable and birth-given. As is shown in Pseudolus, one's masculinity, one's dominance, and thus reputation and perhaps even freedom can easily be lost. Plautus is showing us that the superior Simo could easily be the penetrated Pseudolus. Even though Simo, demonstrated by his beating of Pseudolus, has gone to great lengths to assert his masculinity, it has been in vain.

The poems of Catullus, and indeed most of our literature from ancient Rome, demonstrate Rome as a rich man's world. The "Rome" we know represents the lifestyles and values of a small percentage of men. Plautus could be seen as a way to understand Roman society outside of the Forum. While Catullus is no Cicero, he attempts to describe the characteristics which a Roman man should have. More importantly, Catullus demands that others demonstrate these characteristics in his own time. His invective poetry highlights those mores that a Roman man should follow and thus sheds light on what was proper. Plautus brings to our attention the dark side of such a culture - a downtrodden underclass that is more than willing to laugh at itself. Through an inversion of society, he shows us a lower class eager to see an upper class based on domination, righteousness, and *gravitas*, fall and suffer humiliation; Plautus deconstructs what it means to be a Roman man.

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29 Verstraete 1980, 230

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The Battle of Adrianople: A Reappraisal

By Robert Eisenberg

The Battle of Adrianople (AD 378) is perhaps one of the most studied battles in history. It is seen as a major turning point in both the history of the Roman Empire and in the evolution of warfare. There have been numerous studies of the causes the battle and its outcome, yet each one tends to focus on one particular cause. This study will present a synthesized appraisal of the reasons behind the Roman defeat at Adrianople, including both proximate and ultimate causes. While there are many determining factors in the course of any battle, this paper will focus on the setting of the encounter, as well as on long-term general trends in the composition of the Roman Army and the evolution of 'barbarian' policy. Additionally, the short-term causes for the strengths and weaknesses of both armies, the role of the commanders, the function of intelligence gathering, as well as the 'God' factor will be examined.

The principal source for the Battle of Adrianople is the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus. Ammianus' account is generally considered to be the most trustworthy and accurate, as he wrote within a short period after the battle, and was himself a military man, thus knowledgeable of technical details. Ammianus' credibility is further supported by the fact that he openly confesses when he is unsure of details and presents opposing viewpoints instead of only including his own.[1] However, there are certain weaknesses in his account. He is occasionally inaccurate with regards to geographical position and chronology.[2] Moreover, as a pagan, Ammianus tends to moralize about the general decline of Roman society, for which he blames Christianity, an accusation which carries over into his descriptions of individuals. Finally, Ammianus often neglects to give a description of the course of major battles, instead focusing on creating dramatic rhetoric.[3]

The other source for the battle is the pagan Zosimus, who attempts to trace the decline of the Roman Empire from a pagan perspective. Zosimus tends to take a negative attitude towards Christianity, and he is openly hostile to several Christian emperors, blaming them for Rome's decline. The ecclesiastical historians, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret all briefly mention the Battle of Adrianople, though not in detail. Moreover, they usually refer to the battle as an act of divine punishment for the sins of Valens and the empire as a whole. Thus, Zosimus, as well as the Christian historians, cannot be trusted to give unbiased accounts.[4]

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1 Regarding the death of Valens, for example. See Amm. Marc. 31.13.12-16.
2 See Amm. Marc. 31.11.1-2 and 31.12.1-3.
3 Gary A. Crump, *Ammianus Marcellinus as a Military Historian* (Wiesbaden: Franz -Steiner Verlag, 1975), 95-96.
4 See Zos. 4.24; Soz. Hist. eccl. 6.40; Theod. 4.32. Only Socrates Scholasticus admits that there are differing accounts (Soc. Hist. eccl. 4.38). See also Crump 1975, 29-30.

Before any detailed analysis of the Battle of Adrianople can be made, the exact location of the battle must be established. None of the ancient sources indicate the precise location, but provide only a general description of the geography.[5] While Ammianus is not particularly helpful in this regard, some hints can nonetheless be gleaned from his account. Ammianus specifies that Valens' army had to march over "broken ground" for eight Roman miles (7.4 miles), along what modern scholars believe was an east-northeast road leading to the edges of the Haemus Mountains.[6] (See Figure 1) On the other hand, the eighteenth century historian Edward Gibbon, using the later account of Hydatius, argues that Valens actually marched twelve Roman miles (11 miles), as he supposes eight miles to be too small a distance for a great Gothic army.[7] However, Gibbon relies on a source which is greatly distanced in time from the battle; further, his argument rests in reconciling distances in light of presumed army strengths. However, the strength of ancient armies tended to be grossly inflated in the sources. Instead of increasing the distance of the battlefield from the city of Adrianople to accommodate the army strengths, these strength estimates should be reduced to fit within the distance recorded by Ammianus, a more reliable and contemporary author. Modern scholars have furnished better researched hypotheses as to the location of the battle. The general consensus is that the battle was fought in the northwestern corner of modern Turkey, close to the Bulgarian border. The village of Muratçali lies approximately eight Roman miles from Adrianople (modern Edirne). Muratçali is situated among low hills (which in Roman times were likely cultivated with vineyards and olive groves), and a nearby spring, which would make the spot ideal for the Visigoth camp, as it was well supplied and easily defended by placing the wagon laager on the high ground.[8]

Changes in the Roman Armies

The Roman legions in the later Empire were not of the same size or superiority as they had been during the Republic and early Empire. Ammianus documents on several occasions the small size of late Roman legions. In 356, Ammianus mentions that Julian's rearguard of two legions was attacked and almost destroyed. He also writes that at Strasbourg in 357, Julian's entire forces numbered only 13,000, implying that these two legions would have been quite small as well.[9] Moreover, when describing the siege of Amida of 359, he notes that there were perhaps 20,000-25,000 people trapped in the city, including

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5 See Hans Delbrück, *History of the Art of War within the Framework of Political History: The Germans,* trans. Walter J. Renfroe, Jr. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), 281.

6 Amm. Marc. 31.12.11; Crump 1975, 93.

7 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. II (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1845), 516.

8 Soz. Hist. eccl. 6.40; Alessandro Barbero, *The Day of the Barbarians: The Battle that Led to the Fall of the Roman Empire*, trans. John Cullen (New York: Walker & Company, 2005), 100.

9 Amm. Marc. 16.2.10, 16.12.2.

seven legions.[10] His description of the city as *civitatis ambitum non nimium amplae*[11] would imply a small percentage of civilians. M.J. Nicasie suggests that there were 5,000 citizens and another 2,500 refugees, which would leave room for approximately 15,000 soldiers to make up these seven legions plus the existing city garrison. At most then, Nicasie calculates that each legion could have included 1,500 men and as few as 1,000 men.[12] Similarly, Ammianus mentions that in 373, the Armenian king Para routed a Roman legion with a force of only 300 men.[13] Likewise, Zosimus writes that Julian's army in Gaul in 355 consisted solely of 360 men who were badly armed.[14] In another example from Britain in 456, four 'companies' of British soldiers were killed, totalling 4,000 men, again implying groupings of 1,000 men.[15]

This shrinking of legion strength underlines the Romans' increasing difficulties with recruitment. Valens had always found it difficult to maintain his army's strength through recruitment, and after 369 (following the battle against Athanaric at Isaccea), he was no longer able to use the auxiliary forces supplied by the Goths.[16] Likewise, Julian's barbarian recruits had only enlisted on the condition that they not be forced to serve beyond the Alps.[17] The fact that the Romans would acquiesce to such a demand clearly shows their overwhelming need for these soldiers.

The decline in fighting power forced the Romans to rely increasingly on barbarian troops. There was a common practice of swelling imperial armies before major campaigns by hiring Germanic and Hunnic soldiers.[18] Interestingly, the 'barbarisation' of the Roman army was perceived as weakening the discipline and training of the legions, which was their traditional advantage over the barbarians.[19] However, by the time of Adrianople, the barbarian soldiers were considered among the best units.[20] Another effect of the 'barbarisation' of the army was a change in the structure of the army, evident in the increasing shift towards cavalry. Whereas in the early Imperial period, the ratio of cavalry to infantry was approximately one to ten or twelve, by Adrianople, it was one to three.[21]

Valens' armies were spread thinly around the Eastern Empire in garrisons. In order to deal

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10 Amm. Marc. 19.2.14.

11 Amm. Marc. 19.2.14: meaning that there was a small civilian population in this city.

12 M.J. Nicasie, *Twilight of Empire: The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1998), 70.

13 Amm. Marc. 30.1.5-7.

14 Zos. 3.3.

15 Nicasie 1998, 71.

16 Noel Lenski, *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 324.

17 Amm. Marc. 20.4.4.

18 Bryan Ward-Perkins, The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 38.

19 Nicasie 1998, 100.

20 Barbero 2005, 102.

21 Richard A. Gabriel and Donald W. Boose, Jr., *The Great Battles of Antiquity: A Strategic and Tactical Guide to Great Battles that Shaped the Development of War* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991), 442.

with the Gothic threat, he was forced to withdraw forces from Isauria and to settle a truce with the Persians and Arabs in order to be able to withdraw his forces from the east. He further requested reinforcements from the west from Gratian. These actions illustrate the weakness of Roman military strength.[22] Nevertheless, Roman generals still commanded the army and the soldiers were well trained and supplied, thus demonstrating that while the Roman armies were not as strong as they once were, they were by no means on the verge of collapse, and were still an effective fighting force.[23]

Changes in Roman Policy towards the Barbarians

Since the withdrawal from Dacia in 271-72 under Aurelian, the Romans had been able to control the Danube frontier largely by using the river as a first line of defence. However, after campaigning on the far side of the Danube, Valens was forced to conclude a truce with the leader of the Tervingi, Athanaric, in 369, as he was unable to defeat him in a decisive battle. The lasting animosity between Valens and Athanaric caused Valens to support Athanaric's rival, Fritigern, who later usurped Athanaric's role as leader of the Tervingi.[24] Then, in 376, Valens agreed to Fritigern's request to settle his people within the Roman Empire, and even aided them in their crossing of the Danube. Ammianus sees this concession of land to the Goths as one of the ultimate causes of both the disaster at Adrianople, as well as the 'decline' of the empire,[25] since by ceding the Danube willingly, the Romans had abandoned their best defence against the barbarians.

Once the Goths and Romans were at war in 376-77, the primary Roman army in the Balkans under Lupicinus was annihilated at a battle nine miles from Marcianople, effectively leaving the Goths unchallenged for another two years, and forcing Valens to raise a new field army.[26] Valens nonetheless waited over a full year before reluctantly moving his forces westward to counter the threat, a delay Ammianus criticizes heavily.[27] However, as has already been shown, Valens could not be faulted for his late arrival as he needed time to levy his troops from their garrisons and to conclude treaties on his eastern border.

The Opposing Armies: Romans

While it is necessary to understand the ultimate cause of the Roman defeat at Adrianople, the proximate causes must also be addressed. One of the most important of these was the composition of the two armies. The size of Valens' army at Adrianople is

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22 Lenski 2002, 356.
23 Gabriel and Boose 1991, 444; Nicasie 1998, 100.
24 Soc. 4.33.
25 Amm. Marc. 31.4.5. See also Soc. *Hist. eccl.* 4.34.
26 Amm. Marc. 31.5.9.
27 Amm. Marc. 31.11.1; Soc. Hist. eccl. 4.38. This delay could have been due to Valens' fear of 'Asia' which resulted from a foreboding prophecy he received. Amm. Marc. 31.14.8.

extremely difficult to calculate, as Ammianus only mentions a few units by name,[28] leaving modern historians to debate over its size. The high-end estimate places the number of Roman soldiers at 35,000-40,000 men and horse, however the general consensus is that the army numbered significantly less.[29] Nicasie argues that since Valens was confident enough to face Fritigern without reinforcements from Gratian,[30] then his force must have been equal or slightly superior to that of the Goths, thus totalling approximately 20,000 men.[31] The lower number is preferred for two main reasons. As already discussed, Valens had great difficulty in filling his ranks, and cannot be expected to have had such a great number of available soldiers without denuding all of his garrisons. Moreover, by the time he arrived in Constantinople from Antioch, his forces and their quality had diminished. He had lost control of any remaining forces in Thrace, while his *comitatenses* (field army) had been thinned by the Battle of Ad Salices (377).[32]

In terms of armaments, the Roman soldier at Adrianople was arrayed with weaponry that would have been unrecognisable to earlier Roman armies. The *gladius* sword had been replaced by the barbarian *spatha*, while the *pilum* had given way to a stabbing spear which was more useful against cavalry. Moreover, the straight-sided *scutum* shield was replaced with a light oval shield, while most legionnaires had little (if any) body armour. Even the traditional Roman helmet was replaced by the lighter barbarian *intercisa*[33] (see figures 2 and 3). Unfortunately for the Roman soldiers at Adrianople, after a prolonged fight, most of their spears would have been broken, leaving them with only their *spatha* swords, weapons which were ineffective against cavalry.[34]

Morale was also an important factor, and before the battle it was in fact quite low. When Valens reached Constantinople on May 30, 378, he was met by a rioting populace which undoubtedly demoralised his troops.[35] Furthermore, Valens was forced to appease his soldiers by paying them and by "frequently addressing them in courteous speeches,"[36] while also pressing a number of veterans back into service.[37] Thus, in terms of manpower, it appears as if the Romans had a slight advantage, yet the soldiers' armaments and morale put them at a disadvantage.

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28 Amm. Marc. 31.12.16, 31.13.8-9, 31.14.18.
29 Gabriel and Boose 1991, 452.
30 The difficulty associated with Valens' intelligence reports on Gothic troop levels will be discussed later.
31 Nicasie 1998, 246. Barbero agrees with this figure, but arrives at it by constructing the total size from the casualty figures (Barbero 2005, 102).
32 Soc. *Hist. eccl.* 4.38; Soz. *Hist. eccl.* 6.39; Amm. Marc. 31.7.1-2. While '*comitatenses*' literally translates into 'company,' it more accurately means 'field army,' the connotation being that it was used as a mobile force and was not used to hold the frontier line (this was the task of the *limitanei*).
33 Gabriel and Boose 1991, 439.
34 Barbero 2005, 110.
35 Amm. Marc. 31.11.1; Soc. *Hist. eccl.* 4.38; Soz. *Hist. eccl.* 6.39.
36 Amm. Marc. 31.11.1.
37 Amm. Marc. 31.12.1; Zos. 4.23.

The Opposing Armies: Goths

  While the Roman scouts placed Gothic strength at 10,000 men,[38] the actual number was likely substantially higher. The historian Hans Delbrück places the number of Gothic soldiers at 12,000-15,000, a number extrapolated from logistical constraints. He notes that the Goths' march from Cabyle to Adrianople could only have occurred on one specific road along the left bank of the Tundscha River via the Bujuk Derbent Pass. Delbrück infers that Fritigern's army must have been small enough to march along this single road, and that the column was not more than one day's march long, so as not to risk a premature confrontation with the Romans.[39] Thus, to the 12,000-15,000 soldiers must be added another 55,000 non-combatants and slaves, totalling approximately 70,000 people, plus another 20,000-30,000 deserting Germanic allies.[40]

  However, while the size of the Gothic army can be established at 12,000-15,000 soldiers, its composition must still be explored. While Ammianus' account credits the Gothic victory to their overwhelming cavalry,[41] modern scholars believe that it was unlikely that Gothic cavalry was very large, due to the increased pressure on supplies needed to maintain horses, as well as the legitimate point that the Romans would not have allowed the Goths to keep many horses upon their admittance into the empire. Also, it seems likely that the Goths would have sold whatever horses they had been allowed to keep for food during the famine in 376. Thus, the Gothic cavalry can be realistically estimated to have numbered no more than 3,000-4,000.[42]

  It is important to note that the modern term 'Goths' is misleading, as the Gothic peoples were actually divided into many, often rival, groups. However, by 378, Roman hostility and maltreatment had forced the various peoples who had by then crossed the Danube to unite into a single army under Fritigern.[43] Between 376 and 378, Fritigern's Tervingi was joined by the Greuthungi under Alatheus and Saphrax, escaped Roman slaves, and by numerous other Gothic tribes, Alans and even Huns.[44] Perhaps most interesting, is that Ammianus ceases to refer to Fritigern's forces as Tervingi and begins to call them either *Gothi* or *barbari*.[45]

  As with the Romans, the Goths' weaponry is well documented. Valens' admittance of the Goths into Roman territory in 376 was conditional upon their surrender of their weapons to the Romans, a process which was relatively successful, as Ammianus writes that in the early battles between Goths and Romans, many Goths armed themselves

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38 Amm. Marc. 31.12.3. The intelligence factor will be dealt with later.
39 Delbrück 1980, 276-78.
40 Gabriel and Boose 1991, 448-51.
41 Amm. Marc. 31.12.17.
42 Nicasie 1998, 245.
43 Ward-Perkins 2005, 50.
44 Amm. Marc. 31.5.4, 31.6.1, 31.7.7, 31.8.4, 31.9.3.
45 Amm. Marc. 31.5.8-9; See also Lenski 2002, 331.

with the weapons of fallen Romans, and some even fought with clubs at the Battle of Ad Salices.[46] However, Zosimus concludes that this policy was largely irrelevant, since in the confusion that followed the initial river crossing, many barbarians were able to smuggle their weapons.[47]

Regarding the weaponry of the Gothic infantry, the Roman military tactician Vegetius implies that a large part of the force was archers, as he writes that Gothic arrows were the cause of many Roman defeats.[48] The rest of the infantry was armed with the scramasax (short sword) or the spatha (long sword), while others carried the fransica (battle-axe) which could easily split Roman shields and helmets. Some of them also carried wooden shields which protected them from the opening sally of Roman arrows, while the use of the wagon laager for defence paralleled the functions of the Roman field camps.[49] Another interesting advantage enjoyed by Fritigern's army over previous Gothic forces was that a large number of its soldiers had served previously in the Roman army, and were thus well-acquainted with the terrain and with Roman military doctrine.[50]

The Role of the Commanders: Romans

Commanders often play important roles in determining the outcome of a battle, and Adrianople is a prime example of this. At Adrianople, the outcome of the battle was decisively influenced by the actions of the Gothic commander, Fritigern, and by the inability of the Roman commanders to react effectively. The blame for the Roman disaster can thus be placed jointly on Valens himself and on his generals.

Under Valens the military bureaucracy was expanded so that there were two *praesentales* (commanders' of the imperial escort army), one *magister equitum per Orientem* (master of the horse in the Prefecture of the East) and two more each of *magister peditum* (master of the foot troops) and magister equitum (master of the horse), thus totalling seven *magistri* in the eastern Empire.[51] As if this excessive bureaucracy was not harmful enough (for reasons that will be seen later), Ammianus notes that two of his generals, Profuturus and Trajan were "both officers of rank and ambition, but of no great skill in war."[52]

Furthermore, Valens' reception of Fritigern's emissary – "a presbyter of the Christian religion (as he called himself)"[53] – has often been interpreted as a 'weak spot' of Valens for Arian magistrates. This acceptance of Fritigern's delaying tactic can be seen as

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46 Amm. Marc. 31.6.3, 31.5.9, 31.7.12.
47 Zos. 4.20.
48 Veg. Mil. 1.20.
49 J.F.C. Fuller, *A Military History of the Western World From the Earliest times to the Battle of Lepanto* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1954), 268; Gabriel and Boose 1991, 449; Barbero 2005, 107.
50 Fuller 1954, 268; Delbrück 1980, 269; Gabriel and Boose 1991, 449.
51 N.J.E. Austin and N.B. Rankov, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople* (London: Routledge, 1995), 229.
52 Amm. Marc. 31.7.1.
53 Amm. Marc. 31.12.8.

an attempt by Valens to also delay the battle so that Gratian's reinforcements would have time to arrive, without Valens being aware that the Gothic cavalry was on its way back to the battlefield.[54] However, as will be examined, this defence is unlikely, as Valens did not want Gratian to arrive before the battle began.

While Ammianus describes Valens' vices, he neglects to mention his pride, which the ecclesiastical historians tend to focus on, perhaps because of its religious implications. In their histories, Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen both write that Valens was provoked to rush out of Constantinople to battle as a result of the taunts of cowardice he experienced in the city.[55] Similarly, Valens' pride prevented him from acknowledging the military knowledge of his generals; Theodoret writes that Valens "spurned [his] excellent counsellors."[56] Valens' religious beliefs may have played a role in his disregard for his advisors' warnings. His Arian beliefs likely precluded cooperation and actually sparked enmity with one of his chief commanders, Victor, who was a zealous Catholic.[57] Likewise, Ammianus blames Valens for his reluctance to share the glory of the assumed victory over the Goths, and portrays him as openly jealous of his young nephew.[58] While this may very likely be true, it is possible that Valens, remembering his inability to inflict a decisive blow on Athanaric, resolved to attack Fritigern as quickly as possible to prevent him from escaping into the countryside.[59]

As previously mentioned, Valens' expansion of the military bureaucracy had profoundly detrimental effects. Valens' military staff was fractured in its advice to the emperor over what course of action to take regarding Fritigern's entreaties. Ammianus writes,

> Some, following the advice of Sebastian, recommended with urgency that he should at once go forth to battle; while Victor, master-general of the cavalry, a Sarmatian by birth, but a man of slow and cautious temper, recommended him to wait for his imperial colleague, and this advice was supported by several other officers, who suggested that the reinforcement of the Gallic army would be likely to awe the fiery arrogance of the barbarians.[60]

One historian explains this internal division in terms of petty jealousy between the commanders. Sebastian's recent successes against raiding Gothic bands had likely aroused envy

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54 For the attack on Valens see Gibbon 1845, 516. For his defence, see Delbrück 1980, 274.
55 Soc. *Hist. eccl.* 4.38; Soz. *Hist. eccl.* 6.39.
56 Theod. *Hist. eccl.* 4.32.
57 Barbero 2005, 95.
58 Amm. Marc. 31.12.1, 31.12.7.
59 Zos. 4.24; Nicasie 1998, 244.
60 Amm. Marc. 31.12.7. According to Zosimus, Sebastian recommended not to attack at once, but to delay until Gratian arrived (Zos. 4.23).

in his fellow generals, and therefore, they advised the emperor to withhold from battle not because it was a prudent strategy, but because it would undermine Sebastian's credibility.[61]

Similarly, this internecine conflict between the generals may have contributed to the two major tactical errors of the battle. By the time the Roman forces had arrived at the Gothic camp, they had been on a forced march for eight miles without food, drink or rest, factors which Ammianus notes hindered their ability to fight effectively.[62] Likewise, Sozomen explains that the Romans were attacked by the Gothic cavalry before they had deployed into battle formation, while Ammianus adds that the Roman forces were still stretched out along the road[63] (see figure 4). These tactical errors resulted solely from the generals' lack of preparation.

The Role of the Commanders: Goths

Very little is known about the Gothic leadership or preparations for the battle, except what was seen from the Roman perspective. Ammianus credits Fritigern's use of delaying tactics, including the Christian emissary, as well as the secret correspondence and attempts to negotiate a truce as strategically necessary, so that the cavalry under Alatheus and Saphrax could have time to return.[64] Moreover, Fritigern was able to exacerbate the Roman soldiers' thirst and fatigue by setting fire to the surrounding crops so that the smoke would irritate them, as well as have the added benefit of confusing the Roman troop deployment.[65]

As a whole, the Gothic military leadership can be seen as extremely experienced and tough, as these elite Goths would have either served with, or fought against, the Imperial army in the past, creating a form of 'hybrid' commander who was able to anticipate the strengths and weaknesses of their enemy. However, implicit in Ammianus' account is that Fritigern's control over his army was tenuous, as each of the various tribal chiefs still maintained absolute control over their own forces, and only submitted to Fritigern's authority out of necessity.[66] For example, the Greuthungi were led by their king Vitheric and his generals Alatheus and Saphrax, yet some also followed the rex Farnobius, while Sueridas and Colias likely maintained control over their forces. Similarly, the Alans and Huns in his army were mercenaries and presumably obeyed their own commanders, while even Fritigern had to share control of the Tervingi with Alavivus.[67] While the relatively <u>short and successf</u>ul nature of the battle minimised any leadership conflicts for the Goths,

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61 Fuller 1954, 270-71.
62 Amm. Marc. 31.12.13. This may also have prompted Vegetius to advise that soldiers should be given a "moderate refreshment of food before an engagement, so that their strength might be the better supported during a long conflict" (Veg. Mil. 3.11).
63 Soz. *Hist. eccl.* 6.40; Amm. Marc. 31.12.12.
64 Amm. Marc. 31.12.8-9, 12-15.
65 Amm. Marc. 31.12.13.
66 Lenski 2002, 332.
67 Amm. Marc. 31.5.4, 31.9.3, 31.6.1, 31.8.4.

had the Romans turned the tide of the battle, it is likely that Fritigern's authority would have crumbled and the Gothic alliance would have fractured.

Much has been made by both ancient and modern historians over the failure of Roman intelligence gathering at Adrianople, as "those who had been sent forward to reconnoitre (what led to such a mistake is unknown) affirmed that their [the Gothic] entire body did not exceed ten thousand men."[68] There have been several attempts to understand this figure, yet the most plausible explanation is that (based on the previous assessment of Gothic army strength at 12,000-15,000 infantry) the figure reported by the Roman reconnaissance units only counted the Gothic forces stationed within the wagon laager, as the cavalry would have been away foraging. However, fault for the disaster lies on the generals, who should have known that the Gothic cavalry would not be gone long, and thus that the attack would commence immediately.[69] Valens' decision to move out of the city to confront the Goths can be seen as an attack of opportunity, which failed only because Valens hesitated at the last moment.[70]

Conversely, Gothic intelligence gathering was quite successful at Adrianople. Fritigern's scouts were able to detect the approaching Roman army early enough so that he had time to recall his foraging cavalry in time for battle.[71] Likewise, in 378, an Alan soldier on leave from service in the Roman army told his countrymen that Gratian was soon to march east with a large force to aid Valens. Thus, the Lentienses took the opportunity to begin raiding Roman territory, forcing Gratian to delay his march eastwards, and leaving Valens to face the Goths alone.[72] While this case cannot be taken as an example of some type of pan-Germanic unity or alliance, it is representative of the dangers of having Germanic peoples serving in the Roman army.

While it cannot be rationally entertained that the Roman disaster at Adrianople was divinely ordained as punishment for Valens' personal sins, it must be mentioned, as the ecclesiastical authors cite it as the prime reason for the outcome of the battle. Sozomen writes that the defeat at Adrianople was punishment for Valens' refusal to heed the monk Isaac's warnings to return the churches to Catholic control, while Theodoret claims that God abandoned the Romans because of Valens' heretical actions.[73]

The Battle of Adrianople was a Roman military disaster. The outcome was determined by the culmination of the long-term changing trends in the structure of the Roman army as well as changes in Roman barbarian policy. The short-term factors of increasingly less effective Roman soldiers, more effective Goths, the importance of strong commanders and the necessity of adequate intelligence gathering all played a supporting role in the Roman

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68 Amm. Marc. 31.12.3.
69 Austin and Rankov 1995, 52.
70 Austin and Rankov 1995, 241.
71 Gabriel and Boose 1991, 458.
72 Amm. Marc. 31.10.5; Nicasie 1998, 157.
73 Soz. Hist. eccl. 6.40; Theod. Hist. eccl. 4.30.

defeat. Although the Battle of Adrianople was a catastrophe, by 382 the Romans and Goths had made peace, and the Goths were allowed to settle in Thrace in exchange for military service. Thus, as Nicasie notes, "in the end, the Gothic war ended as the Emperor Valens had wished, and it does not seem that the defeat at Adrianople made much of a difference at all."[74]
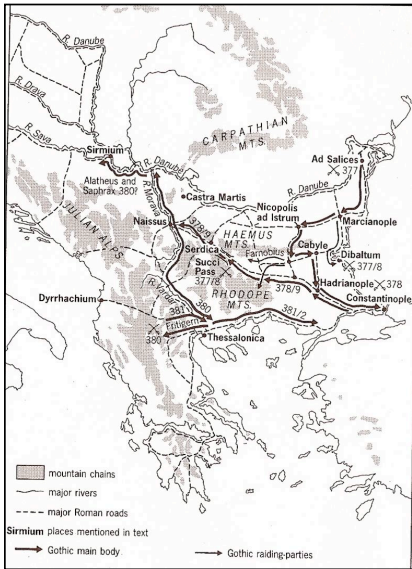
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74 Nicasie 1998, 254.

Appendix

Fig 1: The Gothic War from Ad Salices to the conclusion of peace, 377-82. P.J. Heather, *Goths and Romans 332-489* (Oxford, 1991), 143.
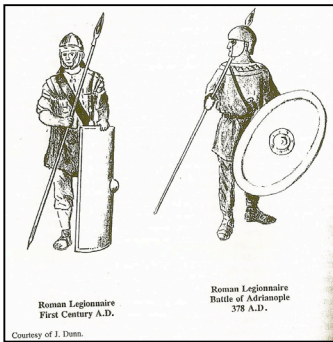

Fig. 2: Roman Military Equipment. Gabriel and Boose, 437.

Fig 3: Roman Legionnaire, First and Fourth Centuries. Gabreil and Boose, 440.
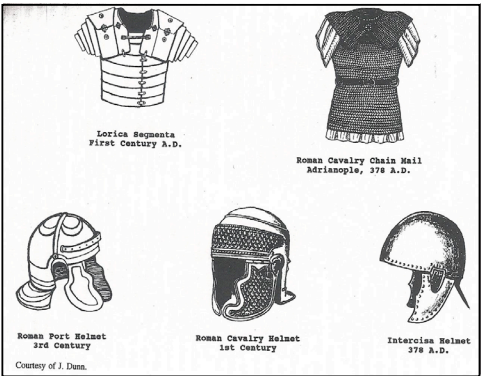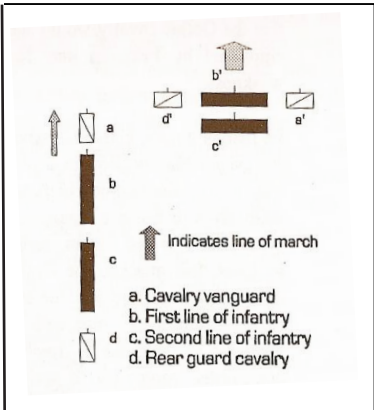

Fig 4: The Battle of Adrianople, deployment of the Roman army from marching column iontoline of battle. Nicasie, 247.

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The Evolution of the Study of the Hellenistic Period

By Paul Ioan Vădan

Perhaps no discipline in the academic tradition has enjoyed more scholarly interest than the study of the ancient world, referred to in universities as "Classical Studies". To this day, the texts of ancient historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides, along with the historical phenomenon of the rise of Rome "from village to Empire," are considered fundamental cultural monuments of European civilization.[1] The two most important "lieux de mémoire" are Athens and Rome. Their history and languages have produced endless fascination in both scholars and amateurs in the study of antiquity. However, often omitted between the Aegean control of Classical Athens and the Roman dominance over the entire Mediterranean, is a gap of several centuries summarily filled with the heroic image of the short and explosive reign of Alexander the Great. The history, culture, states, religions and individuals of these intermediate centuries, were virtually devoid of any serious scholarship until the 19th century. With a view to explaining this paradox within the context of the evolution of Classical Studies, this paper seeks to analyze scholarly tendencies and breakthroughs in order to identify the distinct character of what has been conventionally called the Hellenistic Age as a historical period worthy of professional study in its own right.

A famous story recorded by the Roman historian Suetonius relates that Augustus, having just defeated both Marc Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, sailed to Egypt to claim the Ptolemaic kingdom as conquered territory in the name of Rome. While there, "he paid homage to the sarcophagus containing the remains of Alexander the Great. […] When he was asked if he would also like to view the tomb of the Ptolemies, he replied that he wanted to see a king, not dead bodies."[2] This anecdote captures the perception of the Hellenistic Age that has continued until modern times. Andrew Erskine notes that, "the dismissive outlook evident in the story reflects a general and continuing neglect of the Greek world after Alexander."[3] Indeed, even as late as the 19th century, George Grotte, a liberal historian, could still write in the preface of his History of Greece that "as a whole, the period between 300 BC and the absorption of Greece by the Romans is of no interest in itself, and is only so far of value as it helps us to understand the preceding centuries."[4]

Such unequivocal dismissal of the Hellenistic period was fuelled in great part by the Roman historiographical tradition through authors such as Polybios, Livy and Tacitus, who equated "Greekness" with oriental effeminacy.[5] Influenced by such dismissive

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[1] Mary Boatwright, *The Romans: From Village to Empire*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[2] Sue. *Aug*. 18.
[3] Andrew Erskine, "Approaching the Hellenistic World," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. Andrew Erskine Malden (MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 1.
[4] George Grotte quoted by Peter Green, *The Hellenistic Age* (New York, NY: The Modern Library, 2007), xv.
[5] Claire Préaux, *Le Monde Hellénistique*, vol I (Paris, France: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), 6; Polyb.

Roman perceptions, early modern historians consequently interpreted the victory of Philip II of Macedonia over the Greeks at Chaeronea in 338 BC as the death of the Periclean democratic ideal representative of Classical Greece, and the triumph of the *idiotai*, as *ataraxia* (tranquility) became the only realistic goal in life.[6] Therefore scholars believed that, "when this society fell victim, finally, to the Roman military machine, with its crass and philistine efficiency, the feeling was that these degenerate Greeklings had got no more than they deserved."[7] But as J. B. Bury argued, such Rome-centered bias often overlooks the fact that this was the time which produced the brilliant Academician Carneades, the famous *Aphrodite of Melos* and the *Dying Gaul* statues, and the works of Euclid.[8]

It took many centuries until these perceptions of the historical period from Alexander the Great to the fall of the last Hellenistic kingdom would be subjected to critical overhaul. The first serious study of the Hellenistic period came from Johann Gustav Droysen in the 19th century academia of Wilhelmine Germany. In his three-volume *Geschichte des Hellenismus* published in 1878, Droysen perceived Alexander the Great as "an Aristotelian superman [who] is an instrument of history and of God himself," whose incredible success caused Greek language and culture to spread in and mix with other pagan cultures - especially that of the Jews.[9] According to Droysen, such cultural and religious syncretism ignited and sustained by Alexander and his successors, created an environment of religious and cultural dialogue which facilitated the appearance and dissemination of Christianity.

Despite the later criticism that would attack and finally destroy his thesis, Droysen nonetheless deserves merit for giving a distinct name and identity to a previously dismissed historical period. As Ulrich von Wilamowitz commented, "Droysen showed great boldness in building up his history of a period of which no continuous narrative has come down to us, though it represents the zenith of Greek power."[10] However, this new perspective on the post-Alexander centuries did not immediately impose itself within the discipline of Classical Studies. It took time, however, for this "new" concept to be considered in the Classical curriculum. One could not escape the uneasy feeling that what came after the Classical period – the name itself evokes primacy – is the epilogue of Greek genius, only to be replaced centuries later by the greatness of Rome. Indeed, when compared to the intellectually innovative and defining texts that embody the prominence of Classical Greece, "it is difficult to resist the first impression that there is something wrong with an age which has left an

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34.14, Liv. 38.17, Tac. *Ann*. 6.42.

6 *Idiotes*: private individual who did not hold any office and did not participate in political life. *Ataraxia*: freedom from every kind of excitement, peace of mind.

7 Peter Green, "Introduction," in *Hellenistic History & Culture*, ed. Peter Green (Berkeley, CA: Calif. UP, 1993), 7.

8 J. B. Bury, *Hellenistic Age*, 2nd Ed (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 1-2.

9 A. B. Bosworth, "Alexander the Great and the Creation of the Hellenistic Age," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. Glen R. Bugh (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 10.

10 Ulrich von Wilamowitz, *History of Classical Scholarship*, trans. Hugh Lloyd-Jones (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1982), 154.

insufficient account of itself."[11] Therefore, it should not be a surprise that even as late as 1963 eminent historians such as M. I. Finley characterized Hellenistic political history as "a wearying one, monotonous and often ugly, of unceasing warfare, bad faith and not infrequent assassination."[12] It is due to such dismissive perception that Finley dedicated a mere eleven pages in his book *The Ancient Greeks* to the study of the Hellenistic centuries compared to the 137 pages discussing "the Classical City-State".

It is essential to keep in mind, however, that the term "*Hellenismus*" – rendered in English as "Hellenistic" – was never conceived of, or used in antiquity as Droysen presented it. Modern scholars have always been aware that the term was in fact coined by Droysen "[pour] désigner la langue parlée dans le monde issu du mélange des peuples occidentaux et orientaux du nom de 'langue hellénistique.'"[13] The root of the term is the word hellenismos used in a Biblical sense to designate pagans and "barbarians" imitating or acquiring Greek language, especially in the case of the Jews.[14] Therefore, the term "Hellenistic" must be used cautiously because otherwise it can pose serious problems for a historian studying the period of time which it serves to identify. After all, it is a modern term designating a time period artificially constructed according to modern concerns in Classical Studies; the ancients certainly did not conceive of historical periods or their own contemporary times as modern scholars do.

Nevertheless, the precedent set up by Droysen would not be completely overlooked. Although in 1913 J. B. Bury concluded his nine-hundred-page long *History of Greece* with the conquests and death of Alexander the Great, ten years later he dedicated a one-hundred-fifty-page study *The Hellenistic Age*. In it he wrote that "the habit of treating what is, not very happily, called the Hellenistic age as if it were no more that a wayside inn in which a historical student travelling from Athens and Sparta to Rome is forced reluctantly to halt for a few tedious hours is not yet obsolete."[15] Furthermore, he also observed that the study of the Hellenistic period "has entered little into liberal education except so far as it is involved in the history of the Roman Republic."[16]   Bury's criticism found important supporters. Around the same time, in 1924, Wilamowitz took up the term proposed by Droysen and in his *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* he presented Hellenism as the imperialistic achievement of Greek conquerors.[17]

Interest in the Hellenistic period grew slowly but surely and by 1941 Michael

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11 A. D. Momigliano, *Studies on Modern Scholarship*, by G. W. Bowersock and T. J. Cornell, trans. by T. J. Cornell (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 148.

12 M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Greeks* (London, England: Chatto & Windus, 1963), 173.

13 Droysen quoted and translated by Préaux (1978, 7).

14 Peter Green, *The Hellenistic Age* (New York, NY: The Modern Library, 2007), xvi. The term appears in the *Second Book of the Maccabees*, 4.13.

15 Bury 1925, 1.

16 Ibid, 1-2.

17 Momigliano 1994, 158.

Rostovtzeff could write in the preface of his two-volume *A Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* that "as every student of ancient history knows, the old-fashioned conception of this age as a time of decay of Greek civilization and of a pitiful collapse of Greek political life is unfounded or at least one-sided and misleading."[18] Rostovtzeff's work was a landmark in the field because for the first time attention was directed from military and political events to social problems and global economic patterns, making him "primarily the historian of […] traders, gentlemen farmers, and professionals."[19] Rostovtzeff's effort is all the more significant for the study of the Hellenistic period because for the first time a great body of archeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence was brought together and given serious consideration. The work of Rostovtzeff signaled that there was finally serious consideration in academic institutions of the Hellenistic period and its overwhelming body of evidence. Behind Rostovtzeff's project stood reviewers from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, from the State Museum of Berlin, from the University of Oxford and Yale University, as well as from the American Numismatic Society.[20] As a matter of fact, Rostovtzeff's list of acknowledgements including scholars and institutions from all over the world spans two pages, apparently in an abridged version.[21] All of this points to the fact that the study of the Hellenistic period had finally imposed itself within Classical Studies and was a serious scholarly effort that could no longer be taken lightly, let alone ignored.

This conceptualization of a distinct "Hellenistic" age also brought up important issues concerning the process of "periodization", which recent Hellenistic scholarship does not shy away from pointing out. In a chapter entitled "The Problem of Periodization", Barry Strauss calls into question the historian's tendency to catalogue and arrange events according to specific criteria and perceptions. He observes that "each of these periods [i.e. Classical, Hellenistic or Republican], indeed any historical period, raises chronological difficulties." He then asks, "when, for example, did the Hellenistic period end? With the mission of Jesus c. 30 CE? Or earlier, in 30 BCE, with the death of Cleopatra?"[22] His point may seem hypercritical but still it must not be taken lightly. Indeed, from a political approach historical convention decrees that the fall of Ptolemaic Egypt and, consequently, of the last Macedonian kingdom that grew after the death of Alexander the Great signifies the end of the Hellenistic period and the rise of the Augustan age.[23] However, the ancient historian Polybios ended the period even sooner in 220 BC when the Romans became in-

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18 Michael Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (New York, NY: Oxford U P, 1941), v.

19 Momigliano 1994, 39.

20 Rostovtzeff 1941, xi.

21 Ibid, xiii-xiv.

22 Barry Strauss, "The Problem of Periodization," in *Inventing Ancient Culture*, eds. Mark Golden and Peter Toohey (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997), 166.

23 Green 2007, xv.

volved in Eastern Mediterranean affairs.[24]

But if Momigliano was right in claiming that "Hellenism suggests to us more the idea of a civilization than the idea of a mere political system,"[25] then it must also be taken into account that "while he was working on Hellenistic political history Droysen did not concurrently study Hellenistic poetry, philosophy, and religion;" all of these cultural trends and developments that certainly did not end with the rise of Rome.[26] Therefore, Claire Préaux's argument that from a cultural and linguistic perspective "l'expansion de l'hellénisme se poursuit en Orient, après Auguste" must be acknowledged.[27]

On the other hand, the conventional beginning of the Hellenistic period must likewise not be accepted *a priori*. Alexander's conquests were certainly revolutionary in many ways, but recent scholarship illuminates various patterns of continuity from Classical well into Hellenistic times. The most continuity is that of the *polis* as a socio-political way of life. Despite what M. I. Finley suggested in 1963, "the Greek city-state continued to exist and in some respects to flourish and prosper; it seems clear that more cities were in some sense democratic than before, but that their freedom of action was limited."[28] In fact, this was not an entirely new situation given the ever-present tyrannical or oligarchic factions, as well as the earlier Persian monarchic threat in a *polis*. Moreover, in a relatively recent study on ancient social and gender relations entitled "Change or Continuity: Children and Childhood in Hellenistic Historiography", Mark Golden made the argument that "alleged Hellenistic characteristics," such as attitudes towards children, "[were also] found in the Classical period."[29] It was not all about *ataraxia*, after all.

Therefore, there is a growing tendency in modern scholarship to reject the perception of history of the Hellenistic age simply as a clear-cut intermediate period from what is conventionally called "Classical" down to "Roman" times. Instead, narrative theory has been adopted to explain the Hellenistic period as an example of "the authoring of a beginning, middle and end to the story."[30] This creative process of writing history has been identified by Alun Munslow as the "story space" model of what, how, when, why, and to whom things happened in the past, "which the reader/consumer enters into when they read, view or 'experience' the past, constituted as history."[31] As a result, history students are warned that while thinking in terms of historical periods may be helpful in conceptualizing the past, they must always be aware that "the historian's story space is a universal space. History can only be presented 'in' it [since] it is the only means through which we project

24 Préaux 1978, 6, Polyb. 1.3.
25 Momigliano 1994, 147.
26 Ibid, 153.
27 Préaux 1978, 6.
28 Graham Shipley, *The Greek World After Alexander: 323-30 BC* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 3.
29 Mark Golden, "Change or Continuity?" in *Inventing Ancient Culture*, eds. Mark Golden and Peter Toohey (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997), 190.
30 Alun Munslow, *Narrative and History* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 38.
31 Ibid, 6.

the past. How and why we do it depends ultimately on our epistemological choices."[32] Thus the concept of historical periods is but a mimetic construct.

The fact that such deconstructionist efforts have been undertaken is proof that post-modernism has finally caught up with the study of the Hellenistic age. An important aspect of this development is the growing use of gender theory to define the Hellenistic period as distinct from earlier times. Ever since the pioneering work of Grace Harriet Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt,* first published in 1932, the field has been more responsive to the study of gender relations. Indeed, work from scholars such as C. Schneider in the 1960's and Sarah Pomeroy in the 1980's has led to the conclusion that "women are seen to play more prominent roles in [Hellenistic] public life, albeit within a male-dominated value system." [33]Moreover, despite complaining that "Classics does not offer feminists enough ammunition for a true revolution: the subject matter is too patriarchal, the evidence too scarce, the history too long, the traditions too deeply ingrained", Barbara McManus has nevertheless pointed to the crossing of a "rational frontier" that led to a redirection of the Classical discipline and a redefining of professional boundaries.[34]

Since Hellenistic history has been exposed as "emplotted" history, then "the meaning of the past does not lie in the absolute significance of a single event but how that event is fitted into an appropriate story narrative."[35] For decades, therefore, the narrative of the period has been constructed according to the criteria which define the term "Hellenistic". With the definition explained above, its use has proven to be problematic for late 20th century and early 21st century historians. As Barry Strauss has observed, "one half of the term - "istic" - suggests a mere derivative of the pure and original Hellenic; the other half - "Hellen" - ignores the non-Greeks in the lands ruled by Alexander's successors, who outnumbered and frequently ignored the conquerors and their descendants."[36] Indeed, in a compelling study published in 1993 entitled *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt have challenged the Hellenizing achievement of Alexander's successors by emphasizing the continuity of Achaemenid structures of government under Seleucid administration.[37]

Around the same time, the concept of cultural and religious syncretism as characteristic of the Hellenistic world has been discarded in a masterful comparative studies project published by Walter Burkert in 1992. *The Orientalizing Revolution* heralded

32 Ibid, 19.
33 Review of feminist scholarship provided by Graham Shipley. Shipley 2000, 3, and Shipley, "Recent Trends And New Directions," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hellenistic World,* ed. Glen R. Bugh (New York: Cambridge UP, 2006), 321.
34 Barbara McManus, *Classics and Feminism* (Toronto, Canada: Prentice Hall, 1997), 29, 139.
35 Munslow 2007, 38.
36 Strauss 1997, 165-166.
37 Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis* (Berkeley, CA: California UP, 1993), 1-6.

by Burkert "pursues the hypothesis that, in the orientalizing period, the Greeks did not merely receive a few manual skills and fetishes along with new crafts and images from the Luwian-Aramaic-Phoenician sphere, but were influenced in their religion and literature by the eastern models to a significant degree."[38] As a result, such syncretism is not limited to a single period in Greek history, but pervades its entire history and identity since its earliest foundations; as Burkert put it, "the Greeks are the most easterly of the Westerners."[39] Therefore, Alexander's conquests are beginning to be interpreted simply as an accelerating factor to an already-existing contact in areas such as trade, travel, diplomacy, and the exchange of ideas, which was in no way an exclusively Greek initiative.[40] On the contrary, there has been a socio-cultural tendency in recent scholarship to focus on multiculturalism and the "barbarians" as worthy of study in their own right.[41]

        This constant challenge and overhaul proposed from all corners of the discipline has ultimately rendered the title "Hellenistic" meaningless and simply incorrect when referring to the historical period which it was initially meant to designate. Lately, there have been suggestions to replace the term "Hellenistic" with "post-classical" or "Alexandrian."[42] Most recently, in 2008, Malcolm Errington proposed to describe the centuries between Classical Athens and Imperial Rome as the "Macedonian Centuries" since "all changes and developments in these years were directly conditioned by regional Macedonian monarchies."[43] Most historians, however, propose that terminology should never be a decisive issue. Instead, they argue that "revaluation of the Hellenistic era was overdue" and that recent trends and debates in the field ought not to discourage a young student.[44] On the contrary, Graham Shipley remarks that the fact that "so few interpretations and explanations are as yet the subject of a settled consensus" is proof that "we have barely scratched the surface of the period."[45]

        The study of the Hellenistic period has witnessed an astonishing development in the course of its evolution. From its millennial obscurity, it has experienced a growth of interest on an exponential scale ever since its emergence in academia during the 19th century. In past decades it seemed that the study of the Hellenistic period needed justification, being taught in few universities until the 1990's. Presently, Hellenistic studies are undergoing what Graham Shipley calls "a quiet revolution."[46] Indeed, there is a great amount of archeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the Hellenistic period that has been

38 Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 6.
39 Ibid, 129.
40 Shipley 2000, 3.
41 Green 1993, 9.
42 Golden 1997, 176.
43 Malcolm Errington, A History of the Hellenistic World: 323-30 BC (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 8.
44 Green 1993, 11.
45 Shipley 2006, 324.
46 Shipley, 315, 318-319.

recently made available. Challenging interpretations have also been posited lately, ranging from socio-cultural and linguistic considerations to gender analysis and narrative theory. All of this points to the overarching establishment of the field, heralding an optimistic future for its students because "we may be about to see a new generation who cross methodological boundaries more easily."[47]

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47 Shipley 2006, 319.

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Back Matter

# Episodes from the Diary of a Satyr
Artist Statement

By David Whiteside

"Episodes from the Diary of a Satyr" is a contemporary response to the narrative and emotional force of an archaic three-dimensional medium, Attic red-figure vase painting. The satyrs and young athletes populating the images are drawn from kuklikes and peplikai by Epiktetos, Onesimos, and Euphronios, celebrated Attic vase painters of the Late Archaic period.

Torn from their original settings, beautiful young boys and ithyphallic satyrs engage in pas-de-deux of desire and dismissal. Ivy-crowned Silenus blesses a young companion as he drinks from a horn; the festivities must go on. These Dionysian orgies illustrate that power, drugs, and sex are persistent cruxes of human interaction.

Orange Satyr
David Whiteside
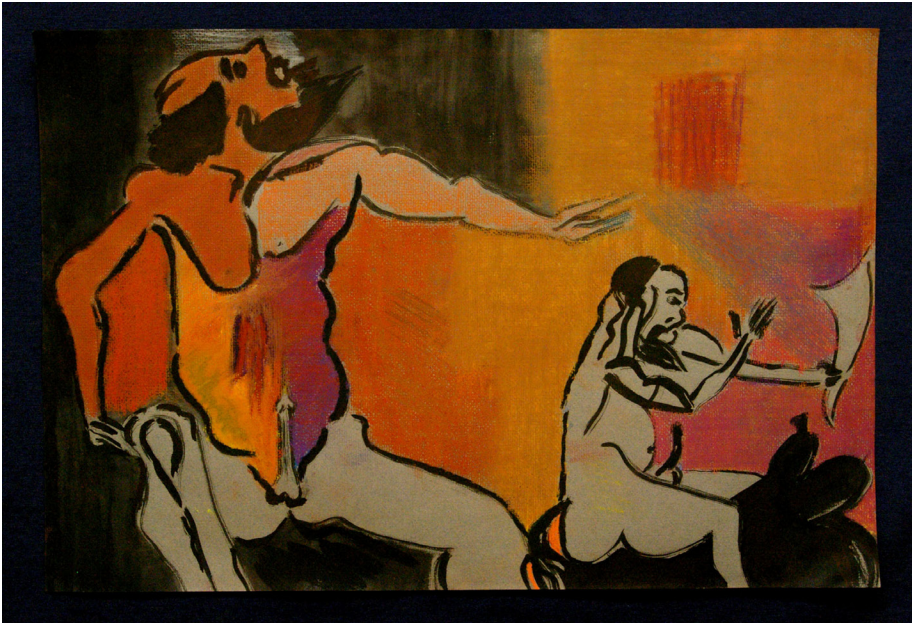
Silenus Blessing a Young Satyr
David Whiteside

Water Satyr
David Whiteside

An Interview with Margaret Palczynski

Interview by Patricia Tao and David Whiteside

Can you give us a little summary of your career so far?

Margaret: I've always been fascinated by Classics. I wanted to do Ancient Greek since I was five years old. I was fascinated by Homer. So, that's always been my goal, now, I didn't come to it early, in fact, I did my bachelor of science in anatomy and microbiology here at McGill and I took some Classics courses during that including one, what was it, a Greek civilization course with professor... oh, I can't remember now, but I can still remember running up the hill and slipping at the top with my paper in my hand having to go to the prof saying, "could I hand this in next week?" So, I didn't get to it early but after I finished my undergraduate degree, I got married and went to Greece, my husband is Greek, and I spent two years there, and I was really impressed with and really wanted to learn ancient Greek. So, when we came back, I started teaching some languages and I said I am going to learn Greek, but I couldn't find classical Greek anywhere, so I started learning modern. Anyhow, that worked out well. But then I went back and started doing a TESOL certificate. During that time at Concordia I did a Greek course, my intro Greek, and just fell totally in love, and what has always been my real love is Greek philology, so, the language, and structures, and of course, Homer. So, I matched those two.

So, I did that course and after the certificate, I said ok, I want to do a Masters. So, I applied to the Masters in linguistics at Concordia and to the Masters in classics at McGill and I got accepted to both and I got a scholarship at Concordia so I said, "Eh, instead of working and doing an MA, I'll do two MAs." So, I was doing both. Anyhow, I got into the qualifying year and I started doing courses and at that point in time there were ten full professors, you know, tenured faculty, in the department of Classics.

Wow.

Margaret: So, that went on but at that point in time the difficulties in the department began and by the time I had graduated from my Masters at Concordia, and by the time I had finished my masters thesis on the teaching of reading comprehension in Latin, developing teaching materials for the teaching of reading comprehension in Latin, the McGill people said to me, write your comps and we'll use your credits towards a PhD. So, I started the PhD, but at that point, I was suffering from back problems and I needed surgery and the difficulties in the department were getting worse so, I had to stop. So, unfortunately, I never finished the PhD program and in fact, because of it, I don't even have a graduate

degree in Classics because I never got my Masters from here! So, that's more or less how I got into Classics. Sort of a very roundabout way.

And so what made you decide to come back to Classics and teach here at McGill after what sounded like a difficult end?

Margaret: Well, what happened was Professor Silverthorn (a Greek professor at that time) got in touch with me and that was when there was no longer that many professors and you know, most of the graduate students had disappeared. He said to me, we need people to teach. I had already been teaching Latin here before I stopped. So, he asked if I would like to come back and teach, and so I came back and started teaching. And you know, I've been teaching here since then! And I was teaching at Concordia till I got the full-time position here.

Do you particularly enjoy teaching intro classes versus intermediate?

Margaret: I like the intermediate, because it's different, you can get more into the text, you're not so focused on the language, but for the me the introductory level is crucial. You either get the people and get their interest and get them motivated to, especially in the Greek, acquire all the forms, and also to want to go beyond that. And you know, that's what I try to do. It's not just getting to know the forms, it's to show them it's worth doing.

I think your interest in philology gets across, and that's one of the things that I really enjoy in introductory classes.

Margaret: Yes, that's my own personal interest. I've always been interested in historical linguistics and the philological approach. That fascinates me. If I had been able to leave Montreal at the time when I was doing my Masters, I probably would have ended up in historical linguistics at Cornell. But, I wasn't able to, that's why I went for the MA in classics because it gave me each of the languages I was so fascinated with and combined with my interest in Homer, it blended.

And is it just the change in languages over time that interests you?

Margaret: It's the change in languages over time that fascinates me it's just the processes of change that are you know... and discovering, and also discovering, the ways of ancient thought by means of language because the philological analysis and the linguistic analysis still gives you due insights in the way of thinking - the concepts that were important, you know, all the way back to the Indo-Europeans. But for me it's the language that's so

fascinating. ...and then Homer.

Why do you think Classics is becoming so much more popular?

Margaret: I don't know why but I think we can never lose the fascinations with our beginnings, you know, with the cultures of old, with what went on before. I think that in a highly technological society, romanticism is also something that's on its way back and put those two together and you've got... and also, we've always got the people who need the languages in order to do philosophy and other things like that. I think, I think that there is a resurgence in the interest of recapturing the richness of the past.

I'm not sure of the real numbers but the program is growing. And the fact that we can actually offer a Masters program is a real draw because, you know, during the intern years, the emphasis was on keeping the program alive.

How do the classical languages still affects what people learn today, and how people perceive things today?

Margaret: I think there is a great merit in learning an ancient language for its own sake. First of all, I think it teaches you discipline because if you don't apply yourself regularly throughout the semester, you end up facing a difficult task. It's very useful that way. Secondly, I find, and it's just my own personal observation, grammar skills have declined. That's certainly something my students in the past have remarked on, "We took Latin but we find our English is getting better."

How do you find reading an ancient text in the original language differs from reading a translation?

Margaret: I know that, I can just refer to my own experiences, I've always loved Homer. I never understood Hector's character, truly, until I read the Iliad in Greek, and all of a sudden... and it was interesting because it was along the lines of what Dr. Kozak was discussing, the fact that the character is being developed before your eyes are you are reading or listening. All of a sudden things you never put together from translations click and you see the person in a different way.

Do you have any last words?

Margaret: Yes, I do! I'm very excited. We're getting a new person, and I think that, who-

ever it ends up being, will be a great addition. We're getting our graduate students, and I see this as a very, very positive step towards getting a program that is really well-known in academic circles. I think we have everything it takes to do a really good job. I think we have a program where people continue to be excited about what they do and are able to do enjoy it.   And that will be such a pleasure because for me the intern years were pain, because you see something you love so much slowly dying down, and it hurts... so seeing it resurge and seeing it rising from the ashes...

An Afternoon with Donald Baronowski

Interview and Summary by Ioana Cristina Tutu

On Friday, February 19th, I had the pleasure of interviewing faculty lecturer Donald Baronowski. It is thanks to him that I know any Latin, yet I realized that despite seeing him three times a week for the better part of the year, I didn't know anything about him. It was therefore with curiosity and eagerness that I headed to his office at 3610 McTavish to discover the man outside of class.

Dr. Baronowski, born at the Royal Victoria Hospital just up the hill from campus, got his BA in Honours Classics at McGill in 1972. He went on to get his Master's degree at the University of British Columbia in 1974 and his PhD at the University of Toronto in 1982. His doctoral thesis was on treaties of military alliance between the Roman Republic and the Greek poleis; his other research interests include the history of the Roman Republic, ancient international relations and Polybius.

Although he appreciated the opportunity to see more of Canada during his graduate studies, Dr. Baronowski missed his native city and was more than happy to accept a teaching position at McGill. He has taught Latin and Greek language courses, Roman literature, and Greek and Roman history. A faculty lecturer since 1992, he has witnessed important changes in the Classics department. Severe budget cuts in the mid-1990s meant that professors who left the university were not replaced. Fewer faculty members, fewer courses, fewer students: it wasn't long before the Classics MA and PhD programs were eliminated. However, Dr. Baronowski noted during our interview that Classics has received a great deal of support and funding during the past 5 years from both the University in general and the History department specifically. For example, McGill offers modern Greek language courses, not available at any other university in Montreal, and three sections of beginner-level Latin, whereas most other schools only have one or two. Happily, the MA program was reinstated last year, and there is word of a joint doctoral program between McGill and Université de Montréal. Hopefully this expansion will bring with it a wider range of course offerings; Dr. Baronowski pointed out the regrettable dearth of courses on Egypt, the ancient Near East and Byzantine history (especially important for understanding the development of Eastern Europe).

When I asked who his favorite ancient authors are, the answer came instantly: Homer and Virgil dwarf all others in his eyes. He also described himself as a "devoted Platonist" despite not agreeing with all of the philosopher's ideas, and has a grudging respect for Tacitus, whom he admires as a champion of liberty but nonetheless considers too unfair

to his victims. Dr. Baronowski also has a soft spot for Sallust, whose *Bellum Catilinae* is the first text he read in Latin. Among his non-Classics hobbies, he lists reading about history, learning foreign languages (he mentioned wanting to brush up on his Turkish), and sports: this native Montrealer is, of course, a lifelong fan of the Habs.

Helpful Classics Resources

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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