HIRUNDO

The McGill Journal of Classical Studies
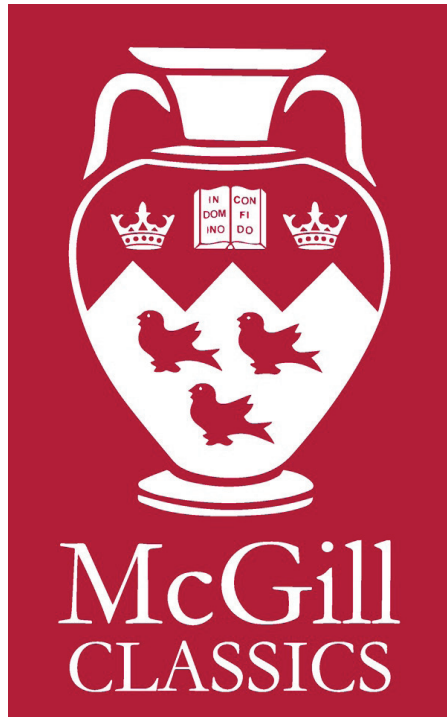
HIRUNDO

The McGill Journal of Classical Studies

Volume Fifteen

HIRUNDO: The McGill Journal of Classical Studies
Founded 2001

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.

Hirundo accepts essay contributions from undergraduate studies of McGill University, at least 2000 words in length, which relate to the Ancient World. *Hirundo* is published once annually by the Classics Students' Asosciation of McGill 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 may be submitted to the Editor-in-Chief at:

hirundo.history@mcgill.ca

HIRUNDO
The McGill Journal of Classical Studies

Volume Fifteen

Editor's Preface

It is my utmost pleasure to present the fifteenth edition of Hirundo, McGill University's undergraduate research journal for Classical Studies. On its 15th anniversary, Hirundo is continuing to push the academic limits of Classical studies into new fields. We have become more modern, more encompassing, and more committed to providing students with an outlet to showcase their research. In addition, we have unveiled the Rostra Lecture Series, our new platform to present research throughout the year. All in all, our 15th anniversary has been incredibly active and we are excited to present you with Edition XV of Hirundo.

Edition XV consists of eight papers and three back matter supplements. David Douglas begins with an examination of the role of natural law within Thucydides' historical discourse and is followed by Lauria Galbraith's paper on space and identity in Neo-Assyrian garden spaces. David Garfinkle looks at whether it was internal or external collapse that caused Carthage to crumble after the Third Punic War. Molly Rosenzweig writes how horse bits are not so different from love in Ovid before Edward Ross takes us to the Far East and examines the similarities in Greek and Tibetan epic oral tradition. Then, Celia Taylor takes on female sexual dynamics in Ovid's Ars Amatoria before we end the edition with two papers, Alexis Lemonde Vachon discussing the connection between Racine and Seneca's Phaedrus and Daniel Whittle's unpacking of Athenian drinking songs and political discourse. Our three back matter submissions range from a Sapphic poem by Neha Rahman, a tourist's guide to the Ancient Mediterranean by Claudia Shek and lastly, a whistle stop tour of Greece's best culinary destinations by Corey Straub.

Special thanks go to Professor Michael Fronda, the Classics Student Association, the Department of History and Classical Studies, the Arts Undergraduate Society, and the rest of those who have supported us in this publication.

Finally, I would like to extend my deepest thanks to each member of our editorial board for their rigour, hard work and outstanding dedication to Hirundo. It has been a pleasure to work amongst such erudite and enthusiastic people without whom this edition would not have happened. I cannot begin to thank them enough!

Harrison Brewer
Editor-in-Chief

CONTENTS

<u>*Natural Law in Thucydides*</u>
DAVID DOUGLAS

     The notion of "natural law" had an unusual genesis in Greek thought. In this single concept are united two ideas that for Greek thinkers were initially distinct, the ideas of law and nature, *nomos* and *physis*. Before the concept was treated by Aristotle, who may in many ways be considered the father of "natural law" as it is familiar to us today, *nomos* and *physis* were in fact more regularly contrasted than assimilated to one another. It is then not surprising that Thucydides, writing in the century before Aristotle, nowhere makes explicit mention of a "natural law" as such in his *Peloponnesian War*. Still, it would be unfair to say that this demonstrates an absence in his writing of the kind of abstract thought involved in more formal and aboveboard discussions about natural law or a lack of sensitivity to the implications of natural causation. Thucydides is a reluctant theorist of history, content for the most part to record factual detail and allow events to speak for themselves, but he cannot always help himself. Parts of his work, especially those that stray into the more nebulous regions of the past, do indeed demonstrate certain fundamental views about natural forces engaged in directing the course of human history. This paper intends to examine three such instances that stand out in higher profile: the so-called Archaeology, the *stasis* digression of Book III, and the Melian Dialogue. A look at the first of these will reveal straight away that Thucydides is at least cognizant of constant forces in history. In discussing the other two, it will become apparent that these constants are associated above all with nature (*physis*), and manifest themselves most demonstrably in man's relationship with custom or law (*nomos*).

     Before any direct discussion of Thucydides' text, it will be helpful to review the state of affairs at the time he came into his own as a thinker. It is generally acknowledged that the currency of the term "*nomos*" for "law" in the civic sense begins roughly with Athenian democracy.[1] The idea of law itself is of course somewhat older. There had been lawgivers in Athens at least as early as the seventh century, notably Draco and Solon, and elsewhere perhaps earlier: Lycurgus and the *rhētra* of Sparta come to mind. We must, however, observe a crucial distinction between the laws

1   De Romilly 12-3.

given by such lawgivers and the later *nomoi*.[2] The earlier laws derived their force from a kind of *auctoritas* (to borrow a term admittedly both foreign and anachronistic) invested in the one who laid them down. In Athens they were first known not as "*nomoi*" but as "*thesmoi*," "that which is set down."[3] The *rhētra* of Lycurgus denotes an authoritative "pronouncement" from the legendary founder, related as it is to the verb "*rhētrein*," "to declare" or "to pronounce." Such institutions would also have had their religious and cultural baggage: a decision taken by a *eupatridēs* such as Solon or others carried a divine sanction, issuing as it did from the social and political order responsible for preserving the peace of the gods. On the other hand, a *nomos*, as we shall see, was initially something very different from an edict.

The term "*nomothētēs*" (lawgiver) may here be the source of some confusion. Solon is commonly called a *nomothētēs,* so how can it be that he did not himself set down *nomoi*? In fact, the use of this designation only gained prevalence in the wake of Athenian democracy, and would not have been current in Solon's time.[4] It was only after *nomos* came to occupy the place in popular consciousness hitherto held by *thesmos* that Solon, or anyone else for that matter, became known as a *nomothētēs*. Prior to a democratic Athens, it would likely have been unheard of to suppose that anyone were capable of establishing a *nomos* by his sole decree. Although it is true that in earlier times a *nomos* was occasionally represented in an analogous role to that of the *thesmos*, most notably by Hesiod and Heraclitus (Hes. WD 276; Heraclit. fr. 114), it was always a god that instituted the *nomos* in question, and there is no early example where a human performs this function.[5] For Greeks before the fifth century, *nomos* was rather an observable cultural phenomenon, and hence there was a tendency to posit its divine origin.[6] When cultural memory failed to record the beginnings of custom and convention, it was natural that the earlier, more primitive Greek society should have given a supernatural account of them. As a concept, *nomos* would then traditionally have represented the parts of culture that man did not prescribe for himself, but into which, by all appearances, he was born. Thus Herodotus in his *Histories* accords with Pindar's famous remark on νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων (Hdt. 3.38.3; Pindar fr. 169.1-4).[7] There is no authority higher than *nomos,* which may be even beyond the reach of the gods.

---

2   De Romilly 14.
3   Ostwald 5-8.
4   De Romilly 14-15; Ostwald 3.
5   Cf. Ostwald's interpretation of the Heraclitean evidence. Ostwald 26-8.
6   For discussion of the divinely instituted nomos, see Ostwald 20ff.
7   "Custom, the lord of all things both mortal and immortal."

With the incipient Athenian democracy, this definition of *nomos* attained a particularly palatable ideological flavour. The promise of democracy was of course that all those happy enough to be considered citizens would have a share in the formation of the political community and the operations of the state. But words like "*thesmos*" and "*rhētra*," with their authoritarian connotation, naturally militate against this ideal. What was called for then was a terminological innovation, a new name for the rule of law, and "*nomos*" fit the bill admirably. Unlike the other terms it did not imply an imposing central authority, but rather a dispersal of that authority among the community. "*Nomos*" was by definition a thing shared in common and, in its early applications, an order that was adhered to voluntarily as a fixed standard of behaviour.[8]

However, now that every Athenian citizen felt himself entitled in some sense to decide the law, it became painfully apparent that the basis of any rule in society might be fundamentally inconcrete. In many cases the rationale provided by *nomos* was no longer substantial enough for the purposes of philosophical or forensic argumentation, and this precipitated something of a crisis of values.[9] In certain quarters, the discovery that laws were normative, and therefore relative, entailed an investigation into *natural* necessity as opposed to *customary* prescription, and as a result the term *physis* gained a whole new importance in this epoch. It was held aloft by writers such as Antiphon and Hippocrates as the antithesis and, in some sense, the answer to "*nomos*" (Antiph. fr. 44; Hp. *Aër.* 14).[10] To these authors we hope to add Thucydides, although his treatment is admittedly not as transparent or categorical.

The Archaeology will readily show Thucydides' turn of mind. To anyone opening the history for the first time, it soon becomes clear that here is a work that aims not only to record factual detail—as its author is keen to impress upon us (Th. 1.22)—but also to make good sense and to be cohesive. The rational survey of archaic Greek history that makes up the Archaeology testifies to Thucydides' concern to abide by a model of history that can be theorized, and that therefore follows some rules. Attempts such as the one made at 1.10 to reckon the total of Agamemnon's fleet make the implicit claim that the discovery of the past can be ruled by reason and that events take place within rational bounds.

---

8   Ostwald 55-6.

9   De Romilly 101-114 discusses this "crise morale" and its effects. See also Finley 36-73 on the intellectual background to Thucydides' work.

10   Finley 57. "The doctrine of physis has a somewhat special connotation: that of exposing the real, as opposed to the artificial, springs of human action. Euripides and Antiphon make it quite clear that, even during Thucydides' earlier years in Athens, men were casting away the reasons formerly given for behavior and substituting what seemed truer, if less moral, explanations."

Of course, this is not quite abstraction yet. We find that Thucydides makes no outright claims to have unearthed any sure pattern in history. However, we should guard ourselves from agreeing too readily with those who would assert that, on the contrary, Thucydides had no capacity for such observation. Cornford, for instance, says we should not credit Thucydides with the consideration of any "universal forces" or "natural foundations of historical phenomena," and protests against the attribution to Thucydides of "the whole class of categories and conceptions and modes of thought of which these and similar phrases are the expression."[11] This is surely extreme. We should not assert that Thucydides was a modern writer; he had his limitations. But we ought to recognize that from the kind of historical argument referred to in the previous paragraph, which Thucydides employs liberally in his opening section, abstraction is but a step away. It is hard to believe that a mind, having already realized that history *could* have a delineable rationale, would be so incurious as to stop short of seeking out general principles, whether with the intention of stating them or not. It will be remembered that but a generation later Plato was positing his ideal forms.

There is some evidence already in the Archaeology for Thucydides᾿ inclination towards the abstract. The first hint comes when he begins to discuss the state of the early inhabitants of Greece:

τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ᾿ ἐπιμειγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὂν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται... (Th. 1.2.2)[12]

The fact that the early Greeks are lacking a surplus of capital is directly linked to their life as subsistence farmers.[13] In particular, we note

11   Cornford 70.
12   "For, there being no trading post, they did not mix without apprehension with each other either by land or by sea, and they held only so much of their own possessions as each could live off, having no surplus of capital, nor planting the earth, and it being uncertain when some other might come and plunder them, as they were without walls..."
13   In addition to the importance of capital, Gomme 1.92 also notes Thucydides' interest in the presence or lack of the emporia. He says rightly that "inter-state commerce is the first sign, for Thucydides, of a settled life and higher standards of living. This should be noted both by those who think that commerce was at no time important in Greece and by those who think that, though it was important, Thucydides was unaware of it." And see Hornblower 1.9, who comments on the necessity of wealth in waging war, which will play an important part in later events. Thucydides is "using the opportunity of the archaeology to introduce themes which will be basic to the rest of the work" (1.12). A full discussion of Thucydides' economic thought, including the importance he attaches to surpluses, is given by Smith in his article.

that they are *ateichistoi*, living without walled communities. Then, after the gradual enrichment of the Hellenic communities, Thucydides asserts,

τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾠκίσθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος. (Th. 1.7.1)[14]

Now that some Greeks have amassed some capital, this results primarily in the building of walls. Briefly put, where there is *periousia* there will be walls. The repetition of vocabulary and the proximity of these passages confirm that Thucydides is at least in the process of formulating a general principle of the social and political ramifications of capital, if he has not already done so privately. The word "*periousia*" appears for a third time in what follows (Th. 1.8.3). The significance is now no longer with the walls, and Thucydides is simply making what would seem to be a common sense claim that wealthy states (which necessarily possess a *periousia*) will have the upper hand over the more impoverished. The repetition does signal, however, that the implications of *periousia* are still on Thucydides' mind. Taken together, these elements begin to look very much like the principle of a rudimentary economic law.

For the purposes of our discussion it is worth emphasizing Thucydides' interest in explaining human conventions, which may perhaps be too familiar to us and too characteristic of the average modern historian for its importance to register fully. We should remember, however, that we are dealing with a man who lived and wrote more than two thousand years ago: what may seem a matter of course to our understanding may still have been a novelty to his. Thucydides' interest in the causes of particular conventional behaviour, such as the bearing of arms (Th. 1.5.7-6.2), or the origins of an ostentatious hairstyle (Th. 1.6.3-4), demonstrate an uncommon concern to account for, rather than simply to recount, *nomoi*. We will return to the governance of cultural practice by supra-conventional forces below, but for now we only note that there is an indication of it in the present passage, and that we should not take this for granted as simply a common mode of historical writing.

The next key passage for our understanding of Thucydides' abstract thought is the digression in Book III on the spread of *stasis*[15] follow-

14   "And those of the cities that were most recently founded or were already the most sea-going, having already built a surplus of capital, invested it in walls along the shore, and captured the isthmuses for trading posts and as a reinforcement against their neighbors."
15   "Stasis" is roughly equivalent to the English "factionalism," or to the Latin "factio," as in Sallust.

ing the Corcyrean revolution. The first thing we notice about the beginning of 3.82 is the sudden shift from a particular perspective of events at Corcyra to a more general commentary on the nature of *stasis* and the fate of Greece as a whole. Thucydides abandons for a moment his characteristic concern for detail, and takes it upon himself to diagnose the general affliction of *stasis* in Greece, eschewing treatment of any special case. His argument proceeds under the influence of his general view of *stasis* as a historical force, what we might basically call a force of nature. He claims that the effects of *stasis* in Greece at this time may be observed to recur in both the past and the future, according to the changelessness of human nature:

καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται. (Th. 3.82.2)[16]

And such an argument, for Thucydides, seems to suffice. He does not feel the need to adduce examples beyond the foregoing description of the Corcyrean crisis, and, beyond that, natural necessity is enough to support his argument. This should signal to us the foundational quality of this idea for Thucydides; it is rare that we get so universal a proposition from him outside the speeches, and with so little elaboration.[17]

This passage gives the overall impression that *stasis* is operative in nature itself and immutable. The emphasis Thucydides proceeds to give to the changes brought about by the operation of *stasis* deepens this impression. The many altered behaviours witnessed by Greek cities on a social level stand in marked contrast with the overriding theme of permanence and loose historical cyclicality that underlies the larger argument about *stasis*. The progress of stasis is linked above all with τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας (Th. 3.82.3),[18] new and strange modes of thought, action, and expression: words themselves change their meaning to suit the occasion (Th. 3.82.4). And still the mere fact that Thucydides feels himself able to speak in such broad terms (an indulgence unusual for

---

16   "And many and terrible things befell the cities because of faction (stasis), things which have been and will always be, so long as human nature will be the same, but both greater and more peaceful, varying in their form, accordingly as the particular changes in happenstance come about."
17   Hornblower 1.478 stresses the central importance of this passage. "The importance of this section for the student of Th.'s own opinions cannot be exaggerated. It is the most substantial expression of direct personal opinion in all Th., and whatever its obscurity it cannot simply be dismissed as a 'less successful' vehicle for Th.'s own views than the speeches, which are not a vehicle for his views at all."
18   "The excess of inventing new thoughts."

him) depends on the certitude with which *stasis* may be observed to work as a force of nature.

These features of the text hint at a correlation between the *stasis* passage and the popular sophistical antithesis between *nomos* and *physis*.[19] The importance of *physis*, or nature, to his discussion is clear enough from the quotation addressed above: the regularity of *stasis* depends on the permanence of *physis*. As for *nomos*, we can conjecture in relative surety at its importance based on the kinds of changes Thucydides lists as effects of *stasis*.[20] Most of them include a departure from what seems to have been, in the historian's view, regular practice in Greek society before the ravages of civil strife. Take, for instance, the following statement:

καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἑτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίας αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξίᾳ. καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομῆσαι. (Th. 3.82.6)[21]

From this we can easily infer which cultural institution was the more honoured between kinship and partisanship before *stasis*. Although interpretation of this sort of language is not very hard, some degree of cultural memory seems still to be assumed, which itself hints tellingly at *nomos*.

But Thucydides does not stop at hints, and he immediately goes on to address the issue of *nomos* in plain terms. He tells how civic laws fell out of observance, and how *theios nomos*, which must here be taken to mean the unwritten laws of both normative and religious preponderance, loses its sanction.[22] Thus, although we have no direct contraposition of *nomos* and *physis*, the relationship that the two bear to one another in Thucydides' thought is patent. Thucydides uses the topic of *stasis* as a vehicle for a practical exploration of the *nomos-physis* antithesis and its manifestation in history. In so doing, he gives an open indication of his

19   See De Romilly's remarks on the likelihood of such a correlation. De Romilly 106.
20   Hornblower 1.479 identifies the changes as specifically "changes in values" and notes the "dazzling if uncomfortable virtuosity" with which Thucydides proceeds in his discussion of them.
21   "And indeed kinship became more alien than partisanship, as people were readier to dare without pretext: for such meetings took place not with the help of the laws that were set down, but for enrichment contrary to them as they were overthrown. And they strengthened their trust in themselves, not by sacred custom, but rather by their common transgression."
22   De Romilly 25ff. gives a survey of "lois écrites et non écrites." In particular she argues that the "unwritten laws" of the Greeks derived their authority predominantly from the gods. It is most likely to this kind of law that Thucydides is here referring.

opinion on the governance of normative trends by natural laws—the subjugation of *nomos* to *physis*.

We move next to the Melian Dialogue, another important juncture for Thucydides' treatment of nature and history. As Hudson-Williams has pointed out, the form of the dialogue is reminiscent of a popular style of eristic discussion practised during Thucydides' time. The Melian Dialogue is "essentially an intellectual discussion and enables Thucydides to incorporate ideas suggested by the intellectual trends of his day and express them in a form which was in accordance with literary and rhetorical conventions."[23] Certainly, the theme of the strong ruling the weak, which is taken up by the Athenians at 5.105, was among the potential topics of debate on such occasions, as can be seen from Plato's *Gorgias* (Plato *Grg.* 482c ff.). There is then the distinct possibility that, in addition this idea, Thucydides has deliberately represented other sophistical ideas in the passage. The *nomos-physis* antithesis poses an especially likely candidate.

At 5.105, the Athenians and the Melians have reached something of an impasse in their negotiations. When the Melians claim divine support and the backing of an implied *theios nomos*, the Athenian delegates respond that in fact they too are acting in accord with *nomos*, but in a different way:

τῆς μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ᾽ ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελείψεσθαι: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως, τῶν δ᾽ ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσσομεν. ἡγούμεθα γὰρ τό τε θεῖον δόξῃ τὸ ἀνθρώπειόν τε σαφῶς διὰ παντὸς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀναγκαίας, οὗ ἂν κρατῇ, ἄρχειν: καὶ ἡμεῖς οὔτε θέντες τὸν νόμον οὔτε κειμένῳ πρῶτοι χρησάμενοι, ὄντα δὲ παραλαβόντες καὶ ἐσόμενον ἐς αἰεὶ καταλείψοντες χρώμεθα αὐτῷ, εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει ἡμῖν γενομένους δρῶντας ἂν ταὐτό. (Th. 5.105.1-2)[24]

These few lines are unique in Thucydides for the closeness with which they link the commonly distinct concepts of *physis* and *nomos*. This unusual conjunction is significant in a couple of ways.

In the first place, the Athenians' use of *nomos* draws out the impli-

---

23   Hudson-Williams 163.
24   "Neither do we consider ourselves to be left out of the favour of the gods: for we decide and do nothing that is outside the common opinion of what is sacred to the gods, nor outside what is desirable for us. For we believe that it seems to be right by the gods, and that it is clearly right by man, to rule wherever it may be possible: and neither do we set down this law, nor are we the first to observe it, but rather we invoke it, taking it up as it already exists and leaving it behind to exist for all time; and we know that you and others would do the same, were you in this same position of power."

cation in the Melians' preceding arguments of an adherence to its principles. There is a recognizable pattern in the dialogue of this kind of allusive call and articulate response. At 5.90.1, the Melians protest that Athens, by setting a pitiless example for others in its treatment of an innocent party (Melos), is putting itself in the way of "great vengeance" ("*megistē timoria*"), should it ever fall from its station of dominance. They make no mention of the Spartans, but from the Athenians' reply it becomes clear what precisely the Melians have in mind. The Athenian delegates reply specifically that ἔστι δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών (Th. 5.91.1),[25] which seems totally unprovoked unless we interpret the hidden meaning of the Melians' earlier injunction. The Melians are reticent on the subject of their alliance with Sparta because of the terms set for the debate, which expressly forbade raising the issue (Th. 5.89); consequently, they can only hint in general at the gravity of the Athenians' conduct in the world of international affairs.

A similar exchange takes place in 5.104 and 105, where the Melians have claimed justice for their side. Notice, however, that they do not urge the Athenians to be just themselves: this also would have been a contravention of the terms. They merely say that, being themselves in the right, they have reason to hope for divine favour in face of their assailants, and there is no open appeal to human justice. Again, the Athenians detect the undertone of the Melians' words, and in response attempt to excuse themselves from any transgression of *nomos* by invoking the necessity of nature to run its course, which they claim must inevitably lead the strong to the conquest of the weak. The Melians' predicament is similar to that of the Plataeans in Book III, who, as they are under no special terms of negotiation, freely invoke the Hellenic *nomos* in their attempt to win the Spartan judge (Th. 3.67.6). It would seem that in this case the Melians also attempt, if clandestinely, to invoke *nomos* on their side of the debate, to which the Athenians respond with an appeal to *physis*.

There is a second important feature of the conjunction of *nomos* and *physis* in this passage. The Athenians do not claim simply to be obeying *physis* as opposed to *nomos*, but in fact use the language of *nomos* almost synonymously with it. To a reader who is familiar with the concept of "natural law," this may appear to be no unusual figure of speech, but it would not have appeared so to a Greek, for whom there would already have been established some opposition between the two ideas. In Antiphon, for instance, we see that *nomos* and *physis*, although they are equally a source of compulsion in human affairs, are defined separately and contrasted with one another:

25   "Our quarrel is not presently with the Spartans."

τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν νόμων ἐπίθετα, τὰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα· καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν νόμων ὁμολογηθέντα οὐ φύντα ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως φύντα οὐκ ὁμολογηθέντα. (Antiph. fr. 44)[26]

Antiphon says that *nomos* and *physis* are categorically different forces, and distinct in ways that are important for a correct understanding of each. Indeed, *nomos* and *physis* are usually opposed: τὰ πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ νόμον δικαίων πολεμίως τῇ φύσει κεῖται (Antiph. fr. 44).[27]

Moreover, when Callicles uses the phrase "law of nature" in Plato's *Gorgias*, there is a noticeable irony in this expression. This comes in a longer passage on the same topic of the right of the strong to subjugate the weak. Speaking of the examples of this pattern found in history, Callicles says,

ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι οὗτοι κατὰ φύσιν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου ταῦτα πράττουσιν, καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία κατὰ νόμον γε τὸν τῆς φύσεως, οὐ μέντοι ἴσως κατὰ τοῦτον ὃν ἡμεῖς τιθέμεθα. (Plato *Grg.* 438e)[28]

Until this point in his speech Callicles has been maintaining the sophistical distinction between *nomos* and *physis*, charging Socrates with exploiting it rhetorically to gain the dialectical advantage of his interlocutors. Now he confounds the two notions, and the interjection of an oath —*ma Dia*—emphasizes the unnaturalness of saying such a thing as "law of nature." The distinction that is immediately made between this "law of nature" and the more conventional *nomos* "which we set down" then serves to clarify this otherwise novel turn of phrase.

On the basis of the evidence that Antiphon and Plato provide, it becomes apparent that in Thucydides the equation of *nomos* and *physis* in the Athenians' reply is a decidedly rhetorical gesture, and, considering the eristic context, a sophism *par excellence*. If there had been no "law of nature" for Antiphon, and if Plato could still represent the irony of the expression some time later, Thucydides could not himself have been referring to a *topos* that would necessarily have been familiar to his readership. It also seems unlikely that he is using this opportunity to make a novel philosophical proposition, and it is not clear that he is expressing his

26   "For it is the character of laws that they be imposed, of nature that it be necessary. And what is according to the law is agreed upon, not born; but what is according to nature is born, not agreed upon."
27   "Most of the things that are just according to nomos are laid down in opposition to nature."
28   "But I think that these men do such things according to the nature of the just, and yes, by God, according to the law of nature, not even according to that which we set down."

own thought or opinion through the medium of the Athenian delegation. Rather, the sophistic style of their discourse seems best interpreted more as a mode of characterization than anything else. As Wasserman notes, the speakers in the Melian Dialogue "represent not only the philosophy and interests but also the character and temper of their people."[29] It is consonant with the cultural shift towards sophism in Athens that the Athenians should pursue this line of argument.

We should therefore be careful of any hasty conclusions about Thucydides' partiality for the Athenian side in the negotiations. From an earlier passage in the Plataean Debate, we can tell that he is at least aware that the Athenians' argument from a universal kind of *nomos* would also be feasible for the Melians. During their trial in the third book, the Plataeans claim to have followed the law of all peoples in repelling the Theban invaders (Th. 3.56.2): it might equally be said that the Melians are obeying a kind of general, and therefore (in the Athenians' terms) natural, law. Of course, the Athenians at 5.105 do not mean to claim that they alone possess the sanction of *nomos,* only that they possess it just as much as the Melians and are therefore unafraid of contravening it. But the possibility that their argument could be used oppositely reveals either a patent ignorance or a calculated shortsightedness in their rationale. If the Athenians are dealing honestly and speaking their minds openly, they have only considered half the truth. Otherwise, knowing that the corollary to their point will not work in their favour, they find it rhetorically convenient to leave out. Under the circumstances, the latter seems the more plausible case.[30] But in either case there is cause for us to be wary of what they say, and it is unlikely that Thucydides intends an unequivocal sponsorship of the Athenian position. It is indeed possible that he agrees with the Athenian doctrine of power from a detached historical perspective, yet it is evidently not the only truth to be accounted for in the situation at hand. Accordingly, we ought to be skeptical of how much he believes his Athenian delegates to be in the right for ostensibly identifying the course of nature and choosing to adopt it as a kind of *nomos*.

In short, Thucydides does not take sides.[31] As in the case of *stasis* and its inevitable discord, he again wants to demonstrate an irresolvable conflict stirred by natural forces. His balanced view of the matter is revealed elsewhere at 4.61, where he has Hermocrates take a moderate position in his address to the Sicilian assembly, not blaming the Athenians

29   Wasserman 19.
30   But cf. MacLeod 62, who sees the Athenians as subject to "a kind of blindness." "The Athenians are simply the victims of their own power, there is no attempt to do what Thucydides saw as Pericles' great achievement, to control the natural impulses of the Athenian people and empire."
31   See Wasserman 21 on Thucydides' impartiality.

for their aggression, but rather chastising those on his side who might be prepared to surrender:

καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις μέμφομαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπακούειν ἑτοιμοτέροις οὖσιν: πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν μὲν τοῦ εἴκοντος, φυλάσσεσθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιόν. (Th. 4.61.5)[32]

It is as natural that man should rule others where he can as it is that he should resist those oppressing him. The Melian Dialogue presents a more elaborate exposition of this inexorable problem of human nature.

One of the most interesting aspects of Thucydides' work is how prototypical it is of many later intellectual developments. Although he lacked the language of modern relativism and social construction, the insubstantiality of convention and the mutability of human behaviours could not but attract his inquiring gaze. His temperament was perhaps too conservative to advocate any new system of values on the basis of his studies or to formally devise any novel theory of history; he was aware of how fluid the meaning of words could be. All the same, he had to set out his findings somehow, and he thus resorted to demonstrating them via a few paradigmatic cases, of which the two most prominent are easily the conference at Melos and the spread of *stasis* following the Corcyrean revolution. Here Thucydides develops his idea of human practices held in perpetual conflict by the ordinances of an immutable nature. Human society may follow the laws of its own device, but these in turn are inevitably bound by a higher kind of law—the law of nature, which in the fifth century was on the verge of its articulation.

---

32   "And I do not blame those who desire to rule, but rather those who are prepared to serve: for it is, on the one hand, in the nature of man to rule over all that is possible, but, on the other, to guard against the aggressor."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Antiphon. *Antiphon the Sophist: The Fragments.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.

Herodotus. *Historiae.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

Hesiod. *Theogonia; Opera et Dies; Scutum.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Plato. *Opera.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

Thucydides. *Historiae.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942.

Secondary Sources:

Cornford, Francis MacDonald. *Thucydides Mythohistoricus*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.

De Romilly, Jacqueline. *La loi dans la pensée grecque des origines à Aristote.* Paris: Belles Lettres, 1971.

Finley, J. H. *Thucydides*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963.

Gomme, A. W. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945.

Hornblower, Simon. *A Commentary on Thucydides*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Hudson-Williams, H. L. "Conventional Forms of Debate and the Melian Dialogue." *Classical Quarterly* 42 (1948): 76-81.

MacLeod, Colin. *Collected Essays*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Ostwald, Martin. *Nomos and the Beginnings of Athenian Democracy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Smith, Stanley Barney. "The Economic Motive in Thucydides." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 51 (1940): 267-301.

Wasserman, Felix Martin. "The Melian Dialogue." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947): 18-36.

Spatial Appropriation and Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire
LAURIA GALBRAITH

Much like nowadays, the Near East of ancient times was a contentious place, filled with multiple different cultural powers all vying for hegemony amongst their various kingdoms and city-states.[1] This unease and antagonism is what makes the Assyrian rise to power at the dawn of the first millennium BCE all the more significant; they dominated and subsequently made vassals of many violate and formidable states over the short period of time, reaching the peak of their territorial expanse in the 7th century, when the Neo-Assyrian Empire stretched from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, down through Egypt and up to the Black Sea.[2] This rapid advance over the territories of various ethnic-identity groups created a point of tension for the Assyrians, a conflict that all large empires will eventually reach: how to construct an imperial identity that balances incorporating all these newly conquered territories and maintaining the ruling culture's sovereignty.[3] This tension between having to uphold an aloof distance from the conquered people while also legitimizing the imperial spread by including these periphery territories into the state identity can be seen through many cultural facets of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, but this paper will demonstrate the use of the spatial layout of the gardens of the capital city of Nineveh as attempt to overcome this tension. While intended as a remedy, it ultimately created a false impression for the Assyrian elites that their empire was not experiencing this identity-conflict.

There is ample evidence that there were particular ethnic separations during this time, and F.M. Fales demonstrates this through textual evidence; the Assyrians had both official and commonplace uses of the ethnic-group term "Assyrian," which delineated a category of people who lived within their empire who were of the elite ruling class, but was also applicable to the commoners who were native to the core geographic area of Assyria. But Fales also points out that the "Assyrian" nomenclature was

1   Liverani, Mario. *The ancient Near East : history, society and economy* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 481.
2   Ibid, 488.
3   Fales, Frederick Mario. "Ethnicity in the Assyrian Empire. A view from the nisbe, (II): Assyrians." In *Homenaje a Mario Liverani, fundador de una ciencia nueva* , by J. Ma Córdoba et al., (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2015), 198.

not necessarily bounded; there are a few older textual references of "Assyrianization," such as one where the king, speaking of an Aramaean tribe, declares: "Let them be reckoned [as Assyrians]."[4] These textual sources seem to demonstrate a clear distinction of ethnic identity on one hand, but the imperial identity seems to be a bit more of a fluid category.[5]

However, the appearance of an unbounded imperial identity does not necessarily imply its actuality. This willingness to include others was based on the Assyrian ideology of geographic growth potential, the "endless expansion of empire" that came to require an unbounded imperial identity.[6] The realization of this ideology was not necessarily in line with its idealization, and this was mostly due to the Neo-Assyrian Empire manner of conquering foreign territories; using a "slash and burn" method, the Assyrians would overcome their enemy state in battle, burn down the towns and then often forcibly deport the peoples living there.[7] There was never really a follow up of imperial incorporation and structuration after this; Assyria would effectively "de-culture" an area by deporting huge swaths of its population, but seldom fill the void left behind.[8] The huge tributary demands that followed - their gravity heightened by threat of further destruction - were met with deep animosity from the conquered territories towards their rulers, resulting in near constant rebellion and political challenges.[9]

Given the likely antagonistic viewpoint of these subjugated foreign territories, I want to approach this issue from the opposite direction and explore how the Assyrians viewed these outsider territories – particularly in the context of how the Assyrians who, as we have seen above, categorically distinguish themselves ethnically from the subjugated members of their empire, while trying to maintain a geographic definition of Assyria that would have had to encompass these locales.

In Assyrian art and text, there is recurrent correlation between identity and natural landscape. Initially, scholars believe the representation of landscape within relief art began as an indicator for "specificity of place,"[10] and was strongly tied in with military conquest and domination.[11]

4   Ibid, 195.
5   Parpola, Simo. "National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-Empire Times." *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18, no. 2 (2004): 5-22.
6   Stremlin, Boris. "The Iron Age World-System ." *History Compass* 6, no. 3 (2008): 971.
7   Miller, Daniel J. "Objectives and Consequences of the Neo-Assyrian Imperial Exercise ." *Religion and Theology* 16 (2009): 130.
8   Liverani, 506.
9   Stremlin, 976.
10   Thomason, Allison Karmel. "Representations of the North Syrian Landscape in Neo-Assyrian Art ." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 323 (2001): 70.
11   Cole, S.W. "The destruction of orchards in Assyrian warfare." In *Assyria 1995 : proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, Septem-*

Reliefs showing the military campaigns of Neo-Assyrian kings would show specific flora or landscape features to indicate the locale, and while this stylistic form comes to a peak of artistic complexity in the Neo-Assyrian period, Michalowski demonstrates that this is a historically legitimized practice in the Mesopotamian region. He points to the landscape representation in the Akkadian era of the 2nd millennium as imagery of domination, where "the foreign "other" belonged to Akkad, or should and would."[12] Whether or not it began as a simple artistic method of indexing, there seems to be a tradition of conflating the peripheral or oppositional states with their geographic terrain. Moreover, there is a distinct correlation between conquest and the natural environment in the textual record as well. Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE) was an early expansionist ruler whose Banquet stele lists the flora he saw taking control of territories with military campaigns,[13] while the Annals of Sennacherib (705–681 BCE) boast of bringing back "products of the mountains [Syria] and of Chaldea,"[14] two important territories that Sennacherib retook during his reign.[15] A rather more concrete example of this would be Sennacherib's removal of earth from Babylon after he defeated their rebellion, literally taking the terrain back to Nineveh with him as a resounding symbol of victory.[16]

This association or conflation between non-Assyrian territories and their natural environment seems culturally legitimized when brought into the context of how Assyrians actually used these tributary states; Assyria itself was not an area of strong agricultural productivity, a fact which became even more significant with the expansion of Nineveh's urban area during the last half of the Neo-Assyrian reign, a growth which took over most of the cultivable land.[17] Miller describes the Neo-Assyrian view of their tributaries as "primarily a source of raw materials […] to be plundered to the core",[18] and ultimately became a necessity for maintaining such a large population. Thus, as territory developed religious, militaristic, and subsistence meanings, there evolved a conflation in Neo-Assyrian ideology between the territory and its natural environment, dismissing (or simply extraditing) the actual peoples who inhabited these lands.

ber 7-11, 1995, by R.M. Whiting S. Porpola, (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997), 35-36.

12   Michalowski, Piotr. "Masters of the Four Corners of the Heavens: Views of the Universe in Early Mesopotamian Writings ." In *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, by Kurt A Raaflaub and Richard J A Talbert, (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 153.

13   Thomason, 80.

14   Ibid, 85.

15   Liverani, 488.

16   Foster, Karen Polinger. "The Hanging Gardens of Nineveh." *Iraq* 66 (2004): 215.

17   Stremlin, 976.

18   Miller, 129; Wilkinson et al, 44.

Rather than exploring just textual or iconographical representations of this identity tension between the Assyrians "proper" and the "periphery" Assyrians, I want to delve into how it played out within a spatial context, particularly in the case of Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire at its largest geographically expanse of power, under the reign of Sennacherib and his grandson, Ashurbanipal.[19] The space of Nineveh itself is a unique place to interpret Neo-Assyrian identity, as Sennacherib was the son of Sargon II, who died under mysterious "cursed" circumstances, and so his move to Nineveh was a reconstitution of the empire, both politically and religiously.[20] This happened alongside a rapid acquisition of new territories, allowing Sennacherib and his descendants the chance to construct an urban space that truly reflected their imperial - rather than local - power and identity. The manner in which they contextualized the vast space that composed their empire into the smaller urban space of the city was primarily through the importation of foreign/periphery flora and fauna.[21]

Garden and nature parks were constructed throughout the city, importing exotic plants and animals into the Assyrian core from the distant limits of the empire.[22] While the most grandiose garden was reserved for the royals and elites within the palace, Amrhein explains that this imported flora/fauna were being implemented into public gardens as well as cultic sites.[23] Her paper concerning the subject makes an argument that the artificiality of the garden went hand in hand with the accessibility of that garden; the more exclusive space would have been more ornately diverse, as well as better structured towards an aesthetic order.[24] Because of this, there existed a certain scale of accessibility within these gardens or natural spaces: the highly inaccessible gardens of the king, which would have held a higher concentration of environmental representation from across the empire; the temple gardens, which were likely only accessible to the wider public at certain ritual times of the year; and the public gardens or nature reserves, which were open to all.[25] This last category needs to be problematized though, as Liverani points out that the cities were likely populated with the elites of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and more importantly, these upper classes would be of Assyrian ethnicity.[26] From the records, it seems

19   Liverani, 489.
20   Foster 2004, 215.
21   Amrhein, Anastasia. "Neo-Assyrian gardens: a spectrum of artificiality, sacrality and accessibility." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 35, no. 2 (2015): 108.
22   Liverani, 514-515; Foster, Karen Polinger. "Gardens of Eden: Exotic Flora and Fauna in the Ancient Near East." *Yale Forestry & Environmental Studies Bulletin* 103 (1998): 324.
23   Amrhein, 91.
24   Ibid.
25   Amrhein, 94.
26   Liverni, 499.

that the deportations of periphery populace were mostly from one peripheral territory to another, or in some cases to the Assyrian countryside.[27] The core cities were thus a distinctively Assyrian populace, making those who actually experience these exotic and foreign gardens primarily not the inhabitants from where these plants were native. This is critical to consider when thinking about how these gardens and parks were constructed.

Gardens are built environments using natural materials, existing as both an artistic image and a place in itself.[28] In the Neo-Assyrian urban context, the places that these gardens embodied were the tributary provinces from where the vegetation originated. From the above discussion on the conflation between territories, natural landscape, and military conquest, it seems clear that for the Neo-Assyrian king to take the flora or fauna from a dominated territory and bring it back to his capital to be put within the Assyrian core as function of leisure or pleasure becomes the ultimate symbol of territorial submission.[29] More so, the artificiality of a garden is a very evocative message about the power that the gardener has over said vegetation, given the involved ordering and structuring of something into a certain space, completely drained of its natural or wild origin; in the Neo-Assyrian worldview, this power manifested in the garden points to the power that the Assyrians held over the territories from which this vegetation was taken.[30] For this reason, Amrhein argues that the in the Neo-Assyrian mindset there is "a valuing of the artificial as superior to the natural,"[31] that reflects their ideology of seeing Assyria as a cultivated, orderly place and the peripheral territories as wild and savage; the gardens are thus a taming of the natural wild landscapes of abroad, nicely arranged and improved by the Assyrians.[32] The experience of the Neo-Assyrian Empire that is contextualized within the city is thus these sequestered gardens, where the beautiful exotica of distant locales are controlled and maintained by the imperial power.

When thinking about how these garden and park spaces would have influenced the Nineveh resident's conception of the wider Neo-Assyrian Empire, a few things should be considered: the purposeful construction of these spaces, their distinct location, and the abundant, undifferentiated flora or fauna within them. Underneath a palace relief that depicts a beautiful garden party, Sennacherib describes building an artificial marsh:

Igiru-birds (whose home is far away), wild swine, beasts of the

---

27   Ibid, 500.
28   Amrhein, 106.
29   Foster 2004, 214.
30   Amrhein, 93.
31   Ibid, 96.
32   Thomason, 77; Amrhein, 98.

forest, I let loose therein. By the command of the god, within the orchards, more than in their native habitat, the vine, every fruit-bearing tree and herbs throve luxuriously ... cypress and musikannu tree grew large and sent out many shoots ... the beasts brought forth young in abundance.[33]

There is evidently no desire to create a natural space that accurately reflects the locale from whence the flora or fauna was taken; rather, Sennacherib's motive is towards creating a space that is luxurious and abundant, mixing and matching foreign flora and fauna as he pleases. As such, these natural spaces - which were the microcosm of the wider empire within the imperial capital - were tightly bounded, built in a controlled manner, *and* an amalgamation of various environmental geographies in order to produce something that was aesthetically superior in the eyes of the Assyrians.[34] The question then becomes how this kind of spatial experience shaped the view of the Nineveh-residential conception towards the Assyrian imperial subjects who exist beyond the Assyrian core, and for this, the intentionality of the construction of these gardens must be addressed.

Whether or not these gardens were installed as a means of triumph,[35] the type of experience that they created for the residents of Nineveh would have grown and evolved over time, by virtue of the meaning a space like this would carve out within the city. There is an identity of the "other" built by these gardens, constituted through the representational nature of the environment within, but the identity of these peripheral territories that is being constructed is heavily distorted. The gardens would have been an appropriation of these foreign identities, as well as an act of dehumanization; these gardens, standing in for the lands that were conquered by the Assyrians, push out the actual humans who would have existed within these locales and replace them with inanimate constructs, which are divorced from the actuality of the people who are meant to be represented.[36] As such, the identity being presented in these gardens is not genuine to the tributary territories, but rather a false conception of these locales vis-à-vis how the Assyrians categorized them within their imperial identity.[37]

This idea needs to be further deconstructed, because it is an experience happening within Nineveh that speaks to the broader institutional methods of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Their gardens created a fetishized

33   Amrhein, 105.
34   Amrhein,107; Thomason, 92.
35   Liverani, 510-511.
36   Basso, Keith. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 34.
37   Amrhein, 94.

version of the peripheral territories: something that was experienced within the context of pleasure and which gives an idyllic understanding that can then be presumed of these locales in actuality.[38] The sequestered reality of these spaces also serves as a function of disassociation, further reinforcing the dimension of otherness by keeping the foreign environment separate from the actual Assyrian city daily life,[39] narrowing the possibilities of recursive normalization that could have occurred if these foreign vegetation were to hypothetically spread throughout the city and experienced in an everyday manner.[40] Rather, this strict separation and idealization of the flora and fauna into aesthetic gardens on one hand fetishized these cultures while also reinforcing the hegemony of the Assyrian system; these natural milieus were only beautiful and wondrous in debt to the Assyrian control over such spaces. The spatial engagement with the gardens or natural spaces was distinctly "other:" the Nineveh residents could either move in the urban space around the garden, or make the active choice to leave their Assyrianized urban space to enter this completely oppositional space of the foreign. Rather than incorporating the wider Neo-Assyrian imperial identity into the cityscape, the gardens simply reinforced the separation between the Assyrian and their subjugated erritories.

As mentioned above, the "other" created by the spatial experience of these gardens was completely divergent from the actuality of life in the periphery territories. The beauty, the abundance – all of this was highly mediated by the Assyrian influence.[41] Within the cityscape of Nineveh, the wider Neo-Assyrian Empire was a controlled, calm, beautiful place; in reality, the peripheral territories were angry, depleted, and constantly coming out of Assyrian control.[42] The false image perpetuated by these gardens about the reality of the Neo-Assyrian Empire should be seen as a contributing factor towards why the Assyrian sovereigns never consolidated their empire with an effective administration or an acceptance of their tributary territories.[43] Within the everyday spatial experience in Nineveh, the capital and core of Assyria, there existed a constant disconnect that fed into an ideological daydream of an empire that was happy and sustained.[44]

Regardless of whether the initial intention behind the construction of these gardens and nature parks was that of simple triumph or was an active measure of reorienting the Assyrian identity into a broader imperial

---

38   Thomason, 92.
39   Elden, 107.
40   Ingold, Tim. "The Temporality of the Landscape." *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993):
163.
41   Amrhein, 101-102; Thomason, 82-83.
42   Stremlin, 976.
43   Miller, 145.
44   Liverani, 511.

category, the outcome of the spatial experiences produced by these spaces fulfilled neither. Ultimately, these gardens only served to disconnect the Assyrian conception of their empire from the actual reality of these territories by creating a spatial experience of exotic otherness to represent these tributary or peripheral states, subsequently legitimizing the false notion of a peaceful empire. After centuries of near constant rebellion and foreign enemies collaborating with enemies from within, the Neo-Assyrian Empire finally fell at the end of the 7th century to a coalition formed between the Medes and the Chaldeans. The Judeans, in the wake of the Neo-Assyrian collapse, from whom the Assyrians imported a variety of flora and grain, said in response: "Nineveh is devastated; who will bemoan her?"[45]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alcock, Susan. "The reconfiguration of memory in the eastern Roman Empire." In *Empires*, by S. Alcock, T.N. D'Altroy, K.D. Morrison and C.M. Sinopoli, 323-350. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Amrhein, Anastasia. "Neo-Assyrian gardens: a spectrum of artificiality, sacrality and accessibility." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 35, no. 2 (2015): 91-114.

Basso, Keith. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Cole, S.W. "The destruction of orchards in Assyrian warfare." In *Assyria 1995 : proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, September 7-11, 1995*, by R.M. Whiting S. Porpola, 29-40. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997.

Elden, Stuart. "There is a Politics of Space because Space is Political: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space." *Radical Philosophy Review* 10, no. 2 (2007): 101–116.

Fales, Frederick Mario. "Ethnicity in the Assyrian Empire. A view from the nisbe, (II): Assyrians." In *Homenaje a Mario Liverani, fundador de una ciencia nueva* , by J. Ma Córdoba, C. del Cerro, E. Torres M. G. Biga, 183-204. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2015.

Foster, Karen Polinger. "Gardens of Eden: Exotic Flora and Fauna in the Ancient Near East." *Yale Forestry & Environmental Studies Bulletin* 103 (1998): 320-329.

– "The Hanging Gardens of Nineveh." *Iraq* 66 (2004): 207-220.

Horowitz, Wayne. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbraun, 1998.

Ingold, Tim. "The Temporality of the Landscape." *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993): 152-174.

45   Miller, 145.

Joyce, Rosemary A. "Unintended Consequences? Monumentality as a Novel Experience in Formative Mesoamerica." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 11, no. 1 (2004): 5-29.

Liverani, Mario. *The ancient Near East : history, society and economy.* London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

Michalowski, Piotr. "Masters of the Four Corners of the Heavens: Views of the Universe in Early Mesopotamian Writings." In *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, by Kurt A Raaflaub and Richard J A Talbert, 147 - 168. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Miller, Daniel J. "Objectives and Consequences of the Neo-Assyrian Imperial Exercise." *Religion and Theology* 16 (2009): 124-149.

Parker, Bradley J. "Geographies of Power: Territoriality and Empire during the Mesopotamian Iron Age." *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 22, no. 1 (2012): 126-144.

Parpola, Simo. "National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-Empire Times." *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18, no. 2 (2004): 5-22.

Stremlin, Boris. "The Iron Age World-System." *History Compass* 6, no. 3 (2008): 969-999.

Thomason, Allison Karmel. "Representations of the North Syrian Landscape in Neo-Assyrian Art." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 323 (2001): 63-96.

Tilley, Christopher. *A phenomenology of landscape : places, paths, and monuments.* Oxford: Berg, 1994.

Wilkinson, T. J., Jason Ur. Eleanor Barbanes Wilkinson, and Mark Altaweel. "Landscape and Settlement in the Neo-Assyrian Empire ." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 340 (2005): 23- 56.

Wiseman, J.D. "Mesopotamian Gardens." *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 137-144.

Metus Punicus *and the Strength of Carthage*
at the Outset of the Third Punic War

DAVID GARFINKLE

   Due to a lack of detailed contemporary sources, it is difficult to ascertain the true causes, motivations, and intentions surrounding the Third Punic War. A range of complex interactions were influential and of these, the contemporary sources contend that Rome was likely fearful of a resurgence of power in Carthage. Prior to the second century BC, this *metus punicus* was certainly justified as Carthage had been the dominant western Mediterranean power for centuries before Rome. It had sufficient resources to lose an incredibly costly First Punic War (264-241 BC), pay years of tribute, and *then* wage a devastating Second Punic War on the Italian and Iberian peninsulas (218-201 BC). However, both ancient and modern scholars have dissenting opinions regarding the justification of *metus punicus* by the middle of the second century BC. Three centuries later when Appian wrote his account of the war, a dominant theme in his writings, and by extension perhaps the Roman psyche at the time, was a fear of a Carthaginian "economic renaissance."[1] In contrast to Le Bohec's claims, this essay attempts to present proof of an acceleration of Carthaginian economic growth in 150 BC by juxtaposing the city's increasing economic, political, and military burdens with its capacity to resist a three-year Roman siege. Ultimately, the surprising fact is that Carthage collapsed solely from brute military force of Rome rather than any economic or political failure on the city's own part.

   By the middle of the second century BC, Carthage had endured almost a century of intense economic burden. In addition to wartime losses during the first two Punic Wars, these conflicts had also left Carthage without its overseas territories, which were crucial to the city's trade network and were a valuable source of revenue through both tribute and often silver mines. Hoyos estimates that Carthage's Spanish territories alone could have produced 1,500 talents annually, much of that revenue coming from silver mines near New Carthage and other cities such as Baebalo,[2] while the subject city of Lepcis alone may have been contribut-

---

1   Yann Le Bohec, "The Third Punic War: The Siege of Carthage (148-146 BC)," in *A Companion to the Punic Wars,* ed. Dexter Hoyos (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 434.
2   Dexter Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 225.

ing one talent daily in tribute.[3]

Besides military and territorial losses, Rome had also imposed several tributes and significant concessions onto Carthage over the course of the century preceding the Third Punic War. Starting with 3,200 talents in 241 BC with the close of the First Punic War, an additional 1,200 when Rome seized Sardinia,[4] and finally a 10,000-talent indemnity paid over fifty years, Carthage had supposedly already shipped 14,400 talents of precious metal to Rome.[5] For comparison's sake, the purchasing power of one talent in the middle Republic was enough to pay /the daily wage of 6,000 Roman cavalrymen.[6]

Besides these monetary tributes, the Roman Senate had imposed several material demands upon Carthage before the outbreak of the Third Punic War. Cassius Dio, writing centuries after these events, provides us with a wide scope of possible concessions made by the Carthaginians in 150 BC. He reports that "so first [the Romans] demanded and received grain, next the triremes, and after that the engines; and then they required the arms besides."[7] The received grain was most likely used to feed Rome's large standing army;[8] this is rather ironic considering Carthage's recent military disaster at the hands of a rival African King, Massinissa, in which the majority of Carthage's 58,000 strong army starved to death.[9] As for the triremes, Carthage's standing fleet at this time would have been small, with Strabo reporting that, as per the Scipio Treaty following the Second Punic War, Carthage's navy was limited to just 12 ships.[10] Moreover, any sizeable navy would have served as an affront to Rome's authority on the sea and surely would have provided pretext for Rome to declare a third Punic war decades before 150 BC. Finally, two hundred thousand sets of

3   Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty*, 27. Dexter writes that fifteen hundred talents for one mine is likely exaggerated. However, Polybius writes that the silver mines near New Carthage contributed this amount to the Roman people.

4   Polybius, *Histories*, trans. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (1889. Reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1962), 3.27.

5   Talents varied by size, composition, country, and period. Polybius, a Greek writer writing in 2nd century BC, does not specify what national currency is being used in this treaty, though he would have been both very familiar with Greek 25 kg silver talents, and Roman 32.3kg talents **(**Davies et al. *Aspects of Roman History 82 BC—AD 14: A sourced Based Approach,* 2010.**)**. For the subsequent ten thousand talents from the treaty following the second war, Appian [59] tells us that these were Greek talents.

6   Polybius, *Histories*, 6.39.

7   Dio Cassius, *Roman History: Books I—XI,* trans. Earnest Cary: (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 9.26.

8   Eighty thousand strong by Appian's account. Le Bohec puts the estimate at a more modest 50 thousand.

9   Appian, *The Foreign Wars,* trans. Horace White (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 10.73.

10   Strabo, *Geography*, trans. H.C. Hamilton and W. Falconer (London: George Bell and Sons, 1903), 17.3.15. It is worth mentioning too that Appian at 8.54 of his *Punic Wars* asserts that the navy was limited to just 10 ships per the treaty.

chain mail and two thousand catapults were delivered from Carthage to the Roman camp.[11]

In addition to the seizure of monetary and material goods, Carthage also suffered from possibly catastrophic military losses in the years preceding 150 BC. They had purportedly lost tens of thousands of troops in war with Massinissa after an encirclement maneuver left the army of Carthaginian general Hasdrubal starving and unable to break out. Appian writes that "of 58,000 men composing the army, only a few returned safe to Carthage,"[12] which would put the scale of this defeat on par with the desolation at Cannae.[13] This war came to an end after Carthage agreed to pay Massinissa a 5,000-talent indemnity over the course of fifty years.[14] This would bring the total 150-year international tribute owed by Carthage to foreign powers at an exorbitant 19,400 talents, a volume of silver ranging between 485,000 and 626,620 kilograms.[15]

Finally, in concert with this unending stream of losses, Carthage carried a political burden which seemed to reflect disturbed social balance, division, and inner turmoil. Appian divides the pre-150 BC political scene into three major factions: "a Roman party, a democratic party, and a party which favoured Massinissa as king."[16] The hostility between these three factions best illustrates the political stage in Carthage in 150 BC. Just prior to the war, when tensions with Massinissa were high, Appian reports that the democratic faction sent the pro-Massinissa aristocracy, numbering around forty, into banishment,[17] however, after Hasdrubal's devastating defeat against Massinissa, Carthage was forced to receive these nobles back into the city and the situation in Carthage at this point seems to resemble post-Sullan Rome wherein exiled aristocrats attempt to continue their careers, reclaim wealth, or otherwise repair their and their family's social standing.[18] At the same time, the pro-Roman aristocrats in Carthage pushed for an appeasement policy with Rome in an attempt to avoid conflict at all costs, and this, beyond the material concessions previously discussed, they acquiesced to Rome's demand that Carthage send three hun-

---

11   Polybius, *Histories*, 36.6. Alternatively, Diodorus Siculus's *Library of History* 32.6 reports, "two hundred thousand weapons of all sorts."
12   Appian, *The Foreign Wars*, 10.73.
13   Polybius, *Histories*, 3.117 describes the Roman infantry casualties at Cannae: "All the rest, numbering about seventy thousand, died bravely."
14   Appian, *The Foreign Wars*, 10.73. The terms of defeat were: a five thousand talent indemnity, to receive back those who were banished, and agree to give up Numidian deserters.
15   See note 5.
16   Appian, *The Foreign Wars*, 68. The pro-Roman faction pressed for peace, while the democratic faction favoured war.
17   Ibid., 70.
18   Ibid., 73.

dred children from noble families to Rome as hostages.[19] The true futility of this concession became obvious only upon Rome's declaration of war, but it was even shrouded in suspicion beforehand: "The Carthaginians had some suspicion of this Senate resolution, since there was no security given for the return of the hostages […] some of [the mothers] tore out their hair on the shore and smote their breasts in the extremity of their grief."[20] In addition, Appian reports that the ruling aristocracy had also ordered that Hasdrubal and all other politicians who had supported the war with Massinissa be executed in order to absolve themselves and correct their relations with Rome.[21] According to Appian, Hasdrubal subsequently raised an army of twenty thousand men against Carthage and camped outside the city.[22] Regardless of whether this constitutes a near, though scarcely documented civil war, Appian is very clear in recounting how the political turmoil in Carthage climbs to a violent climax at the news of war with Rome: "Some fell upon those senators who had advised giving the hostages and tore them in pieces […] The city was full of wailing and wrath, of fear and threatening."[23]

Despite seemingly insurmountable losses from tributes, concessions, disastrous military defeats and violent political infighting, at the outbreak of the third Punic war Carthage was still able to levy and equip a sizeable army, build a fleet, import food, and avoid economic collapse during Rome's three-year siege. The contrast between Carthage's enduring capability for levying armies, building ships, and producing arms and conversely the disastrous loss of life the city had suffered at the hands of Massinissa, directs discussion to the population of Carthage in 150 BC. Appian writes that despite their loss of fifty thousand men in the recent conflict with Massinissa, by the time Carthage is forced to declare war, Hasdrubal still managed to raise a new army of thirty thousand with an auxiliary cavalry force led by Phameas,[24] while a 120-ship fleet is mentioned as well.[25] The resources required for the ships alone is staggering, totalling 240 Greek talents to build,[26] and operated by a force of

---

19   Ibid., 76. Appian writes that the Carthaginian embassies tried to "settle the difficulty on any terms they could."
20   Ibid., 77.
21   Ibid., 74: "condemned Hasdrubal, [et al.], to death, putting the whole blame of the war upon them."
22   Ibid., 80.
23   Ibid., 92.
24   Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 21.9.
25   Strabo, *Geography*, 17.3.15.
26   Frank Egleston Robbins, "The Cost to Athens of Her Second Empire," *Classical Philology 13.4* (1918). By the standard costs two hundred years prior, 120 Athenian ships would have cost 240 Greek talents to build.

approximately fifty thousand men.[27] Between their naval and land forces, Carthage would have had a fighting strength in excess of 90,000 men in 151-150 BC. In addition, Appian asserts that at the outbreak of the war, the city of Carthage produced per diem "100 shields, 300 swords, 1,000 missiles for catapults, 500 darts and javelins, and as many catapults as they could."[28] These production achievements imply an industrious community rather than one fatigued and depleted from war and reparations. Velleius, writing one hundred and fifty years after the events, proposes what seems now to be a high estimate: seven hundred thousand people spread over Carthage and the three hundred cities he says they possessed. However, modern scholarship has rebuked this figure as highly improbable if not outright impossible, and to add confusion to his figure, Strabo fails to mention the boundaries for which he defines the breadth of Carthage's territory. Kahrstedt estimates one hundred thirty thousand people in the city proper, which is widely cited.[29]

Whatever the case, all primary sources agree on the duration of the siege, the difficulty of the Roman assault, and the relentless defence of the Carthaginians. Indeed, Appian narrates the surprise of Roman soldiers who took to scaling ladders, "thinking that [the Carthaginians] were unarmed, but when they found that [the Carthaginians] were provided with new arms and were full of courage they were astounded and took to their heels."[30] What's even more astonishing is that despite all of the aforementioned pressure, for three years under siege Carthage managed to still provide food for her many inhabitants despite Scipio's blockade and siege. Appian explains the primary source of grain in the first half of the war: " … foreign merchants ceased to frequent the place on account of the war. Thus, they had to rely on food brought from Africa alone, little coming in by sea."[31] The conclusions of this passage are two-fold: firstly, despite the increased expenditure of circumventing the blockade in addition to the many pre-existing economic sanctions on Carthage, the Carthaginians could still afford to import food both prior to and during the war. In fact, it seems that importing food from elsewhere in Africa was even more expensive than importing from the Mediterranean trade network; otherwise, the former would have always been the preferred option. Secondly, Velleius' aforesaid assertion that the Carthaginian hegemony included three

---

27   Polybius, *Histories*, 1.26 describes ship capacity of the Roman amphibious force in the First Punic War: "each ship holding three hundred rowers and one hundred and twenty marines."

28   Appian, The Foreign Wars, 93.

29   H. H. Scullard, "Carthage and Rome." in *The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume 7 Part 2: The Rise of Rome to 220 BC,* ed. F. W. Walbank et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 502-3.

30   Appian, *The Foreign Wars*, 97.

31   Ibid., 120.

hundred nearby African towns, becomes a more plausible notion. It seems impossible that Carthage could have supported itself through the war without drawing on local harvests and hidden resource stores from an extensive countryside. In conclusion, the increasing strength and hegemony of Carthage in 150 BC is most clearly illustrated by analyzing the various burdens it suffered, *in tandem* with the knowledge that its economic and political burdens were not the cause of its own demise, nor were the projections for the future of Carthage bleak—rather, its fall came from direct assault and burning of the city.

Yann Le Bohec provides an overview of the conflict within which he summarizes a few leading causes for Roman aggression. Of these, this discussion seeks to rebuke his opinion on the economic thesis that the Romans had no reason to fear Carthaginian commerce nor cause to fear "a renaissance of Carthage." He contends that although it is plausible that Carthage was on the cusp or was even in the midst of an economic renaissance before the Third Punic War, archeological digs prompt him to consider it more likely that Carthage was impoverished and in decline in the wake of losing its empire. Contrary to this opinion, and, in conclusion to the analysis made previously, it is more likely that Carthage was not only still a formidable, influential, and populous city state at this time, but that it was also in the process of growing extensively and prospering. Le Bohec references excavations of impoverished dwellings as evidence for a declining Carthaginian economy.[32] However, such an observation equally supports the argument for an increase in land-owning population as it does for a poorer aristocracy. Similarly, his observation of a devalued currency bears little weight without knowledge of the quantity of coins being minted; it could mean anything from a drain of wealth, to an increase of production, to a growing population. Although Carthage had lost overseas empire and its corresponding income, these losses also drastically reduced the state's military expenditures, and Carthage remained a long-distance trader in the Mediterranean prior to 150 BC, delivering grain to Rome and as far as the Black Sea.[33] Moreover, it seems the Carthaginians themselves had confidence in their projected income. When pursuing peace after their initial clash with Massinissa, the Carthaginians offered 200 talents immediately, with an additional 800 to be delivered later.[34] This passage contributes to two arguments: first, it may indicate a depleted Carthaginian treasury in conjunction with the fact that later, Carthage was made to pay a 5,000-talent indemnity over a 50-year period rather than any sort of lump

32   Le Bohec, "The Third Punic War," 434-4.
33   W. V. Harris, "Roman Expansion in the West," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*: *Volume 8,* ed. A. E. Astin et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 147.
34   Appian, *The Foreign Wars*, 72.

sum, suggesting that the city was incapable of providing lump sums. On the one hand, a depleted treasury may indicate impoverishment as per Le Bohec's claim, but on the other it shows that Carthage's income must have continued to outweigh its increasingly extraordinary expenditure, which must mean that Carthage's economy was growing (or that they defaulted on a growing number of loans). Secondly, the passage suggests confidence among Carthage's ruling class regarding the accuracy of the state's projected income. However, there are some limitations to these claims: it remains uncertain how much wealth came from trade, tribute, and taxes rather than the liquidation of private funds, since in such a time of peril with the threat of destruction and slavery looming, it seems private citizens would have spared no expense for the sake of the community.

The perceived strength of Carthage in 150 BC is, however, limited to the scope of our sources. Many of the arguments in this paper rely on production values, estimated population figures, and military strength, which could be exaggerated or inaccurate for many reasons. Notwithstanding the limitations of these figures, the overwhelming theme in the narrative of the Third Punic War is an accumulation Carthaginian burdens, followed by an unyielding Carthaginian resilience. In conclusion, not only was Carthage still a formidable strength by 150 BC, but through analyzing its extraordinary economic and political hardships, in tandem with the knowledge that its demise came externally from a brutal Roman military victory, it is likely that Carthage would have continued to prosper.[35] The irony is that had the Roman Senate not pushed the stresses on Carthage to a climax before destruction, Punic resilience might never have been so obvious, and modern scholars may never have known the limits of Carthaginian strength in this period.

---

35   This perspective is shared with Harris and is held in opposition with Le Bohec.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Appian. *The Foreign Wars.* Translated by Horace White. New York: Macmillan, 1899.

Dio Cassius, *Roman History: Books I–XI,* trans. Earnest Cary: Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Diodorus Siculus. *The Library of History: Books XXI-XXXII.* Translated by Francis R. Walton. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Polybius. *Histories.* Translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh. 1889. Reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1962.

Strabo. *Geography.* Translated by H.C. Hamilton and W. Falconer. London: George Bell and Sons, 1903.

Valleius Paterculus. *Compendium of Roman History: Res Gestae Divi Augusti.* Translated by Frederick W. Shipley. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

Secondary Sources

Davies, Mark Everson, and Hilary Swain. *Aspects of Roman History 82 BC–AD 14: A Source Based Approach.* Routledge, 2010.

Harris, W. V. "Roman Expansion in the West." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*: Volume 8, edited by A. E. Astin, F. W. Walbank, M. W. Frederiksen, and R. M. Ogilvie, 107-162. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Hoyos, Dexter. *Hannibal's Dynasty.* New York: Routledge, 2003.

Le Bohec, Yann. "The Third Punic War: The Siege of Carthage (148-146 BC)." In *A Companion to the Punic Wars*, edited by Dexter Hoyos, 430-45. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

Robbins, Frank Egleston. "The Cost to Athens of Her Second Empire." *Classical Philology 13.4* (1918): 361-88.

Scullard, H.H. "Carthage and Rome." In *The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume 7 Part 2: The Rise of Rome to 220 BC,* edited by F. W. Walbank, A. E. Astin, M. W. Frederiksen, R. M. Ogilvie, and A. Drummond, 486-572. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Smith, William ed. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,* "Nummus." London: John Murray, 1901.

Bits, Bridles, and Horses: The Breaking Effect of Love Through Horse Imagery in the Ars Amatoria

MOLLY ROSENZWEIG

In the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid uses horse and bit metaphors in order to subtly insert perceived truths and warnings about Love[1] and the system of romance into his didactic poem. Just as the natural wildness of horses is constrained by bits and bridles through breaking techniques, warns Ovid, so too are men and women broken through the process of love.

Ovid's metaphors allow warnings to slide neatly into the body of the poem, creating a cautionary subtext from which readers can learn. Karsten Harries discusses the semblance of truth that accompanies metaphors, writing that "successful metaphors reveal reality and can thus claim to be true."[2] The metaphors in the *Ars Amatoria* can thus be categorized as successful because they convey the reality of the practice of love.

Examples of such metaphors appear in all three books of the *Ars,* and can be further supplemented by a passage from Vergil's *Georgics.*[3] In addition to the Roman writings, we will examine Xenophon's *On Horsemanship*[4] for the context of contemporary horse training techniques. Finally, we will analyze the material culture of horsemanship in an attempt to create a complete picture of the horse bits which are described in the figures of speech.

Ovid uses the analogy of the bit and the horse to describe the relationship of the lover and the beloved. The bit is to the horse as the lover is to the beloved: potentially harsh control. Ovid begins Book 1 of the *Ars* by describing the stubborn nature of the horse, its will to resist the tools of breaking, and the similar aspects of Love:

sed tamen et tauri ceruix oneratur aratro,

      frenaque magnanimi dente teruntur equi:

---

1   This paper will distinguish between love and Love. Love, with a capital "L," is the anthropomorphised figure that goes about with a bow and arrow, controlling the emotions of his targets. "love," on the other hand, refers to the emotion itself and the courtship rituals and relationship that stems from the manipulation of Love's arrows.

2   Karsten Harris, "The Many Uses of Metaphor," *Critical Inquiry* 5 (Autumn 1978), 167.

3   Vergil, *Georgics*, ed. & trans. Kimberly Johnson (New York: Penguin Classics, 2009).

4   Xenophon, *The Art of Horsemanship*, trans. Morris H. Morgan (London: J. A. Allen & Co., 1962).

et mihi cedet Amor, quamuis mea uulneret arcu
    pectora, iactatas excutiatque faces (Ov. Ars 1.20).
But, however, even the neck of the bull is weighed down by the plough,
    and the bit is worn down by the teeth of the bold horse:
and Love will fall to me, although he might wound my breast with
    his bow, and shake out his flames of love, thrown about.

In modern equestrian techniques, bits have three basic design characteristics: thickness, material, and details. The bit that is more comfortable for the horse, or the kind bit, is thicker, made out of a smooth and soft rubber, and has no joint. On the contrary, the bit that is more painful for the horse, or the harsh bit, might have two thin bars made of twisted metal with joints that bend at different angles, for the purpose of getting and maintaining the horse's attention. Ancient bits share the same basic characteristics. However, different details are added to the bit in order to gain the horse's attention. Examples include metal discs on the bits, with the harsher ones covered in spikes.

Since the bit that Ovid describes is worn down by the teeth of the horse, the horse is actively biting down on the mouthpiece. This suggests that the horse is ignoring the rider's instructions. Xenophon, in his treatise on horse care and riding, addresses this problem, advising as a solution that the rider alternate between the use of two bits: "Let one of them be smooth, with the discs on it good-sized…[The horse] may, however, come not to mind its smoothness and to bear hard upon it; and this is why we put the large discs on the smooth bit, to make him keep his jaws apart and drop the bit."[5] The discs are necessary to ensure that the horse is attentive to the rider.

When a horse "bears hard upon a bit", it implies that the horse is unstable and unable to balance without the support that the bit and rider provide through contact with the horse's mouth.[6] The horse that leans on the bit is no longer fully focused on the direction of the rider, but rather, is trying to balance with the least necessary amount of work. Xenophon's advice to have two different bits is sound, because it means that the horse will pay more attention to the rider, thereby giving the rider a more effective means of communication.

Thus, when Ovid includes the detail about the bold horse biting on the bit, he gives a volatile force to love: a relationship is not predictable and can be controlling. Ovid views Love as an anthropomorphised idea

5   Xenophon, *The Art of Horsemanship*, 56-57.
6   This is something about which I am knowledgeable through many years of personal horseback riding experience, however, J. K. Anderson also discusses it in his book *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 55.

that encompasses the courting rituals and relationship between the lover and the beloved. In this particular quote, Ovid sees Love as his beloved and himself as the active lover. In *mihi cedet Amor*, the inevitability in the future tense of *cedet* illustrates the power of Ovid as the breaker of Love. Ovid suggests that Love has a wild unpredictability through his required taming: people could easily be manipulated by Love,[7] rather than controlling Love. Ovid's metaphor highlights his belief that the process of love is one which requires lovers to use the force seen in bits to capture and subdue a beloved.

Ovid makes a second parallel between the lover and the bit by describing the power of their continued presences. Just as the horse will eventually become accustomed to the bit, the beloved will eventually cave to the lover's overbearing presence. This can be seen in a later passage in Book 1, where Ovid suggests that the lover's persistence will be rewarded:

si non accipiet scriptum illectumque remittet,
>   lecturam spera propositumque tene.
tempore difficiles veniunt ad aratra iuuenci,
>   tempore lenta pati frena docentur equi.
ferreus assiduo consumitur anulus usu,
>   interit assidua uomer aduncus humo (Ov. Ars 1.469-74).

If she will not accept the letter and unread, sends it back,
>   *hope that she will read it and hold on to your plan.*
Difficult young bulls come to the plough with time,
>   *with time horses are taught to suffer the tenacious bits.*
The iron ring is worn away by constant use,
>   *the bent plowshare is ruined by constant soil.*

The word choice here is important, because *pati* can mean either "to endure", "to undergo", or "to suffer", as I have chosen to translate it. When *pati* is taken to mean "suffer", the comparison between the horse and the beloved implies that the beloved would not return the lover's affections out of love. Rather, the recipient of the letter would answer due to a desire to end the harassment.

Ovid emphasizes the unwillingness to comply with the description of the *anulus* and the adjective *lenta*. Here, *anulus* refers to the ring of a bit. This is where the reins connect the bit with the bridle. Since the ring is "worn away by constant use," the rider is applying persistent pressure to

---

7   This is the general idea behind Patricia Watson's article "Love as a Civilizer: Ovid, "Ars Amatoria," 2,467-92", however I think that the process by which people fall to love is even more important, as it appears to be like the breaking of a horse.

the ring and therefore to the horse's mouth. If the bit is also *lenta*, that is, "clinging", "tenacious", or "sticky", it is a constant aspect of the horse's daily life. The horse tolerates the bit because of its persistent presence. Thus, just as the horse can be tamed through repeated use of the bit, the beloved can be broken through repeated displays of affection.

Ovid's decision to use *lenta frena* ("persistent bits") draws on a literary history of bit and horse metaphors. In 29 BCE, Vergil wrote about the breaking of horses in his *Georgics*. When Ovid was writing the *Ars Amatoria* thirty years later, he profited from the earlier works in the didactic genre, including those by Vergil and Lucretius. When considering *lenta frena*, however, it is important to note that an alternate sense of *lentus* is "tough." Keeping this additional sense in mind, the vocabulary in a passage from Book 3 of the *Georgics* relates to Ovid's *lenta frena*:

tum demum crassa magnum farragine corpus
     crescere iam domitis sinito: namque ante domandum
ingentis tollent animos, prensique negabunt
     verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis (Verg. G. 3.205-208).[8]
Then at last permit the body to become large with stout fodder
     now when they are mastered: for now, before being tamed
their enormous spirits will lift, and caught, they will deny
     to suffer the harsh lashes and to obey the hard jagged-toothed bit.

Where Ovid uses *lenta frena*, Vergil names a specific type of bit. A *lupatum* is a bit with jagged edges that are reminiscent of wolves' teeth. J. K. Anderson writes that "references to 'wolves' on bits abound in Latin literature, and suggest that the mouthpiece was often furnished with sharp spikes."[9] *Lupatis*,[10] the dative or ablative plural of *lupatum*, occurs nine times in Latin poetry between the 1st c. BCE (Vergil and Horace) and the 5th c. CE (Sidonious Apollonaris). Thus, the harsh, jagged bit had been prevalent in Latin literature, and Ovid would have been familiar with it. The literary history of *lupatum* adds to the significance of Ovid's use of *lenta frena*. Not only is the harsh bit persistent in its restraint of the horse, but the concept of the harsh bit is persistent in its existence through time. If we consider that *lenta* can mean "tough," then Ovid's *lenta frena* seems to refer to the same type of bit as Vergil's *lupatum*.

Harsh bits like the *lupatum* have been found all over the Mediterranean, dating from the fourth century BCE. One of the early mouthpieces

8   Vergil, *Georgics*, 91.
9   Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, 76.
10   This is the only form that appears when looking into word frequency.

comes from a fourth century grave in Boeotia, and can be seen in the Berlin State Museums (Figure 1); a nearly identical bit is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 2). These are just some examples of *lupata* from which Ovid might be drawing inspiration in his treatise on love. Close inspection of the two reveals the harsh nature of the bits, and the pain that the horses would have suffered. The sharp points on the bars of the jointed mouthpiece are clear. Xenophon states their effect on the horse: "the [bit is made] with the discs heavy, and not standing so high, but with the ἐχῖνοι sharp, so that when he seizes it, he may drop it from dislike of its roughness."[11] The ἐχῖνοι[12] are the spikes on the bits. The ancient solution for the horse's biting on the mouthpiece is painful detailing.

The fact that the bit was jointed also caused the horse to feel pain. Mary Littauer writes: "When both reins were pulled on such long canons[13] a considerable angle would be formed by their joint, and one that would be high enough to press painfully against the roof of the horse's mouth."[14] The S-curves in the cheek-pieces would also be painful, because of the pressure exerted upon the muzzle with the pulling of the reins. The upper curves would dig into the soft skin behind the nostrils and the lower pieces would press into the bone under the chin of the horse.[15] Combined together, the sharp points, the jointed design, and the S-curved cheek-pieces would have created a painful experience for a horse, should the rider use excessive force to rein in or direct his mount.

By the early 3rd century BCE, the Celts were using another style of harsh bit: the curb bit. An example is shown in Figure 3 with gently pointed discs to annoy the horse's tongue, but the discs are not as sharp as in previous bits. The reins attach to the hooks at the very bottom of the cheek-pieces, creating a lot of leverage for the rider and making the mouthpiece act as a pivot.[16] The bar located several inches below the mouthpiece would then be pressed into the skin and bone underneath the horse's chin. The harder the rider pulls, the more the cheek-pieces will swing, and the harder the curb bar is pushed into the horse's jaw. The Romans must have learned this design from the Celts, because in a later Roman example, a

---

11   Xenophon, The Art of Horsemanship, 56-57.
12   *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, 7th ed., s.v. "ἐχῖνος." While an ἐχῖνος is a hedgehog, Xenophon uses the term to describe the burrs on bits.
13   *Dictionarium Britannicum: Or a more compleat universal etymological english dictionary than any extant,* 2nd ed., s.v. "canon." Per the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, this is the part which leads into the mouth.
14   Mary Aiken Littauer, "Bits and Pieces," *Antiquity* 43 (1969), 295.
15   Mary B. Moore, "A Note on a Horse Bit from the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Antike Kunst* 48 (2005): 46.
16   Robert Emmons Lee, "Ancient Roman Curb Bits," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 11 (1900), 153-154.

curb bar is also present.

The curb bit in Figure 4 was found in Pompeii and dates to 79 CE. Since the features are consistent with earlier bits, this shows that the Romans had the same problems with breaking and riding horses as the Greeks and Celts had.[17] This particular bit has three sets of discs, each with different ἐχῖνοι. The innermost discs have ridges with spikes that are not very sharp. The outermost set of ἐχῖνοι has fewer ridges, but these are more pointed, creating discomfort in the mouth and encouraging the horse not to bite the mouthpiece. The rein hooks at the bottom of the cheek-pieces and the curb bar permit the same painful leverage for stopping and controlling the horse.[18]

With such variations in harsh bits, different techniques must also be used in order to master the horse with the stronger mouthpiece. This is another way in which lovers must approach the taming of their beloveds. Ovid continues to use metaphors of horses and riders to highlight the painful nature of love. The next example in the *Ars* appears in Book 2:

aspice, ut in curru modo det fluitantia rector
> lora, modo admissos arte retentet equos (Ov. Ars 2.433-434).[19]
Look at how the horseman in the chariot gives the flowing reins at one time,
> *how at another time he holds the horses, put to flight, back tightly.*

With this analogy, Ovid advises lovers to keep tight control over their beloveds. As in the first example, Love is shown as a fiery, wild creature that is tamed. Here, Ovid expands on his breaking of Love by referencing the ways in which a horseman communicates with and restrains his horse. The horses have been *admissos* ("sent out"); in this context, the word means "put to a gallop" or "run." In these lines, Ovid is contrasting the domestic and feral aspects of horses. *fluitantia lora* implies that the horses are behaving and need no extra instruction, thereby describing a perfectly broken horse. The *admissos*, however, is a frantic running from something, the instinctual flight response which requires intense communication from the horseman. Thus, when a beloved is docile and compliant there is no need to apply force. Should they resist or flee the lover, how-

17   Richard Berenger, *The History and Art of Horsemanship,* (London: T. Davis, 1771), 2, note *. This footnote mentions that Pliny the Elder also had written a treatise on horsemanship, although it is now lost. Thus, it can be assumed that the Romans, even during Ovid's time, would have cared enough about horses and horsemanship to know the basics about such things as harsh bits and the features of said bits.
18   Lee, "Ancient Roman Curb Bits," 154. Lee had a model of this bit made so that he could personally test the functionality of the mouthpiece on a horse, and concluded that "If used with very much force, and very quickly, I think it would break the cheek bones."
19   P. Ovidi Nasonis, *Ars Amatoria*, 172.

ever, extra control is necessary.

This example refers to the method of horseback riding known as "touch and go", which only generates the harshest force when necessary. The horse is rewarded when the rider lets go of the rein pressure, and the pain only occurs if the horse does not listen.[20] Ovid's references to harsh bits in conjunction with his *arte modo* emphasize the cruelty of the horseman and the complete forced control of the horse. This is the control that Ovid claims the lover can have over the beloved in the pursuit of love.

Ovid continues to use horse comparisons in Book 3 of the *Ars*, which is addressed to women. It is now not the women who take the passive role, and are forcefully subdued by the men, but the men who will be broken by the women. In Book 3, Ovid incorporates more horse and bridle language to advise women regarding the seduction of men of various ages:

sed neque uector equum, qui nuper sensit habenas,
    comparibus frenis artificemque reget,
nec, stabiles animos annis uiridemque iuuentam
    ut capias, idem limes agendus erit (Ov. Ars 3.555-558).[21]
But the horseman shall neither manage the horse, who not long ago felt the reins,
    with the same bits as he will manage the skilled horse,
nor, in order that you capture minds stable in years and a fresh youth,
    must [your] path be conducted similarly.

Ovid uses his knowledge of horse training techniques to demonstrate the necessity for different approaches to seduction. He knows, for example, that the untrained horse does not respect the bit, and that a harsher bit must be used in order to properly train the horse. The older horse, meanwhile, will have experienced a harsh bit, and so will not require such a mouthpiece because he would rather listen to a gentler one.[22] In the same way, the woman should not use the same methods to attract a younger man as an older one. However, by incorporating ideas about harsh and kind bits, Ovid again relates Love to a harsh capturer[23] that would take its beloved hostage. Love, which Ovid first claimed to be able to tame, is now forcefully breaking the people which it controls.

---

20   Moore, "A note", 52.
21   P. Ovidi Nasonis, *Ars Amatoria*, 208.
22   Xenophon basically states the same thing in his argumentation for two separate bits (56-57) which adds to the idea that Ovid was familiar with either Xenophon's work, or treatises on horsemanship that were like Xenophon's.
23   Eleanor Winsor Leach, "Georgic Imagery in the Ars amatoria," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 95 (1964), 146.

All of the various horse and bit metaphors in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* remind the reader that Love is neither easy nor free. Just as there is constant communication and contact between the horse and the rider through the bit, the lover is persistently bearing down on the beloved in the process of Love. Through an extensive examination of horse imagery in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid,* as well as the material culture from ancient horsemanship, it has been demonstrated that Ovid uses horse and bit metaphors to indirectly warn his readers about the harsh process of love. When Ovid uses phrases inspired by previous authors, he strengthens his metaphors by gesturing to familiar writings. Readers would have been familiar with bits, and with their potential to cause great pain, and the warnings would remain in their minds. Ovid employs the metaphors as artfully crafted ciphers that contain the social reality behind love.
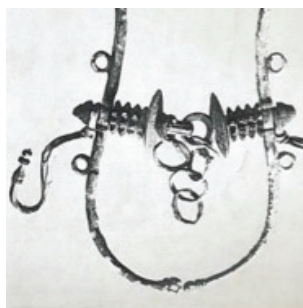
Fig. 1: Bronze bit found in a 4th c. BCE grave in Boeotia.[24] Berlin State Museums.

Fig. 2: Bronze horse bit from 4th c. BCE by J. Pierpont Morgan. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. www.metmuseum.org. (accessed Nov. 14, 2016).

Fig. 3: Celtic curb bit from the early 3rd c. BCE.[25]

Fig. 4: Roman bit from Pompeii, dating 79 AD.[26] National Museum of Naples.

24   Photo taken from J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, plate 36b.
25   ibid., plate 34d.
26   Photo from Robert Emmons Lee, "Roman Curb Bits", figure 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Nasonis, P. Ovidi. *Amores, Medicamina Faciei Femineae, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris.* Edited by E. J. Kenney. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Vergil. *Georgics*. Translated by Kimberly Johnson. New York: Penguin Classics, 2009

Xenophon. *The Art of Horsemanship*. Translated by Morris H. Morgan. London: J. A. Allen & Co., 1962.

Secondary Sources:

Anderson, J. K. *Ancient Greek Horsemanship.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

Baily, Nathan. "canon." *Dictionarium Britannicum.* London: Olms, 1969. 132. Electronic.

Berenger, Richard. *The History and Art of Horsemanship.* London: T. Davis, 1771.

Crocker, J. Christopher. "The Social Functions of Rhetorical Forms." In *The Social Use of Metaphor*, edited by J. David Sapir and J. Christopher Crocker, 33-67. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

Harris, Karsten. "The Many Uses of Metaphor." *Critical Inquiry* 5 (Autumn 1978), 167-174.

Leach, Eleanor Winsor. "Georgic Imagery in the Ars amatoria." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 95 (1964): 142-154.

Lee, Robert Emmons. "Ancient Roman Curb Bits." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 11 (1900): 150-157.

Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. "ἐχῖνος." *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1889. 340. Print.

Littauer, Mary Aiken. "Bits and Pieces." *Antiquity* 43 (1969): 289-300.

Moore, Mary B. "A Note on a Horse Bit from the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan in the Metropolitan Museum of Art." *Antike Kunst* 48 (2005): 40-54.

Watson, Patricia. "Love as a Civilizer: Ovid, "Ars Amatoria," 2,467-92." *Latomus* 43 (1984): 389-395.

Rhapsodes, Bards, and Books: A Discussion of the
Crystallization of Epic Poetry in Ancient Greece and Tibet
EDWARD ROSS

The tradition of epic poetry is deeply tied to that of oral transmission. The works of Homer, for instance, were not fully recorded until approximately two hundred years after their creation. With no complete textual versions widely available, it was necessary for these works to be disseminated verbally. *Rhapsodes* would perform epic poems for crowds at festivals and, depending on the audience,[1] sing specific episodes from the well-known narrative. Each of these performances would vary depending on the *rhapsode*, although the most important aspects of the narrative were preserved. It was not until 530 BCE, under the direction of Pisistratus, that the poems were crystallized into the twenty-four books we know today.

The *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* went through a very similar system of oral transmission and crystallization. Bards, comparable to the Greek *rhapsodes*, would travel around Tibet and sing of the life of Gesar of Ling. Although several partial accounts exist, a full written record of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* was not developed until the 1979. The completed version of thirty-one books now exists in Bhutan.

By looking at the more documented process of the crystallization of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* it is possible to come to a better understanding of how other epics, such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were crystallized from oral tradition. This essay will compare the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* by looking at oral performance and the textualization of the works. The first section of this essay will describe the crystallization of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the context of the Ancient Greek world, and the second section will describe the crystallization of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* in the context of pre-modern and modern Tibet. But before the crystallization of epics can be discussed, it is important to understand what makes an epic.

The genre of epic poetry is present in the historical study of most cultures today. Prime examples of this are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* from

---

1   Due to a wide range of education across Greece, some people would have found gruesome battle scenes exciting while others would have preferred episodes which were laced with subtle references to mythological tales.

the Mediterranean world, the *Mahabharata* from Hindu culture, and Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Epics refer to extremely long narratives that are usually composed in some form of poetic style.[2] The narrative is divided into various episodes focused around a central heroic figure. This figure usually represents the ideals of a civilization and holds great historical or legendary significance. The setting of an epic might cover several countries, or perhaps even the whole universe. Epic poetry is also characterized by elements of superhuman ability and the influence of supernatural beings, such as gods, angels, or demons.[3] With all of these aspects in mind, it is no wonder that epic poems were so popular among different cultures.[4] The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in particular embody these aspects and are some of the oldest surviving epic poems.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are among several hundred texts attributed to Homer,[5] a legendary poet from the Greek Archaic Period. The narrative of the *Iliad* focuses on the events surrounding the legendary warrior Achilles, who fought with the Greeks against the Trojans during the Trojan War. The *Odyssey* illustrates the journey of Odysseus after the war from the shores of Troy to his home in Ithaca. Both of these epics have exceptionally vast settings comprised of both physical and mythological geography. In the Homeric epics the Greek gods play a very active role in human endeavours and present themselves nearly as often as humans. For example, Athena descends from Olympus merely to disrupt an argument between Achilles and Agamemnon.[6] Although the Iliad and the Odysseys are now divided into twenty-four books,[7] these monumental stories were originally presented to the Greek world through oral performance.

Oral performance of epic poetry allowed for widespread dissemination during a time when literacy was rare. In the Greek world, it was very common for travelling storytellers, known as *rhapsodes*, to perform episodes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* at festivals and competitions.[8] The

---

2   William Harmon, *A Handbook of Literature*, 8th ed., (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall Inc., 2000), 188.

3   Harmon, *Literature*, 189.

4   Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho, *The Epic of Gesar of Ling: Gesar's Magical Birth, Early Years, and Coronation as King*, (Boston: Shambhala, 2012), xvi; Epics imparted onto the inhabitants of a land the information they needed to live in harmony and understand their place in the world.

5   Robert Fowler, "The Homeric Question," in The *Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. Robert Fowler, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 231; Despite this association, there is no actual proof that these texts were written by Homer. In fact modern scholars, by analyzing certain and stylistic inconsistencies with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, have concluded that the Homeric poems were most likely composed by multiple authors.

6   Hom. *Il*. 1.188-222. All original texts have been translated by the author.

7   The Iliad and the Odyssey do not include a majority of the episodes which are attributed to the Trojan Cycle. For example, the story of the Trojan Horse is found in the *Little Iliad*. Many of these episodes have been lost and only have been found in fragments or in the summaries of Proclus.

8   Martin West, "Rhapsodes at Festivals," in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*,

word *rhapsode* is an amalgamation of ῥάπτειν (to stitch together) and ἀοιδός (a singer or bard), literally a "stitcher of songs."[9] The *rhapsode* would begin a performance with an appeal to the Muses for divine inspiration.[10] The *rhapsode* would then sing their chosen episode and finish with a closing thought.[11] Every following *rhapsode* would continue the narrative in the same format and stitch their performance to the previous *rhapsode* through their appeal to the Muses.[12]

The combination of widespread illiteracy and few written texts meant that these competitions valued spectacle over rote memorization.[13] As a result, *rhapsodes* ensured that their performances were not only popular with the crowds but also unique enough to stand out.[14] *Rhapsodes* had access to a huge repertoire of epic poems, which they would stitch together in order to create the best performance.[15] They would recite the stories of Homer or other episodes from the Trojan Cycle, but they would also often add their own narratives to the performance. Each performance was different, with every *rhapsode* focusing on distinct aspects and embellishing particular elements of the epic narrative.[16] Despite these modifications, the general narrative structure of the poem remained consistent.

Since *rhapsodes* all performed the story of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* differently, it is curious that these varying epic accounts developed into the singular, solidified texts that are present today. The current theory holds that the writing of such a long poem would have been very difficult at first, as writing supplies were scarce and expensive in the seventh century BCE. Therefore, it is most likely that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* would have been transmitted orally from the moment of their creation. Assuming that this transmission was dependent on rhapsodic performances, the verbal dissemination of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* would have left them

Bd. 17. (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Ltd, 2010) 1; Prize winning *rhapsodes* also won contests for heraldry in the same festivals, so it is likely that they also had very loud voices.

9   Andrew Ford, "The Classical Definition of ΡΑΨΩΙΔΙΑ," in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (1988), 301.

10   John Crow, "Storytelling and Possession," in *Spirit Possession around the World: Possession, Communion, and Demon Expulsion across Cultures*, ed. Joseph Laycock, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2015), 329.

11   Timothy Boyd, "Where Ion Stood, What Ion Sang," in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. 96 (1994), 114-115; These oral performances were usually unmelodic and did not require music, Arist. Poet. 1462a.6-7.

12   Ford, "Classical Definition," 301.

13   Richard Janko, "The Homeric Poems as Oral Dictated Texts," in *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

14   Boyd, "Ion," 118.

15   Ford, "Classical Definition," 301.

16   Boyd, "Ion," 120; for examples of this refer to Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, 1960), 224.

polymorphous.[17] It is believed that the general crystallization of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* occurred under the direction of Pisistratus during the celebration of the Panathenaia in 530 BCE. While this crystallized text was thought to be developed from a transcript of a rhapsodic performance, it can be assumed that Pisistratus took several liberties when recording this text by taking his favourite versions and putting them together.[18] The problem with this theory of crystallization is that it is difficult to ascertain whether or not all of the episodes associated with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were included in Pisistratus' final edition. By examining the crystallization of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling,* however, it is possible to gain some insight.

Unlike the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* is not attributed to any specific author. The various events which make up the current version have been taken from spoken and textual traditions in Tibet, China, Mongolia, and India.[19] Hundreds of manuscripts and verbal recordings of these episodes exist in many different variations. The central character of the epic is the king of Ling,[20] Gesar, who is said to have ruled sometime during the tenth and eleventh centuries CE.[21] The epic follows the story of King Gesar's expeditions into the kingdoms surrounding Ling to defend his people and his religion.[22] The narrative begins with King Gesar descending from the godly realm into his reincarnation in the human realm.[23] Throughout the epic there are also several different battles with demons and mythical creatures.[24] Until recently there were eighteen books that comprised the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling*, each recording the conquest of one of eighteen fortresses. After the revelation of several other episodes, however, the Bhutanese *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* now consists of thirty-one books.[25] Prior to the creation of the Bhutanese version of the epic, there was no account, spoken or textual, that contained every episode

---

17   Fowler, "Homeric Question," 224.
18   Fowler, "Homeric Question," 224.
19   Samten Karmay, "The Theoretical Basis of the Tibetan Epic, with Reference to a 'Chronological Order' of the Various Episodes in the Gesar Epic," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (1993). 234.
20   The kingdom of Ling was said to be located in Eastern Tibet.
21   Maria Oliphant, "The Evolution of the Legend of King Gesar of Ling," in 経営論集／大東文化大学経営学会 編, (6), (2003), 108.
22   Yang Enhong, "On the Study of the Narrative Structure of Tibetan Epic: *A Record of King Gesar*," in *Oral Tradition*, Vol 16, No. 2, (2001): 296; The political turmoil of King Gesar's era was said to have been focused around the conflict of patronage for either Buddhism or Bon, and different versions of episodes ascribe different beliefs onto Gesar, so it is hard to tell if he was supporting Buddhism or Bon.
23   Enhong, "Narrative Structure," 297.
24   Enhong, "Narrative Structure," 297.
25   Geoffrey Samuel, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1995), 293.

of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling*. Despite this, oral transmission ensured that the epic was well-known across the Tibetan plateau.[26]

In Tibet, epic poetry was performed by travelling bards. Much like the Ancient Greek *rhapsodes*, Tibetan bards, also known as *sgrung-mkhan*, would perform episodes of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* to crowds and at festivals.[27] Just as the Ancient Greek *rhapsodes* called to the Muses for inspiration when performing, Tibetan bards seemed to be possessed, receive a dream, or fall into a trance when performing episodes from the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling.*[28] Tibetan bards would also put their own spin on the events of the epic, with every bard emphasizing different aspects of the narrative.[29] Although Tibetan bards were extremely popular and were responsible for much of the dissemination of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* , they were not the only system transmitting events from the narrative.

While oral traditions were spreading the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* throughout Tibet, woodblock prints of the epic were also beginning to appear. These textual systems emerged due to the extensive literary culture in Tibet that arose from growing Buddhist customs. Printing and writing were central in the development of Tibetan intellectual, religious, artistic, and economic life. It follows, then, that, along with oral performances, the events of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* were transcribed and maintained during this time.[30] Although both verbal and textual versions of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* have existed since its creation, there was no solidified version of the poem until the late 20th century. The oral tradition of the epic was still somewhat polymorphous by nature, but there were also texts with a specific narrative. In the 1950s, the accepted finalized text was eighteen books in length because of the known sources at the time, but more verbal and textual sources were revealed over the next couple decades.[31] The current crystallized text, the Bhutanese *Epic of King Gesar of Ling*, includes all of the current known episodes that have been drawn from recordings of oral performances and also the surviving textual sources from Tibet, China, Mongolia, and India.[32] Looking at this,

26   Karmay, "Tibetan Epic," 234.

27   R. A. Stein, "Introduction to the Gesar Epic," in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1981), 3; When performing, a *sgrung-mkhan* could sing for days and weeks at a time.

28   Solomon FitzHerbert, "On the Tibetan Gesar Epic in the Late 18th Century : Sum-pa mkhan-po's Letters to the 6th Paṇ-chen Lama," in Études *Mongoles et Sebériennes, Centrasiatiques et Tibétaines*, Vol. 46 (2015): 11.

29   Stein, "Introduction," 4.

30   Kurtis Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*, (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2014), viii.

31   Karmay, "Tibetan Epic," 234.

32   Samuel, *Civilized Shamans*, 293.

the crystallization pattern seems to draw all available sources of events in order to create the best possible version of the epic. The crystallization of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* permits us to draw certain conclusions about the development of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

When Pisistratus called for the writing of a centrally agreed upon text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in 530 BCE, he created what is most likely the twenty-four books we know today. But was this text simply the dictation of an oral performance during the Panathenaia, as the current theory states? After considering the crystallization of the *Epic of King Gesar of Ling*, it is possible to get a clearer picture of what might have actually occurred. Verbal tradition was extremely influential during this time with public interest in these epic poems a direct result of rhapsodic competitions. However, textual sources most likely also existed around this time. Wealthy Greek elites would have had access to writing supplies during the sixth century BCE, and they very well could have paid to have portions of the epic transcribed. These texts would most likely have been private copies held in large cities such as Athens, but they would have been accessible to men like Pisistratus.

The Panathenaia was a widely-attended Athenian festival that drew people from the far reaches of the Greek world.[33] Everyone at the Panathenaia, including Pisistratus, would have contact with the most talented *rhapsodes*, all of whom would have possessed an extensive knowledge of the episodes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Pisistratus, therefore, would have had access to a very large body of knowledge that he could have used to create the finalized version. He most likely took the best versions of every episode and used them in the crystallized text, but this means that certain aspects of the narrative were downplayed or even excluded entirely. Overall, the amalgamated versions of the Iliad and the Odyssey that Pisistratus recorded would have most likely included all of the narrative episodes, both spoken and textual, that were accessible to him at the time.

The creation of a singular crystallized version that includes every event is a difficult endeavour and requires a large amount of effort from all of the parties involved. The *Epic of King Gesar of Ling* drew from the diverse textual and oral traditions present in Tibet, China, Mongolia, and India to complete the current thirty-one Bhutanese volumes. Using this structure of crystallization, it is possible to enhance our understanding of the crystallization of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Even though there are hundreds of episodes of the Trojan Cycle that were left out of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and it may never be known which events were omitted, the epi-

33   West, "Rhapsodes," 7.

sodes presently contained in these epics were most likely the ones present in the rhapsodic and textual sources at the time of crystallization. Despite the possibility of inconsistency and loss of narrative, epic poetry continues to be very popular today, and there are performances of their likeness all over the world. In November 2015 in downtown Montreal, there was a one-man performance of the *Iliad* that was reminiscent of a rhapsodic performance. The actor truly embodied the intensity of oral performance through the recitation of a long-developed conglomerate of verbal and textual traditions.[34]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Aristotle. *Poetics*.

Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho, Robin Kornman, Sangye Khandro, and Chonam. *The Epic of Gesar of Ling: Gesar's Magical Birth, Early Years, and Coronation as King*. Boston: Shambhala, 2012.

Homer. *Iliad*.

Homer. *Odyssey*.

Secondary Sources:

An Iliad. By Denis O'Hare and Lisa Peterson. Dir. Issac Robinson. Mainline Theatre, Montreal. 12 Nov. 2015. Performance.

Boyd, Timothy. "Where Ion Stood, What Ion Sang," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 96 (1994). 109-121.

Crow, John. "Storytelling and Possession," in *Spirit Possession around the World: Possession, Communion, and Demon Expulsion across Cultures*, ed. Joseph Laycock. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2015. 328-330.

Enhong, Yang. "On the Study of the Narrative Structure of Tibetan Epic: *A Record of King Gesar*," in *Oral Tradition*, Vol 16, No. 2. (2001): 294-316.

FitzHerbert, Solomon. "On the Tibetan Gesar Epic in the Late 18th Century : Sum-pa mkhan-po's Letters to the 6th Paṇ-chen Lama," in É*tudes Mongoles et Sebériennes, Centrasiatiques et Tibétaines,* Vol. 46 (2015): 2-17.

Ford, Andrew. "The Classical Definition of ΡΑΨΩΙΔΙΑ," in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (1988). 300-307.

Fowler, Robert. "The Homeric Question," in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. Robert Fowler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 220-232.

Harmon, William. *A Handbook of Literature*, 8th ed. Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall Inc., 2000.

Janko, Richard. "The Homeric Poems as Oral Dictated Texts," in *The Classical Quarterly,* Vol. 48, No. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

34   *An Iliad*,, by Denis O'Hare and Lisa Peterson, dir. Issac Robinson, (Mainline Theatre, Montreal. 12 Nov. 2015).

1998. 1-13.

Karmay, Samten. "The Theoretical Basis of the Tibetan Epic, with Reference to a 'Chronolgocial Order' of the Various Episodes in the Gesar Epic," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (1993). 234-246.

Oliphant, Maria. "The Evolution of the Legend of King Gesar of Ling" in 経営論集 / 大東文化大学経営学会 編. (6), 2003. 107-120.

Samuel, Geoffrey. *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 1995.

Schaeffer, Kurtis. *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Stein, R. A.. "Introduction to the Gesar Epic," in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1981). 3-13.

Treitler, Leo. "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," in *The Music Quarterly*, Vol. LX, No 3 (1974). 333-372.

West, Martin. "Rhapsodes at Festivals," in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bd. 17*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Ltd, 2010. 1-13.

Birds Do It, Fish Do It: Sexual Pleasure and Gaudia in the Ars Amatoria

CELIA TAYLOR

All too often, the literature of the ancient world is decidedly male-centric. Even narratives of hetereosexual love unfold through a male lens: authors rarely prioritize female enjoyment in romantic and sexual dynamics. The Roman poet Ovid is the exception to this rule. In his *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid draws on Hellenistic models and diverges from Roman literary tradition by acknowledging and celebrating the notion of equal and mutual gaudia – sensual pleasure and satisfaction – in a romantic relationship.

Though Latin erotic elegy in the Augustan and pre-Augustan ostensibly centres around love, its narratives are often decidedly one-sided. Writers such as Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius are keen to tell their audiences everything about their adored one, from the colour of her hair to her favourite pet, but the one area they rarely address is how, precisely, she feels about their relationship. Propertius expounds dreamily on the merits of his beloved, from her fair skin ("lilia non domina sint magis alba mea,"[1] Propertius, 2.3) to her eyes ("geminae, sidera nostra, faces,"[2] Propertius, 2.3) to the way she dances ("egit ut euhantis dux Ariadna choros,"[3] ropertius, 2.3) – but he expresses little interest in her intellect or her desires. In fact, he seems to openly disregard what she wants, asserting grimly that "si pertendens animo vestita cubaris, / scissa veste meas experiere manus"[4] (Propertius, 2.15): the poet considers it acceptable to violate his beloved's will in order to satisfy himself. Catullus, likewise, is more interested in his own satisfaction than that of his beloved. When he does make explicit reference to Lesbia's sexual desires it is mainly to condemn them. After he and Lesbia part, Catullus' narrator declares bitterly, "suis vivat valeatque moechis, quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,"[5] (Catullus 11). Catullus and Lesbia rarely seem to enjoy themselves at the same time. When she cavorts with her three hundred adulterers, he is sulking. When the poet

1   Lilies are not more white than my lady.
2   Twin flames, my stars.
3   Like Ariadne, moving as leader in the dance of the Euhan-crying ones [Maenads]
4   If you recline with a mind which insists on staying clothed, you will feel my hands ripping off your garment.
5   May she live and be well with her man-sluts, three hundred of whom, having been embraced, she holds simultaneously.

and his beloved are separate, he pines for her. On the rare occasions they are together, their love seems to be predicated on conflict. It seems that couples in elegiac poetry hardly ever engage in happy and mutually satisfying relationships.

The concept of equal enjoyment – or enjoyment at all – is similarly rare in didactic poetry, the second genre which inspired Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*. The earliest known didactic writer, the archaic Greek poet Hesiod, demonstrates this clearly. For him sex and love are not things which are particularly enjoyable. Men must merely tolerate women as a means to an end. Hesiod advises his reader that "οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληίζετ᾽ ἄμεινον τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ᾽ αὖτε κακῆς οὐ ῥίγιον ἄλλο,"[6] (Hesiod, line 702-703); how the woman may feel is not mentioned. Hesiod puts catching a good woman in the same category as possessing a fertile field or a strong ox. Although not Roman, Hesiod's poetry is the model for many Roman didactic poets, and they tend to follow his example with respect to their treatment of women and sex. In Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* and Vergil's *Georgics*, amor is depicted as something violent, destructive, and unhealthy (Langlands, 1). Gaudia is not prioritized: in fact, the word itself appears rarely in *De Rerum Natura*, and is never mentioned in the *Georgics*. Lucretius cautions that nothing good can come of falling in love or satisfying your sexual urges and that the pleasures of sex are empty and transient. Once men and women try to sate their lust, they soon find that they "tabescunt volnere caeco"[7] (Lucretius, 4.1120) and in the grips of an unhealthy passion, "languent officia atque aegrotat fama vacillans."[8] (Lucretius, 1123). He goes on to describe all the horrors that can befall those who allow themselves to fall captive to love, concluding harshly, "Atque in amore mala haec [...] inveniuntur,"[9] (Lucretius, 4.1141) Vergil seems to agree with this assessment. He remarks grimly that "Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque [...] in furias ignemque ruunt,"[10] (Vergil, 3.242) and goes on to describe all the horrors that love can provoke. Roman didactic poets tend to see love and sex as an unwelcome necessity at best. For them, it is an evil that ought to be expunged as hastily as possible from the body and not something to be dwelt on or enjoyed.

The *Ars Amatoria* imitates structural elements of both elegiac and didactic poetry, but Ovid looked for inspiration in another non-Roman genre of literature as well: the Hellenistic sex book. Didactic poetry in

6   Indeed, a man seizes nothing better than a good woman, but, on the other hand, nothing more horrible than any bad one.

7   Waste away with a hidden wound

8   Their duties wilt, and their tottering good name languishes.

9   And these bad things are found in love.

10   Truly, every family of man and beasts on earth rush to the mad fire.

the ancient world was not just about keeping wanton women away from one's barn and raising good and noble bees. In Hellenistic Greece, educated hetaerae[11] would often put whatever knowledge they had acquired in a lifetime practicing prostitution into didactic poems of their own. Very few of these works are extant and what manuscripts we do have survive only in tiny fragments, but the names of several famous authors have been passed down by other writers. The Roman biographer Suetonius mentions one Elephantis, whose book (with its detailed diagrams) was supposedly used by the Emperor Tiberius "ne cui in opera edenda exemplar imperatae schemae deesset"[12] (Suetonius, 43). The Greek rhetorician Athenaeus mentions the names of Nico of Samos and Callistrate of Lesbos, both of whom published books outlining, step-by-step, the methods for carrying out a seduction (McClure, 84). One of the most famous authors was Philaenis of Samos. Small scraps of her book were found among the papyri at Oxyrhynchus. Like Ovid, she wrote a guide to the art of loving; what little of her work we are able to analyze bears a close structural resemblance to the *Ars Amatoria*. Many of the individual subjects she covers are strikingly similar to those touched upon by Ovid. For example, at one point she suggests that a man should come before a woman without dressing his hair too much "so that he does not seem to the woman to be a man who takes too much trouble." (Philaenis, 46). It is hard to resist a comparison with Ovid, when he advises would-be lovers, "tibi nec ferro placeat torquere capillos,"[13] adding that "Forma viros neglecta decet."[14] Elsewhere, Philaenis's and Ovid's advice on complimenting a woman runs parallel as well. Philaenis advises men to say that "she who is ugly is as lovely as Aphrodite" (Philaenis, 46). Ovid likewise is an advocate of favouring the ill-favoured: he urges, "Quod male fers, adsuesce, feres bene,"[15] (Ovid, II.647). He even suggests the same comparison Philaenis does for an unattractive woman, observing that "Si straba, sit Veneri similis"[16] (Ovid, II.659) Like Ovid, she seems to have dabbled in cheerful, irreverent parody of illustrious authors and genres. Modern commentators have noted that the opening lines of her book bear a close resemblance to the opening lines of Herodotus's Ἱστορίαι (Plant, 46). Our extant library of Hellenistic guides to love and love-making is scant, but the evidence we do have strongly suggests that Ovid would have been familiar at least with Philaenis and

11	This Greek word is usually translated as "companion", but has faced extensive debate in scholarship. In this paper it broadly refers to a type of woman who was a amorous and usually sexual companion to high-class men, and was compensated for this work.
12	Lest anyone be lacking an example for the shape of a service having been ordered.
13	Don't let it be pleasing to you to curl your hair with a curling-iron
14	Disregarded beauty becomes a man.
15	 Grow accustomed to what you consider bad; you will consider it good
16	If she squints, let her be similar to Venus.

probably with other authors of her genre as well.

Such books as those written by Philaenis and Elephantis would have had one primary aim: to teach pleasure and to celebrate *gaudia*. This theme shines through clearly in the *Ars Amatoria*. Didactic works written by Hesiod, Lucretius, and Virgil instruct on morality, philosophy, and a variety of other concepts in addition to lessons on farming and beekeeping. But a guide to lovemaking would have made *gaudia* its focus. From what little evidence we have, these didactic works would have presented a more equitable paradigm of sexual pleasure than the few other works of pre-Augustan literature that touch on this concept. Hellenistic guides to love were attributed to female authors, and thus present a different perspective on love and lovemaking than most ancient texts, the vast majority of which were attributed to men. Even if the authors of these books were in fact men writing under female pseudonyms as some have suggested (Plant, 45), these texts would still have been presented from an alternate female perspective.

In the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid takes care to gesture to and celebrate female pleasure and mutually enjoyable *gaudia* in all stages of a relationship. Even in the books where his advice is directed at a male audience, his concern is almost always for what a woman would enjoy. A man, he argues, should make the happiness and enjoyment of his girlfriend his first concern – not just in the bedroom, but everywhere. When the weather is hot, Ovid urges: "Ipse tene distenta suis umbracula virgis"[17] (Ovid, II.209). When you play dice, "tu male iactato, tu male iacta dato"[18] and let her win. When she falls ill, you should not shrink from her, but sit by her bed, comfort her, and "amor et pietas tua sit manifesta puellae."[19] (Ovid, II.321). One could make the argument that in paying such close attention to the satisfaction of the beloved, Ovid's pupils will have an ulterior motive in mind. But in Roman society, where men held greater social and economic power, a man would not necessarily have to go to all these lengths simply for his own ultimate satisfaction. Ovid pays close attention to what would please a woman every step of the way.

For Ovid, the most important thing in a romantic or sexual relationship is that no one partner should be enjoying him or herself more than the other. He prizes equality in *gaudia* above all. This value may not be communicated in his mythological and historiographic *exempla* – in his descriptions of the rape of the Sabines, for instance, it is fairly evident that the women are unwilling victims of male sexual violence. But Ovid makes

17   You yourself hold her sun-shade
18   You will throw [them] badly, you will grant that you have thrown badly.
19   Let your love and loyalty be obvious to your girl.

a clear distinction between the ways of the gods or the ancestors and the ways of the here and now. In his descriptions of how one should behave in real life, Ovid disapproves of non-consensual relationships, and indeed of any sort of relationship that is not entirely pleasing to both parties. "Odi concubitus, qui non utrumque resolvunt," he states firmly (Ovid, II.683),[20] adding shortly thereafter "Quae dater officio, non sit mihi grata voluptas"[21] (Ovid, II.687). No one person should be enjoying themselves more or less than another, and no one person should be better or worse equipped for handling the twists and turns of love. As Ovid states at the beginning of Book III, "Ite in bella pares"[22] (Ovid, III.3). Throughout all three books, Ovid emphasizes the necessity of mutual and equal enjoyment for both men and women.

Ovid underscores this equitable attitude towards sexual relations with his use of the word gaudia throughout the text. Throughout the *Ars*, the word is almost exclusively used to refer to sex. It is often paired with Veneris – thus, literally "the pleasures of Venus" – to remove all ambiguity, but when Ovid recommends, for example, "Gaudia nec cupidis vestra negate viris,"[23] (Ovid, III.87) the import is clear. Elsewhere, we learn that not only do birds do it and bees do it: "Cum quo sua gaudia iungat, / Invenit in media femina piscis aqua."[24] (Ovid, II.481). At one point the word is even used as shorthand for an orgasm. When Ovid instructs women on what to do if they cannot climax, he suggests "Dulcia mendaci gaudia finge sono,"[25] (Ovid, III.798). However, gaudia does not exclusively refer to sexual pleasure. It can also simply mean 'joy' or 'happiness' (and, indeed, is used in this sense elsewhere in the *Ars*.) Thus when Ovid speaks of sensual delight, he is perhaps not only referring to sensual satisfaction but to a general sense of delight and pleasure. The word gaudia appears almost a dozen times in Ovid's book: the spirit it evokes – of cheerful sexual enjoyment – infuses the whole of the *Ars Amatoria.*

The way in which Ovid puts this emphasis on gaudia – on enjoyment, pleasure, and satisfaction – is another way in which he diverges from previous Roman authors. The general concepts of joy, happiness, or delight are often conspicuously absent from ancient literary sources that deal in love. Much of elegiac poetry elsewhere is devoted to melancholy: the poet's beloved has spurned him and the poet is mournful; the poet's be-

---

20   I hate sex which does not relieve both.
21   What pleasure is given from obligation is not pleasing to me.
22   Go into war evenly matched.
23   Don't deny your pleasures to lustful men.
24   When pleasure joins him to his own one, a fish will find a lady-fish in the middle of the ocean.
25   Invent a false sound of sweet pleasure.

loved has betrayed him and the poet is mournful; the poet's beloved might not ever have met the poet and is perhaps now a little disturbed that he is standing outside apostrophizing her front door; thus the poet is mournful. Even when things are going smoothly, the elegiac poet does not really seem to be enjoying himself. He might admire his lady's face and her body or describe and enumerate sensual pleasures, but the two of them are not depicted as enjoying true gaudia. In contrast, Ovid summons the spirit of gaudia in offering specific guidelines on how to enjoy oneself in bed. He advises a prospective lover that he should search for "loca [...] quae tangi femina gaudet"[26] (Ovid, II. 719). His audience is advised in greater detail: "invenient digiti, quod agant in partibus illis, in quibus occult spicula tingit amor."[27] (Ovid, II.707-708). If this is accomplished correctly, Ovid assures his reader "Aspicies oculos tremulo fulgore micantes"[28] (Ovid, II.721) and "accedet questus, accedet amabile murmur."[29] Ovid's men and women are not just lustful, but affectionate. They are not just sexually satisfied, they are also happy. He paints a vivid picture of two people enjoying themselves in the bedroom in a way that few other Roman sources – even those that deal with love and sex – hardly ever do.

Ovid's instructions concerning equality, pleasure, and mutual satisfaction are brought to their natural climax--so to speak – at the end of book two. Sometimes in the Ars Amatoria, Ovid is more coy when discussing the act of sex itself but now he becomes crystal clear. "Crede mihi," he exhorts his reader, "non est veneris properanda voluptas"[30] (Ovid, II.717); you should pace yourself. Why this insistence on not "cursus anteat illa"[31] (Ovid, II.717)? "Ad metam properate simul,"[32] Ovid suggests (Ovid, II. 727). Ovid gives his readers a clear and detailed description of how to achieve simultaneous orgasm. According to him, this is the ideal for which everyone should strive, as "tum plena voluptas, cum parroter victim femina virque iacent."[33] (Ovid II.727-728). This sequence perhaps best encapsulates the overall spirit of the *Ars Amatoria*. Ovid wants his readers to experience the maximum amount of sexual and romantic pleasure, and he wants all his readers to experience it equally. He rejects favouring one side or the other when it comes to gaudia in the bedroom: all deserves to enjoy themselves.

26   The places where a woman delights to be touched
27   The fingers will find what may set in motion those parts in which love secretly dips his arrows.
28   You will observe her eyes flashing with trembling brightness
29   Moans will draw near, affectionate murmurs will draw near
30   Trust me, one oughtn't hurry the pleasure of sexual intercourse.
31   Going before her, having hastened
32   Hurry to the finish line simultaneously.
33   Then [there's] full pleasure, when a man and a woman lie equally conquered.

In his *Ars Amatoria,* Ovid breaks free of the constraints of Roman society, culture, and literary tradition to create a new type of work. Through his parodic engagement with Roman literary genres, Ovid openly subverts their standard gender paradigms and flaunts his own. When it comes to the rules for love and sex itself, he looks away from a male literary tradition and towards a supposedly female one. He resists a tradition of unequal and conflict-driven relationships and moves towards a paradigm based on mutual and equal pleasure. Unlike his contemporaries and antecedents, Ovid is writing to and for both men and women. He is writing so that all genders may enjoy themselves: that is, so that they may enjoy his book – and perhaps so that they may enjoy other things, as well.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Gaius Sallustius Crispus. Catiline's Conspiracy, The Jugurthine War, Histories. Trans. William W. Batstone. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print.

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus. De Vita Caesarum. 1913. Loeb Classical Library. Web. November 14, 2016.

Gaius Valerius Catullus. The Student's Catullus: Fourth Edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989. Print.

Publius Ovidius Naso. The Art of Love. New York: The Modern Library, 2002. Print.

Publius Vergilius Maro. Georgicon. Boston: Gin & Co., 1900. Perseus. Web. December 2, 2016.

Sextus Propertius. Elegies. Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1995. Perseus. Web. November 13, 2016

Titus Lucretius Carus. De Rerum Natura. 2016. Loeb Classical Library. Web. November 12, 2016.

Secondary Sources:

Langlands, Rebecca. Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Print.

McClure, Laura. Courtesans at Table: Gender and Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus. New York: Routledge, 2003. Print.

Plant, Ian Michael (Ed.) Woman Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2004. Print.

Sissa, Giulia. Sex and Sensuality in the Roman World. Trans. George Staunton. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008. Print.

Les Phèdres amoureuses

ALEXIS LEMONDE VACHON

Ἀφροδίτη :

Célèbre parmi les mortels et non sans gloire dans les cieux,
Je suis la déesse Cypris.
En quelque lieu que les éclaire le soleil,
Des rives de l'Euxin aux confins atlantiques,
J'honore ceux qui rendent hommage à ma puissance,
Mais, qui me traite avec superbe, je l'abats.
- Euripide, Hyppolite Porte-couronne, ligne I-VI[1]

Ainsi commence l'Hippolyte Porte-couronne d'Euripide; Vénus, exaltée du dédain que lui témoignait Hippolyte, vante la puissance qui est à sa disposition : la fureur de l'amour. Ce thème de l'omnipotence de l'amour, central parmi tant d'œuvres antiques et modernes, éclate avec rage dans la légende d'Hippolyte. L'honneur, la chasteté, le sacré, les lois de la nature, les liens familiaux; tout ces codes moraux s'effondrent devant le raz-de-marée émotionnel qui se précipita dans l'âme de Phèdre et qui la poussa à sa perte.

La vision de l'amour propre à chaque personnage change dépendant de l'auteur racontant cette mythologie. Sénèque, par exemple, présente une Phèdre prête à tout pour consumer son désir, et peint un Hippolyte pur de tout sentiment amoureux. Racine, d'un autre coté, voulu adoucir les personnages pour ainsi les ramener au niveau de la normalité et en quelque sorte les « humaniser ». C'est-à-dire qu'il voulu sortir les personnages de la mythologie pour les rendre plus accessibles à un auditorat contemporains de la France de l'Ancien Régime. Les perceptions changent, toutefois le concept reste le même. Les deux poètes, séparés par un millénaire et demi, utilisèrent la même histoire pour faire passer une morale et mettre en garde leur auditorat contre les dangers de l'amour. Racine, en stoïque moderne, en stoïque chrétien, adapta la tragédie aux mœurs de son temps en gardant une main sur Ovide, une main sur Euripide, et les deux yeux

---

1   Euripide. Ἱππόλυτος στεφανοφόρος, dans Marie Belcourt-Curvers (trad.), Tragédies Complètes (Paris : Gallimard, 1962).

fixés sur Sénèque.

Cette dissertation présentera quelques liens intertextuels entre la *Phèdre* de Sénèque, qui s'inspira d'Euripide, et la *Phèdre* de Racine en prenant en focus la représentation de l'amour.[2] Elle tentera de montrer l'appui que Racine pris sur Sénèque pour bâtir sa propre tragédie. Divisée en deux parties, elle est constituée en premier lieu de l'analyse de la vision de l'amour des personnages de Phèdre et d'Hippolyte sur un niveau mentale, et en second lieu de la contamination corporelle de l'amour et des exemples qui en sont donnés chez les deux auteurs.

Dans ces deux tragédies, la passion de Phèdre est perçue comme une fatalité, comme un malheur, comme une scélératesse (« scelus ») que la reine ne peut éviter à cause de l'empire de l'amour sur elle. Elle n'est pas dépeinte avec ces nuances de bonheur que présente habituellement un nouvel amour. C'est une passion terrible, néfaste, qu'y va à l'encontre des lois de la nature parce que Phèdre aime un homme qui selon les lois du temps est considéré comme son fils. Elle est caractérisée comme pire que le crime de Pasiphaé : « maius est monstro nefas : nam monstra fato, moribus scelera imputes. »[3] En effet le destin frappe tout le monde, cependant la honte d'un amour incestueux ne retombera que sur les épaules de Phèdre. Le langage qu'utilise Sénèque est très fort; en deux lignes sont accolés les mots « monstro/a », « nefas », « scelera ». Il souligne que son amour pour son beau-fils est pire qu'une monstruosité, il est pire qu'un amour entre une femme adultère et un taureau; son amour est un « scelus », c'est-à-dire un péché horrible qui la rend détestable aux yeux des hommes et des dieux. Ce mot porte tout le jugement de Sénèque. Elle reconnait par ailleurs tout le mal qu'il y a derrière cet amour, cependant elle s'y abandonne et dit : « sed furor cogit sequi peiora ».[4] Le langage ici aussi est puissant; elle décrit son amour avec le mot « furor », qui inclut la passion extrême, la fureur, la démence et la frénésie, éléments auxquelles elle ne peut résister et qui l'entraînent sur le pire chemin (« peiora »).

À la fois Sénèque et Racine laissent transparaître cette fatalité et l'impossibilité d'un retour en arrière. Chez le premier, Phèdre dit : « vicit ac regnat furor potensque tota mente dominatur deus »,[5] elle utilise ici à nouveau le terme « furor » pour parler de sa passion et spécifie « amoris in me maximum regnum fero ».[6] La reine réalise qu'il est impossible

---

2   Les références à la Phèdre de Sénèque seront en Latin; celles à la Phèdre de Racine, en Français. Les traductions (personnelles) seront faites dans les notes.
3   « Un crime est plus horrible qu'un monstre : car celui-ci peut être attribué au destin, tandis que l'autre n'est imputable qu'à l'immoralité » (Sénèque, lignes 143-4).
4   « Mais ma fureur me pousse à suivre le mauvais chemin » (Sénèque, lignes 178-9).
5   « Ma passion me conquière et règne; un dieu tout-puissant domine mon esprit entier » (Sénèque, lignes 184-5).
6   « Je porte le règne dominateur de l'Amour en moi » (Sénèque, ligne 218).

d'aller contre la volonté d'une telle puissance, et essaie en quelque sorte de s'absoudre en relâchant le blâme sur Cupidon lequel, affirme-t-elle, domine son esprit (« dominatur »). Elle déclare plus loin : « Magna pars sceleris mei / olim peracta est; serus est nobis pudor : / amavimus nefanda. »[7] Ce n'est pas la consommation charnelle de son désir qui la rendrait coupable, ce n'est pas même la révélation de cet amour; c'est uniquement le fait que cet amour incestueux soit présent dans son esprit qui fait de Phèdre une criminelle (« nefanda ») à ses propres yeux et aux yeux de Sénèque. Ce dernier, au contraire d'Euripide, ne fait pas intervenir Vénus ou Cupidon directement dans la passion de Phèdre; c'est sa propre faiblesse qui l'a rendue amoureuse et l'idée d'une « domination divine » n'est qu'une invention de son esprit.

La Phèdre de Racine passe à travers le même sentiment d'impuissance devant la passion qu'elle ressent : « Ce n'est plus une ardeur dans mes veines cachée : / C'est Vénus tout entière à sa proie attachée. »[8] Le second alexandrin est une copie presque directe de Sénèque, à la différence que la puissance derrière l'amour est ici Vénus. C'est dans le premier alexandrin toutefois que se cache un aspect intéressant: la notion de secret. L'« ardeur » d'un amour incestueux était alors « cachée » et n'était pas encore une honte réelle, le crime n'existait pas encore. Toutefois, c'est après avoir été poussée à déclarer à haute voix son amour que Phèdre est véritablement coupable; elle a *substantifié* sa passion par le verbe. Elle répète par la suite : « ma faible raison ne règne plus sur moi / [...] / sous un joug honteux [i.e.: l'amour] à peine je respire ».[9] Comme dans l'auteur Latin, la « raison » (ratio) de Phèdre n'a plus aucun pouvoir sur elle.

Racine suit la même trame que Sénèque, toutefois le langage qu'il utilise est plus doux. Le Français n'a pas la subtilité du Latin, où les mots peuvent avoir plusieurs significations. D'un autre côté Racine ne voulait pas insister aussi puissamment que Sénèque sur le crime de Phèdre parce qu'il ne la croyait pas si scélérate. Dans la préface de Phèdre il souligne :

« Phèdre n'est ni tout à fait coupable, ni tout à fait innocente Elle est engagée, par sa destinée et par la colère des dieux, dans une passion illégitime, dont elle a horreur toute la première. Elle fait tous ses efforts pour la surmonter. [...] J'ai même pris soin de la rendre un peu moins odieuse qu'elle n'est dans les tragédies des Anciens » (préface à *Phèdre*).

Cela changera donc la psychologie derrière le personnage de Phèdre. En lisant l'auteur français, le lecteur en tenté de retourner vers Sé-

---

7   « Une grande partie de mon crime a déjà été accompli; il est trop tard pour la pudeur : j'ai déjà aimé d'un amour abominable. » (Sénèque, lignes 594-6).
8   Sénèque, lignes 305-6; le concept d'« ardeur » dans les « veines » est un thème récurrent même chez Sénèque qui sera traité dans la deuxième partie de cette dissertation.
9   Racine, lignes 760-2.

nèque en se demandant pourquoi il s'est acharné avec une telle rage sur le personnage de Phèdre. Est-ce pour souscrire à son idéal du stoïcisme? À proprement parler Phèdre n'est pas du même sang qu'Hippolyte, elle n'aurait donc commis aucun inceste réel. Racine essaya donc de ramener Phèdre à un niveau un peu plus contemporain en la rendant moins odieuse aux yeux du public et en adoucissant son caractère.

À la différence de Phèdre, Hippolyte, le deuxième personnage principal de ces tragédies, est présenté comme étant un parangon de pureté quoique ce thème soit traité d'une manière légèrement différente chez les deux auteurs; il signifie l'absence d'amour chez Sénèque, tandis qu'il signifie la présence d'un amour chaste chez Racine. Si Phèdre voit son amour comme une malédiction, Hippolyte, lui, voit l'amour en général comme un détournement d'une vie rustique et honnête. Pour Sénèque, la pureté est indissociable de la chasteté; pour qu'Hippolyte soit pur, il doit être libre de toute passion et de tout désir charnel. La nourrice le décrira comme « castus »[10] et son père, Thésée, comme « castus » et « pudicus ».[11] Hippolyte lui-même se fera une fierté de sa propre vertu, il préfère vivre isolé dans les bois pour éviter les maux créés ou subis par les hommes, dont la femme est le pire d'entres eux : « sed dux malorum femina : haec scelerum artifex / obsedit animos ».[12] Il est intéressant de noter l'utilisation négative d'« artifex », une possible référence à l'*Ars Amatoria* d'Ovide, lequel utilisait ce mot dans le sens positif de « maître de l'art [d'aimer] ». Dans ce passage « artifex » est accolé au terme « scelerum » qui est repris de la description de Phèdre, il met encore plus en contraste Hippolyte avec sa belle-mère. Le jeune adolescent, parlant des femmes, continue : « Detestor omnis, horreo, fugio, execror. »[13] Cette énumération qui va en crescendo montre sans équivoque l'opinion d'Hippolyte : sa haine s'étend à tout le sexe féminin, non seulement les hait-elles (« detestor »), mais il les exècre (« execror »). C'est ce dégout clairement affiché qui amena sur lui la vengeance de Vénus. Un peu avant de déclamer cette ligne, Hippolyte vante à la nourrice les mérites d'une vie ascétique et célibataire.[14] Le jeune adolescent, après la déclaration d'amour incestueux de Phèdre s'écriera : « Procul impudicos corpore a casto amove / tactus ».[15] Pour demeurer *pur*

---

10   Racine, ligne 237.
11   Racine, lignes 1195-6.
12   « Mais la femme est le chef de ces maux : cette maîtresse de la malignité assiège les âmes » (Sénèque, lignes 559-60).
13   « Je les déteste toutes, je les abhorre, je les fuis, je les exècre. » (Sénèque, ligne 566).
14   Sénèque, lignes 483 à 564; voir en particulier les trois premières lignes : « Non alia magis est libera et uitio carens / ritusque melius uita quae priscos colat / quam quae relictis moenibus siluas amat. »
15   « Au large! Éloignez vos attouchements impudiques de mon chaste corps » (Sénèque, lignes 704-5).

il doit fuir le contact de l'amour, même celui que les autres pourraient ressentir pour lui et particulièrement l'amour incestueux qu'il perçoit comme une abomination.

L'Hippolyte que Racine met en scène est légèrement différent. Le lecteur voit qu'il s'agit d'un jeune homme répugnant le luxe et les mondanités, toutefois il n'est pas aussi obtus en ce qui concerne l'amour. En effet Racine brise sur ce point avec la tradition classique, et crée une maîtresse pour Hippolyte dans le personnage de la princesse Aricie. Ce changement dans l'histoire amène un point de vue totalement différent; Racine réaffirme la toute-puissance de l'amour. En effet Hippolyte, malgré ces idées champêtres, cède à Vénus. En parlant de son « amour sauvage », il déclare à Aricie que sa « raison cède à la violence. »[16] Le vocabulaire même de cette ligne, avec le mot « raison », est un clin d'œil au stoïcisme. Malgré son amour avoué à Aricie, Hippolyte demeure très inconfortable avec ce sentiment. Il est déchiré entre ce qu'il ressent pour la princesse et sa vision de la pureté. Dans une déclaration à celle-ci, il décrit son état d'esprit avec des termes négatifs qui donnent l'idée d'un enchaînement à l'amour, tels que : « fers », « captif », « insulté », « faible », « naufrage », « orages », « asservi », « honteux », « désespéré », « déchiré ».[17] Donc si dans la tragédie de Racine Hippolyte n'est pas qu'entièrement dédié à une vie ascétique, la passion qu'il ressent est, à l'instar de Phèdre, une honte envers son propre honneur et son caractère.

Le lien entre la pureté et la passion est présenté différemment; l'une n'exclut pas l'autre. Ainsi tout en gardant son caractère chaste, Hippolyte peut ressentir de l'amour pour Aricie. Par cet artifice, Racine réussi à placer l'amour à un plus haut degré *moral* que Sénèque. C'est l'amour même d'Hippolyte qui achève l'édifice de sa vertu. Il déclare, en répondant aux accusations de son père : « Le jour n'est pas plus pur que le fond de mon cœur ».[18] La pureté dont il fait référence est multiple; elle s'applique aux accusations de son père, de Phèdre et de la nourrice, mais également à la vie qu'il mène ainsi qu'à son amour pour Aricie, qui est la preuve de son innocence.[19]

Mais en donnant une maitresse à Hippolyte, Racine crée-t-il vraiment une dissociation d'avec la tragédie de Sénèque? Cette amante peut être vue comme une femme réelle, toutefois elle peut aussi être comprise

---

16   Racine, ligne 525.
17   Voir la déclaration lignes 524-60.
18   Racine, ligne 1112; cet alexandrin est également parmi les plus connus des tragédies de Racine. Étant constitué uniquement de monosyllabes, il présente une métrique absolument parfaite.
19   Cette comparaison entre le « jour » et la « pureté » sera reprise à l'inverse par Phèdre lors de son discours d'agonie : « Et la mort à mes yeux dérobant la clarté / rend au jour, qu'ils souillaient, toute sa pureté. » (Racine, lignes 1643-4). Comme si le crime de Phèdre était une atteinte aux lois qui régissent l'univers, et que la mort, grande égalisatrice, venait restaurer la pureté au « jour ».

comme une métaphore de l'amour d'Hippolyte pour Diane Nemorensis, Aricie étant en fait le nom de sa forêt sacrée située dans les monts Albain. La princesse pourrait donc être perçue comme l'incarnation de Diane envers laquelle Hippolyte serait chastement dévoué. De la sorte, le caractère de l'*Hippolyte* de Racine serait en accordance avec *l'Hippolyte* de Sénèque qui n'aime aucune femme sauf la déesse (amour pudique).

Des mentions d'Aricie sont présentes dans quelques auteurs anciens, notamment Ovide et Virgile.[20] Le premier décrit comment Hippolyte, après sa mort, est ressuscité par Esculape et apporté par Diane dans la forêt dans laquelle son culte est établie : « uallis Aricinae densis [...] siluis ».[21] Dans cette forêt il vit caché auprès de la déesse « numine sub dominae ».[22] Puis Virgile, dans une description des combattants d'une bataille, mentionne Virbius qui serait le fils d'Hippolyte : « Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello, / Virbius, insignem quem mater Aricia misit ».[23] L'utilisation du mot « mater » est sujette à discussion; il semble signifier que Virbius est le fils d'Hippolyte et de la « forêt ». Qui serait la mère? Si Aricie peut vouloir dire Diane, il est impossible que cette déesse vierge soit la mère de Virbius. Peut-être la nymphe Égérie, servante de Diane Nemorensis, aurait-elle été la mère de Virbius, toutefois cette hypothèse détruirait le caractère sauvage et virginal d'Hyppolite.

En retournant à Racine, Hippolyte dit vouloir se marier à Aricie : « Là, si vous m'en croyez, d'un amour éternel / Nous irons confirmer le serment solennel. »[24] C'est sur l'autel même de Diane qu'il voulait jurer fidélité à Aricie. Cela pourrait être interprété comme un mariage avec la forêt et avec la vie célibataire de chasseur. Il veut également couronner Aricie comme « reine », un thème présent dans Sénèque, notamment dans l'adresse de la nourrice à Diane, qu'elle invoque sous le nom de « regina nemorum ».[25]

L'amour est mental... L'amour est physique. Cette dualité, parfaitement mise en scène par Sénèque, est reprise par Racine; même en laissant de côté l'esprit, la passion peut être interprétée par les impacts physiques qu'elle provoque chez les personnages.

Chez Sénèque cet impact corporel prend plusieurs formes, toutefois il présente rarement ces sensations comme étant douces; elles sont

---

20   Ainsi que dans quelques autres textes Latin, notamment dans les Argonautes de Valerius Flaccus.

21   « Dans les denses forêts de la vallée d'Aricie »; Ovide, Metamorphoseon, livre 15, vers 488.

22   « Sous la protection divine de la déesse »; Ovide, Metamorphoseon, livre 15, vers 546.

23   « Et Virbius, le superbe fils d'Hippolyte, allait à la guerre, signe manifeste que sa mère Aricie envoyait. »; Virgile, Aeneis, livre 7, vers 761-2.

24   Racine, lignes 1399-400.

25   Racine, ligne 406.

destructrices et douloureuses, décrites comme des « flammes ardentes ». Dans un passage déclamé par le chœur, la conséquence physique de l'amour est présentée comme un feu : « Labitur totas furor in medullas / igne furtivo populante venas. »[26] Ces deux lignes très forte donne la portée du pouvoir de Vénus. À l'instar de Mars elle peut causer des blessures corporelles. Ce feu, que le chœur déclare trop puissant, « Sacer est ignis (credite laesis)/ nimiumque potens »,[27] n'est pas uniquement destructeur; il anime les jeunes gens, ouvre les vierges à l'amour et fait revivre les vieillards.[28] C'est ce feu également qui permet à la nature de perdurer par la reproduction, Sénèque le souligne à de nombreuses reprises, notamment dans le premier chœur et dans le discours de la nourrice à Hippolyte.[29] Chez Phèdre toutefois ce sont des conséquences physiques négatives que l'amour apporte. Le feu de l'amour qui la consume, « qualis Aetnaeo vapor exundat antro »,[30] l'empêche de dormir.[31] La comparaison avec l'Aetna est très parlante. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'un petit feu, mais d'un bouillonnement intérieur semblable à un volcan. Dans un dialogue avec le chœur, la nourrice donne un discours très précis de l'impact physique des « flammes » sur Phèdre :

> Torretur aestu tacito et inclusus quoque,
> quamuis tegatur, proditur vultu furor ;
> erumpit oculis ignis et lassae genae
> lucem recusant; nil idem dubiae placet
> artusque varie iactat incertus dolor.
> torretur aestu tacito et inclusus quoque,
> nunc ut soluto labitur moriens gradu
> et vix labante sustinet collo caput,
> nunc se quieti reddit et. somni immemor,
> noctem querelis ducit ».[32]

26   « La fureur [de l'Amour] se glisse par toutes nos moëlles alors que son feu secret ravage nos veines. » ; Les deux lignes suivantes (281-2) sont aussi pertinentes : « non habet latam data plaga frontem, / sec vorat tectas penitus medullas. » L'idée de « blessure » revient très souvent, elle est d'ailleurs reprise par Racine à quelques occasions, par exemple alors que Phèdre décrit l'impact de la vue d'Hippolyte sur son amour : « Ma blessure trop vive aussitôt a saigné. » (Racine, lignes 279-280).

27   « Ce feu est divin (croyez-le à ses victimes) et beaucoup trop puissant. » (Sénèque, lignes 330-1).

28   « Iuvenum feroces / concitat flammas senibusque fessis / rursus extinctos revocat calores, / virginum ignoto ferit igne pectus » (Sénèque, lignes 290-3)

29   Par exemple lignes 338-344 : « Ignes sentit genus aligerum ; / Venere instinctus suscipit audax / grege pro toto bella iuvencus ; / si coniugio timuere suo / poscunt timidi proelia cervi / et mugitu dant concepti / signa furoris. »; et lignes 469-80.

30   « Comme la chaleur qui s'exhale de l'antre de l'Aetna » (Sénèque, lignes 102-3).

31   « Non me quies nocturna, non altus sopor / solvere curis » (Sénèque, lignes 100-1)

32   Racine, lignes 362-370.

Elle est brûlée par une passion silencieuse et quoiqu'elle soit enfermée et cachée, cette fureur est trahie par son visage; un feu jaillit de ses pupilles et ses yeux las refusent la lumière; rien ne plait plus à cette femme troublée, et une incertaine douleur lance son corps en crise : à un moment, faible, elle tombe avec des pas maladroits et sa tête s'incline sur son cou qui s'affaisse, à un autre moment elle veut s'en retourner au repos puis, oubliant le sommeil, elle passe la nuit en plaindre [...] (traduction personnelle).

La personne entière de Phèdre est décrite par Sénèque dans ce passage comme étant dysfonctionnelle, paralysée, à cause de son amour néfaste. Le terme « furor » est à nouveau repris pour montrer la rage de Phèdre. Il est même amplifié d'avantage avec l'utilisation du mot « dolor »; il montre que la reine souffre à la fois physiquement et mentalement. Sénèque ne veut pas accuser entièrement l'amour des problèmes de Phèdre, il veut faire comprendre que c'est son crime qui la fait souffrir. Phèdre se débat intérieurement, et c'est ce débat qu'il la brûle autant que l'amour. La nourrice continue par la suite avec les descriptions de la déchéance physique de Phèdre : elle n'a plus de force, elle marche à peine, son visage devient gris, son corps perd sa délicatesse et ses yeux se ternissent par les pleurs.[33] Plus tard dans la pièce, Phèdre tombe en pâmoison en présence d'Hippolyte : « terrae repente corpus exanimum accidit / et ora morti similis obduxit color ».[34] L'inconscience, semblable à la mort, la soustrayait du « feu » de l'amour, elle souligne : « Quis me dolori reddit atque aestus graves / reponit animo? Quam bene excideram mihi! »[35] Phèdre veut fuir la douleur physique à tout prix et la mort serait une façon de ne plus souffrir. Ainsi pour guérir de l'amour qui amène des souffrances matérielles, une solution matérielle est recherchée parce que la « raison » n'a plus de pouvoir. Parlant de la mort, Phèdre s'écrit : « Haec sola ratio est, unicum effugium mali ».[36] [37]

33   Voir le dialogue complet de la nourrice; lignes 360-386.
34   « Son corps inanimé tomba subitement à terre et une pâleur semblable à la mort couvrit son visage.» (Sénèque, lignes 585-6).
35   « Qui me rend à la douleur et replace cette grave agitation dans mon âme? Comme il était bon pour moi d'être sans connaissance! » (Sénèque, lignes 589-90).
36   « Ceci est la seule solution, l'unique échappatoire à mon mal » (Sénèque, ligne 253).
37   Dans Racine, la reine cherche également le refuge de la mort, toutefois cette option de fuite lui est refusée parce qu'elle a honte de se présenter impure à son père, Minos, qui est juge aux Enfers. Voir Racine, lignes 1277-84 : « Où me cacher ? Fuyons dans la nuit infernale. / Mais que dis-je ? Mon père y tient l'urne fatale. / Le sort, dit-on, l'a mise en ses sévères mains. / Minos juge aux Enfers tous les pâles humains. / Ah ! combien frémira son ombre épouvantée, / Lorsqu'il verra sa fille à ses yeux présentée, / Contrainte d'avouer tant de forfaits divers, / Et des crimes peut-être

Dans un dialogue avec Hippolyte, alors que celui-ci lui demande quel est son mal, elle revient à la charge avec une description de la corruption physique de son amour impure : « Pectus insanum vapor / amorque torret. intimis fervet ferus / penitus medullis atque per venas meat / visceribus ignis mersus et venus latens / ut agilis altas flamma percurrit trabes. »[38] Plus que jamais la comparaison de l'amour à des « flammes » est exprimée. La « raison » de Phèdre est ici l'élément qui est pris d'assaut par les flammes passionnelles; le combat dépasse l'esprit pour se répercuter sur le corps de Phèdre. Hippolyte, qui ne connait pas l'amour, est incapable de reconnaître ce sentiment charnel qui envahi Phèdre. Sénèque, pour amplifier cette différence entre les deux personnages, se borne à une description du *physique* du jeune homme (son apparence, son corps, ses mouvements) sans donner de description physique de son état mental *amoureux*.

De même que Sénèque, Racine présente la contamination du corps par l'amour; l'auditeur peut percevoir le type d'amour d'un personnage seulement d'après les détails des descriptions physiques. À la différence du poète romain, Racine présente tous les personnages principaux comme amoureux, incluant Hippolyte. Le type d'amour qu'il ressent est très différent de la passion incestueuse de sa belle-mère, cette différence transparait dans les expressions corporelles qui lui sont attribuées. Son amour pour Aricie est le premier qui apparaît en scène, son instituteur Théramène souligne : « Chargés d'un feu secret vos yeux s'appesantissent. / Il n'en faut point douter, vous aimez, vous brûlez. / Vous périssez d'un mal que vous dissimulez. »[39] Hippolyte, comme Phèdre, est lui aussi honteux de cet amour qui va contre sa nature. Il « brûle » d'un « secret » qu'il n'avait jamais ressenti auparavant. Racine souligne que cette corruption physique de l'amour peut être provoquée chez le récipiendaire même de cet amour. Ainsi à l'annonce de la passion de Phèdre, le jeune homme se dit « glacé d'effroi »,[40] une sensation toute opposée à celle que ressentait Phèdre dans Sénèque, laquelle brûlait et se consumait d'amour. Il continue en disant : « Quel funeste poison / L'amour a répandu sur toute sa maison ! / [...] / De noirs pressentiments viennent m'épouvanter. / Mais l'innocence enfin n'a rien à redouter. »[41] Hippolyte n'est physiquement atteint que par ce qui peux faire accro à sa pureté, son innocence, comme dans cet extrait; il est glacé d'effroi par le crime, non par un sentiment d'amour.

inconnus aux Enfers? »

38   « Une ardeur et une chaleur brûle mon coeur insensé. Sa sauvagerie bouille profondément dans mes moëlles et voyage à travers mes veines; ce feu est plongé dans mes entrailles et cet amour secret est comme les flammes rapides qui se propagent aux planches de bois élevées (d'une maison). » (Sénèque, lignes 640-4).

39   Racine, lignes 134-6.

40   Racine, ligne 988.

41   Racine, lignes 991-6.

C'est cependant Phèdre qui, plus coupable, souffre d'avantage de son désir. Sa première entrée sur scène la montre dévastée de corps, mourante de passion et de honte, prête à tout abandonner pour éviter le déshonneur. Son dialogue avec sa nourrice Oeonone reprend les mêmes thèmes que dans Sénèque; celui d'un amour qui « règne dans son esprit » lequel « l'arrache de son lit »,[42] qui l'empêche de dormir, qui lui fait fuir les vêtements riches et qui la fait rejeter sa coiffure élégante.[43] La reine explique elle-même la corruption de l'amour sur elle : « Je ne me soutiens plus, ma force m'abandonne. / Mes yeux sont éblouis du jour que je revois, / Et mes genoux tremblants se dérobent sous moi. »[44] Cette dernière description ressemble à celle de Thésée sortant des enfers; « vix cupitum sufferunt oculi diem »,[45] « Sed fessa virtus robore antiquo caret »,[46] comme si Phèdre allait vers la mort de la même façon que Thésée en est revenu.

Phèdre voulait souffrir les maux de la passion en silence sans jamais se dévoiler, cependant c'est Oeonone qui la convainc de révéler son secret. Les conséquences physiques de l'amour sont la première chose dont parle Phèdre, comme si c'était là la meilleure façon qu'elle avait trouvée pour décrire ce qu'elle ressentait. Parlant d'Hippolyte, elle s'exclame :

> « *Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue.*
> *Un trouble s'éleva dans mon âme éperdue.*
> *Mes yeux ne voyaient plus, je ne pouvais parler,*
> *Je sentis tout mon corps et transir, et brûler.* »[47]

L'amour est présenté comme étant tout composé de contrastes; pâleur et rougeur, vision et cécité, chaleur et froid. Il est important de souligner toutefois que malgré cette description physique, le mental est

---

42   Raine, lignes 147-8.
43   Ce n'est que par l'intervention d'Oenone, la nourrice, qui pour ne pas la voir mourir la pousse dans les bras d'Hippolyte, que Phèdre se résout à vivre. Il est intéressant de noter que chez Sénèque, le premier dialogue de la nourrice peut présenter des indices sur une possible « envie » de celle-ci pour Hippolyte. L'équivoque est très certainement absente de la Phèdre de Racine; la hiérarchie très stricte dans la société du XVIIe aurait empêché un quelconque mélange des castes sociales dans une tragédie.
44   Racine, lignes 154-6.
45   « Mes yeux supportent à peine le jour tant désiré. » (Sénèque, ligne 836).
46   « Mais mon courage fatigué manque sa force d'autrefois. » (Sénèque, ligne 846).
47   Racine, lignes 273-6; Ces quatre vers qui expliquent les bouleversements du corps causés par la passion sont considérés comme parmi les meilleurs du corpus Français. Cet alexandrin, un tétramètre à débit régulier, montre toute la puissance de la plume de Racine. Il est d'abord divisé en hémistiches, qui eux-mêmes sont sous-divisés par une deuxième coupure, présentant donc quatre subdivisions de trois vers qui se « reflètent » à l'instar d'un miroir inversé. C'est-à-dire que la dernière subdivision renvoi à la première, mais dans un sens inverse (le sujet qui voit deviens l'objet qui est vu); tandis que la troisième renvoi à la deuxième tout en étant également inversée pour démontrer l'impact de la première et quatrième subdivision; A/B\|/Binversé/Ainversé.

toujours gardé en focus avec la notion d'« âme »; c'est un dérèglement au niveau spirituel qui entraîna ces conséquences. Racine, comme Sénèque, veut montrer que si Phèdre souffre autant, ce n'est pas uniquement à cause de son amour, mais parce que cet amour même est un crime. Ces marques physiques étaient perçues par la reine, elle savait ce qu'elle dégageait quand elle dit à sa nourrice d'aller convaincre Hippolyte : « Presse, pleure, gémis, plains-lui Phèdre mourante. / Ne rougis point de prendre une voix suppliante. »[48] Elle voulait donc utiliser son apparence à son propre avantage pour émouvoir Hippolyte.

Un dernier point qu'il est important de souligner dans cette énumération de la contamination amoureuse du corps, est la notion de « rougissement » chez Racine. La pâleur de teint était une qualité dans la noblesse de l'Ancien Régime, ainsi que dans la Rome Impériale, il en résultait que chaque petite émotion pouvait être visible sur le visage par le rougissement ou par une subite pâleur. C'était donc une qualité, liée à la notion contemporaine du stoïcisme, que de savoir éviter de rougir. La Phèdre que Racine met en scène rougit constamment : « [je] rougis du trouble »; « Ah ! s'il vous faut rougir, rougissez d'un silence »; « Vers mon cœur tout mon sang se retire. »; « je languis, je brûle »; « un front qui ne rougit jamais. »[49] Les auditeurs nobles de cette tragédie auraient donc perçu immédiatement ces allusions à des rougissements et à des palissements qui étaient considérés comme un défaut et comme un manque de contrôle de soi. Ils y auraient vu une preuve physique que l'amour néfaste de Phèdre a perturbé son esprit.

Dans les deux auteurs la représentation corporelle de l'amour semble presqu'aussi importante que sa représentation mentale, et joue un rôle tout aussi important dans les deux tragédies; les causes de cette emphase seront élaborées dans ce paragraphe. Ce développement du côté physique n'est d'ailleurs pas présent uniquement dans la description de l'amour. Sénèque et Racine firent reposer une très grande part de leurs tragédies sur les descriptions matérielles. La mort d'Hippolyte est un exemple parfait. Les deux auteurs décrivent en détails le taureau, les chevaux et le corps d'Hippolyte alors qu'il est déchiré par les roches et les buissons. La beauté d'Hippolyte est également grandement peinte. Sénèque pousse encore plus avec des descriptions physiques de la chasse, de la forêt, des chiens, des animaux possédés par l'amour, de l'aspect de Thésée alors qu'il revient des enfers, du désordre de Phèdre, de l'aspect des villes dans un discours d'Hippolyte, etc. Il n'est donc pas étonnant de voir une si grande présence des contaminations de l'amour sur le corps dans ces deux

---

48   Racine, lignes 809-10.
49   En ordre; Racine lignes 171; 185; 581; 634; 852.

tragédies. La vision de l'amour y est renforcée.

Ces descriptions jouent d'ailleurs un grand rôle auprès des spectateurs. Alors que plusieurs caractéristiques de la passion présentées dans *Phèdre* sont intimement liées au crime et à la honte de l'inceste, les développements de l'aspect matériel pourraient s'appliquer à n'importe quel amour. Les auditeurs ou les lecteurs de ces pièces pourraient ne pas être capable de se mettre à la place de Phèdre, vu l'énormité de sa passion, cependant tous seraient capables de comprendre cette description matérielle de l'amour; qu'il soit pur ou non. Ils peuvent s'imaginer aisément les rougissements et le « feu » qu'apporte Vénus. Les auditeurs peuvent *vivre* et *ressentir* la passion de Phèdre à travers ses impulsions physiques.

Le développement de l'aspect physique et les impacts de l'amour sur le corps a donc servi aux deux auteurs à enrichir leurs tragédies de différentes façon. Ce coté physique permet en premier lieu de mieux représenter le caractère de leurs personnages, puis de démocratiser cette histoire pour que les émotions qu'elle évoque soient plus accessibles aux auditeurs, et permet finalement à Racine et Sénèque de souligner véritablement la puissance de Vénus sur les humains; elle n'a pas seulement accès à leur esprit, mais également à leurs corps.

Si donc les deux *Phèdres* présentées tendent vers un même but, l'avertissement contre une passion amoureuse trop puissante, leurs méthodes changent légèrement ainsi qu'il a été vu. Racine en effet ne se basait pas uniquement sur Sénèque, mais, puisqu'il connaissait parfaitement le Grec, il s'inspira beaucoup également de l'*Hippolyte Porte-couronne* d'Euripide. Les analogies faites dans cette dissertation toutefois, montre que l'appui que Racine prit sur Sénèque était plus grand encore. Il utilisait Sénèque, réputé au XVIIe - XVIIIe siècle pour sa vision du stoïcisme, pour avancer l'idée d'un amour plus vrai, plus moral. Racine spécifiera d'ailleurs dans sa préface que cette tragédie, *Phèdre*, est la plus vertueuse qu'il ait fait :

> « Les moindres fautes y sont sévèrement punies ; la seule pensée du crime y est regardée avec autant d'horreur que le crime même ; les faiblesses de l'amour y passent pour de vraies faiblesses ; les passions n'y sont présentées aux yeux que pour montrer tout le désordre dont elles sont cause ; et le vice y est peint partout avec des couleurs qui en font connaître et haïr la difformité. C'est là proprement le but que tout homme qui travaille pour le public doit se proposer, et c'est ce que les premiers poètes tragiques avaient en vue sur toute chose. » (*Phèdre : préface*)

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Sources primaires:

Racine, Jean. Phèdre, dans : Raymond Picard (ed.; présentation, notes & commentaires), Œuvre Complètes (Paris : Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard, 1951).

Sénèque. Phaedra, dans Léon Herrmann (trad.), *Tragédies* (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1971).

Auteurs classiques:

Euripide. Ἱππόλυτος στεφανοφόρος, dans Marie Belcourt-Curvers (trad.), *Tragédies Complètes* (Paris : Gallimard, 1962).

Ovide. *Ars Amatoria*, dans : Henri Bornecque (trad.), *L'art d'aimer* (Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1929).

Ovide. Metamorphoseon, dans G.T. Villenave (trad.), Les Métamorphoses (Paris, 1806).

Ovide. Phaedra Hippolyto (IV), dans M. Nisard (éd.) et M. Théophile Baudement (trad.), *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris : J.-J. Dubochet, 1838).

Ovide. Remedia Amoris, dans M. Nisard (trad.), *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris : J.-J. Dubochet, 1838).

Philostrate. *La Suite de Philostrate : Les Images, ou Tableaux de platte peinture du jeune Philostrate. - La Description de Callistrate, de quelques statues antiques tant de marbre comme de bronze. - Les Héroiques de Philostrate*, dans Blaise de Vigenère (trad.) (Paris : Langellier, 1602.)

Plutarque. Theseus, dans Bernadotte Perrin (trad.), *Lives, volume I* (Cambridge : Loeb Classical Library, 1914).

Procope. De Bello Gothico, dans : M. Cousin (trad.), *Histoire de la guerre contre les Perses* (Paris : Foucault, 1685)

Virgile. Aeneis, dans H. Rushton Fairclough (trad.), *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6* (Cambridge : Loeb Classical Library, 1999).

Virgile. Aeneis, dans H. Rushton Fairclough (trad.), *Aeneid: Books 7-12. Appendix Vergiliana* (Cambridge : Loeb Classical Library, 2001).

Virgile. Georgica, dans Maurice Rat (trad.), *Les Bucoliques et les Géorgiques* (Paris L Classiques Garnier, 1932).

Sources secondaires:

Ahl, Frederick. *Lucan: an introduction*. Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, 1976.

Farge, Arlette. Dire et Mal Dire. *L'opinion publique au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris : Seuil, 1992.

Gordon, Arthur E. 1934. *The cults of Aricia*. Berkeley, Calif: University of

California Press.

Green, C. M. C. 2007. *Roman religion and the cult of Diana at Aricia*. Cambridge [U.K.]: Cambridge University Press.

Grell, Chantal. *Le dix-huitième siècle et l'antiquité en France (1680-1789)*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995.

Harrison, George William Mallory, et Frederick Ahl. *Seneca in performance*. London: Duckworth with the Classical Press of Wales, 2000.

Lapidge, Michael. « A Problem in Stoic Cosmology. » *Phronesis*. 18:3 (1973) : 240-278.

Loubère, Stéphanie. *L'Art d'aimer au siècle des Lumières*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007.

Mathé, Roger. *Phèdre, Racine; analyse critique*. Paris: Hatier, 1973.

Néraudau, Jean-Pierre. « La présence d'Ovide aux seizième et dix-septième siècles » dans *La Littérature et ses avatars: discrédits, réformations et réhabilitations dans l'histoire de la littérature, Actes des cinquièmes journées rémoises, 23-27 novembre 1989*, éd. Yvonne Bellender (Paris, 1991).

Peyroux, Marthe. *Marguerite Yourcenar: la passion d'aimer*. 2014

Wood, Allen G., Guérin de La Pinelière, Gabriel Gilbert, et Mathieu Bidar. *Le mythe de Phèdre: les Hippolyte français du dix- septième siècle : textes des éditions originales de La Pinelière, de Gilbert et de Bidar*. Paris : H. Champion, 1996.

Drinking to Remember: Reimagining the Interplay between Athens'
Drinking Culture, Signing, and Politics from a Parochial Perspective
DANIEL WHITTLE

Music and songs have often been viewed as a means to create focus for the masses in their protests against government. During volatile political demonstrations, the presence of politically charged music is ubiquitous. Simple and recognizable music encapsulated the frustrations and beliefs of the often forgotten and unheard masses, including them in a political discourse often characterised by exclusion – familiar melodies directed the masses toward a cause or objective. Whether it is John Lennon's *Give Peace a Chance,* Billie Holiday's *Strange Fruit*, or the Sex Pistols' *God Save the Queen*, politically charged music often fostered agency for those who felt excluded. The *skolia*, or drinking-songs of ancient Athens, can be understood in a similar way.

This paper follows a two-pronged methodological approach: the where and the how. First, I will demonstrate the ubiquity of communal drinking and social drinking establishments in Athens. Social drinking was not reserved for the wealthy few, but it was means for Athenians of all social strata to participate in their civic discourse. Local drinking venues were a stage on which civic values took hold, promoting egalitarian virtues and fostering communality. Such interactions, experienced by people of all walks of life, lead to a dispersal of *symposiastic* conventions and tradition to more parochial environments like *common symposia[1]* and, as I will contend, to *kapeleia* (neighbourhood pubs).[2] Secondly, I will turn towards the experience of drinking in Athens. Due to their pervasiveness and a relaxed communal atmosphere, neighbourhood pubs became a primary location of social interaction – a breeding ground of charged political dialogue and debate. It is amidst this environment, often characterised by volatility, that the choral singing of instructive *skolia[3]* gained popularity. The messages of such *skolia* rebranded Athens' political past, inventing

---

1   A common symposium was a term coined by Gregory Jones that refers to non-elite drinking parties. This term offers a new interpretation of drinking culture in Athens. See Jones (2014).
2   A term used by Jones (2014) to describe a *symposia*-like event populated by citizens of non-elite backgrounds.
3   A term coined by Jones (2016) based on Athenaeus' characterisation that popular *skolia* often provided "some advice or gnome useful to living one's life." (Athenaeus 694c).

a historical trajectory toward egalitarian customs and ultimately democracy. Using Nora's model of *lieux de mémoire*[4], I will show how the *skolia* encouraged the masses to adopt democratic ideals as their own civic and personal values. Furthermore, how this newly enriched understanding of identity, enflamed the parochial citizen's belief in the existence of the democratic ideals of *isonomia* (equality of opportunity) and *isegoria* (freedom of speech), fostering support for a democratic Athens.

Isonomia and *isegoria* developed under Cleisthenes' reforms, and signified a political status; in the eyes of government everyone had an equality of opportunity under the law, and a freedom to express their political opportunity openly. Both terms, obviously became intensely democratically charged in their day, making them complex to translate. It would be an injustice to the Greek to simply translate them as "equality"; they should be translated with a careful understanding for their political connotations. Here they mean "equality of opportunity" and "freedom of speech", respectively, but even such translations do not fully encompass the charged nature of these words.[5]

In post-Cleisthenic Athens, despite promises of free speech or equality, most citizens felt little in the way of these sentiments. The *ekklesia* was still dominated by the more-educated and charismatic aristocracy. Despite such gestures as ostracism or selections by lot, there were few policies that fostered a belief in the existence of a greater equality or other democratic sentiments.[6] The *skolia* of Athens made these ideals, in the mind of a regular citizen, a common held reality.

Where do they drink?

The Agora, or market, in modern scholarship, is characterised as a space in which "real life" for an Athenian takes place.[7] Citizens shuffle past countless market stalls, while merchants broadcast their wares; aromas of flat cakes, honey, and Attic figs invigorate passers-by.[8] Bits of colourful cloth and ribbon from all corners of the Mediterranean dangle off the end of their stalls.[9] Men push and shove past one another, darting past the *bouletarion* and the *tholos*, occasionally one may briefly glance in-

4   See below for a discussion of Nora's model.
5   See LSJ entry and Raaflaub (2003) 62-63 for a further discussion of the complexity of both terms.
6   The lottery system perhaps fostered some degree of equality in Athens, however it was so short lived the effectiveness can be put into question. Secondly, there was still a hierarchy of positions, an official who governed dung-disposal would not have felt equal to an archon.
7   Osborne (2008) 76.
8   Athenaeus 14.652b-c; Antiphanes (fr.177.1-4) in Athenaeus 3.74d. Aristophanes *Ach.* 1.873ff; *Peace* 1005; *Lysistrata* 36, 702; Antiphanes (fr.233) in Athenaeus 1.27d-e; Antiphanes (fr.191) in Athenaeus 7.295c-d; Archestratos (fr 60) in Athenaeus 3.101b-e.
9   Athenaeus 12.512b-c.

side – transparency was essential for the 'open-air political culture'. Men barter amongst one another, or exchange small talk in front of the monument to the eponymous heroes; perhaps someone hangs a notice below the statue of *Kerkrops* or *Ajax.* This traditional portrayal of the 'real life' of Athens though charming, is rather misleading. Such a picturesque image focuses on a non-existent reality for many Athenians, a dissatisfying sentiment for the new tide of history seeking a holistic narrative. This paper, does not intend to reject the value of the Agora in Athens, but rather redirect our focus upon it. Most citizens of Athens would have infrequency drifted towards the Agora, if at all. This paper wishes to decentralise our perspective of Athens' political culture toward the "fringes" of the city in a true attempt to find the parochial everyday perspective.[10]

Modern scholarship, and even to some degree the ancient sources, are not terse in their discussion of drinking in the ancient world and more specifically ancient Athens. Much work has focused on not only the consumption of wine but wine-making as well. However, much of such scholarship has been elite-orientated, focusing on *symposiastic* settings – though this pervasive view has recently begun to be challenged.[11] The reality was that drinking in Athens was ubiquitous and open – not merely a practice for the wealthy elite. In fact, most houses of Athens were near a neighbourhood pub.[12] These pubs called *kapeleia* were house-like structures tucked in amongst residential areas.[13]

Scholarship today has constructed a binary between *kapeleia* and *symposia* – one being of the elite, the other of the common. However, such a divide is an anachronistic invention. The perceived more "common" venues were not a lesser space of drinking, as both elites and commoners alike frequented *kapeleia*, however these local pubs were less formal. Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* claims Diogenes said that "the *kapeleia* are the mess-halls of Attica".[14] Though Diogenes was being critical of the nature of the *kapeleia*, his sentiment reflected the ubiquitous and communal nature of neighbourhood pubs. Further, Hesychios speaks of the three-public dinning and drinking establishments of Athens (*Tholos, Thesmophoreion, Prytaneion*), to which officials, selected by lot were invited during their

10   This paper will use the term common or parochial to refer to non-elite customs and practices. Specifically, the common people refers to citizen men. In another paper, currently in the works, I will try to expand the definition to show how *metics*, women, and perhaps slaves, would have also frequented these common spaces of drinking, and furthermore would have engaged in this discourse of song recitation.

11   See Kelly-Blazeby (2006) and Davidson (1997).

12   Kelly-Blazeby (2006) 23. See Nicostratus in *Patriotai* (22 K-A) and Eubulus' *Pamphilus* (80 K-A) for references to *kapeleia* as being highly localised and intermingled with the urban fabric.

13   Kelly-Blazeby (2006) 25.

14   Aristotle. *Rhet.* 1411a.24.

time in office.[15] All citizens who were selected by lot (which over the span of one's lifetime was highly likely) provided experience with a *symposiasastic* atmosphere.[16] Just as elites would have often frequented their neighbourhood *kapeleia,* hence Hyperides claims that "the Areopagites barred anyone who had breakfasted in a *kapeleion* from going up to the Areopagus."[17] Furthermore, the condemnation by orators like Isocrates and Demosthenes that men, without any class distinction, were wasting their time drinking in *kapeleia*, speaks to the prevalence and diversity of clientele thought Athens pubs.[18]

The archaeological artefacts similarly further debunk this elite-centralised perspective. Recently, a red-figure *kalyx* by Euphronios from ca. 500 BCE has been discovered depicting a "common *symposium*" or a non-elite *symposium* (figure 1.1). Though this will be addressed further later, it should be noted that the krater depicting a parochial drinking environment*,* has the lyrics of a popular *skolia* painted above the figures (fig. 1.1b). Jones claims, "the labelled presence of a banausic vase-painter (Smikros)" reflects a non-elite gathering.[19] Whether depicted was a common *symposium* is not certain[20], however what is significant is that the krater depicts a parochial engagement with communal drinking as well as *skolia* performance. It is neither strange nor far-reaching, therefore, to conjecture that *skolia* would have been recited in one's local *kapeleia*. *Skolia* were routinely performed "over-cups", regardless of formality.[21] The presence of song was evident in most drinking circles in Athens, and there is no indication that *kapeleia* would have been the exception. Further, *kapeleia* unlike the other venues, would have offered an untrammelled theatre for drinking and debauchery ungoverned by tradition or the careful watch of the *symposiarch* – an ideal environment to perform such charged songs.[22] These local pubs allowed *pentakosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis, zeugitai,* and *thetes* (the property classes of Athens), to engage in in *skolia* recitation. This does not mean that members of every class sat side by side, but rather that drinking and choral singing was readily available to all classes of Athens. On that note, we shall now direct our attention to these very performances, and what impact they would have had on the common citizens of Athens.

15   S.V. πρυτανειον. See Kelly-Blazeby (2006) 38-9.
16   Steiner (2002) 373.
17   Hyperides 138 *ap.* Ath. 13.566f.
18   Isoc. *Areop*. 49 .
19   Jones (2016) 173.
20   See Jones (2016) 170-174.
21   Jones (2016) 162.
22   Though even the careful watch of a *symposiarch* seemed to do little to inhibit the debaucheries of young elites drinking at *symposia.* See Kelly-Blazeby (2006) 65-68, 70.

How do they drink?

  Drinking in Athens, as Blazby notes, was a highly communal experience. From a very early period, drinking was equated with a gathering or a group; there was little reference to drinking alone.[23] The fringes of Athens were not atypical, communal drinking was widespread and easily accessible. Furthermore, Eubulus and Nicostratus, with their reference to the "neighbourhood pub", contend that *kapeleia* were a common point of reference for local community members. A similar sentiment of ubiquity and communality characterised Attic *skolia* as well. The *skolia* of Athens, much likes *kapeleia,* were well known as for their accessibility – being short and simple, with simple metre that made them easy to follow and recite.[24] The creation of the genre, often traced back to Pindar, intended that uneducated attendees of civic banquets could participate.[25] These songs had a simple and relatable message providing "some advice or gnome useful to living one's life".[26] Athenaeus says when discussing the origins of *skolia* that,

> Most of the guests remembered the well-known Attic skolia, which are worth recounting because of their extreme archaizing and the simplicityof their composers.[27]

The authors of such songs shared a common perspective and their colloquial messages made them relevant and memorable for people of all walks of life. Further attestations, mainly in Attic comedy, speak of a style that was simplistic and widely known by common people of Athens.[28] It seems for these reasons that many claim pubs and singing were at the "heart of social life" in Athens.[29] Not only was singing relatively easy for most people, but it was fun and inclusive. There was "an implicit expectation that *skolion* ought to be easy to sing and readily followed"[30] and readily embraced by the masses. Dio Chrysostom says that *skolia* are "unfit for kings" but are at home among the "merry-making and exceedingly relaxed *demesmen* and *phratry* members.[31] Some have even argued that the *skolia*

---

23 Kelly-Blazeby (2006).
24 Aristophanes. *Wasps* (1222a).
25 See Jones (2016) 160 for a discussion on the creation of the *skolia* for civic banquets.
26 Athenaeus (694c).
27 Ibid.
28 Ar. Ach. 979; Lys. 632, 1236; Vesp 1225; fr. 444; Antiph. fr. 3, 85; Cratin. fr. 236; schol. Pl. Grg. 451.
29 Martin (2017) 62.
30 Jones (2016) 167.
31 Dio Chrys. *Or.*2.63 in Jones (2014) 234.

of Athens were composed by non-elite Athenians.[32] Regardless of authorship, the prominence of parochial recitation in literary sources speaks to their widespread popularity and, furthermore, to the adoption of *skolia* as songs of the common people. Common citizens would experience these enriched communal experiences in an entertaining way, fostering their support and belief in an egalitarian ethos within Athens.[33]

Raaflaub said, "Democracy is constituted through institutions, practices, mentalities, and, eventually, ideologies."[34] Yet, the question of engaging support for ideology was left, for the most part, unanswered by Athenian governance. Of course, incentives were made to encourage support for their new ideology with the lot system, or ostracism, but many were still doubtful of democracies benefits.[35] *Skolia*, and their singing was the medium which joined these egalitarian values with civic values. Jones states,

The tense political environment that surrounded the early singers of the Attic *skolia* is manifest in a cluster of related songs, including the Harmodios, all of which have to do with martyrs who died fighting the tyranny.[36]

The consistent message of Attic *skolia* reflected a subconscious attempt to discuss the still experimental democratic governance. Spaces like *kapeleia* were untrammelled venues in which an individual's opinion could be vocalised within this dialogue. One of the more popular songs proclaims:

I will carry my sword in a myrtle branch,
Like Harmodios and Aristogeiton,
When they both killed the tyrant,
And made Athens a place of equality opportunity (*isonomous*).[37]

Singers espoused a distinct political opposition to tyranny, and placed it in opposition to Athenian customs – thus reflecting the intention to uplift democratic ideals above any previous governance. Of course, Harmodios and Aristogeiton's actions did not catalyse any political change in Athens,

32   See Jones (2014).
33   Jones (2014) 230.
34   Raaflaub (2003) 22.
35   See Raaflaub (2003).
36   Jones (2014) 253.
37   PMG 893
ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
ὥσπερ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην
βἰσονόμους τ᾿ Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην.

but the message of *skolia* and their popularity made this fact irrelevant.[38] Such songs re-wrote the history of Athens, creating a *longue durée* of democracy in the Athenians' public memory. "The singers of the skolion may have considered the murder of Hipparchos the moment when a critical mass of people turned against the tyranny and ideologically, if not actually, transformed the status quo".[39] As we shall see, this was the type of fracture in society on which Nora wrote.[40] By inciting Harmodios' name in multiple *skolia* the people engrain democratic sentiments into public memory, fostering a greater sense of egalitarian values.

Furthermore, people outwardly established their right to political agency and *isegoria* as their songs expressed the voice and will of the demes.[41] This was especially relevant when the crowd sang,

> You will always have glory (*kleos*) throughout the earth
> most beloved Harmodios and Aristogeiton
> because you both killed the tyrant
> and you made Athens a place of equality of opportunity
> (*isonomous*).[42]

Such renditions not only outwardly address the disdain toward any previous forms of government, but further equate their current system with equality of opportunity and, furthermore, by the very nature of singing, freedom of speech. Hence, when Demosthenes incited the *skolia* of Harmodios, he cited that it was the people which glorified the heroes of Athens in song, excluding their praises as the cause for his status.[43] The social-political ideologies promoted in the Attic *skolia* lead to the glorification of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton incident, championing them as popular democratic heroes.[44]

As *skolia* became increasingly more popular in Athens, and their potential threat became apparent. Proceeding laws banished the singing of slander toward the heroes of Athens – In a fragmentary speech, *Against Philippides,* Hyperides says, "the people wrote a prohibition in a law, for-

38 See Thuc. 1.20, 6.53-59.
39 Jones (2014) 256.
40 Nora (1989) 7.
41 Jones (2014). 257.
42 PMG 896
αἰεὶ σφῷν κλέος ἔσσεται κατ᾽ αἶαν,
φίλταθ᾽ Ἁρμόδιε καὶ Ἀριστόγειτον
ὅτι τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην
ἰσονόμους τ᾽ Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην.
43 Dem. 19.280. See Jones (2014) 248 for how the songs he refers to are certainly Attic *skolia.*
44 Yatromanolakis (2009) 272.

bidding anyone either to slander Harmodios and Aristogeiton or to sing things to their detriment."[45] The hyper-political nature of the Attic *skolia* was something to be feared by leading politicians – they wanted to be sure the content was pro-democratic. Comparatively in oligarchic Thasos, *kapeleia* and ultimately the *skolia* performed in them, were banned due the threat they posed.[46] This censorship in Athens and elsewhere reflected the strength of these communal chants, as well as the recognition by government of the political power they possessed. Athenaeus does tell us that *skolia* that were worth listening to "were such songs as contained some exhortations and sentiments which seemed useful for the purposes of life".[47] It was this instructive nature that officials of non-democratic governments perceived to be a threat, but Athenian-democrats found to be an asset.

Now applying Nora's model, each time *skolia* were sung in the Athenian context, they acted as a monument or holder of social memory in the minds of the singers and listeners. Let us not forget, as mentioned above, vast numbers of people were present for such social events. This intangible monument received a large audience, and such performances exemplified the impact protest and vocalisation had on the common citizen. The constant interaction, as well as the accessibility of the *skolia,* held a permanent space in the minds of Athenian citizens. Democratic sentiments politicised public memory, creating the impression that egalitarian values were civic virtues. As Jones writes, *skolia* reflected "a system which [stressed] fundamental values, as much religious as social – in a word, civic values."[48]

Conclusions

Recent scholarship, with its turn towards a local approach, has shifted the perspective of space and spatiality of the Greek city. Further, much recent work, most notably that by Amy Russell, has redefined space from a public perspective, revealing the effect common space can have on the citizens of a city.[49] This spatial study has also redirected our perspective away from central locations of elite-discourse toward the parochial fringes where "real life" took place – and thus has revaluated our understanding of which spaces held importance for the inhabitants of Greek cities. As Pierre Nora notes, monuments can be physical places, tangible objects, like an epitaph or a column. Additionally, Nora contends that places of public memory can be embodied in immaterial elements, such as writings, songs,

45   Hyp. 2.3.
46   Davidson (1997) 392-95.
47   Ath. 15. 49. PMG 694.
48   Jones (2016) 160.
49   Russell (2016) 21-23.

and calendar days.[50] By applying Nora's and Russell's theories within an ancient context, it allows historians to begin to understand monuments and immaterial elements from the perspective of a common citizen, and understand which spaces and objects held memory for them. Nora writes,

> Our interest in *lieux de mémoire* where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn—but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. There are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory.[51]

The shift toward democracy embodied such a "break", giving rise to a new political discourse. *Skolia*, a common custom of elites and commoners alike, and the socio-political ideologies they fostered, popularised the cults of the pro-democratic heroes of Athens. Such a medium was highly accessible and offered an intimate engagement for most residents to articulate their political discourse. Within *kapeleia* and other parochial spaces, these *skolia* were sung by all regardless of which social strata they were born into. [52] Such an experience embodies the democratic ideal, noted by Raaflaub as,

> A measure of free speech, a strong sense of community, and mentalities including egalitarianism, personal independence, self-worth, and a refusal to be cowed by the rich, powerful, or wellborn".[53]

By creating a forum to perform all these features of democracy, Classical Attic *skolia* acted as a catalyst for engaging citizens in their political discourse, and further fostered a belief in the existence *isonomia* and *isegoria* in Athens for the average citizen.

      Nora writes, "Like war, the history of *lieux de mémoire* is an art

---

50   Nora (1989) 7-8.
51   Ibid. 7.
52   Though this paper does not have time to discuss it, there could be a further conjecture made that even non-citizen residents were a part of this communal singing and drinking. It seems, anyone who could enter a tavern or small drinking place was a part of this merriment. See Jones (2014) 236-7 for such a discussion.
53   Raaflaub and Wallace (2007) 22.

of implementation, practiced in the fragile happiness derived from relating to rehabilitated objects and from the involvement of the historian in his or her subject." Such is the problem of material scholarship. As democracy developed in Athens, the ideology reconfigured the political and social dynamism of the polis. Such sentiments like *isonomia,* though idealistic in theory, would have appeared foreign to many. There was no real sense of what equality may have looked like, or how it may have been physicalized in daily life. What seems to have occurred, fostered no doubt by the development of communal drinking and political *skolia,* was an increased belief that equality was inherently Athenian. The constant performance and re-performance of *skolia* by the citizens of Athens indicated the powerful nature that voice can have in creating this belief. As *isonomia* and *isegoria* became a fully integrated component of Athens's democratic political culture and her civic values, as Jones notes,

> its practical meaning, function, and influence was determined by popular ideas and motives; "it was embraced by elites (but not all of them) and non-elites (especially middling hoplites) and like the Attic *skolia* embodies a genuine expression of the people's will.[54]

Did the performing of the *Harmodios* song one night in the *kapeleia,* mean that the parochial citizen would speak at the next assembly? Most likely not. However, much like the protest anthems of the 1960s, the *skolia* directed people towards an ideology. Singing these songs could perhaps encourage someone to attend the *ekklesia* with a greater sense of agency, though we cannot trace such a tendency. However, this outward expression cultivated a sense of pride for their egalitarian democratic processes. Reciting the memories of a democratic past fostered a sense of destiny toward democracy and egalitarianism. The *skolia*, in a sense, due to their constant engagement in a local environment shaped public memory – furthermore, using Nora's model, such songs became a place of civic memory where you could visit to 'experience' or connect yourself to the glorious past of Athens. Each recitation, reactivated a glorious pro-democratic past, enflamed a stronger attachment and belief in the current ideology. The Attic *skolia* re-wrote the history of Athens for the parochial citizen; intimately associating their history with a history of democracy. One no longer felt as though democracy was reckless experiment, but rather an inevitable trajectory. Then perhaps now we can understand the "real life" experience of common Athenians did not take place in the Agora, but in the pub.

54   Jones (2014) 257.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Greg. *The Athenian experiment: building an imagined political community in ancient Attica, 508-490 B.C*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003.

Davidson, James. "A Ban on Pubic Bars in Thasos?" *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2 (1997): 392-395.

Courtesans and Fishcakes. London: Fontana Press, 2008.

Jones, Gregory S. "Observing Genre in Archaic Greek *Skolia* and Vase-Painting" in *The Look of Lyric: Greek Song and the Visual*. Edited by Vanessa Cazzato and Andre Lardinois. Boston: Brill, 2016.

"Voice of the people: Popular symposia and the non-elite origins of the Attic *Skolia*." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 144, no. 2 (2014): 229-262.

Kelly-Blazeby, Clare. "*Kapeleion*: Casual and Commercial Wine Consumption in Classical Greece" PHD diss., University of Leicester, 2006.

Lynch, K.M. "More Thoughts on the Space of the Symposium". *British School at Athens Studies* 15 (2007): 243-249.

Martin, Richard. "Crooked Competition: The Performance and Poetics of *Skolia*" in *Authorship and Greek Song: Authority, Authenticity, and Performance*. Edited by Egbert Bakker. Boston: Brill, 2017.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire." *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24.

Osborne, Robin, comp. *The World of Athens: An Introduction to Classical Athenian Culture: Background Book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Page, D. L. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Raaflaub, Kurt A., and Robert Wallace. *Origins in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Raaflaub, Kurt A. "Stick and Glue: The Function of Tyranny in Fifth-Century Athenian Democracy" in *Popular Tyranny*. Edited by Kathryn Morgan. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003.

Russell, Amy. *The politics of public space in Republican Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 20016.

Steiner, Ann. "Private and Public: Links Between *Symposion* and *Syssition* in Fifth-Century Athens". *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2002): 347-390.

Yatromanolakis, Dimitrios. "Ancient Greek popular song" in *Greek Lyric*. Edited by Felix Budelmann. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2009) 263-276.

APPENDIX

FIG. 1.1 – Red figure krater by Euphronios
    MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUGEN
    UND GLYPTOTHEK 8935

FIG 1.1b – Detail of red-figure krater by Euphronios
    MUNICH, STAATLICHE ANTIKENSAMMLUGEN
    UND GLYPTOTHEK 8935

HIRUNDO

Backmatter

Mission Statement

NEHA RAHMAN

I will take the family ghosts with me when,
Late at night, the moon an immobile God's eye,
I run away, ending an era with me,
Keeping a vestige

Still to plant my image, grow trees from ashes.
Decimated, I haven't ended. Not yet,
Lost in rolling, stomach seas, sailors dare not
       Curse and compare when

Thunder claps sarcastically. I forget all
But my duty, stare my eyes thoughtless past yours.
I'm consumed by legacy, fated to be
       Foolish and wizened

All at once, in history, play the fool. I
Am the hero nobody knows about yet,
Not yet gracing sunbeams and shaking deep breaths
       Taken before the

Fall. The triumph heard through the ages and I
Walking cross a platform to carry decades
And a race, and family ghosts. Do I dare
       Colonize myself?

Mission Statement is a poem written in Sapphic Stanza. The Sapphic stanza is a form of poetry whose invention is attributed to the archaic female poet from Lesbos, Sappho. It is in the form of two eleven syllable lines, followed by a third line that begins the same way but has five extra syllables right at the end.

The pattern is **/ u / x / u u / u //**
For the third line, the extra five syllables go **/ u u / u**

(/ - stressed, u - unstressed, x - anceps, either)

This is lyric poetry, but there is no real established rhyme pattern. The meter was originally composed for the language of Ancient Greek which has long and short vowels built into the language, instead of stressed and unstressed syllables. When composing new English lyrics in this meter, it was a challenge to twist the language into these almost unnatural stresses, however as the meter forced my hand with my diction, the result was the curious, lyrical Mission Statement.

The content of the poem is connected to another, very different Ancient source. It is inspired heavily by book two of Vergil's Aeneid which describes the hero Aeneas's escape from the burning Troy. The feeling that is thus evoked by this poem is one of letting go and leaving everything one knew behind, save for memories. This is a feeling I wanted to track onto my own feeling of graduating high school and jumping headfirst into university. With Aeneas, and all of us starting big new chapters of our lives, it can be a scary thing to be a hero in the making, to see the promise of it on the horizon, a shooting star lighting up your path, and callous gods on your side. It is tough to know it is in reach, but only being able to see the difficult and long journey ahead of you.

T is for...Tourism: Exploring the City in the Early Roman Empire
CLAUDIA SHEK

To speak of tourism is to conjure up images of modern sightseers in the big city with guidebook and camera in hand, but it is important to remember that ancient conceptions of tourism were somewhat different from our own. The written record is not of great help in confronting this topic, as there are few specific sources on experiences in foreign cities. A partial picture of Roman tourism can be crafted from the sources we do have though, such as Pausanias' *Description of Greece* and Plutarch's *Moralia*. Through the glimpses provided by these authors, strong parallels can be drawn between ancient and contemporary urban tourism.

The *Pax Romana* and imperial expansion helped to ease the woes of travel and exploration by simplifying and standardizing things like language, currency, and infrastructure. In fact, most travelled to *escape* the city: seaside resorts and country villas were popular holiday spots for the wealthy and leisured,[1] and "even the middle class had their country retreats."[2] However, the city – be it ancient, like Athens, or modern, like Rome – retained its allure for many.

Though no longer the pinnacle of the ancient world, Athens maintained a sort of mystique for the uninitiated visitor. Pausanias describes a city steeped in monuments and mythology; a tourist who had read his guidebook might have felt the powerful presence of the past as they walked through the streets:

There is but one entry to the Acropolis. It affords no other, being precipitous throughout and having a strong wall. The gateway has a roof of white marble, and down to the present day it is unrivalled for the beauty and size of its stones… on the right of the gateway is a temple of Wingless Victory. From this point the sea is visible, and here it was that, according to legend, Aegeus threw himself down to

Figure 1: caryatids from Tivoli, presumably inspired by those on the south porch of the Erectheion in Athens. (Image: Samuel Magal)

1   Lionel Casson, Travel in the Ancient World. London: Allen & Unwin (1974), 139.
2   Ibid, 147.

his death.[3]

While the idea of tourism presented to us by Pausanias certainly focusses on the importance of tourism for learning's sake, it also worked to boost the Athenian economy. It spawned a proliferation of '*periegetai,*' guides paid to spout information about local monuments. Their commentary helped to build the image of the city in the tourist's mind, but Plutarch complains about two guides at Delphi "paying no attention to our entreaties that they cut short their long stories, and their reading

Figure 2: The Kerch medallion. (Image: Hermitage Museum)

of every single inscription, whatever its interest"[4]. Similarly, material evidence for tourist consumerism comes in the form of souvenirs. There are various coinage reproductions of the Athena Parthenos statue, such as a gold medallion found in Kerch, displaying the head of the goddess (Figure 2); the similarities between the image and the original sculpture in Athens are noted by James Frazer in his commentary in the *Description of Greece*.[5]

The typical tourist, "wealthy, well-educated, and a connoisseur of art,"[6] journeyed through the sights far and wide of the Mediterranean to get to better know the past, and Athens was a non-negotiable stop; the Romans were fully conscious of the influence of Greek civilization on their own culture and mythology and respected its weight. Of course, not every tourist was a wealthy citizen looking to escape the pressures of Rome, and the capital itself attracted visitors from across Italy and the wider empire.

Upon arrival in Rome, a tourist's first task was to orient themselves, and this was usually done via administrative means. The Forum contained *stationes municipiorum*, offices which "were, in effect, consulates."[7] Cities such as Tiberias and Tarsus from the eastern reaches of the empire were represented at these *stationes*, where visitors could register business interests and interact with their fellow citizens. There was clearly demand for both entering and leaving Rome, and consequently a complex system grew to manage it, showing the city's transitory nature.

We can imagine a first reaction to Rome from Propertius, who describes how "golden temples have grown up for gods of clay;"[8] it was overwhelming in its rate of growth and construction. Trajan's Forum, from

3   Ibid, 1.22.4.
4   Plutarch, Moralia, vol. 5 (395a).
5   J.G. Frazer, ed. and tr. Pausanias's Description of Greece, vol. 2. London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd. (1898), 315-316.
6   Maria Pretzler, 'Turning Travel into Text: Pausanias at Work' in Greece & Rome 51, no. 2 (2004), 205.
7   Casson, 129.
8   Propertius, Elegies 4.1.5.

the triumphs on his Column to the market on the edge of the Quirinal, was ordered to "read like a record of [his] achievements and his legacy," making a good example of the city's wealth of art and the attempts to organize it for public viewing.[9] The "living museum"[10] of Roman urbanism was not the only experience available though, as sites like the Flavian Amphitheatre's gladiatorial games and the Baths of Caracalla equally attracted visitors.

As in Athens, the Romans capitalized on tourism, incorporating various parts of daily life into it. Restaurants and brothels were marked by graffiti hinting at foreign encounters, such as this appeal found in Pompeii: "Traveller, you eat bread in Pompeii but you go to Nuceria to drink."[11] The crowded, narrow streets of Rome could surely be unforgiving to tourists though, and it is easy to imagine a lost sightseer holding up traffic, unable to ask for directions on the unmarked roads. The dangers of hustlers and prostitutes loitering everywhere also posed a problem to any distracted tourist, ready to make a quick profit off unsuspecting victims.

What do these examples tell us about tourism in the Roman world? In reality, very little: recreational travel was mostly restricted to the elite, and stories of ordinary travellers have been lost to time. Though we have built a vivid picture of tourism for the upper-class elite through literary culture, there is much less material evidence to support daily experiences of tourism as a leisure activity in the city, as it is mixed in with urban life. The true nature of tourism in Rome is something only the ancients know, and until more evidence is discovered, it will remain something to be imagined.

Nonetheless, from the evidence we do have, some of the similarities between ancient leisure travel and our modern conceptions of tourism are remarkable. Athens and Rome became centres of what David Gilbert calls "post-tourism:"[12] cities to visit for the sake of visiting. With their monumental spaces and rich histories, it is not difficult to think of Athens and Rome as such cities, providing not an opportunity for relaxation, but an insight into both past glory and future potential of the empire.
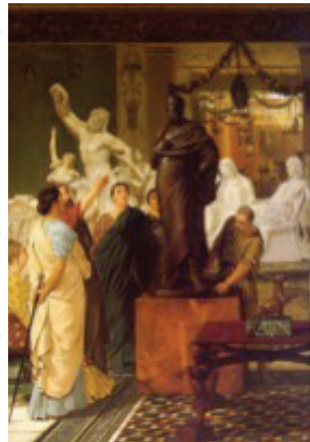

Figure 3: Alma-Tadema, Sir Lawrence. A Sculpture Gallery in Rome at the Time of Agrippa. 1867.

9   Matthew Sturgis, When in Rome: 2000 Years of Roman Sightseeing. China: Frances Lincoln Limited (2001), 54.
10   Ibid, 37.
11   *CIL* 4.8903.
12   David Gilbert, 'Tourists' in *City A-Z*, ed. Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift, Routledge: New York (2000), 260.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. 4, inscription no. 8903.

Pausanias, *Description of Greece.* Translated by W.H.S. Jones. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1918.

Plutarch, *Moralia*, vol. 5. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Loeb Classical Library 306. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Propertius, *Elegies*. Translated by G.P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 18. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Historia Augusta*, vol. 1. Translated by David Magie. Loeb Classical Library 139. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Secondary Sources:

Casson, Lionel. *Travel in the Ancient World.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1974.

Frazer, J.G., ed. and tr. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. 2. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. (1898).

Gilbert, David. "Tourists" in *City A-Z*, edited by Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift, Routledge: New   York (2000).

Mayer, Roland. "Impressions of Rome" in *Greece & Rome* 54, no. 2 (2007): 156-177.

Pretzler, Maria. "Turning Travel into Text: Pausanias at Work" in *Greece & Rome* 51, no. 2 (2004): 199-216.

Stambaugh, John E. "The Idea of the City: Three Views of Athens" in *The Classical Journal* 69, no. 4 (1974): 309-321.

Sturgis, Matthew. *When in Rome: 2000 Years of Roman Sightseeing.* China: Frances Lincoln   Limited, 200

Good Eats: Luxury Food according to Archestratus of Gela

COREY STRAUB

Greetings traveller! Come, join me on this adventure as we explore the finest tastes the Mediterranean has to offer. I've always dreamed of following in Archestratus' footsteps, and so it only seems fitting that you and I start in Magna Graecia, from which the author himself originates!

It can only be by divine providence that the pebbly beaches of the **Lipari Islands** are home to the finest lobster trade in the Mediterranean. Sure, good ones are to be found in the Hellespont, but it is the Lipari Islands which have the most and the tastiest.[1] Imaging lying on the sun-soaked beaches looking over the clean waters dining on lobster marinated in oil, vinegar and oregano, indulging in the sweet taste of lobster.[2]

From there, we head to the Italian mainland to **Eiponion**, overlooking iridescent sapphire waters. Not only are the waters beautiful but the gifts it hides are delectable. You and I will enjoy the most delicious tuna. I know what you're thinking, that Samos, Byzantion, and Karystos all have good tuna, but trust Archestratus! Eiponion's tuna is the finest![3] We must be careful though, for tuna is an excellent fish which needs no dress, despite what the Sicilians say, who invade the culinary world, trying to cover such a flavourful fish in cheese! Archestratus tells us this is unacceptable, rather you should enjoy tuna simply with a little marjoram and oil, cooking it under hot ashes.[4]

Now you must be wondering when we will get some eels! Be patient traveller, we are getting to **Rhegion** now. As we know Archestratus has a great love of eels. Fortunate for us, the most heavenly eels come from the straits near Rhegion, right near Eiponion. Oh, shush now! I know Kopaic and Styrmonian eels are infamous, but even they can't compete! Archestratus tells us that the men of Rhegion are privileged over all others since they can

---

1   Ath. *Dep.* 3.104f-5a.
2   Ricotti, 72.
3   Ath. *Dep.* 7.301f-2b.
4   Ricotti, 73.

taste these eels, which is the king of any dish associated with feast and plea-sure.[5] He recommends eels stewed with onions, carrots and celery, perhaps seasoned with some bay leaves and parsley, and of course pepper, if it has been imported.[6]

Now you may feel as though there is no point in continuing after such fine eel. But traveller I beg of you, do not leave me now, for our journey is only just beginning! Let us enjoy some sweetness by heading over to **Athens** for the ambrosial honey of Mt. Hymettus. Thankfully, Athens has the best bread for sale in the markets, a perfect compliment to the fragrant honey.[7] Here we can rest a few days, enjoying the luxuries which have always flowed into this great polis. Relax, enjoy, and I shall come back for you soon…

Ah there you are! I nearly thought you'd left me! Now that you are rested, let us be off to Euboea and the town of **Karystos**, where the most succulent dolphin can be found. You've never had dolphin!? Poor thing, it is such a full-flavored creature, so much mouth feel am I right? No worries, we've arrived, let me go see if Achaeus the dolphin trader has any for sale… Darn! We arrived too late, the dolphins have migrated away. Oh, well, anoth-er day then, thankfully this town is rich in other fish so you will not starve.[8]

Apologies again, traveller, but I know you will get your dolphin one day! For now, we go north to the island of **Thasos**. She is one of the greenest islands, with lovely sandy beaches and a forested mountain interior. Yet we are interested in her octopods! Remember, octopus is an aphrodisiac, and so it would not hurt for you to seek companionship shortly after arriving![9] If you are deemed undesirable, worry not, for aged Thasian wine is of excellent quality and will certainly help you forget any troubles…[10]

Well there you are! Didn't expect to find you passed out in an alley, clearly the octopus didn't work but the wine certainly did! No worries, come with me to **Abdera** in Thrace. The birthplace of the philosopher Democritus and the sophist Protagoras, and home to the best grey-mullet. Oh, your stom-ach isn't up for the fish? Well that is certainly disappointing…Well I'll still have some I cannot resist; I've heard it has a strong flavor, and Archestratus says to just eat the fish without dressings.[11]

I hope you feel better, as we now head to **Miletos**, with the most de-lightful sharks and rays in the Mediterranean.[12] The ray is best when stewed

5　　　Ath. *Dep.* 7.298e-9a.
6　　　 Ricotti, 77.
7　　　 On honey see Ath. 3.101b-e. On bread see Ath. 3.111e-12b.
8　　　Ath. *Dep.* 7.304d.
9　　　Ath. *Dep.* 7.318f.
10　　　Ath. *Dep.* 1.29a-d.
11　　　Ath. *Dep.* 7.307b.
12　　　Ath. *Dep.* 7.319d-e.

with oil, wine and herbs, and in this case with a little grated cheese.[13] Ah there we go! I knew this would bring back your appetite!

And just in time for next up is **Lesbos**, a nexus of luxury. Their barley is divine, for Archestratus says if the gods ate it, they would send Hermes to Lesbos to fetch it for them.[14] Yet it is not just her barley, whiter than snow, that we shall enjoy on Lesbos. No, my friend, we will taste her wine, the most superb in all the lands of the Mediterranean. In fact, calling it wine is an injustice, for it is nearly the equal of heavenly ambrosia.[15]

Wakey wakey! Too loud? My bad, I'd forgotten you do poorly with wine. You must not be diluting it enough? Don't worry, we head now to **Erythrai**, and I'm sure her bread, the most luxurious of all, will soak up any remnants. It is made by the finest bakers, who let is expand to its full size, but remove it from the flames while still soft and delicate, before it has the time to crust.[16] Imagine such a bread! It makes my mouth water only thinking about it!

Oh, goodness me! Here it is, the city of **Rhodes**! No better place could we end our journey than here! Archestratus says Rhodian thresher shark is so magnificent that if no one will sell it to us, we should steal it and suffer the consequences![17] Hopefully it doesn't come to that, but let me go ask around… Okay bad news. You see that man over there, the one with the cut across his cheek. No not that one! Behind him! Yes, him. Well apparently, he is the only thresher shark vendor in the market and won't part with it without many more drachma than I have. I think we may need to use the five-finger discount. What do you mean no?! I brought you all the way here, showed you all these great delicacies and you won't do me this small favour? Okay that's what I wanted to hear. All you need to do is distract him while I grab it, and then let's meet behind that stall over there to enjoy the spoils of our victory…We did it! Okay let's eat it quickly, before the authorities arrive! Oh, my! Archestratus was right, this is certainly a dish worth dying for. Opps, did I not mention the punishment is capital? I'm not worried, after all, *you're* the one the merchant can identify. Speaking of which, there are the authorities! Well my friend, it's been a grand adventure, but I wouldn't want to get caught with you. Goodbye my friend!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ricotti, Eugenia Salza Prina. *Meals and Recipes from Ancient Greece*. Translated by Ruth Anne Lotero. Los Angelos: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007.

---

13   Ricotti, 84.
14   Ath. *Dep.* 3.111e-12b.
15   Ath. *Dep.* 1.29a-d.
16   Ath. *Dep.* 3.111e-12b.
17   Ath. *Dep.* 7.294f.