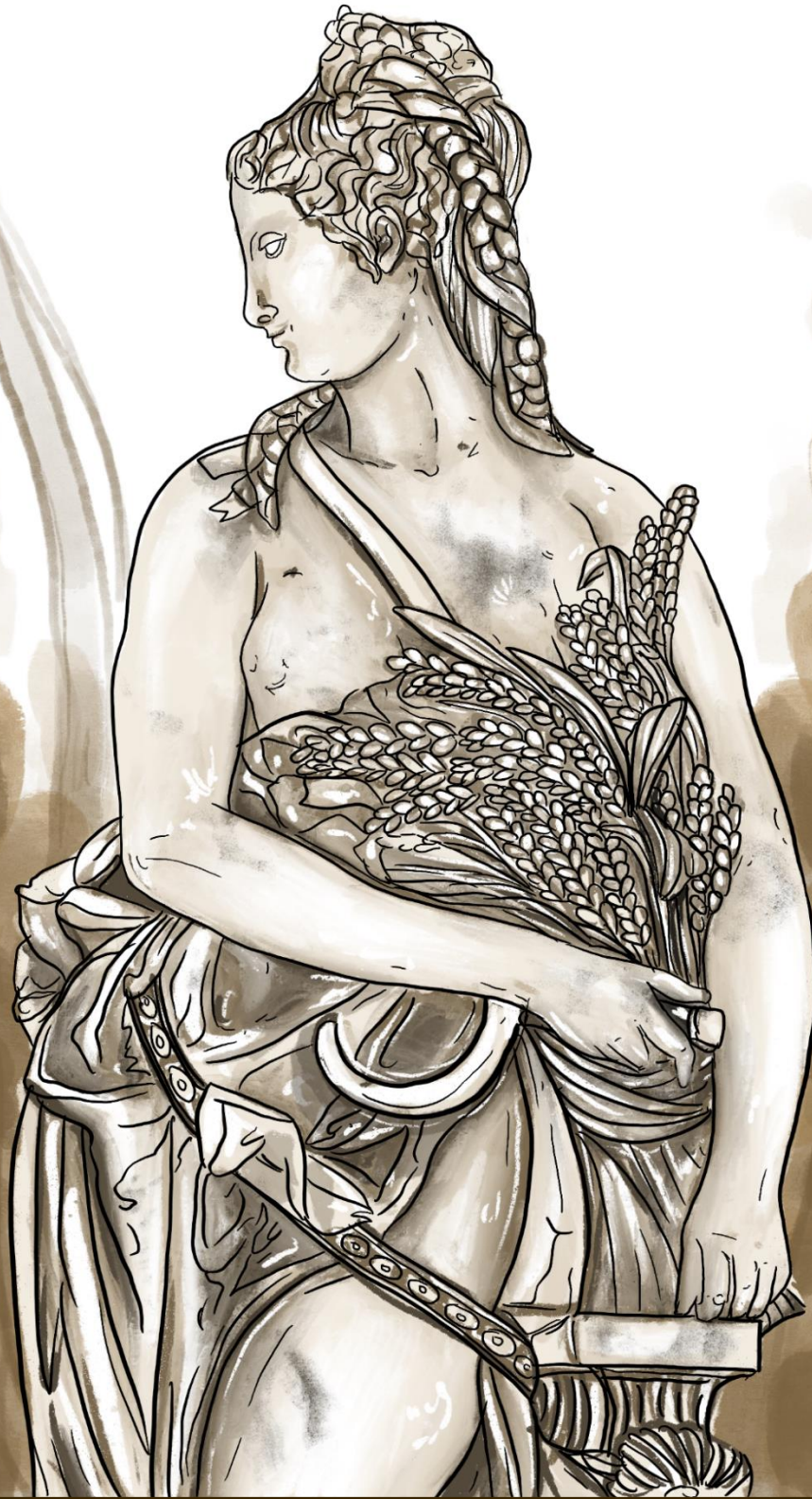


CERES

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY GRADUATE JOURNAL
FOR CLASSICS & ARCHAEOLOGY



vol. VI
April 2024

CERES

Queen's University Graduate Journal for Classics & Archaeology
VOLUME VI

Published by Queen's University Department of Classics & Archaeology
Kingston, Canada
April 2024

Cover & Interior Artwork by Sylvia Knapczyk & Sophie Erdmann

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EDITORS' INTRODUCTON

It is with great pleasure that we present to you the sixth volume of the CERES Graduate Journal for Classics & Archaeology. We are continuing the effort started last year to publish a variety of papers from a variety of disciplines from several Canadian universities and received an extraordinary number of submissions from scholars of varying research backgrounds and graduate programs across Canada. The inclusion of disciplines outside of Classics is a great addition to the collaborative goals of the journal and our mission to bring together scholars. This year's volume includes students of Classics, History, Art History, Mediterranean Studies, and Philosophy. It is perhaps this ability to publish across multiple disciplines that makes the study of classical civilizations and antiquity so unique.

This year's volume of CERES is publishing nine articles and a small collection of poems. These articles cover the broad span of time from Neo-Assyria into the Medieval period, Iron Age Assyria to Classical Greece, Hellenistic Egypt to Medieval Britain, and Imperial and Republican Rome to the Crusades. They focus on a variety of geographic locations reaching from Britain to Mesopotamia, Egypt to Italy, and Greece to France. This alone is illustrative of how diverse the study of antiquity can be and how far ranging its effects are. Yet, despite these broad differences, things are more similar than they appear on the surface. Many of the papers in this collection focus to some degree on foreigners and identity, others share similar focus on the applications of philosophy, some on aspects of ancient languages, and some are united in their focus on rulers and the decisions they make. However, not one of these papers is the same and they all bring a fresh perspective to the table that we hope is immediately clear to you, the reader.

Following in the tradition, we bring your attention to the unique artwork associated with each article. These illustrations bring the themes of the articles to life and immerse the reader in the world about which they are learning.

Additionally, this year brought an exciting addition to CERES in the form of the inaugural CERES Graduate Conference where the authors of this volume had the opportunity to present their papers to their peers. The Conference was a resounding success that brought together participants and presenters from across the discipline on the day of the Solar Eclipse of 8 April 2024. Participants and speakers had the resounding pleasure of being present to view the eclipse from a location of totality during our afternoon intermission which created an unforgettable experience.

It was a true honor to be the Chief Editors of CERES this year and we look forward to seeing what the future publication teams of CERES will do. Happy reading!

Kristen Jones



Madeleine Merskey



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As we reflect on the work that has gone into this volume over the past eight months, we would like to acknowledge the many individuals and supporting groups without whom none of this would have been possible. First and foremost, we would like to acknowledge the entire CERES Publication Team. This group dedicated their time and enthusiasm at every step of the process from initial calls for papers to final publication and conference presentation.

We would first like to recognize our Peer Reviewers, P. A. Ash Cutajar, Maximilian Biezenski, Darren Henry-Noel, Anton Kaduck, Daria Melnikov, Katherine Petrasek, Jacob Richard, El Tennant, and Josephine Vitella, for their hard work and long hours spent working with the individual authors over the peer editing process to refine their articles. We are then grateful to our Copy Editors, Tess Moffat and Elizabeth Grundy, who took these articles and prepared them into the final edited appearance you will see within this volume. For our cover artwork and the other beautiful images found throughout the journal, we would like to express our gratitude to Art Directors, Sophie Erdmann and Sylvia Knapczyk, who dedicated their time to creating unique imagery aligning with each of the published articles. And finally, our sincere appreciation goes to the Marketing Team of Marie McMenamin and Christian van Campen for their planning, design, and execution of organizing and promoting the conference, not to mention the effort and resolve to seek out and receive funding for our publication and event.

We would also like to recognize Dr. Daryn Lehoux of the Department of Classics for his support and involvement with the journal and express our appreciation for his role of Keynote Speaker for the CERES Graduate Conference. For the many reminder calls and communications, we would like to extend our thanks to the ever-reliable Shannon Day as well as all of the departments within Queen's University and across Canada who distributed our call for papers and announcements relating to the journal. We would also like to thank the Classics Graduate Student Council and everyone on campus who supported our publication process at every step of the way.

Finally, it would be remiss not to acknowledge all of the previous publication teams who worked on the CERES Graduate Journal over the years from 1989 until today. Every step forward builds on the work of those who came before us.

For their support in this endeavor, we would like to thank the Department of Classics & Archaeology, the Student Affairs Student Initiatives Fund, and the Principal's Student Initiatives Fund who granted us the funding to make the publication of the journal and resulting conference possible. At first the idea to create a conference to go along with the publication and launch of the journal was just that, an idea, and it is with the efforts of all of the aforementioned that the sixth volume of CERES Graduate Journal and the inaugural CERES Graduate Conference were made possible.

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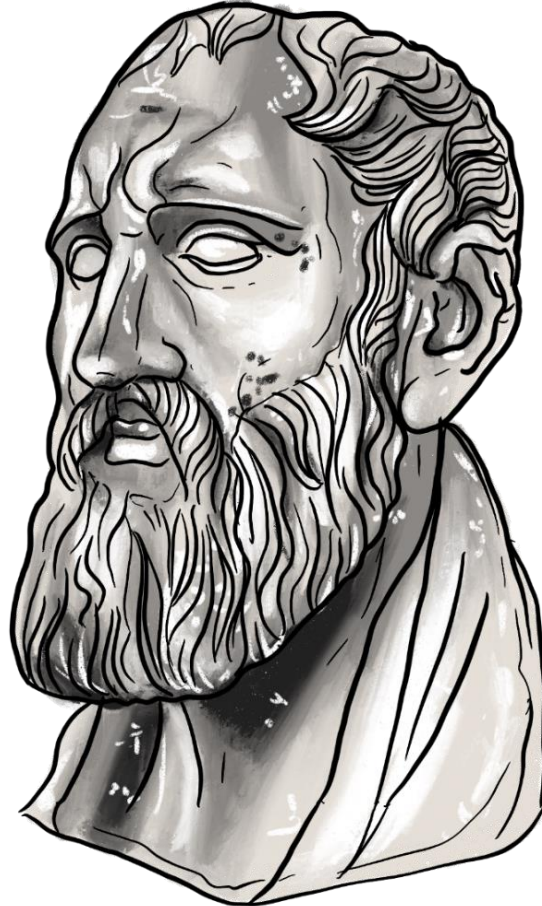
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CYLINDERS AND DOCTORS: PROPERLY UNDERSTANDING STOIC COMPATIBILISM

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Introduction

This paper presents an attempt at a brief explanation of Stoic compatibilism in simpler, more digestible terms than many of the scholarly sources.¹ The goal is to help eliminate a misunderstanding of Stoic personal agency that may stem from habits around associating choice necessarily with the ability *to have done otherwise*. This habit, or some form of it, creates a misunderstanding, leading to the belief that the Stoic concept of *assenting to impressions* means more than it does. Another factor contributing to this misunderstanding may be that some misread the Stoic

account of agency because of the Stoic emphasis on personal development, that is, towards virtue. For some, Stoic ethics may seem to imply a metaphysical freedom to do otherwise that is not actually present in the Stoic system. To some, it may seem that if we can *become* virtuous, and that this is “up to us,” then this means the Stoics must believe in real or metaphysical freedom that is either at odds with or complicates their determinism. These readers want something more out of the idea that our actions are “up to us,” and because of this, the accurate and more straightforward reading does not make sense to them.

¹ By compatibilism, I refer to the category of theories that hold that a form of metaphysical determinism and a form of free will may be true simultaneously.

It seems that there is a dichotomy in the understanding of Stoic compatibilism. On one side, there is the misunderstanding mentioned above, possibly based on a conflation with the ability to do otherwise. On the other, more accurate side, there is a satisfaction with the notion that Stoic agency means nothing more than something descriptive: the agent is the doer of the action and is the assenter of an impression. That this is predetermined poses no problem for the idea that things are “up to us.” That our actions are fated does not mean that they are not “up to us.” Both can be true: my actions are up to Fate, as well as myself as the “proximal” agent. These are simply two different levels of analysis (i.e. macro and micro) for explaining the cause and effect of the continuous, material world. It is essentially a science. In stoic ethics, saying that we ought to do an action such as grow, change, or become virtuous is not an implication of any real or metaphysical freedom to have done otherwise. That it is “up to us” to become virtuous only means that we are the things, the organisms, the persons, who do the actions and make the behavioural and psychological changes that result in our virtuousness. While it is true that all of this is also up to Fate, and that one may wonder why, then, we would need to speak of things being “up to us” since the answer for any event can be “Fate,” this is not very useful, and so the convention of personal agency becomes necessary.

The subject of Part I explains Stoic compatibilism in terms of what I call “descriptive agency” against the aforementioned misunderstandings. In Part II, I address a more substantial disagreement based on the “ought implies can” axiom. Stoic ethics utilize “oughts,” but they are also hard determinists. I argue that we should read Stoic “cans” in terms of compossibility and that this poses no inconsistencies for the Stoic system. I then conclude by bringing together the parts of my argument with a summarizing example of the path to becoming virtuous, the ultimate goal of Stoic ethics.

² Jacques Brunschwig, “Stoic Metaphysics,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, ed. Brad Inwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 206–232.

³ Dorothea Frede, “Stoic Determinism,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, ed. Brad Inwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 179–205.

⁴ Brunschwig, “Stoic Metaphysics,” 206–232.

I – Stoic Compatibilism: Descriptive Agency

The Stoics are materialists² and teleological determinists.³ The world is a continuous body of matter, surrounded by the void,⁴ and it is governed, determined, or ordered by Fate, which is God and Reason, which is also known as the active principle.⁵ The material world is constituted by this principle, as well as a passive principle.⁶ The details of the relationship between active and passive principles of the material world are not important here. What needs to be known is that the world is material, is identical with the God that orders it, that the world is ordered by God’s (or Fate’s or Zeus’s) Reason, and that this is what Stoic determinism is. All events and all actions, including our own, are fated according to God’s Reason. The Stoics also say, however, that our actions are “up to us.”⁷ If all events are fated, what does it mean for our actions to be “up to us” or in our control?

As mentioned in the introduction, I want to guard against a possible misinterpretation of the Stoics that they mean more than they do when they say that our actions are “up to us.” This misinterpretation may stem from a common conflation between choice and the ability to have done otherwise. However, it is not possible to do otherwise in a deterministic system, and so confusion arises with the Stoic system. What the Stoics actually mean when they say that my actions, or more technically, my assent to impressions, are up to me is strictly to say that I am the subject that did the assenting. The following analogy from Chrysippus explains the point well.

Chrysippus speaks of a cylinder or cone.⁸ The cylinder must receive a push of some kind to begin rolling, but the way in which it rolls is because of its nature. In other words, the way in which it rolls is *up to* the cylinder. This is an analogy for our actions. The initial push is an impression. An impression is an external object being sensed, combined with the perceiver’s nature or character.⁹ An impression is the first step towards action taking place. Take, for

⁵ Brunschwig, “Stoic Metaphysics,” 206–232.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Frede, “Stoic Determinism,” 179–205.

⁸ A.A. Long and D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), § 62-C.

⁹ *Ibid.*, § 39.

example, the act of touching a hot stove. The impression is heat (and presumably pain) both because of sensing the external object and because of my nature as being something of the sort to feel heat and pain at such a temperature. The second step towards actions, the crucial one for this discussion, is assent. Assent is the part that seems, to those confused, to present something more than what the Stoics are actually saying. Assent, continuing with the stove example, is assenting (or not) to remove my hand. This may seem like a real choice or exemplifying the ability to have done otherwise. This is not the case. Rather, the cylinder analogy is to show that our assent and the ensuing impulse and action are “up to us” in precisely the same way as the cylinder rolls.¹⁰ It rolls in the way it does because of its nature. We will assent in the way we will because of our nature. None of this escapes Fate’s strict determinism.

If this is not satisfying, we may approach the problem another way, using what Cicero calls the “Lazy Argument.” He presents it as follows:

If it is your fate to recover from illness, you will recover, regardless of whether or not you call the doctor. Likewise, if it is your fate not to recover from this illness, you will not recover, regardless of whether or not you call the doctor. And one or the other *is* your fate. Therefore, it is pointless to call the doctor.¹¹

What the argument first obviously echoes is determinism: all is fated. In this framework, it is true that one or the other is fated. Either you will recover, or you will not. So, the argument concludes that choosing to call the doctor or not is irrelevant. Cicero’s argument highlights at least two known mistakes. First, your choice of whether to call the doctor or not is also fated. You either will call the doctor or you will not, as determined by the world’s divine Reason (Fate). Second, the doctor may play a role in your recovery in the event that it is fated that you will recover. In this case, calling the doctor is a valid course of action. In

sum, there are four possible scenarios: i) you do not call the doctor and do not recover; ii) you do not call the doctor and do recover; iii) you do call the doctor and do not recover; iv) you do call the doctor and do recover. Scenario (iv) is not only a possible course of events but is probably more likely than scenario (ii). Yes, it is fated as to which of these scenarios will play out, but if you want to recover, you should probably give yourself the best chance of recovery, hoping for (iv), and call the doctor. This, however, is where the confusion I want to address comes in. For some, there is a perceived inconsistency in saying that you should call the doctor and try for scenario iv when it is fated which of the four scenarios will occur. It seems out of our control because Fate determines our actions, and therefore, there is no choice in whether to call the doctor or not. This is true, Fate chooses. Fate determines which scenario will play out. However, it is also “up to us” whether we call the doctor or not. It is both. It is “up to us,” and it is up to Fate. These are simply different levels of analysis in this deterministic worldview: the macro level and the micro level.

Understanding the problem of “should” in “you should call the doctor” will be addressed in the next part when connecting the “ought implies can” axiom. Here, I first want to clear up the confusion about calling the doctor being “up to us” when it is also up to Fate. As I said, the two are both true but operate at different levels of analysis. It is always true that it is up to Fate. When anything happens, you may say that Fate was responsible. But there is also the micro level of causal analysis. You are the “proximal agent” that chose to call the doctor, the more specific thing that did something. For example, a match could be the proximal agent that caused a fire, or a sword could be the proximal agent that caused a wound.¹² As a proximal agent, calling the doctor is up to you because, at a closer level of analysis, you are the more particular thing that does the action. Yet, it is still fated. It is strictly a description of events akin to the conditional statements seen in STEM disciplines. We could go to an even more micro level of analysis than you as the proximal agent and speak of

¹⁰ Impulse is not important to discuss for our purposes but is part of the Stoic theory of action. Ibid, § 57.

¹¹ Ibid, § 55-S.

¹² There is a more significant description of bodies and causes and effects in relation to cause and predicate that is at play here for the

Stoics, but that is not necessary for the understanding of Stoic compatibilism that I am trying to get across. See Long and Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, § 55-D.

the causal role of your muscles, vocal cords, and so forth. They would be responsible as well, but this is not as important to the misunderstanding as is our faculty of assent. Assenting to the impression of illness and the notion of calling a doctor is up to your rational faculty, but this is not different from the cylinder analogy. You will or will not assent to the impression because of your nature, which is your character. You will either be the type to call the doctor or not. Therefore, whether you will call the doctor or not is comparable to the same way the cylinder rolls. This is why I call the Stoic concept of agency “descriptive agency.” Saying that my assent is up to me is simply a description of events and no more. It is up to you to call the doctor because you, as an agent, an actor, a doer, will either call the doctor or not. It is also true to ascribe the events to Fate. “Who will be responsible for my calling the doctor?”—we could accurately respond with “Fate.” “Who was responsible for eating the last cookie?”—we could again respond with “Fate.” We could answer that Fate is responsible for everything, but this is not helpful. So, I consider the science-like microanalysis of events, including the role of assent and agency, as a sort of convention (but an accurate one). It is true that Fate has me call the doctor, and it is true that I call the doctor. However, Fate is, in a sense, ultimately “more” responsible since Fate (or God/Jupiter) orders the whole world.

Summing this section up, as well as transitioning us into our considerations of the normative, Diogenes Laertius condenses many of these points into a story about the Stoa’s founder, Zeno: “The story goes that Zeno was flogging a slave for stealing. ‘I was fated to steal,’ said the slave. ‘And to be flogged,’ was Zeno’s reply.”¹³ What Diogenes elegantly packs into this quotation is that yes, Fate is always responsible, but also that we are particular agents or doers. Particular cylinders roll along, stealing and flogging.

II – Reading Stoic “Oughts” through Compossibility

We now move on to address the criticism that if the Stoics want to have this completely descriptive account of agency in their system, then they cannot make any normative claims about what people ought to do,

¹³ Ibid, § 62-E.

following the “ought implies can” axiom. Since our choices, assent, and actions are fated/determined, we *can* only do what we will do, what we are fated to do. So, it seems wrong to say that we *should* go this way or that way when there is only one-way things can go. However, the Stoics understand this problem, and it is not a problem for their system. Though they did not use the term, reading their “cans” in terms of “compossible” can help to alleviate the confusion that I am guarding against and in the descriptions that are still accurate.

The Stoics value virtue and acting in accordance with nature. For our purposes here, these two can be read as essentially the same thing.¹⁴ They are “the good.” The important thing to take forward in understanding the following discussion about compatibilism and compossibility is that the Stoics think we ought to be virtuous. They also think we *can* be virtuous. While it is true that each individual is fated to be virtuous or not, the Stoics do maintain that we ought to strive to be virtuous. In a simple explanation, the situation is the same as the “Lazy Argument.” You will either be virtuous or not (like either recovering or not), but you still play an active role in the process. If you do nothing, you certainly will not be virtuous. If it is fated that you will be virtuous, this means that you will act virtuously and have a virtuous character. It is something *you* will do. It will involve your (fated) agency and (fated) assent. But the Stoics think that you *ought* to be virtuous. This “ought” does not run into a problem when held up against the deterministic Stoic framework. The “ought” implying “can,” because one can be virtuous, reads that it is possible that one will be virtuous. We cannot see the future. Along these lines, we see another important aspect of Zeno’s flogging of the slave. It is again like the point of the ‘Lazy Argument.’ It is the thief’s fate that he stole, and it might be his fate that he steals again, or it might be his fate that he does not. We do not know. The punishment of flogging, the same idea as seeing the doctor, may play a role in his not stealing again. The scenario in which he is flogged and does not steal again might be more likely than the scenario in which he is not flogged and does not steal again. So, as an example of Stoic normative claims: you ought not to steal, it is possible

¹⁴ For the distinction, one may see Long and Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, § 61.

that you will not steal, and a punishment may make you less likely to steal. Fate will play out as it will, but some sequences seem more likely to us than others, so there is an element of prediction in Stoic ethics.

Predicting what one will or will not do given actions and factors is somewhat beside the point. The point is not that it is possible that one will not steal or that one will be virtuous. Rather, it is *compossible*. It is compatible in conjunction with the circumstances of the world that one will not steal or be virtuous. Given the Stoic's framework of determinism and Fate, we must read their oughts in terms of cans if we are to maintain that ought implies can. That I should become virtuous implies that it is compatible in conjunction with my nature and the world that I might become virtuous. Part of this compatibility must include a lack of knowledge about the future. If we knew the complete future or what is fated to happen, then we would know whether we go our entire lives with or without being virtuous. It then becomes impossible for the other to be the case, thus invalidating "oughts." Stoic oughts, therefore, require a reading of can in terms of compossibility, and this compossibility requires a certain degree of ignorance about the future.

Conclusion

Let us summarize all of the preceding by way of the example of becoming virtuous. One ought to be virtuous. This means one can become virtuous. This means that the facts about my nature and the world are compatible with my becoming virtuous. This also implies that I do not know my future and fate as to whether I will become virtuous or not. To become virtuous, I will need to do "good" things and turn my character into such and such a way. All of these can be read about elsewhere in Stoic sources and have not been the concern of this paper. Whether I complete "good" actions and become virtuous is up to Fate, but it is still up to me, my agency, and my assent, in the

descriptive sense that I will be the doer of my actions. Because of my nature, I will receive certain impressions and assent to them (or not) in the same way that a cylinder will roll the way that it does because of its weight, length, diameter, etc. Because of the cylinder's nature, it is compossible with the facts about a hill that the cylinder will roll to the bottom. This is insofar as we can predict. The cylinder may be stopped by an obstacle on the hill and be fated not to reach the bottom. Yet, from its initial position at the top, it *can* reach the bottom, and its rolling will be up to it in the sense that it is the roller. We are no different. Given our knowledge and our nature, we might become virtuous, or it might be our fate that something stops us, including our own nature. So, in the same way that a cylinder may have some abnormality preventing it from rolling at all, we may have flaws that prevent us from becoming virtuous.

When this is the case—when we can identify that we are prohibited from virtue because of our nature—the Stoics believe this is the proper time to commit suicide. They are not pro-suicide *per se* but find life and death to be indifferent in value, where virtue and acting in accordance with reason are the only good. When continued virtuous living (or striving towards it) becomes inaccessible to us, or, more simply, when reason dictates it, the Stoics argue that we ought to end our lives rather than continue in vice (evil).¹⁵ Whether you choose to commit suicide or not, whether you assent to this suicidal impression or not, is up to you, meaning that whether you will assent to the impression or not is based on your nature. Yet it is still up to Fate. Both are true. Where we choose to ascribe responsibility is simply a matter of our level of analysis in describing the unfolding of the Stoic worldview. Your nature is fated, and it will almost always be compossible that you will commit suicide. Where one *cannot* be virtuous, one *can* commit suicide. The Stoics think that if one cannot be virtuous, then suicide is the correct course of action. However, identifying or

¹⁵ Take, for example, Epictetus, who describes the indifference of mere survival of the body and the primacy of reason and virtue, citing, too, the example of Socrates' suicide; for Socrates could not continue to live in virtue and reason were he to choose escape from his death sentence and disobey the laws of Athens: "for as long as reason may choose [...] I remain attached to my poor body; but when reason chooses otherwise, take it, and much good may it do you! Only, let me not surrender it in an unreasonable manner, or out

of cowardice, or on some arbitrary pretext. For that would again be contrary to the will of God, since he has need of such a world as ours, and beings such as us to go and live on the earth. But if he sounds the signal for retreat, as he did to Socrates, then I must obey the one who gives the signal as I would a general." Epictetus, "Discourses," in *Epictetus: Discourses, Fragments, Handbook*, trans. Robin Hard (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 29.28–29.

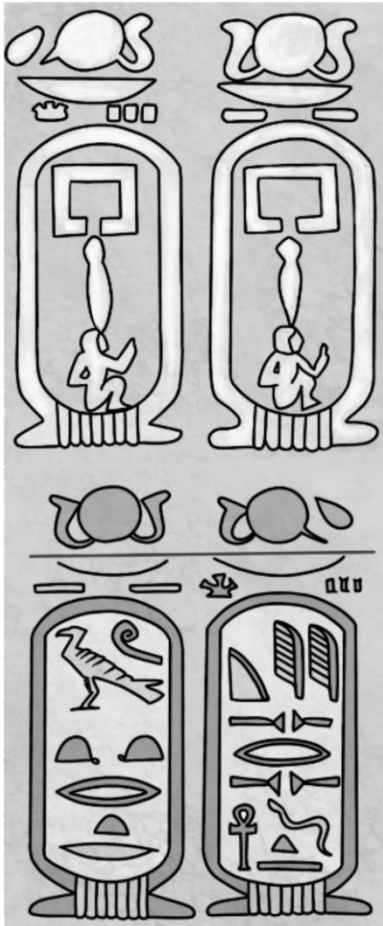
predicting when one will be prohibited from ever being virtuous is something the Stoics believe is restricted to the wise, which almost all of us are not. Therefore, say the Stoics, roll on as does the cylinder, that is according to your nature. Fated your life and choices may be, but this needn't resign you to laziness and despondency. Fool that you are, you do not know your own potential for becoming wise. Fate you will follow regardless; therefore, aspire to align yourself with its reason—and call your doctor.

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**AUTOKRAT [H]OROS? CULTO-THEOLOGICAL TRANSLATION NOT CULTIC
CONTINUITY:
AN EXAMINATION OF RELIGIOUS-BASED CULTURAL CONTACT IN PTOLEMAIC AND
ROMAN EGYPT THROUGH THE LENS OF FOREIGN RULER CULTS**

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Introduction

Students of ruler cults are typically engaged in researching the ‘Main Characters,’ focusing on the upper echelons of society. Yet, these protagonists appear alongside members of the chorus, regular people. Dedications to the Emperor are usually marked on behalf of those who made the dedication.¹ The study of ruler worship cannot exist without consulting the individuals who did the worshipping. As such, an examination of foreign ruler cults in Egypt must

involve analysis of how the cult was experienced by individuals. This is a lofty methodological goal and may even be impossible to achieve. I cannot promise any new conclusions on individual experiences of ruler cults. However, I am confident this approach will lead to a new perspective on the topic, even if it draws no concrete conclusions.

Ruler cults are difficult to reconcile with our modern understanding of faith and religious institutions. In the ancient world, these institutions blurred the lines between the political, religious, and

¹ See the Oxyrhynchus Papyri parts XII. 1449, CIL X. 1561, CIL VI. 251, and CIL VI. 252.

social spheres. The differing nature of the Greek, Roman, and Egyptian religion necessitates terminology which is not evocative of modern understandings of the religious experience. This paper uses the hybrid term ‘culto-theological’ to describe individual perception and understanding of one’s own religious and ritual practices. This term is necessitated by the differing nature of the ancient Greek/Roman/Egyptian religious experience from that of our own. There are numerous examples of the ways their experience cannot be directly equated with modern religious understanding.² The term ‘cult’ was used by the ancients. Notably in Cic. *De Nat Deo* 2.3 in which the author defines the Roman concept of religion as “*est cultu deorum.*” However, the modern vernacular usage is overwhelmingly negative and far too narrow to encapsulate the more holistic definition of the Latin term ‘*cultus.*’ While its usage in scholarship is commonly accepted, there is still potential for the vernacular connotation to colour interpretations in scholarly usage. Some scholars, notably one of the preeminent scholars of ancient ruler cults, A.D. Nock, elects to use ‘*cultus*’ instead. In what also appears to be a distaste with the narrow definition of the English term.³ The negative connotation is possibly due to the similarity with the word ‘occult,’ and an avoidance of usage with organised religion. ‘Theology’ provides an overly dogmatic connotation and is too evocative of Christian and broader Abrahamic doctrine, which can result in an over homogenised view of ancient Mediterranean religious practice. Therefore, by combining the terms, the relatively negative and narrow definition of ‘cult’ is bolstered and is somewhat connotationally ameliorated by the addition of ‘theology,’ while at the same time the overly rigid connotation of ‘theology’ is softened by its pairing with ‘cult.’ The result is a hybrid term which does not evoke modern religious experience and forces the reader to

more deeply examine the far-reaching nature of religious and ritual practice in these societies.

Pharaonic Cult practice is now understood to be more complicated than initially thought and as such the similarity of ritual practice between worship of Egyptian Pharaohs, Ptolemaic Kings, and Roman Emperors becomes increasingly complicated.⁴ The various ‘translations and subsequent evolution of each other’s practices are problematic for a culto-theological understanding of the foreign ruler cults. These differences, however, are a treasure trove for those interested in cultural contact. The Pharaoh was traditionally seen as an earthly emissary and occasional embodiment of Horus, a practice continued in the culto-theology of Ptolemaic and Roman Pharaohs.⁵ However, this practice and many others did not continue unchanged and untranslated after contact with Hellenic and Roman practices. To summarize, traditional Egyptian modes of religious expression remained but also took on elements of the Ptolemaic and Roman leaders who they now venerated. The ways in which each of the foreign ruler cults and their respective practices were moulded both by foreign administrators and local populations displays numerous examples of intercultural dialogue. These instances provide insight into the regular characters of history, those not attested in the statuary or epigraphy which adorn galleries the world over.

At the same time the analysis must include some documents which concern themselves solely with the rulers at hand. The epigraphic record is the most common source of these types of documents. Be that as it may, papyri contain mentions of non-elite individuals whose experience this paper is desperately trying to illuminate. This melange of epigraphy and papyri will guide a discussion on how Egyptian ruler cults functioned and how they changed under different hegemonies. At the same time this dossier will aim to highlight the ways previous treatments have ignored

² I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Ch 1, offers numerous examples of the varying nature of the classical religious experience and our own. One example is observed in ritual sacrifice wherein a slaughtered animal would be offered to a deity in return for some form of benefaction. Only the action of offering the animal was required to receive the purported benefaction, belief was secondary. While modern religion no longer requires blood sacrifice, it does ask for both action and belief in its requirements.

³ See A.D. Nock, “Σύνναος Θεός,,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 41 (1930): 1–62.

⁴ For discussions on this see G.S. Dundas, “Pharaoh, Basileus and Emperor: The Roman Imperial Cult in Egypt,” PhD diss. (University of California, 1994), 11-15; G.S. Dundas, “Augustus and the Kingship of Egypt,” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte*, 51, no. 4 (2002): 453; S.G. Caneva, “Queens and Ruler Cults in Early Hellenism,” *Kernos*, 25 (2012): 76-77.

⁵ Dundas, “Augustus and the Kingship of Egypt,” 90-92.

the experience of common individuals; in particular, it will highlight the extent to which individuals accepted foreign rulers and the consequent alteration of traditional ritual practice. The term 'acceptance' needs to be further clarified. This paper uses 'acceptance' as an umbrella term to cover a range of feelings towards foreign ruler cults across the period of Classical Antiquity. The base level of 'acceptance' would be fervent intolerance of the foreign ruler cult and lack of belief in his divine status and would range to complete belief in the ruler's divinity and enthusiastic acceptance of the cult. It is nearly impossible to ascertain the exact point where each foreign ruler cult falls on this spectrum, nor was each foreign ruler cult accepted homogeneously. However, much of this dichotomy is based in modern religious experience. The modern definition of religious acceptance differs from that of the societies in question. Modern religion typically requires faith or belief as the main component, whereas the classical religious experience was much more coloured by action. A citizen of Alexandria need not explicitly believe in the Pharaoh's divinity, all that was required to fulfill their religious obligation would be participation in some form of ritual action. The key is the action not the faith. This does not suggest that individuals did not 'believe,' but rather that belief was not mandated.⁶ By using the term 'acceptance,' the paper avoids the pitfalls of trying to evaluate what people believed.⁷ Through action, acceptance can be gleaned, and as such it is a good framework through which to view reaction to foreign ruler cults in Egypt.

The nature of this discussion requires the usage of some ethnic identifiers. The names Egyptian, Greek, and Roman are employed to describe the cultural and ethnic associations of the individuals found in the sources. These terms, however, are evidently insufficient. The definition of what it meant to be Egyptian, particularly, changed over time, especially after contact with foreign rulers with differing traditions. By the Roman period, Egyptian culture had already been undergoing change for roughly three

centuries due to Hellenic rule.⁸ Cultural and ethnic identity is always in some degree of flux, However, at this point especially it is difficult to determine the cultural and ethnic makeup of the individuals in the sources. There is no good way to determine someone's exact place on the spectrum between Greek, Roman, and Egyptian. In all likelihood most people had an identity which was a mix of the three cultures or even more. However, despite the obvious cultural change at play, traditional Egyptian modes of religious expression continued after the Roman conquest.⁹ From this it is apparent that some of the population retained parts of an Egyptian cultural identity, otherwise these traditions would have surely given way to their Roman and Greek equivalents. This paper seeks to remain cognizant of the non-homogeneity and fluidity of these ethnic labels, particularly Egyptian, as Egypt was the host of a complex, multilateral middle-ground.

This paper seeks to use an adapted Middle-Ground Model to analyse the religious cultural contact observed in expressions of foreign ruler cult worship in Egypt. The model was laid out by Richard White in a homonymous book in 1991. The model is perhaps best summed up by the following quotation:

The middle ground is the place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages... On the middle ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings. People try to persuade others who are different from themselves by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others. They often misinterpret and distort both the values and the practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and

⁶ See Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, Ch 1.

⁷ Acceptance, the third definition of 'acceptance' is directly related to belief. However, this is only part of the definition when applied to modernity. As previously stated, belief was not a necessary facet of classical religious practice, ergo belief and acceptance need not remain intertwined for this discussion. OED s.v.

⁸ D.J. Thompson, *Memphis Under the Ptolemies*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 264-265.

⁹ This is evidenced by the continued usage of Egyptian titlature on the Pakhom statue and the continuation of the Pharaonic statue cult seen in P. Oxy XXII 1449, as well as countless other examples too numerous to list.

through them new practices the shared meanings and practices of the middle ground.¹⁰

The model is a clear departure from previous methods of inquiry into cultural exchange. The middle-ground model gave cause for re-examination of existing narratives by proposing a new framework for understanding behaviour within a sphere of cultural contact.¹¹ Classicists, especially those identifying primarily as classical archaeologists, were slow to adapt to changes in theoretical frameworks. A.M. Snodgrass evaluated the new schools of thought by stating:

It (processualism) and its practitioners have little or nothing to do with linguistic, literary or historical studies. It deals primarily with past cultures which are not recognized as having had an important role in history, and it is emphatically not orientated toward the recovery of objects, beautiful or otherwise.¹²

By itself, the sentiment raised by Snodgrass poses no issue, interest in beautiful works of art is a natural fascination and is in no way problematic. However, it can lead to an analytical viewpoint wholly grounded in the culture of interest, in this case the classical civilizations. This can become problematic when discussing cultural contact as it clearly contrasts the middle-ground viewpoint which correctly views cultural contact as a multilateral process. The more modern interpretation of cultural contact is now widely accepted among classicists. However, the scholarship of those who came before remains required reading for any form of in-depth research. As such, many treatments of the topic of foreign ruler cults in classical

antiquity continue to draw conclusions coloured by outdated analytical paradigms.

This is especially prevalent in discussions of foreign ruler cults in Egypt as it represented such a complicated mix of three cultures, sometimes even more. An example is observed in a discussion of the Imperial Cult in Egypt by Janneke De Jong, who states “the Roman imperial cult in Egypt is one of the examples in which the Romans showed their virtuous self-representation, by making their subjects participants of the Roman way.”¹³

This quotation is an example of a unilateral interpretation of cultural contact, suggesting the Romans enforced their customs on their Egyptian subjects. This point ignores the fact that expressions of the Imperial Cult in Egypt were heavily moulded by Egyptian tradition, as will be explored further in this article. Yet this criticism is not fully representative of the conclusion put forth by De Jong, which does offer a more rounded viewpoint on the topic. The minor nature of the point by De Jong perfectly exemplifies the problem, these outdated analytic models are creeping into modern scholarship seemingly subconsciously. They seem to pop-up in the ‘throw-away’ points not employed for the central tenets of the argument but used to hook a reader and provide context for evidence.

A less salient example comes from an article by Sheila Ager discussing the iconography of Ptolemaic queens, where she notes that “Divine Veneration of Greco-Egyptian queens found a ready audience with Egyptian populace.”¹⁴ This quotation ascribes more agency to the people of Egypt. This perspective implies they were participants in the adoption of a new ruler cult as opposed to simply having it imposed upon them. However, this quotation still sees cultural change as stemming from the dominant culture and being imposed on the subjugated culture¹⁵. Like the quotation

¹⁰ R. White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), x.

¹¹ S. Sleeper-Smith, “Introduction,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 63, no. 1 (2006): 4.

¹² A similar sentiment is mirrored by A.L. Dyson (1981): “the discipline of classics has a strict hierarchical structure in which the literary text stands at the top and the humble pot at the bottom” (242). A.M. Snodgrass, “The New Archaeology and the Classical Archaeologist,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, 89, no. 1 (1985): 31.

¹³ J. De Jong, “Egyptian Papyri and ‘Divinity’ of the Roman Emperor,” in *The Impact of Imperial Rome on Religions, Ritual and Religious Life in the Roman Empire: Proceedings from the Fifth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C. - A.D. 476)*, eds. L. De Blois, P. Funke, and J. Hahn (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 252.

¹⁴ S. Ager, “Dynastic Images in the Early Hellenistic Age: Queen’s Power or King’s Will?” *Ancient History Bulletin*, 35, no. 1–2 (2021): 38.

¹⁵ Ager herself negates this point by discussing the lack of divine veneration of Macedonian kings. *Ibid.*

from De Jong, this snippet from Ager is not representative of the wider thesis. Nonetheless, these small points which do not fully appreciate the depth of the cultural exchange remain commonplace. These examples show the importance of continually updating models of inquiry and evaluating current interpretations, no matter how small. This sentiment motivates this discussion's insistence on the usage of a Middle-Ground based approach. This framework will shift the focus from how foreign rulers imposed themselves on individual Egyptians, towards a focus on multilateral exchange of religious tradition.

It is worth highlighting the work of J.C. Grenier in this regard. When trying to reconcile why Augustus would be granted titles which suggest his succession from Caesarion, he states "but, for the Egyptian Pakhom, the world did nothing but continue and, in all logic, it is normal that it held to attach the Pharaoh Autokrator to his legitimate predecessor Ptolemy Caesar."¹⁶ Grenier's analysis works from the perspective of the Egyptian individual not the foreign ruler and as such works to create a more multilateral view. This paper seeks to employ this type of analytical framework as much as possible.

Epigraphy

Egypt offers up an extensive epigraphic record for examining the function of ruler cults, both foreign and domestically inspired. However, epigraphic documents tend to deal with the very type of protagonists this paper seeks to avoid. Nonetheless, a foray into epigraphic evidence is required to fully understand the complex politico-religious middle-grounds the Ptolemaic and Roman rulers were worshipped in. The discussion will start with two famous examples from the Ptolemaic era

in the form of the Raphia Decree and the Great Mendes Stele. Both examples offer insight into the ways the Ptolemaic cult was an evolution of previous modes of worship, and both documents show elements of similarity, especially with respect to the statuary cult and Horus names. However, this similarity is a result of the collective misunderstandings predominantly found in middle-grounds and consequent translations rather than evidence of direct continuity. The discussion will then pivot to a lesser-known example from the Roman period. This document will serve in the same way as the Ptolemaic examples, to contrast the Roman ruler cult with that of its predecessors the Ptolemies and New Kingdom Pharaohs.

The Horus Name was a Pharaonic title assumed at coronation, which eventually expanded to include a series of five different names, of which the Horus name was only one.¹⁷ Egyptologists traditionally viewed the Pharaoh as a divine figure living on earth, but this viewpoint has been mostly discarded.¹⁸ In the more updated Egyptian religious understanding, the King was inseparable from Horus as the erstwhile King was with Osiris.¹⁹ However, the Pharaoh was not seen as Horus himself, but rather as his terrestrial emissary.²⁰ In some ritual contexts, the Pharaoh would temporarily become fully divine, but returned to the quasi-divine state afterwards.²¹ This complicated cultic-theological framework is mirrored in the practice of statue worship. The statue cult is part of the reason why the nature of Pharaonic divinity has been so hard to pin down. Statues in the images of Gods had a complicated dualism where they were both divine and non-divine, depending on the context.²² The ritual nature of statues is a topic in itself and requires more discussion than this analysis can provide. However, the important takeaway is the transient and contextual character of both

¹⁶ J.C. Grenier, "Le Prophète et L'Autokrator," *Revue d'egyptologie*, 37 (1986): 87.

¹⁷ The full pharaonic formula included five names: The Horus Name, Two Ladies Name, The Golden Horus Name, Throne name, and Birth name. However, sometimes the term 'Horus Name' is used by itself to refer to the entire titular formula, a practice repeated herein. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, third ed. (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1957), 71-75; R.J. Leprohon, *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 1.

¹⁸ Dundas, "Pharaoh, Basileus and Emperor," 298.

¹⁹ Dundas, "Augustus and the Kingship of Egypt," 444.

²⁰ Leprohon, *The Great Name*, 13.

²¹ Dundas, "Pharaoh, Basileus and Emperor," 299.

²² According to the theogony inscribed on the Shabaka Stone, the Egyptian gods were created by Ptah, who fashioned their bodies of earthly materials. There is also evidence of a ritual imparting of life into the statues, as well as ritual dressing, feeding, and even simulated sexual intercourse. So, the statues were thought to have a divine quality, but not as divine as the heavenly form of the god. Furthermore, there was often more than one type of statue, used for different purposes, and having varying levels of divinity based on which contexts it was used in. *Ibid*, 296-310.

Pharaonic and statuary divinity; the character of the statuary evolves through encounters with both foreign rulers and foreign understandings of ritual.

The Mendes Stela was erected by Ptolemy II and therefore predates many of the famous Ptolemaic Decrees. It offers a relatively early insight into the function of the Ptolemaic Cult. On the other hand, the Raphia decree dates from the late 3rd Century and was erected to commemorate Ptolemy IV's victory at the eponymous battle.²³ Both documents allow us to view the ways in which the Ptolemaic cult evolved from the Pharaonic tradition, especially with respect to Horus names and statuary worship. Traditionally, this evolution has been seen firmly as a politically motivated co-option of regnal divinity, ignoring the possibility of the misunderstandings of respective religious mores, and the possibility of non-universal acceptance.

The Mendes Stela states Ptolemy II's full coronation name, in the traditional Egyptian Horus Name style. The Mendes Stela tells of a series of voyages by Ptolemy to visit the city of Mendes, ostensibly to promote the worship and the Synod of the local deity of Mendes, Banebdjedet, a Ram God.²⁴ The promotion of Banebdjedet also included restoration of the god's Temple, and the erection of edifices.²⁵ Additionally, the stela details the specific ritual surrounding the installation of statues of his wife, Arsinoe II, and her association with the sacred Ram due to the pairing of their images in the Ram's temple; as well as the carrying of said statue in procession with statues of the Ram.²⁶ The final clause of line 24 and the beginning of line 25 state:

There should be placed next to the divine Ram-images a portrait of the Queen Arsinoe, holding in her hand an ear of corn, and the holy animals should be known thereby, by the symbol of life on their necks for the Lords of the country. And

His Majesty commanded that these deities should be led in procession to the city of Mendes by the hand of the Prophets who had devoted themselves to them. And the Captains of the warriors Nefami of His Majesty were to be in their suit (and complete all presented customs).

The excerpt describes the actual process of Arsinoe's elevation, but also states that members of Ptolemy's entourage were to have taken part in the ritual.²⁷ The text on the Mendes Stela shows Ptolemy II's involvement in traditional Egyptian modes of religious expression. However, this involvement also seemingly shows Ptolemaic creation of some traditions. In line 14 Arsinoe is listed with the following divine epithets: "The Beloved of the Holy Ram, Goddess, The Beloved of her royal brother Arsinoe."

The epithet, Beloved of the Holy Ram, is an extremely rare title in Egyptian texts, and when not given to Arsinoe II, it was usually associated with Isis.²⁸ Interestingly, Arsinoe II's association with the epithet appears to predate Isis'; the epithet also appears at a temple in Aswan erected two generations later under Ptolemy IV, at the temple of Hathor at Dendera, and at the Temple at Kalabasha dating to the early principate.²⁹ All of the examples associated with Isis post-date the association with Arsinoe on the Mendes Stela. It is hard not to be swayed by this, as it appears that Ptolemy II created this terminology in the cultivation of syncretic religious practices. However, there is attestation of a similar epithet given to Queens in the Old Kingdom. Nonetheless, the usage of the title for Isis was likely motivated by the need to strengthen her queenly Image opposite Sarapis.³⁰ As the translation of the Mendes Stela states that Arsinoe "received" her divine epithet, it is logical to presume this reception was ordered by Ptolemy. Yet it was certainly not the King himself who searched the annals of Horus names from the Old Kingdom and selected

²³ CPI 119.

²⁴ Great Mendes Stela L1; W. Clarysse "A Royal Journey in the Delta in 257 B.C. and the Date of the Mendes Stele," *Chronique d'Egypte*, 82 (2007): 201.

²⁵ Great Mendes Stela L3.

²⁶ Ibid L24-25.

²⁷ Great Mendes Stela L24-25; Clarysse, "A Royal Journey in the Delta," 205.

²⁸ M. Minas-Nerpel, "The Creation of New 'Cultural Codes': The Ptolemaic Queens and Their Syncretic Processes with Isis, Hathor, and Aphrodite in Egypt and the Classical World," in *Egypt and the Classical World: Cross-Cultural Encounters in Antiquity*, eds. J. Spier and S.E. Cole, (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2022), 61.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid, 62.

“Beloved of the Ram.” The epithet was likely assigned through consultation with the Mendesian Synod, mentioned earlier in Line 14. Despite Ptolemy ordering the commemoration of Arsinoe, the Prophets and those in attendance at the ceremony would have had to have some degree of agreement with the process. It is easy to claim that this acceptance is based on the exemption from the navigation tax and bread-tribute mentioned in Lines 15-16. However, this can be seen as too minimalist of an interpretation. Allegiance can likely be bought, but this process is non-immediate and non-universal. The widespread acceptance of these new modes of ruler cult is evidenced primarily by the perspective of the Egyptian Priestly class.³¹ The regular people of Mendes doubtlessly had outliers among them, even if we have no record of them.³² The current interpretation essentially reads:

Ptolemy came to Mendes, he restored temples and granted exemptions, he and his wife were hailed as gods. Some people likely followed this thought process, but it is irresponsible to presume that this was universal.³³

The Raphia Decree commemorates a military victory, and as such differs from the overtly religious theme seen on the Mendes Stela. However, many of the adopted Pharaonic traditions remain. As in other Ptolemaic decrees, Ptolemy IV is named using the traditional Egyptian formula. Yet the most interesting facets of the decree are the evolution of the statue cult and the evidence of non-universal individual experiences of the cult. The initial line of the demotic version of the decree offers a section of Ptolemy IV’s

Horus name “he who is over his enemies, who gives health to Egypt while brightening the temples.” These two epithets are unique to the Raphia decree, and do not appear on any version of the Canopus Decree or Decree of Memphis.³⁴ These unique titles are ostensibly related to the victory at Raphia, presenting the ruler like a conquering Pharaoh of old.³⁵ The uniqueness of the elements of Ptolemy IV’s Horus Name are reminiscent of the relatively unique epithet given to Arsinoe II in the Mendes Stela, as well as their seemingly shared origins in Egyptian nomenclature. However, it appears that the royal titles do not appear in the Greek version of the text.³⁶ From this we can presume that the divine aspects of the King were important to promote to individuals identifying as Egyptians, but not as important to promote to Greeks.³⁷ This theme continues into the specific adaptation of the statue cult seen in the Raphia decree. An excerpt from line 3 of the Demotic text is translated as follows:

Also, a royal statue shall be put up of king Ptolemy, the ever-living, the beloved of Isis, which shall be called the statue of “Ptolemy, the Avenger of his father, him whose victory is beautiful,” and a statue of his Sister, Arsinoe, the Father-loving Goddess, in the temples of Egypt, in every temple, in the most conspicuous place in the temple, fashioned according to Egyptian art.

Here it is possible to view the Ptolemaic cult appear to move away from New Kingdom precedents, as the King’s statue was now placed in every temple. Eberhard Otto claimed that the essential form of the

³¹ P.E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), Ch. 2.

³² Dundas (1994) states that Egyptian processions typically remained within the temenos, and the public were not involved (196). This is contradicted by Herod. 2.47, 2.60, and 2.63, and by P. Oxy XXVII 2465.

³³ There are some instances where the Egyptian people refused to accept Ptolemaic adaptation. The leap year system proposed by Ptolemy III in the Canopus decree was seen as an “abhorrent foreign innovation with which they would have absolutely nothing to do, in spite of the fact it was said to have the sanction of their own priesthood.” H.E. Winlock, “The Origin of the Ancient Egyptian Calendar,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 83, no. 3 (1940): 452.

³⁴ E. Karev, “Variant Presentations in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees,” master’s thesis (The University of Chicago, 2018).

³⁵ A.L. Zelinsky, “The Deliberate ‘Mistakes’ in a Demotic Version of the Rafia Decree,” *Preislamic Near East*, 2 (2021): 70.

³⁶ This is relatively common in the trilingual decrees, the royal titlature was also excluded from the Greek versions of the Canopus and Alexandria Decrees. However, its absence can only be strongly surmised, as that portion of the Greek text is effaced. Karev, “Variant Presentations,” 21.

³⁷ The analysis of variance in Ptolemaic decrees has shown that the scribes of the Raphia decree attempted to make the decree as palatable as possible by making alterations in the three languages. Karev, “Variant Presentations,” 47.

cult had remained unchanged, yet the specific interpretation of the King's divinity had shifted.³⁸ Otto sees the automatic installation in all temples as evidence of the King himself being seen as divine and having statues to represent him.³⁹ This stands in contrast to the New Kingdom iteration of the statue cult where the statue held the divinity. The placing of the statues in all temples had no Egyptian precedent, and the establishment of cult worship based on gratitude seemed, according to Nock, wholly Greek.⁴⁰ At the same time the divinity of a living King, regardless of specific cult-to-theological understanding, leaned more towards the Egyptian tradition. The cult-to-theological aspect of the decree is adapted based on the culture of the intended audience, creating space for ambiguous interpretations and misunderstandings indicative of middle-grounds of cultural contact. In this case, a situation emerged whereby the exact nature of images of the ruler, whether divine or inanimate, would have likely been perceived differently by various individuals.

The epigraphy of Roman Egypt offers a contrasting but not unrelated picture of foreign ruler worship. Emperors were still seen as divine, as the Ptolemaic Kings had been, but in a more ceremonial and measured nature, perhaps owing to Roman cultural or political sensibilities as opposed to any cult-to-theologically mandated change. The Pakhom Pillar of Mendes offers a view into the function of the Roman imperial cult in Egypt and provides a valuable comparative with Ptolemaic and New Kingdom iterations of ruler cults. While not strictly speaking 'common,' as in lower-class, the individuals attested in the examples are singular and not just an individual representation of a synod. As such, these examples provide a more individualised view on the foreign ruler cult.

The Pakhom Statue from Mendes is a highly unique artifact, dating from shortly after the subjugation of Alexandria.⁴¹ The inscription on the rear pillar of the

statue introduces the subject of the statue Pakhom, who was consequently the dedicator and also a prophet and administrator of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.⁴² For the purposes of this discussion, the interesting aspects of the document are the epithets used to describe the new ruler. Augustus is described as "the perfect god" and later as "the king of gods, the heir of the king of kings."⁴³ The epithet "the perfect god" is a striking example of the honours paid to Augustus by this individual member of Egyptian society. It shows the views of a singular person toward the emperor, as opposed to the Ptolemaic decrees which were conferred on behalf of a large synod. Pakhom's chosen epithets show a high level of reverence for Augustus, especially relative to Augustus' own titular issue. Augustus famously styled himself as *Divi Filius* or Son of the Divine which only indirectly proclaims divinity.⁴⁴ This differs greatly from the appellation "Perfect God," which is not only a directly divine manifestation, but also qualifies the deity as perfect. The epithet does not allow for a comparison between how Pakhom viewed Augustus and how he viewed Ptolemaic rulers, but it does further evidence the translation of cult-to-theological mores seen in the Ptolemaic decrees and other documents of cultural contact. As the document also assigns parallel Egyptian titles to a foreign ruler which coexisted alongside the titles assigned by members of their own culture.

However, the second set of epithets might be even more significant. The term 'king of the gods' is often an epithet given to an immortal god, particularly prominent ones like Amun, Zeus, and Jupiter.⁴⁵ Grenier astutely claims that this use of the phrase is an intentional association with Zeus Eleutherios and Amun. Pakhom intended to laud the new Autokrator as a god, just as the previous Pharaohs had been. However, there is a departure from the Ptolemaic protocol as Augustus is not hailed as Amun or Horus outright.⁴⁶ Grenier rightly asserts that this originality of the titlature is due to the similarly original nature of

³⁸ See Dundas (1994) for a synopsis of Otto's claims in translation. E. Otto, "Zwei Bemerkungen zum Konigskult der Spätzeit." *MDIAAK*, 15 (1957): 193–207.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός," 16.

⁴¹ Dundas, "Pharaoh, Basileus and Imperator," 79.

⁴² Grenier, "Le Prophète et L'Autokrator," 81

⁴³ Grenier, "Le Prophète et L'Autokrator," 83.

⁴⁴ R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 202.

⁴⁵ Grenier, "Le Prophète et L'Autokrator," 81–89; S. O'Neil, "The Emperor as Pharaoh: Provincial Dynamics and Visual Representations of Imperial Authority in Roman Egypt, 30 B.C. - A.D. 69," PhD diss. (University of Cincinnati, 2011), 232.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 83–84.

the document.⁴⁷ There is no synodal deliberation at play here; rather, Pakhom himself decided on the epithets granted. This is further evidenced by the epithet “heir of the king of kings.” This title was most recently given to Caesarion in 34 B.C. and thus it seems that Augustus is listed as the heir of the son of Cleopatra.⁴⁸ Augustus himself would not have approved of such an association with another heir of Caesar; as such, this further evidences the prevalence of the individual viewpoint in regnal titulature. The lack of imperial authority over the content of the inscription speaks volumes to its originality. Although the singular nature of the document does not allow an examination of widespread acceptance of the foreign ruler as a god, it does illuminate Pakhom’s viewpoint. This individual acceptance on behalf of Pakhom will be seen to spread widely among his counterparts, his is the first known dedication to the Emperor, but certainly not the last among Egyptians. While it seems likely that Pakhom was trying to promote his own interest by lauding Augustus, this was certainly not the full story. Pakhom existed in a society in which ruler worship was the accepted norm. He was certainly trying to curry some degree of favour, it’s impossible to ignore that he was also displaying a degree of acceptance.

Both the Ptolemaic and Roman examples demonstrate that the overwhelming theme was one of cultic translation not cultic continuity in regards to the development of ruler cults. The purpose of translation is clear – it allows for differing cultural practices to be palatably understood by other groups. However, it is also one of the places within the middle ground where misunderstandings were most likely to occur. The epigraphic corpus studied here provides an understanding of how Roman and Hellenistic institutions were translated Egyptian audience. More significantly, it allows for an examination of the degree of acceptance that these translations found among the Egyptian populace.

Papyrus

The papyrological corpus also offers several insights into the ways the Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial Cults functioned in Egypt. Consequently, it offers a view into how these institutions evolved from their respective predecessors, and how they were translated for different cultural understandings. These benefits are similar to those of the epigraphic examples cited above. However, papyri allow a more direct view of the acceptance of these translated traditions by individuals. In addition to literary works, papyrus was used to record all types of information, from public records and property information to more personal documents such as contracts and correspondence. As such, this documentation allows for a closer analysis of what people actually thought. The discussion will highlight the value and the comparatively individual nature of papyri with specific respect to the evolution of cultic-theological understanding of foreign ruler cults in Egypt.

The Oxyrhynchus archive contains numerous invaluable sources of papyri evidence to this effect. However, the work of Satyrus, a Greek philosopher and historian, is important to highlight for this discussion. Fragments of his ethnographic work on the city of Alexandria are included in P. Oxy XXVII 2465. This document discusses the Arsinoeia, a festival celebrating Arsinoe Philadelphus the deified wife of Ptolemy II. Satyrus’ account of the festival shows that it melded Greek and Egyptian tradition, as his account describes a Greek style procession lauding a deified queen, which was clearly an Egyptian addition. Commentary accompanying this fragment’s publication claims that the festival was overwhelmingly Greek in nature, a view which has merit.⁴⁹ However, this does not consider the individuals taking part in the festival. It is impossible to know their exact ethnic makeup, but it can be presumed that there was a spectrum of ethno-cultural identities.⁵⁰ Therefore, while the festival seems to follow Greek

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 87

⁴⁹ P. Oxy XXVII 1962, 117-118.

⁵⁰ Even describing the cultural middle-ground as a spectrum between Greek and Egyptian is a little too simplistic, broadly speaking. There would have surely been individuals from further

afield in the Near East as well as the Mediterranean. Furthermore, as previously stated, even the labels Greek and Egyptian are somewhat simplistic also. Yet without further evidence from the individual perspective, these broad labels are the best available framework for discussing distinct groups on various sides of cultural middle-grounds.

conventions, the participants were more varied. Non-Greeks in Alexandria would certainly interpret this festival differently from a recent emigrant from Attica. In this document there is no way to view the cult-to-theological translation like in the Ptolemaic decrees. Yet the necessity to translate these cultural traditions in the epigraphy evidences the fact that they were interpreted differently by various cultural groups. There would be no need to offer differing sentiments for differing groups unless the complexity of the cultural mix mandated it. The document also suggests that a form of elective sacrifice could be performed by ordinary people if they wished, in addition to the organised sacrifices held by clerics. Such evidence of regulation of the elective sacrifices suggests that it was a popular practice, and thus was adopted by the ethnically Egyptian Alexandrians. While the source offers no individual perspective, it allows for an understanding of an ostensibly widely held collective perspective. A perspective in which the cult of Arsinoe was culturally suitable and consequently became overwhelmingly popular, so much so that it is attested as far afield as Delos⁵¹, far outside the realm of direct Ptolemaic influence.

A second document from Oxyrhynchus is similar insofar as it does not provide a directly individual viewpoint, but this nonetheless can be inferred due to some contextual information. P. Oxy VII 1021 is an official announcement of the death of Claudius and the accession of Nero as emperor. The document evokes Egyptian tradition by stating that Claudius had to “Pay his debt to his ancestors” and by referring to Nero as “the expectation and hope of the world.”⁵² The document later suggests two ritual practices more common in Greco-Roman contexts, namely that oxen

should be sacrificed and garlands worn.⁵³ This shows a hybrid tradition fusing both Greco-Roman and Egyptian elements. This combination is evidence of the translation of the cult-to-theological understanding of the Nero’s imperial accession from something purely Roman to something more palatable to individual Egyptians.⁵⁴ While a large portion of the Egyptian populace could have been Hellenised by this period, Egyptians should not be seen to be culturally homogenous. Some members of Egyptian society were surely more Hellenised, and some surely retained more Egyptian cultural identities. Furthermore, the work of Montevocchi suggests that there was a period of deliberation at Rome over the content of the announcement.⁵⁵ If true, the deliberation over how to present Nero’s accession suggests that public perception was important. Combined with the melding of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman ritual practices, this suggests that the viewpoint of the more Egyptian-identifying individual was a key consideration regarding the content of accession notices. This has hitherto been explained as proxy acceptance, whereby the Egyptian people were pleased with certain privileges granted to them and expressed this through wholehearted acceptance of the grantor’s cult. However, this is another place where the perspective of regular individuals should be integrated into the analysis as much as possible. They cannot be seen as having a monolithic perception, and while some might have offered a cult as a result of certain exemptions, not everyone would have been included, and thus there would not have been universal acceptance.

There is another example from the Oxyrhynchus archive that dates from the Roman period and offers a more individualised perspective on the acceptance of a

⁵¹ Caneva, “Queens and Ruler Cults,” 80.

⁵² Dundas (1994) asserts that these traditions are more Egyptian than Greek or Roman. The sentiment of having to pay debt to ancestors lines up with the Egyptian dynastic practice in which the living Pharaoh was Horus and the previous Pharaoh was Osiris, evoking a father-son relationship, even when there was no biological relation (220-223). A similar sentiment is mentioned in the Pyramid texts. See Dundas, “Pharaoh, Basileus and Imperator,” 223.

⁵³ De Jong, “Egyptian Papyri and ‘Divinity’ of the Roman Emperor,” 245-46.

⁵⁴ This is further evidenced using the Egyptian verbiage, as it results in a fundamental inaccuracy. Which ancestors are being referred to?

Dundas suggests the Imperial predecessors, Tiberius and Caligula. However, he is not biologically related to either and neither had been formally deified at Rome. This speaks to the fact that Roman reality was hardly the focus of the document. The focus is much more on the Egyptian perception. De Jong, “Egyptian Papyri and ‘Divinity’ of the Roman Emperor,” 245-46.

⁵⁵ There is a gap between the date of Nero’s accession and the dating of P. Oxy VII 1021. Embassies from Egypt to the Imperial court were common, see Dundas, “Pharaoh, Basileus and Imperator.” O. Montevocchi, “Nerone a Una Polis e Ai 6475,” *Aegyptus* 50 1/4 (1970): 8-9.

foreign ruler cult. One of the most unique aspects is that it provides evidence of acceptance of a foreign ruler cult through private worship. P. Oxy XII 1449 is a list of dedications to a temple compiled by priests which discusses specific individuals and specific votives, thus contrasting with P. Oxy XXVII 2465 in which the private worship can only be viewed indirectly.⁵⁶ The only definitively named individual is Zoilus Aurelius; a name which appears more Greco-Roman than Egyptian.⁵⁷ The other priest, however, whose name and patronymic are effaced, appears to have had an Egyptian origin. This is inferred from the mention of his mother, who is named Aurelia Taaphunchis. The name Taaphunchis is of Egyptian origin and is extremely rare, with only three other attestations.⁵⁸ The votives detailed in this source are often representations of the emperor Caracalla and his parents, Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, with some exceptions. The statues of the emperor are listed among statues of other gods and goddesses, with little difference in their description. As previously mentioned, a significant percentage of the dedications are associated with the imperial cult, speaking to the acceptance of this foreign institution by these specific individuals. Perhaps the most significant information gleaned from P. Oxy XII 1449 comes from the list of associates of the priests who performed the accounting of the votives. Priests of various gods are mentioned alongside their associates, but a unique office is mentioned in line 2: “Celebrants of the busts of the Lord Augustus and his advancing victory.” This office is important to highlight as it signals the continuation of the traditional Egyptian regnal statue cult with explicit translation to include Roman emperors. The culto-theological understanding of the statue cult is unclear. Whether the statue functioned as temporarily divine, as was the case in prior pharaonic practice, or perpetually divine, as in the Ptolemaic iterations of statue cults, is unknown. However, regardless of the exact form and understanding, the statue cult persisted and was clearly

⁵⁶ It is worth noting that this document cannot offer any further insight on those who may not have fully ‘accepted’ the foreign ruler as deserving of these honours. However, it does allow for an examination of those who by such actions provide evidence of their acceptance of the worship of the emperor.

⁵⁷ P. Oxy XII 1449 is dated 213-216 A.D., which postdates the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, meaning that the name Aurelius cannot be

maintained well into the history of Roman-controlled Egypt. The continued existence of the statue cult shows the adaptation of the foreign ruler cult via translation of both terminology and ritual practice, which was a requirement for the institution to garner acceptance among native Egyptians.

Like the epigraphic sources mentioned above, the papyrological examples provide insights into the evolution of the Egyptian ruler cult under various foreign rulers. The papyri examined provide a more individualised viewpoint on the acceptance of these institutions than publicly displayed inscriptions. Nevertheless, there is no ‘smoking gun’ of individuality. There is no papyrus in which, for example, a native Egyptian laments or commends the placing of an imperial statue among those of traditional gods. Additionally, there is no definitive way to determine the exact ethno-cultural identity of the individuals mentioned in the documents. There is no document where an individual states their exact ethnicity, and assuming as such from names and other information has already been shown to be tenuous at best. However, the methodology of this paper’s analysis, using a framework based on middle-grounds of cultural contact, allows for a more individual-centric reading of the sources than what has traditionally been undertaken. Furthermore, more and more papyrus will become available for study and there will subsequently be more opportunities to apply this framework. Advanced techniques such as RTI and X-ray imaging have only begun to be employed in the field. These methods have the potential to assist in reading previous illegible papyri, such as those used in cartonnage, or the study of damaged or carbonized scrolls. It is imperative that as new sources become available examples of cultural contact found within continue to be seen as multilateral, with as much focus on the regular individual as possible.

used to directly signify ethnicity. See C.A. La’da, “Ethnicity, Occupation and Tax-Status in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 17 (1994): 183–89 for further discussion on the difficulties of using names as markers of ethnicity.

⁵⁸ TM 35580.

Conclusion

Ruler cults in the ancient world are a fundamentally remote phenomenon when viewed from the modern perspective. These institutions existed in all of spheres of society. In the modern world, politicians are politicians, and priests are priests. A politician can become a priest, or a general, or an olive oil merchant and vice versa. Yet it is very rare for someone to be more than one simultaneously. This was not the case for the ancients. A good example is Julius Caesar, the first Roman leader to be deified; he was simultaneously a politician, military leader, the highest religious official, and author. However, the place of honour he held in all the different spheres of society cannot be directly conflated with another ruler, especially those of another culture. The exact understanding of how one's divine ruler operated within all these societal spheres as well as within the traditional pantheon had to be 'translated' for foreign audiences. The Roman cult-to-theological understanding could not simply be imposed on native Egyptians unchanged, neither could the Ptolemaic iteration. In previous scholarship there is an interest in discussing 'cultic continuity.'⁵⁹ However, as this discussion has shown the exact nature of the cultural contact is perhaps better described as cult-to-theological translation rather than as simply continuous. By continuing to view cult-to-theological translation from Greco-Roman to Egyptian as a multilateral exchange of cultural practice new interpretations of individual experience are sure to arise, hopefully transforming the Egyptian chorus members into Thespians of the historical record.

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⁵⁹ Thompson (1988) does discuss continuity between the Ptolemaic and Roman occupations of Memphis, but not specifically related to cult practices. It is important to note that continuity and translation are not unrelated. Translation of cult-to-theological practices is a

form of continuity, albeit much more complex. The relative complexity of the continuation is why the distinction is made. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός," 13; Dundas, "Pharaoh, Basileus and Imperator," 269-275.

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IMMORTAL INTERLACE: AN ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMMATIC STRUCTURE IN *BEOWULF*

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Introduction

Although dismissed by some as a simple Germanic lay,¹ *Beowulf* contains deep complexity. *Beowulf* is an Anglo-Saxon poem that describes its eponymous hero's fights against three monsters: Grendel (a swamp-demon), Grendel's mother, and (50 years later in life) a dragon. The poem itself comes from a longstanding (Proto-)Indo-European tradition of epic poetry that stretches back thousands of years to their earliest hero

able to be linguistically reconstructed: **Trito-*. Since John Leyerle coined the term in its application to *Beowulf* in the late '60s, scholars have regularly employed "interlace" as a description of the poem's structure.² This structure's function accords best with the (Proto-)Indo-European history and epic tradition whence the poem has come. *Beowulf's* interlace structure programmatically portrays the hero's highest goal: immortality achieved through epic accounts of his glory. This intertwining of the poem's structure and

¹ "But in the Homeric poems glory is not a simple and straightforward thing, won by heroic deeds and consoling the hero for his death. We are far from the unreflective heroism of the

Germanic lays." J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 96.

² J. Leyerle, "The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 37 (1967): 1-17.

highest theme/goal is a complex portrayal of immortality in and of itself, wherein the medium and message are no longer discrete entities. In this paper, I will first define interlace as an artistic concept that is present in *Beowulf*, then analyze usage through *Beowulf*'s verse and narratives, and finally define the programmatic function of interlace structure as regards its portrayal of immortality (i.e. the (Proto-)Indo-European heroic goal).

What Is Interlace?

Literary interlace is an interpretation of *Beowulf*'s structure as being unified through the braiding of various aspects of the poem, such as verse and narratives. It is a synesthetic, i.e. cross-sensory, perception of the poem, to interpret the literary medium visually as one would the lacework associated with Celtic knots and crosses. Interlace within verse is when two or more separate threads are bound together over and under one another like a braid. Narrative threads will, rather, intersect each other, digressing for some time and then returning to the main plot.³ Interlace structure creates an image that, on the surface, looks as if it were one continuously flowing pattern, while revealing all the individual parts of the whole when examined closely.

Interlace was especially popular in the visual art of the Anglo-Saxons.⁴ The designs have been described in the past with somewhat pejorative terms such as "vigorous," "wild," and "primitive," but, as Leyerle points out, there is extreme precision in the geometry and a high level of technical competence.⁵ The comparison between visual and literary interlace is not modern: descriptions from the period of such Anglo-

Saxons as Alcuin and Aldhelm writing Latin poetry describe what is tantamount to literary interlace with phrases such as *texere sertas*,⁶ "to weave windings/threads." The root *tex-* of *texere* also provides Latin *textus* and *textilis* whence English "text" and "textile" respectively. Twice in *Beowulf* the connection between the finished poem as a text which has been woven together is carried further, this time into the Anglo-Saxon vernacular, using the stock phrase *wordum wrixlan*, "varying/weaving words."⁷ This phraseology even finds a place in the modern English vernacular, spinning a yarn, specifically associated with telling myths and tall tales.

How Is Interlace Used in Beowulf?

The examples of interlace which strike me as most pleasing are those found within verse. *Beowulf*'s verse is often spare, quite archaic, but not simple or primitive. Eduard Sievers laid out five basic metrical schemes for the Anglo-Saxon half-line in the late nineteenth century:⁸

- A: / x / x or / x x / x
- B: x / x / or x x / x x /
- C: x // x or x x // x
- D: /\ x or /\ x \
- E: /\ x / or /\ x x /

The first half line will alliterate 1-2 of its stressed syllables with the first stressed syllable of the second half-line.⁹ Take *Beowulf* 1 for example, with the alliterative elements underlined: "*Hwæt, we Gar-Dena*

³ "Examples of narrative threads, intersected by other material, are easy to perceive in the poem once the structural principle is understood." Ibid, 7.

⁴ As Leyerle himself says, this time under discussion could very well be called "the interlace period." Ibid, 1-4.

⁵ "Recognition of this high level of artistic achievement is important for it dispels the widely held view, largely the prejudice of ignorance, that early Anglo-Saxon art is vigorous, but wild and primitive. As the interlace designs show, there is vigor to be sure, but it is controlled with geometric precision and executed with technical competence of very high order." Ibid, 3.

⁶ "Poets describe the technique with the phrases *ingere sertas* or *texere sertas*... The past participle of *texere*, "to weave, braid, interlace," is *textus*, the etymon of our words text and textile... In

basic meaning, then, a poetic text is a weaving of words to form, in effect, a verbal carpet page." Ibid, 4.

⁷ "The *scop* is said to *wordum wrixlan*, "vary words." I believe that a translation befitting the topic, while somewhat removed from the original meaning of *wrixlan*, is "to weave or interlace." Leyerle, "The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*," 4; *Beowulf*, 4th ed., eds. F. Klaeber et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 366 and 874.

⁸ The meaning of the symbols used to describe the meter are as follows: "/" indicates a fully stressed syllable; "\" indicates a half-stressed syllable; "x" indicates an unstressed syllable. B. Mitchell and F.C. Robinson, "E. Style, Tone, and Metre," in *Beowulf: An Edition with Relevant Shorter Texts*, eds. B. Mitchell and F. C. Robinson (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 30-31.

⁹ Ibid, 30.

in *geardagum*.”¹⁰ This alliteration between half-lines already begins to display how Anglo-Saxon poetry was an interwoven art form at its most fundamental level. Anglo-Saxon as a language is also more reliant on morphology than syntax (unlike Modern English) to convey meaning. Because of these artistic and morphological aspects, many of the phrases and words within *Beowulf* find themselves paired together in a way quite jarring to the modern English reader. An example of the jarring syntax is the frequently interlaced repetition of subjects, objects, and actions.¹¹ This is often done with several synonyms across half-lines, broken up by verbal action and the introduction of subordinate clauses. This pattern heightens the drama and adds a sense of gravitas to the characters and scene.

Beowulf 426-32 is an example of the way verse interlaces different actors and actions with one-another. The conversation itself is not complex to understand. Beowulf, the first thread,¹² asks Hrothgar, the second thread, for permission to cleanse his hall, the third thread.¹³ What is complex to understand is how the requester, requestee, and request are interwoven in the verse. Since they are free from the syntactical constraints of analytical word-order, each one is readily repeated and juxtaposed next to one-another as best fits the braid in service to the greater image it creates.¹⁴ I have made words in the first, second, and third strings of the braid italic, underlined, and bold respectively to provide a visual analogue to this concept:

Ic þe nuða,
brego Beorht-Dena, **biddan wille**,
eodor Scyldinga, **anre bene**,
þæt þu *me* **ne forwyrne**, wigendra hleo,

¹⁰ *Beowulf*, 3.

¹¹ “Klaeber calls such variation “the very soul of Old English poetical style” (lxv); it involves multiple statement of a subject in several different words or phrases, each of which typically describes a different aspect of the subject.” Leyerle, “The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*,” 3.

¹² *Beowulf*’s troop is mentioned twice in the final two lines (“*minra eorla gedryht, / þes hearda heap*,” *Beowulf*, 431-432), but preceded by the possessive first person pronoun referring to *Beowulf*. They can be taken as an extension of the first thread of the braid as defined by their relationship to *Beowulf*.

¹³ Concerning the grouping of the third thread: (*ic þe*)... *biddan wille* is the invocation of the request, redoubled with the secondary object *anre bene*, lit. “one request;” *þæt (ðu me) ne forwyrne* is another request, not to be denied; *nu (ic) þus feorran com* is the

freowine folca, **nu ic þus feorran com**,
þæt ic mote ana, *minra eorla gedryht*,
 ond *þes hearda heap* **Heorot fælsian**.¹⁵

In Modern English and prose:

Now then, I want to ask you, ruler of the Bright-Danes, a single request, leader of the Scyldings, that you not deny me, protector of warriors, noble-friend of the folk, now that I have come thus far, that I myself be permitted, and my troop of warriors, this hard heap, to cleanse Heorot.

Leyerle argues that interlace used at the level of verse is purely “decorative, as opposed to structural. Designs on a sword, coffer or cross are decoration applied to an object whose structure arises from other considerations.”¹⁶ While the decorative aspect is obviously true, Leyerle’s interpretation of the structural implications of interlace at the level of verse is not universally true. The order in which the braids are woven in *Beowulf* 426-32 is carefully chosen: to avoid insulting the Danes’ honor (for they cannot slay Grendel), *Beowulf* heavily and graciously entreats Hrothgar in the beginning, humbly places himself and his men at the end, and maintains the pertinent topic of request throughout his speech. The interlace structure creates an image of tense yet eloquent courtly negotiation. The structure is programmatic in this sense, insofar as it sets the tone for the interaction taking place between *Beowulf* and Hrothgar through the way in which its threads are woven.

With regards to narratives, Leyerle points out the Frisian Raid which has been broken up into four segments interwoven across the story.¹⁷ The reason the

polite excuse *Beowulf* gives for the imposition of his request; the final motif of request is *þæt (ic) mote... Heorot fælsian*, the actual request for permission to cleanse the hall Heorot being made.

¹⁴ “The poem itself [is] one vast image, whose individual components [are] to be apprehended as a unity... it [is] necessary to undermine the inherent consecutiveness of language, frustrating the reader’s normal expectation of a sequence and forcing him to perceive the elements of the poem juxtaposed in space rather than unrolling in time.” Cf. Joseph Frank’s analysis of T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound’s poetic style in his article “Spatial Form in Modern Literature: An Essay in Two Parts” *The Sewanee Review* 53 (1945): 227.

¹⁵ *Beowulf*, 17.

¹⁶ Leyerle, “The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*,” 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 7-9; *Beowulf*, 1202-14, 2354-68, 2501-9, and 2913-21.

raid is broken up in this way is for the juxtapositions that can be achieved, which are impossible in a linear narrative.¹⁸ Each juxtaposition relates the disastrous consequences of the Frisian raid for Hygelac to a present object or situation for Beowulf. There are two objects: the golden torque and the sword Nægling.¹⁹ The torque, given to Beowulf by Hrothgar, is later lost along with Hygelac during the raid. The attainment and loss of the torque symbolizes and juxtaposes the victory that Beowulf has for one lord with the death and doom of another. Nægling, which Beowulf did not need to slay Dæghrefn (Hygelac's slayer), fails him when it was needed to save himself. Here the man's (former) capability is juxtaposed with his (current) vulnerability; he who once was a sword cannot rely on another sword to save him now that his edge has dulled. The first of the situational juxtapositions is when a story of Hygelac's doom intersects Beowulf's preparations to meet his own doom with the dragon.²⁰ The folly of both men is clear to the audience here, each heading into a foolish battle that will end up killing them. The second is when the messenger announcing Beowulf's death mentions the Frisians who will seek (and gain) revenge for Hygelac's raid without Beowulf to stop them.²¹ Hygelac's death brought ruin to the Geats that was only turned away by Beowulf; without Beowulf now, both his clan (the Wægmundings) and his kingdom will come unto ruin.

The episodes themselves are not meant to be episodic, and to view them that way destroys their artistic significance.²² George Clark characterizes each as denouement.²³ They create a timeless frame of reference for the audience, where narrative patterns are not to be analyzed in (chrono)logical sequences, but rather understood and appreciated all at once.²⁴ Patterns within verse can (and should) also be analyzed and

understood in this way, again as opposed to being purely decorative. Much of Joseph Frank's analysis of spatial forms in modern literature outlines this concept well, such as his analysis of Proust's literary aim:

Proust believed that he grasped a reality 'real without being of the present moment, ideal but not abstract.' Only in these moments did he attain his most cherished ambition – 'to seize, isolate, immobilize for the duration of a lightning flash' what otherwise he could not apprehend, 'namely: a fragment of time in its pure state.' For a person experiencing this moment, Proust adds, the word 'death' no longer has meaning.' Situated outside the scope of time, what could he fear from the future?²⁵

The interlace structure in *Beowulf* captures that fragmentary essence of time that Proust sought, which the audience can fully appreciate only if they already know the narratives within it. Much like Joyce's *Ulysses*, *Beowulf* is not a work that can be read but only re-read.²⁶ The sense of timelessness achieved by the interlace structure is the true goal of its employ, as it programs the highest goal for Beowulf and all (Proto-)Indo-European heroes like him within the medium of the poem itself: immortality.

The Function of Programmatic Structure in Beowulf

To understand interlace structure used programmatically in *Beowulf*, one must first understand the poem's hero and theme. Clark argues that *Beowulf*'s hero and theme are the same: the achievement of the heroic goal.²⁷ Clark defines the heroic goal as posthumous immortality for the hero through the

¹⁸ Leyerle, "The Interlace Structure of Beowulf," 7.

¹⁹ Ibid, 7-8; *Beowulf*, 1202-14 and 2501-9.

²⁰ *Beowulf*, 2354-68.

²¹ Ibid, 2913-21; Leyerle, "The Interlace Structure of Beowulf," 8.

²² "The four Hygelac episodes, like all the narrative elements in the poem, have positional significance; unravel the threads and the whole fabric falls apart. An episode cannot be taken out of context – may I remind you again of the etymology of the word – without impairing the interwoven design." Leyerle, "The Interlace Structure of Beowulf," 8.

²³ "The Frisian raid has no plot, no beginning, episodes, and crisis, it's all denouement, an account of the outcome of an action, but it is a significant repeated element in the poem that keeps adding

details and gaining weight as part of the poem's vision of heroic reality." G. Clark, personal communication, January 7th, 2024.

²⁴ "This design reveals the meaning of coincidence, the recurrence of human behaviour, and the circularity of the medium itself – interlace structure. It allows for the intersection of narrative events without regard for the distance in chronological time and shows the interrelated significances of episodes without the need for explicit comment by the poet." Ibid.

²⁵ Frank, "Spatial Form in Modern Literature," 236.

²⁶ Ibid, 234-35.

²⁷ G. Clark, "The Hero and the Theme," in *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. J. D. Niles and R. D. Bjork (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 271-90.

renewal of his life and story with every retelling of his glorious deeds.²⁸ He describes Beowulf the man as: “[asserting] the doctrine that for the dead warrior, a living fame is best.”²⁹ This living fame is at the heart of my understanding not only of Beowulf, but a plethora of (Proto-) Indo-European heroes who can trace their lineages back to an original hero of sorts: **Trito-*.³⁰ For inhabitants of pre-Christian (Proto-)Indo-European societies, who could not conceive of a paradisiacal afterlife, immortal glory³¹ was the only method by which one could attain any sort of eternal life.³² Unfortunately, in the (Proto-)Indo-European framework of thought, this immortality can be obtained only by means of a trade-off.³³ I have coined a term for this trade: the immortality equation, wherein a hero offers his glorious deeds at the end of his life in exchange for immortal fame, i.e., death + glory = immortality.

Beowulf is the actualized result of the immortality equation: the account of the dead man’s deeds for all to know. It is simple to understand interlace as the medium through which the message is portrayed. What I argue through the framework of programmatic structure is that the medium is the message, à la McLuhan. Through interlace, the structure becomes the very thing that the poem sets as not only its highest goal, but it’s *raison d’être*, the immortal exultation of the hero. Interlace structure is in and of itself a representation of eternity. Many examples of visual interlace illustrate this well by having the zoomorphic figures (often dragons), into which the braids are

frequently stylized, biting their own tails, much like the ouroboros (lit. “tail-eater,” an alchemical symbol for eternity).³⁴ Literary interlace in *Beowulf* approximates the eternal/unending character of the ouroboros by creating braids of verse and narratives to provide a holistic temporal experience for the audience. *Beowulf* is experienced all at once. This ἐν τὸ πᾶν³⁵ style of storytelling is a representation of an eternal frame of reference, in which everything has happened, will happen, and is currently happening. This use of interlace programs an eternal, timeless, immortal view that it imparts on all aspects of the poem, which is a representation of the hero’s highest goal: achieving that state of being for himself. The poem thus becomes the actualization of the immortal hero through the interlace structure.

Conclusion

Beowulf employs an interlace structure to set a program for the reader. The structure’s twists and turns are themselves emblematic of a higher truth to which there is no exact name, akin to a Platonic form: eternity, timelessness, immortality. That higher truth is one which (Proto-)Indo-European heroes have long sought to understand and obtain for themselves. Beowulf did it. His story is a representation of this truth through its structure; the interlace employed in *Beowulf* exudes immortality. Interlace structure in *Beowulf* is a beautiful braid of both medium and message intertwined.

²⁸ Ibid, 289-90.

²⁹ Clark, “The Hero and the Theme,” 290.

³⁰ **Trito-* is a linguistically reconstructed name, translating to “third,” as he was the third being within the (Proto-)Indo-European cosmogony. His heroic story is as follows: a serpent steals his cattle/tribeswomen which **Trito-* beats with the help of the (correctly propitiated) Storm God. B. Lincoln, “The Indo-European Cattle-Raiding Myth,” *History of Religions* 16 (1976): 42-65 passim.

³¹ “Immortal glory” is a most ancient term with its roots and meter able to be reconstructed in Proto-Indo-European, **klewos ṛdhgwhitom*,” from the testimonies of two of the oldest daughter languages: Greek and Sanskrit. J.P. Mallory and D.Q. Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), 192; M. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 78-79; G. Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 14.

³² J.P. Mallory and D.Q. Adams, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 439.

³³ This trade is a classic example of Indo-European gift-exchange. Mallory and Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, 185-86.

³⁴ Interestingly, Leyerle also argues for a programmatic element of the interlace structure relating to these zoomorphic elements: “Of particular interest to my subject is the way in which the interlace design, in and of itself, makes a contribution to the main theme. Because of the many lines given to the monsters... they are the largest thread in the design, like the zoomorphs... [they] are the elongated lacertine elements that thread through the action of the poem making symmetrical patterns characteristic of interlace structure.” The dragon Beowulf fights at the end is the (serendipitous?) cherry on top as far as the concept of the poem as a literary ouroboros is concerned. Leyerle, “The Interlace Structure of Beowulf,” 2-3.

³⁵ An alchemical phrase associated with the ouroboros and translated as “all is one.”

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PHILIP II AND THE CRUSADES: RE-EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE CAPETIANS IN THE ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE

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This article seeks to demonstrate the extent to which Philip II of France (r. 1180-1223) continued to participate in the wider crusading movement, and how his approval and input – as the representative of the Capetian monarchy – continued to wield considerable influence on both his political aims to expand the scope of Capetian authority and in the development and presentation of an ideology of sacral Capetian kingship. It examines the origins and development of the Albigensian Crusade in the early thirteenth century and argues that the French monarchy became more invested in the expedition during Philip's reign as a part of his broader patronage and leadership of the crusading movement. Philip's continued commitment to the

crusading movement was an indication of his recognition of crusading as an integral component of the public presentation of Capetian kingship in the thirteenth century; it also laid the groundwork for the incorporation of crusading as a royal prerogative, contributing indelibly to the emergence of an ideology of Capetian sacral monarchy.

The Albigensian Crusade (c. 1208-1229) is known as one of the more infamous crusading expeditions whose course spanned nearly two decades of violence and bloodshed in the Languedoc regions of the south of France. Its origins lay in the growing willingness of the medieval papacy to wield the crusading movement as a weapon against enemies both without and within the

emerging cultural and political borders of Latin Christendom. The persistent refusal of clerics and lords in Toulouse to accept broader Church doctrine – and the direction of the papacy – contributed significantly to Pope Innocent III’s increasingly negative view of the growth of heresy in Languedoc and the dangers it posed to the spiritual health of Latin Christendom.¹ This occurred against a wider backdrop of new theological and intellectual arguments on how Latin Christians should define their relationship with and tolerance of non-Christians, most prominently Jewish minorities living in Western Europe or within the Islamicate empires of the Levant.

Innocent issued his first formal declaration of a crusade against the Cathar heretics of the Languedoc region of France following the death of papal legate Pierre de Castelnau in 1208, where men ostensibly in the employ of Raymond VI Count of Toulouse (r. 1194-1222) were accused of murdering the cleric. In a fiery denunciation of Catharism and the lords of Provence whom Innocent accused of aiding the spread of heresy, Innocent aimed his call primarily at the barons of northern France, urging them to yet another crusade:

Let pious zeal inspire you to avenge this monstrous crime against your God! . . . Apply yourselves vigorously to pacifying those nations. Attack the followers of heresy more fearlessly even than the Saracens – since they are more evil . . . As to the Count of Toulouse . . . continue by the added weight of your threats to drive him to give satisfaction to ourselves and the Church.²

Innocent had already contemplated launching a crusade in Languedoc and had written to Philip in 1204 urging him to intervene by employing the metaphor of the king

wielding the “secular sword of power” against the heretics.³ The use of this metaphor indicates the widespread medieval recognition of the intersection of secular and religious authority in the actions, if not the figure, of monarchs. At the time, Philip demurred, citing a lack of legal if not spiritual justification to interfere with the sovereignty of the Count of Toulouse; moreover, the French king was possibly unwilling to set such a dangerous precedent for such a reach of papal political authority.

The death of papal legate Pierre de Castelnau in 1208 provided the necessary catalyst for Innocent’s renewed call to crusade, and he presented his appeal to the northern French barons who had proved so responsive in the past to papal calls for crusade. Innocent, in addition to promising the same level of indulgences to crusaders in Languedoc as those who would travel to Jerusalem, also suggested that the lands which would be purged of heretics during the course of this campaign of sacred violence would be repopulated with “faithful Catholics.”⁴ This was a tempting offer of outright annexation for northern French lords that exemplified the dual nature of crusading as a venture which straddled the secular and the sacred and likely played a key role in luring more undecided nobles to the cause of the crusade. The appeals of 1208 were answered with moderate enthusiasm by the lords of the Capetian-dominated north of France, chief among them Simon de Montfort (c.1175-1218) who had previously participated in the Fourth Crusade before abandoning the expedition after the attack on the Christian city of Zara in 1203. Innocent also sent further letters to Philip in 1208 and 1209 urging the French king to join the crusade, referring to Philip as *rex christianissimus* – a title first employed by Pope Alexander III to refer to Louis VI.⁵ The continued usage of the term suggests

¹ For surveys of the Albigensian Crusade: Aubrey Burl’s *God’s Heretics: The Albigensian Crusade* (2002); Elaine Graham-Leigh’s *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (2005); Mark Pegg’s *A Most Holy War* (2008).

² Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 37-38; Gormonda de Montpellier, “Greu m’ es a durar,” in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 120.

³ Innocent III, “Ne populus Israel” in *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, eds. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher (Graz: H. Boehlaus Nachf,

1964-2001), Vol. 7, 373-74; Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France, 1180-1223* (New York: Longman, 1998), 209; Susanna A. Throop, *Crusading as Vengeance, 1095-1216* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 124-25.

⁴ Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 38-39; Christopher Tyerman, *An Eyewitness History of the Crusades: The Fourth Crusade and the End of Outremer, 1192-1291* (London: The Folio Society, 2004), 136.

⁵ Even if Innocent merely sought to flatter the French king, the use of the term – particularly at a time when Philip’s biographer Rigord had ceased to employ it – indicates the highest levels of ecclesiastical authority recognized the important role of the French

that Innocent, though likely keen to recruit Philip to the crusade by a combination of both flattery and reference to his ancestral participation in the crusading movement, also harboured no illusions about the important role Philip himself played as a patron of the wider crusading endeavour.

Pope Honorius III, Innocent's successor, would also employ similar language in his appeals for Capetian support of the crusaders in Languedoc, using the phrase "our most dear son in Christ, Philip the illustrious king of the Franks" in an epistle circulated to the French ecclesiastical community in 1218.⁶ This acknowledgment of Philip as a king who was much favoured by the papacy – and the specific usage of the term *rex christianissimus* – continued a historically close relationship between the papacy and the Capetian monarchy. These letters, just some of several entreaties by the pope to Philip to lead a new crusade, show that Innocent III certainly saw Philip as a king whose support for crusading could be expected.⁷ Even if Innocent's requests were refused, the persistence of his communication suggests an expectation which formed a key plank of the rapport between the French monarchy and the medieval popes which, far from being damaged by Philip's purported disinterest in crusading, was maintained and reinforced.

The language of Philip's response to Innocent's appeals should not be viewed simply as a refusal on par with his general disinclination to go on crusade, as Philip expresses clear, if conventional, support for the fight against heresy. In his response to Innocent's letter of 1208, the French monarch again blamed conflict with John as a key reason for his refusal, but notes "the bishops have discussed this matter with us, and we have replied to them that if the clergy and barons are

prepared to supply adequate help (such as we might consider to be of use to the territory) and we can be satisfied that there is a firmly secured truce in place, then we will gladly send help in men and money."⁸ Innocent would send numerous requests – in 1204, 1207, 1208, and 1209 – for Philip to either lead the Albigensian Crusade or send his son Louis in his stead. While Philip never physically went crusading, this article shows that he almost always provided money and men, even during the height of his campaigns against the Plantagenets. It also speaks to the place of the Capetian kings of France in the wider papal vision of Latin Christendom; Philip, often accused of exhibiting merely "conventional piety" in an era of holy war, nonetheless ensured continued papal support for the Capetian monarchy throughout the thirteenth century and remained even until the latter years of his reign the preferred papal candidate to lead future crusades.

Philip's refusal was contingent only on the political instability of the Capetian-Plantagenet relationship and he left open the possibility of further support while maintaining the Capetian dynasty's endorsement of the Albigensian Crusade as a fight to protect Latin Christendom from the threat of heresy. It was only after Philip's third refusal in 1209 – citing the same refrain of threat from the combined forces of John and Otto of Brunswick – that leadership of the crusade was formally given to Simon de Montfort.⁹ Philip's response was almost certainly not what Innocent had hoped – not only did the French king frame his refusal by affirming the suzerain rights of the French monarchy over Toulouse, but he also critiqued what he saw as Innocent's political overreach in his desire to overthrow Raymond VI. However, it also reaffirmed Philip's

monarchy in securing crusading support and leadership. Innocent III, "Epistolarum Innocentii III Liber XI," in Vol. 19 of *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet and Leopold Delisle (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1868), 512; James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 131.

⁶ Honorius III, "Populus Israel a," in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 50-51.

⁷ Innocent III, "Ad sponse sue," in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 34-35; Jim Bradbury,

"Philip Augustus and King John: Personality and History," in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 356-57; Christian Chenu, "Innocent III and the Case for War in Southern France in 1207," *Journal of Religious History* 35 (2011): 512-16.

⁸ W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly, Appendix B to *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 130.

⁹ Philip's reference to the conflict with Otto and John, notwithstanding the real threat it posed to Capetian France, was likely also deliberate as it was a campaign that Innocent himself had sanctioned. Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 131-32.

commitment to combating heresy, as he concludes the letter by stating that “so far you have not told us that the Count [Raymond VI] has been condemned. We say this not to excuse him, since we would rather accuse than excuse him, as we will show by our actions if, with God’s will, the opportunity arises.”¹⁰

If Philip was reluctant to embark on crusade throughout his reign, it is nonetheless difficult to discount his commitment to extirpating heresy, as less than a year later Guillaume le Breton would delightedly recount the seemingly fortuitous timing of the execution of more than a dozen suspected heretics in Paris at the same time as a royal investigation into the finances of wealthy Jews living in the royal domain.¹¹ The late 12th and early 13th centuries saw the proliferation of a wider atmosphere of cultural Christian militancy and piety associated with crusading that formed an essential background to the development of Capetian sovereignty under Philip II. The frequent conflation of language which took heretics, Jews, and Muslims and placed them as targets within the scope of ‘legitimate’ crusading violence was exemplified in rhetoric ranging from papal missives to noble courts, popular vernacular writings and songs, as well as crusader chronicles like the works of Peter Lex Vaux-de-Cernay.¹² This crusading context facilitated the perceived legitimacy of the exercise of royal authority over non-Christians, ensuring that the expansion of Capetian royal legal and institutional power appeared under the scope of a public

demonstration of sacral governance. By the early thirteenth century, “crusading” had become more than an expression of violence against non-Christians, it also served as a tool to promote and demonstrate the inherent truths of Christianity.¹³ Contemporary narratives of the Albigensian Crusade routinely employed vocabularies that were often used to describe Muslims and Jews, which deliberately defined the denizens of Languedoc outside the confines of a Christian community; this facilitated an atmosphere of cultural and social expectation for crusading to defend the lands of Latin Christendom from enemies within and without.¹⁴ This application of the crusading discourse benefited Philip and his court as they incorporated royal leadership and patronage of crusading into a dynastic ideology.

Philip’s reluctance to rush headlong into a crusade while lacking the adequate evidence to prosecute Innocent’s accusations of heresy and murder against Raymond VI suggests a cautious, rather than cursory, view of the correct execution of crusading. Philip was also not isolated in his reluctance to initially pursue a crusade against Raymond, with other Christian lords in 1207 urging Philip to push back against papal efforts to infringe upon widely understood boundaries of medieval royal sovereignty.¹⁵ Though Philip once again chose not to join the crusade in 1208, the chronicler Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay records an interesting incident within this refusal, stating that while at Villeneuve holding an assembly of nobles Philip was

¹⁰ Sibly and Sibly, Appendix B to *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 131; W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly, Appendix E to *The History of the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 305-306; William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 67-68.

¹¹ Guillaume le Breton describes this episode as a “correction of errors”, no doubt in reference to Philip’s willingness to tolerate the financial activities of Jewish communities and also in the “correction” of heretical belief. Guillaume le Breton, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H. -F. Delaborde (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882-85), 232-33; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique du Regne*, trans. Francois Guizot (New York: Paleo, 2002), 107-108.

¹² Innocent uses the term “synagogue” to define the Cathar place of worship, while Honorius III describes Jews as “worse than Saracens” in later writings. Innocent III, “Cum unus Dominus,” in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York:

Routledge, 2014), 33; Honorius III, “Ad colligendum zizania,” in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 56.

¹³ James A. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade: 1213-1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 200-201; *Deeds of Innocent*, 152-53; Matthew E. Parker, “Papa et Pecunia: Innocent III’s Combination of Reform and Fiscal Policy to Finance Crusades,” *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 32, no. 1 (2017): 7; Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137-1336* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2018), 134-35.

¹⁴ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 8.

¹⁵ Concerns with Innocent’s regulations on the conduct and privileges of the French crusaders were shared by other nobles in Philip’s court, including the Duke of Burgundy. Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 131; John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 480 n. 62.

approached by representatives of the papacy who urged him to embark on the crusade. At this point, Philip claimed, “he was beset on his flanks by two great and dangerous lions . . . devoting all their powers to overturning his kingdom, so that in no way could he leave France himself or send his son; he felt it would be enough for the present if he allowed his barons to go to the province of Narbonne to confront those who were confounding peace and the faith.”¹⁶ Philip’s verbal commitment to the success of the crusade is clearly articulated here; more significantly, the episode depicts the departure of French crusaders as royally sanctioned by express permission. While it is possible to view this as a delaying tactic or even a simple refusal, Philip’s words belie a willingness to reconsider the level of monarchical support for the expedition in the future but that his level of support was sufficient “for the present.” Furthermore, Philip here asserts a patronal privilege over the Albigensian Crusade – his vassals went on the crusade only after having received both his approval and permission. Such an action spoke to the authority of the Capetian dynasty as a patron of the wider crusading movement, connecting the successes and participation of those nobles to Philip and the Capetians even without his presence on the crusade.¹⁷ It also provided a public opportunity for the presentation of Capetian sovereignty through the delegation of feudal vassals and points to Philip’s recognition of the dual responsibilities of medieval monarchy in balancing the defence of the realm with the priority of joining the crusade. Perhaps most crucially, Vaux-de-Cernay’s interpretation of Philip’s response underlines some key caveats – should circumstances change in Languedoc or Philip’s continued struggle for political dominance with John of England, the scale of Capetian participation in the Albigensian Crusade could shift.

¹⁶ Specifically, Philip had allowed the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Nevers and Saint-Pol to participate in the crusade, as well as capping the number of knights who could join them. Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 41-42; Anonymous and William of Tudela, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), 14; Chenu, “Innocent III and the Case for War,” 508.

¹⁷ William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 28-29.

¹⁸ Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay was a lay brother of the monastery of Vaux-de-Cernay which lay on lands belonging to the family of

This indeed appeared to be the case in 1213, when Philip agreed to send his son Louis to lead a surge of reinforcements for the beleaguered Crusaders. This move was heralded with much optimism by Vaux-de-Cernay whose account is overwhelmingly sympathetic to the cause of the northern French crusaders and who leaves his readers in little doubt that the fight against Catharism was of crucial significance to the spiritual wellbeing of Latin Christendom.¹⁸ Vaux-de-Cernay’s initial enthusiasm quickly waned as Philip soon withdrew his permission for Louis’ participation in the crusade, with the chronicler lamenting “Alas! . . . the Devil, saw that Christ’s business was on the point of success, through the great labour of the crusaders, . . . He involved the King of France in wars and undertakings so numerous and so great that he had to delay the proposed departure of his son and the other crusaders.”¹⁹ Philip’s decision was a result of his focusing his attention on a planned invasion of England, which had received papal sanction in the wake of John’s excommunication in 1209 and Innocent’s subsequent declaration that the throne of England was vacant by 1213. This provided an opportunity for Philip to cripple his most prominent adversary while allowing Louis engagement in his first major military campaign, with both results strengthening the political power of the Capetian dynasty and their presentation as pious Christian rulers.

Earlier in Vaux-de-Cernay’s *Hystoria Albigensis* the author states the French king was “very sad” to hear of his son’s decision to take the cross in 1213 and though Louis did not ultimately join the crusaders in Languedoc, preparations for the expedition were well underway before the redirection of the army to seize England in response to Innocent III’s declarations of support.²⁰ Vaux-de-Cernay may have implied that

Simon IV de Montfort, explaining perhaps both the author’s familiarity with the deliberations of the crusade leadership as well as his focus on de Montfort. Sibly and Sibly, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, xix & xxiii-xxv.

¹⁹ Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 193-94.

²⁰ Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 191; Guillaume le Breton, *Oeuvres*, 253; Sean McGlynn, *Blood Cries Afar: The Forgotten Invasion of England, 1216* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2013), 70.

Philip's mood stemmed from a more general lack of support for the crusade, but the opportunity to deal such a decisive blow to the Plantagenets and simultaneously secure the borders of the French kingdom in an expedition explicitly described as succour to the beleaguered churches of England proved too tempting a target to set aside simply for Louis to embark on a crusade.²¹ Innocent had also announced to the legate Arnould Amalric his intention to suspend the indulgences offered to knights who fought in the Languedoc region, as he had plans to launch a new crusade to Jerusalem which would ultimately become the focus of the Fourth Lateran Council.²² The vacillations in papal policy in its concerns over the return to Jerusalem also bear consideration in reappraising the attitude of Philip Augustus and the Capetians to the Albigensian Crusade; the distinction between supporting the crusade and supporting crusaders such as Simon de Montfort in the tangled web of secular territorial ambitions and ecclesiastical anti-heretical activity.

Philip's decision to halt Louis' crusading plans must be explored in the appropriate historical context which presents the decision both as a reaffirmation of the strength of the Capetian relationship with the papacy as well as the contemporary view of the expedition as a defence of ecclesiastical rights, another important aspect of the Capetians' claims to sacral kingship. Guillaume le Breton, in describing Philip's preparations for the 1213 invasion, is careful to present the invasion as motivated principally by "pity" for the clergy and churches that have suffered under John and Otto's misrule and his goal is clearly to sacralise the political ambitions of the French king, aided by Philip's

endorsement and participation in the sacral violence of crusading.²³ Ongoing Capetian patronage of crusading stabilized the relationship between the Capetian monarchy and the medieval papacy during Philip's reign; a relationship that relied upon a consensual understanding of the pre-eminence of place of the French kings as leaders of the crusade and the importance of papal legitimation of the sacral ideology of Capetian rulership.

Philip and his son would continue to express support for the crusading armies under Simon de Montfort until he died in 1218. In addition to formally receiving the homage of de Montfort as Count of Toulouse, following the latter's investment with the title at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the French king also ordered the dispatch of a contingent of French soldiers to participate in the ongoing crusade in 1217 and again in 1222.²⁴ This followed a previous foray Louis undertook in 1215, also with the open support of Philip and backed by the ideological and financial resources of the Capetian monarchy, though it too was cut short when Louis decided to renew his ambitions on the English crown. Louis' expedition, which included veteran crusaders such as the Count of St Pol and his son Guy de Chatillon, may have been brief but it nevertheless played an important role in aiding Simon de Montfort's capture of the city of Toulouse, a major development in the crusade which would have profound political and social implications in the region.²⁵

At long last Philip himself would promise to join the Albigensian Crusade in a letter written to the recently elected Honorius III in 1218 and allowed his son Louis to launch a crusading expedition the following year.²⁶

²¹ Guillaume le Breton, *La Philippide*, trans. Francois Guizot (New York: Paleo, 2004), 224; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique du Regne de Philippe*, 116; Catherine Hanley, *Louis: The French Prince Who Invaded England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 43-49.

²² Innocent would repeal the indulgences in January 1213, but in a letter to Peter II of Aragon sent in May 1213 he reversed his decision. Whether this was due to the pressure of secular lords who saw opportunities for easy conquest and financial gain or calls from southern clergy who feared losing momentum in their attempts to combat the heretics is unclear. Innocent III, "Cum jam captis," and "Is in cujus," in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 41-45.

²³ It is also possible that Philip simply sought to avoid the stigma of excommunication a second time. Guillaume le Breton, *La Philippide*, 216.

²⁴ The soldiers in 1217, sent for a "six months' period" fought with de Montfort at the siege of Crest. Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 255-56 & 269; William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 53-54; Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, 8, 123-24.

²⁵ Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 246-47; Anonymous and William of Tudela, *Song of the Cathar Wars*, 72; Hanley, *Louis*, 75; Georges Minois, *Blanche de Castille* (Paris: Perrin, 2018), 127.

²⁶ Georges Bordonove, *Les Rois qui ont fait la France: Philippe Auguste, Le Conquérant* (Paris: Pygmalion, Gérard Watelet, 1983), 270-71; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 560-61; Naus, *Constructing*

What is interesting here is that Philip, freed from the threat of Plantagenet invasion due to his victory over John's armies at Bouvines and once more in the good graces of the papacy due to that victory also stymying the ambitions of Otto of Brunswick, was immediately willing to invest financial and material resources in the Albigensian Crusade as well as sending his heir with soldiers to aid the crusaders' cause. Guillaume le Breton's *La Philippide* laments the death of Simon de Montfort as a great tragedy for the cause of "true Catholics" and praises the efforts of de Montfort's son Amaury in his continued fight against the heretics. Le Breton states that Philip was so moved by the plight of the faithful in Languedoc and by his worries for the defeat of the crusading armies, that he sent sixty knights and ten thousand men-at-arms funded from the royal treasury to aid Amaury in Languedoc; le Breton concludes, likely with some exaggeration, that it was due to this pious support that the cause of the church was able to prevail.²⁷ This army, sent out in 1222 the year before the French king's death, did not prove to be of particular significance in the ongoing crusade but it nonetheless marked yet another instance of Philip's willingness to support the Crusade with royal monies and royal soldiers.

While Vaux-de-Cernay suggests that Philip "had given neither counsel nor support as he should" during the tumultuous progress and setbacks experienced during the campaign in Languedoc, it is clear that Philip maintained a patronal relationship over the crusader leadership, and continued to express support for the crusade throughout its early years.²⁸ Louis' presence in 1215, the knights sent by Philip in 1217, and Louis' second expedition of 1219 should not be seen as a reversal of Capetian policy, but rather an intensification of pre-existing commitment to the success of the crusade under the aegis of Capetian support. The pope's 1218 letter urges Philip's

participation in the crusade while acknowledging his continued support for the fight against heresy. Honorius states that "we return thanks for acts of kindness, that, before our letters – by which we were eager to arouse Your Magnificence to restrain the evil of the treacherous people of Toulouse . . . were presented to you, you, inspired by the divine spirit, have taken up that proposal, just as your letter delivered to us have pointed out."²⁹ The pope lauds Philip for his willingness to support the crusade and to ensure the participation of Louis and a sizable army of French knights on the expedition and reciprocates this gesture with a redirection of the tithes collected for the crusade to the treasury of the French monarchy.

It is unlikely that Philip, who by 1218 had reigned for nearly forty years and was nearly fifty years old, genuinely sought to return to the field of battle against the heretics of Languedoc. However, his willingness to register his interest in participating in the crusades and patronize the broader crusading movement again demonstrates how crucial Philip's actions and reign were to the incorporation of an enduring image of royal crusading into the ideology of sacral Capetian kingship.³⁰ Moreover, while Vaux-de-Cernay's chronicle is often lukewarm and at times openly critical of Philip's commitment to extirpating heresy and to the crusading movement more generally, the *Historia Albigensis* ends quite abruptly in 1218 following the death of Simon de Montfort during the siege of the city of Toulouse in the same year.³¹ Indeed, one of the last events of note in the *Historia Albigensis* is Louis' decision to join the crusade once more, with Vaux-de-Cernay noting "Louis, the illustrious eldest son of the King of France, took the cross, for the glory of God and the suppression of heresy in the Toulouse area, with the

Kingship, 133-34; William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 28-29 n.118; Honorius III, "Epistolarum Honorii Papae III Liber III," in Vol. 19 of *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet and Leopold Delisle (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1868), 669, 680, & 684.

²⁷ "Notre auguste roi prenant compassion de la foi qui dépérissait dans ces contrées sentant ses entrailles s'émouvoir toujours de pitié en faveur des affligés et voulant porter un remède à de si grande dangers, envoya aux frais de son fisc." Guillaume le Breton, *La Philippide*, 305-306; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 330-31.

²⁸ Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 247.

²⁹ Honorius III, "Deo in cujus," in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 52.

³⁰ H. -F. Delaborde, trans., *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, Roi de France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916), vol. IV, no. 1538; Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, 81.

³¹ It is likely because the author also died during this time. Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 275-77.

willing assent of his father. Inspired by his example many powerful French nobles also took the cross.”³²

Louis’ arrival in force in the year 1219 would mark a major development in the crusade, fully abetted by Philip II, and lay the groundwork for Louis’ royal involvement in the Albigensian Crusade in 1225-26. While Louis VIII emerged as a man of action and a committed crusader in many contemporary chronicles and later scholarship, he also proved willing to lay aside his crusading vows when a more tangible political ambition came within reach.³³ Louis’ crusading ambitions can be seen as a natural expansion, rather than a reversal, of the crusading policies of his father. In much of his correspondence with Honorius III, Philip’s memory is invoked as a worthy example of crusading kingship for Louis to emulate by joining the Albigensian Crusade. In a letter addressed to Louis after his accession in 1223 again urging him to take the cross, Honorius stated that Louis “in those initial days following your coronation you imitated your predecessors no less in Christian devotion than in your lineage . . . You have despatched ten thousand marks of silver from the alms of Philip, your father of famous memory to aid that business.”³⁴ Philip, despite his frequent absence from major crusading expeditions, was regarded even after his death as a strong supporter of the crusading movement by the papacy. Moreover, Honorius’ admonitions indicate the extent to which crusading had become a fundamental part of the public presentation of Capetian authority and its claims to legitimate sacral kingship.

³² Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 278-29; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique du Regne de Philippe*, 141-42.

³³ Louis would twice cut short his expeditions to join the Albigensian Crusade, first in 1213 and again in 1216, on account of his efforts to claim the English throne through his wife, Blanche of Castile. Pierre Cochon, *Chronique Normande de Pierre Cochon*, ed. Ch. De Robillard de Beaurepaire (Rouen: Chez A le Brument, 1870), 26-28; Guillaume le Breton, *La Philippide*, 304-305; Hanley, *Louis*, 1-11; McGlynn, *Blood Cries Afar*, 162.

³⁴ The pope also identifies Louis by the title “most Christian king.” Honorius would instrumentalize the same evocation of ancestral memory to attempt to motivate Frederick II to lead the Fifth Crusade. Philip had left a sizable amount of money for the funding of a new crusade in his last will, which was used by Louis to fund his expedition of 1225. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, 108-109; Honorius III, “Dignas Deo laudes,” in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca

Philip Augustus’ role in the crusading movement and the extent to which his involvement fundamentally influenced the association between crusading and Capetian monarchy can also be studied by exploring the actions of Ingeborg of Denmark. The unfortunate second wife to Philip left little direct evidence as queen of France that did not directly tie to the question of her marriage.³⁵ Though Ingeborg was nominally restored to her royal position in 1201 following the death of Philip’s second wife Agnes de Méran, it was not until 1213 that a more equitable resolution was achieved between Ingeborg and Philip, allowing the French queen greater control over her private finances and a more substantial household, though one that remained separate from the king’s residence in Paris.³⁶ Nonetheless, in an exchange of letters with Philip in 1218 and later royal documents Ingeborg expressed support for the crusading movement in a way that highlighted the extent to which her position as a Capetian queen could be defined within the panoply of French royal responsibilities. Ingeborg, who never ceased to refer to herself as queen of France in her correspondence for the restoration of her status and preservation of her marriage, referenced the ongoing Albigensian Crusade in a way that indicates the extent to which Ingeborg saw support for crusading as a facet of her duties, which in her view she had never abandoned, as a legitimate Capetian queen.

In a testament dated to 1218, Ingeborg asserted her wishes for the disbursement of a sum of approximately “10,000 livres, que lui a donne le roi Philippe Auguste

Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 60-61; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 331.

³⁵ Constance M Rousseau, “Neither Bewitched nor Beguiled: Philip Augustus’ Alleged Impotence and Innocent III’s Response,” *Speculum* 89 (2014): 410; George Conklin, “Ingeborg of Denmark, Queen of France, 1193-1223,” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 39-41; John W. Baldwin, *Paris, 1200* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 73-76.

³⁶ McGlynn suggests that Philip’s preparations for an invasion of England in 1213 made it more crucial for Philip to secure both papal reconciliation and Danish support. John Baldwin, however, argues that it was not until well after the Battle of Bouvines that Philip felt truly comfortable allowing Ingeborg more control over her finances and dower lands. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique du regne de Philippe*, 116; Conklin, “Ingeborg of Denmark,” 51; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 183-85; Baldwin, *Paris*, 75; McGlynn, *Blood Cries Afar*, 69-70.

son mari: elle fonda une Abbaye de l'ordre de St-Victor . . . pour la construction des bâtiments, pour le subside de la terre sainte . . . pour la guerre des Albigeois.”³⁷ The testament appears to have been compiled in response to a letter from Philip to Ingeborg written in September 1218, where the French king Philip assured her that he would honour her wishes in using the sum of 10,000 livres for almsgiving and the foundation of an abbey where masses would be sung for her soul upon the queen's death.³⁸ Ingeborg's position as Queen of France had been secured but remained tenuous; her testament suggests that Ingeborg's support for crusading provided an alternative method for her to define her position as queen. At the same time that Philip's reign strengthened the association between his dynasty and crusading as a means of legitimizing an ideology of sacral Capetian kingship, Ingeborg's testament reveals a space whereby Capetian queenship was also defined through its link with the wider crusading movement and indicates a clear recognition of the important role both kings and queens played in the continued association of crusading with the French monarchy.³⁹

The mention of “la guerre des Albigeois” alongside the defence of Outremer speaks to the increasing investment by the Capetian dynasty in the conflict in Languedoc. If Ingeborg was isolated from the body of the king, she was not wholly disconnected from knowledge of royal affairs. At the time Ingeborg penned her testament, preparations were likely beginning for Prince Louis' second expedition which would represent one of the most significant investments of men and material on the part of the Capetian monarchy until that point and lead to the successful siege of Toulouse.⁴⁰ What can be extrapolated from this correspondence is the extent to which Ingeborg saw crusading as a legitimate expression of her status as a Capetian queen, accelerated by Philip's reign as a transitional point in the increasing royal investment in

the crusading movement that included Capetian support for the Albigensian Crusade. Furthermore, the wider cultural and political atmosphere that defined and impacted Philip's reign in its latter decades was indelibly shaped by an awareness of the royal interest and association with crusading.

As Philip's reign saw the increasing arrogation of a royal prerogative and association with crusading as a component of sacral Capetian rule, support for the crusading movement provided a way for Ingeborg to define herself firmly as a member of that dynasty despite the controversy over her marriage and the at times specious attempts of the French clergy to find plausible explanations to justify an annulment.⁴¹ Ingeborg chose to be associated with a crusading institution in death and facilitated the continued association of Philip's memory with that same organization. It highlights how Ingeborg, as a representative of the Capetian dynasty, defined her position through the patronage of crusading imagery and institutions, and how the complex relationship between the Capetian monarchy and crusading facilitated the public presentation and exercise of royal authority.

In studying the ways Philip contributed to crusading in the early thirteenth century, it is clear how he developed a more robust imagery of sacral Capetian monarchy through the elevation of his status as a crusader-king. Rejecting earlier historiographical trends that overly emphasized Philip's early return from the Third Crusade as an end to his participation in the crusading movement, I argue that Philip's continued involvement in the selection of crusading leaders including the explicit recognition of royal sanction in their departure contributed to the arrogation of royal prerogative over the institution of crusading. His sustained financial, patronal, and military support for the Albigensian Crusade is evident through closer analysis of contemporary narrative chronicles and

³⁷ Leopold Delisle, trans. *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste, avec une introduction sur les sources, les caracteres et l'importance historiques de ces documents* (Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1968), 408, 520.

³⁸ Delisle, *Catalogue des Actes*, 407; Conklin, “Ingeborg of Denmark,” 50.

³⁹ Ingeborg's support for the Hospitaller Order was well noted by contemporaries. Her foundation of a Hospitaller church in Corbeil, located in her dower lands near Orleans, would serve as the

headquarters of the Order in France for decades. Conklin, “Ingeborg of Denmark,” 52.

⁴⁰ Honorius' initial request was sent to Philip in August of 1218 and Louis did not set out until almost a year later in May 1219. Anonymous, *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, 187; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 292; Burl, *God's Heretics*, 158-59.

⁴¹ Conklin, “Ingeborg of Denmark,” 44-45; Rousseau, “Neither Bewitched nor Beguiled,” 411-12.

substantiated in evidence from royal charters.⁴² Philip's reign was not one indifferent to crusading and must be evaluated as a period whereby crusading became indelibly associated with the presentation of Capetian monarchy.

Philip's leadership on the Third Crusade ensured the continuation of a tradition of royal French participation in crusading while providing an opportunity for the expansion and reorientation of Capetian royal ideology as the arbiter of French crusading activity. His early return did not prevent his active role in the architecture and mechanism of crusading, and often used it to the benefit of Capetian monarchical interests, demonstrating the interconnectivity of the wider apparatus of crusading with both the function and practice of medieval monarchy in the thirteenth century. Like his father, Philip led a major crusading expedition and could claim military success at the siege of Acre that stabilized the kingdom of Jerusalem for several decades. His son Louis VIII would continue to build on this tradition of royal crusading and pave the way for the full hybridization of Capetian governance with the sacral aspects of crusading.⁴³ Louis built on Philip's crusading reputation by subordinating the crusade to the aegis of Capetian royal power, a policy that would also be continued by Blanche as regent. Philip's engagement with the Albigensian Crusade reflected a complex intersection of factors that underscored a persistent support for the general fight against heresy as well as a clear indication in the mind of contemporary observers that the Capetian monarchs remained integral to any crusading expedition. William of Puylaurens' *Chronicle* would later present the French kings as the "protagonists" of his narrative, and other accounts of Louis' expedition as king in 1226 describe the army first as a royal and secondly as a crusading host, a view which builds upon wider attitudes towards the Capetians as the natural leaders of the crusading movement.⁴⁴ Philip's involvement in the Albigensian Crusade, and with other crusading expeditions, reflected a key transition in which

crusading became a duty incumbent upon the French kings and a publicly acknowledged royal prerogative.

In the final decades of his reign, Philip Augustus had become a crusader of a different kind, one whose long period of rule occurred during a transitional period both in the crusading movement more generally and in the importance of crusading to the reputation and sacral image of the Capetian kings. If the early thirteenth century represented the heyday of crusading it was one over which the shadow of Philip Augustus loomed large; not merely by his absence, but by the continued engagement of the French king with the crusading ideal and transformation into a formal apparatus and display of Christian piety and prestige. While Philip never took charge of the Albigensian Crusade, he ensured that the leadership and principal membership of the crusading armies were noble families firmly rooted in the pro-Capetian political and social spheres; moreover, he ensured persistent, if muted, financial and material support for the crusade in a manner that reinforced both the articulation of crusading as a royal prerogative and in a manner which defined the scope of monarchical power within the royal domain. The latter part of Philip's reign saw the integration of crusading rhetoric, symbolism, and public ceremony into an ideology of sacral Capetian kingship which, by presenting the French kings as one of the preeminent allies of the papacy in Europe, legitimized their claims to sacral kingship as the staunch defenders of Outremer.

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⁴² Sibly and Sibly. Appendix G to *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 320; Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, 293.

⁴³ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 135; John D. Hosler, *The Siege of Acre, 1189-1191: Saladin, Richard the Lionheart, and the Battle that Decided the Third Crusade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 108-12.

⁴⁴ Puylaurens was particularly supportive of Louis VIII's immediate investment in the Albigensian Crusade and greatly mourned his death at the siege of Avignon in 1226. William of Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens*, 74.

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SUCKLING AND STEREOTYPES: THE ENSLAVED THRACIAN WET NURSE

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Introduction

The birth of a newborn baby changes the dynamics of any household, but what if that baby comes with company? In various cultures the nursing responsibilities of a mother may be supplemented by a wet nurse, which has the potential to greatly impact the delicate ecosystem of a home. The ancient Athenian household, or *oikos*, was an important institution within the city state, or *polis*, in the Classical period (ca. 480-323 BCE), serving as a microcosm of this *polis*, and organized according to notions of Athenian hierarchy

and autochthony. Due to population concerns of the Classical Period ascribable to factors such as the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE) and Plague of Athens (430 -426 BCE), as well as the relatively high infant mortality rate, the overall health of the children produced within the *oikos* troubled the Athenians. The nutritional intake of a newborn, which a mother's breast milk provides is crucial in the proper and healthy development of the infant. In some cases, a mother may have wanted to supplement her milk or forgo breastfeeding altogether.¹ Alternative feedings methods like infant formula were not invented until the mid-19th

¹ The need for a wetnurse could be facilitated by multiple factors. In antiquity they likely included a lack of milk from the mother, the weakened state of the mother, the death of the mother, the

discomfort of breastfeeding, or the cosmetic consideration that come with nursing. See Kosmopoulou, Angeliki. “Working

century CE, and the use of animal's milk posed a serious threat to the health of the child prior to the widespread use of sterilization and the pasteurization of milk.² Wet nursing served as the safest alternative to a mother's breast milk for the children of antiquity and beyond, until very recently.³

From the Classical period forward, Athenian families, especially, but not limited to affluent households began using wet nurses⁴ Often wet nurses were enslaved women. In particular, the Greeks knew those from Thrace to be superior nurses, and they considered Thracians to be nurturing, faithful, reliable and loyal.⁵ Archaeological evidence, such as grave stele dedicated to nurses, suggests that these women held prominent positions in their enslaver's family structure.⁶ The dedication of expensive and highly visible monumental architecture communicates a level of care and adoration towards the family towards their enslaved nurse. However, this directly contradicts animalistic and wild caricature of Thracian women pushed by Athenians outside of the context of nursing. When examining the Athenian perception of enslaved people within the *oikos*, the ethnicity of the enslaved serves as an important piece to the puzzle, and yet this aspect of their identity is largely unexplored. This calls to question the Thracian nurse's place within the home, and if her foreign status had a significant an impact on her experiences and treatment.

Recent scholarly work in the enslavement of women in Greek antiquity does not expand fully on cultural considerations. An intersectional approach, looking at issues of gender in conjunction with ethnic identity, allows for a more holistic view of the experience of slavery for the Thracian wet nurses. Giulia Pedrucci attempts to uncover the world of the wet nurse both in Greek and Roman antiquity but there is an obvious Roman skew due to the sources available to her.⁷ Much information of wet nursing in Greek and Roman

antiquity comes from Hellenistic and Roman textual sources. As a result, wet nursing is often discussed in terms of contracts in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, as well as other literary sources from the Roman world, such as medical writings on breastfeeding. Additionally, the majority of her scholarship is in Italian, such as her book *Maternity and breastfeeding in the Greek and Roman world. A journey between the science of religions and studies on motherhood*. This means this information is largely inaccessible to an English-speaking readership. In Pedrucci's English article, "Mothers for Sale: The case of the Wet Nurse in the Ancient Greek and Roman World. An overview" she explores enslaved wet nurses but doesn't focus on the status of these women in particular, in favour of, again, a wide sweeping view of breastfeeding in Greek and Roman antiquity.⁸

Sara Forsdyke explores enslaved people and slavery in Ancient Greece, but she does not fully address factors like ethnicity.⁹ While she discusses the status of slaves, briefly including their ethnic identity, she does not examine their experiences intersectionally across lines of gender, and how the perceptions of foreign origins may have informed one's experience of slavery directly. Forsdyke evaluates wet nursing in the context of enslavement, however as her book provides a sweeping overview of slavery she does not go into great detail on this situation. Kelly Wrenhaven, on the other hand, does investigate the enslaved experience of nursing through the lens of iconographic representations of these women. However, she does not fully explore what kind of impact foreign identity and ethnicity and may have had on this experience.¹⁰ In particular, she considers the notion of the "good slave", analyzing the way nurses were celebrated on a number of funerary stelae from Athens, exploring very briefly the aspect of Thracian ethnic identity, as the identification of ethnicity is difficult in this medium.

Women?: Female Professionals on Classical Attic Gravestones." *Annual of the British School at Athens* 96, (2001): 286.

² Giulia Pedrucci, "Mothers for Sale: The case of the Wet Nurse in the Ancient Greek and Roman World. An overview," *Arenal* 27, no. 1 (2020): 128.

³ Virginia Thorley, "A Mother, Yet Not 'Mother': The Occupation of Wet-Nursing," *Journal of Family Studies* 21, no. 3 (2015): 305.

⁴ Kosmopoulou, "'Working Women,'" 285.

⁵ Despoina Tsiafakis, "The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens," in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and*

the Construction of the Other in Greek Art, ed. B. Cohen, (Boston: Brill, 2000), 373.

⁶ Kosmopoulou, "'Working Women,'" 285.

⁷ Pedrucci, "Mothers for Sale."

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Sara Forsdyke, *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greece*, (Cambridge University Press, 2021).

¹⁰ Kelly Wrenhaven, *Reconstructing the Slave: The Image of the Slave in Ancient Greece*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012).

Previous scholarship addresses issues of wet nursing in antiquity and the status of enslaved women performing these duties, however there is a lack of consideration in the perceived differences between the enslaved and enslaver due to their differing ethnic origins. In particular, regarding the Thracian nurse scholars tend to mention the Athenian preference for these caregivers, but do not question why. In taking this preference at face value we are skipping a chapter of this story. Issues of origin are especially relevant in the context of Athens, well known for their heightened concerns with ethnicity and autochthony. Therefore, I argue that the ethnicity of the Thracian wet nurse would have informed her place within the home and her experience of slavery. Furthermore, I would like to stress that this position as a seemingly loved member of the family was not one to be desired. I will explore the animality of Thracians as perceived by the Athenians, examining how this stereotype may have facilitated a unique experience of enslavement for Thracian women. Applying the concept of “critical fabulation”, an analysis method in the study of more modern slavery, I shall explore an analogous situation that may seem oddly far from the Classical world, both temporally and geographically.¹¹ I will investigate the treatment of Black wet nurses of American Slavery looking at the cultural aspects that are emphasized, the realities of these women’s lives, and how this may reflect experience of Thracian wet nurses. In the application of modern first and second person accounts regarding enslaved wet nursing, I attempt to fill in the gaps between the unrecorded past and the present archive.

¹¹ For more on critical fabulation see Saidiya Hartman. “Venus in Two Acts” *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 12, no.2 (2008).

¹² The *Palatine Anthology* (7.10.1-3), a later Greek source, suggests that tattoos were considered a punishment for murdering Orpheus. For more information about Thracian Tattooing practices and the depiction of Thracian Tattoos on Attic vase painting see Despoina Tsiafakis, “Thracian Tattoos,” in *Bodies in Transition: Dissolving the Boundaries of Embodied Knowledge*, eds. Dietrich Boschung, Alan Shapiro, Frank Waschek, 89-118, (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015). For more information on the depiction of the Murder of Orpheus on Attic vase painting see Despoina Tsiafakis, *Thrace in Attic Iconography of the 5th Century BC: Studies on the Relations between Athens and Thrace*, (Komotene: Centre for Thracian Studies, 1998).

¹³ Paus.9.30.5: “τὰς δὲ γυναικὰς φασὶ τῶν Θρακῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν μὲν αὐτῷ θάνατον, ὅτι σφῶν τοὺς ἀνδράς ἀκολουθεῖν ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ

The Nature of the Thracian Woman

The perception of the Thracian nurse and the average Thracian woman seems to be at odds. As already mentioned, the Athenians saw the Thracian nurse as nurturing, faithful, reliable and loyal. On the other hand, they saw Thracian women generally as aggressive, combative, barbaric, and overall rude. Often the depictions of Thracian women who are not nurses emphasize their wild nature running with weapons, tattoos on full display, and with their long unkempt hair flowing in the wind. These depictions usually reference or portray the murder of Orpheus.¹² The scene shows the moment in the myth in which the Thracian women decapitate and dismember Orpheus for luring the Thracian men away with music.¹³

Thracians provided Athenians with a model of uncitizen-like, barbaric behavior from which to distance themselves.¹⁴ This characterization of Thracian women raises multiple questions. Is the act of breastfeeding what imbues the positive qualities of the nurse? Would these negative qualities still be considered to be present in wet nurses? Would parents feel uncomfortable entrusting the care of their children with these social others? I believe that these negative qualities are why Athenians considered these women to be ideal wet nurses.

Textual sources single out both Spartans and Thracians as preferable foreign nurses.¹⁵ These cultures were well known in this period for their prowess in war, finding praise for their combative nature from the Athenians. Could this more “savage” quality of these peoples have facilitated good nursing?

πλανωμένῳ, φόβῳ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ τολμᾶν: ὡς δὲ ἐνεφορήσαντο οἴνου, ἐξεργάζονται τὸ τόλμημα, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπὸ τούτου κατέστη μεθυσκομένους ἐς τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασὶ κεραυνωθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευταίην Ὀρφεῖ: κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκειν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐ πρότερον ἀκηκόετας ἀνθρώπους.” (“But they say that the women of the Thracians plotted his death, because he had persuaded their husbands to accompany him in his wanderings, but dared not carry out their intention through fear of their husbands. Flushed with wine, however, they dared the deed, and hereafter the custom of their men has been to march to battle drunk. Some say that Orpheus came to his end by being struck by a thunderbolt, hurled at him by the god because he revealed sayings in the mysteries to men who had not heard them before.” Trans. W.H.S. Jones, Litt.D., and H.A. Ormerod).

¹⁴ Tsiafakis “The Allure and Repulsion,” 388.

¹⁵ Kosmopoulou, “Working Women,” 287.

Interestingly, Imperial romans considered the act of breastfeeding as animalistic, harkening back to both Greek and Roman myths which outline characters suckling wild animals.¹⁶ One example is the famous foundational myth of Rome, in which Romulus and Remus are nursed by a she-wolf after being abandoned on the shores of the river Tiber. Another instance of a mythical figure nourished by an is a version of the myth of Zeus' infancy. He is suckled by the goddess Amalthea in the form of a goat.¹⁷ Zeus then, in his maturity, casts out his father Kronos, taking his place as the primary deity of Greek pantheon. There are also instances in which a character that is close to animals or associated with nature will be chosen to suckle an infant, such as a swineherd, shepherd, or nymph.¹⁸ In general these myths follow a similar narrative with common elements. They usually follow the story of a "god-king" or "god-founder", who is saved from exposure, and becomes powerful in adulthood, smiting his enemies and restoring social order.¹⁹ Pedrucci notes that all of the nurses occupy a liminal space between civilized and uncivilized.²⁰ In general, these myths follow a similar narrative with common elements. They usually follow the story of a "god-king" or "god-founder", who is saved from exposure, and becomes powerful in adulthood, smiting his enemies and restoring social order.

If the Imperial Roman notion of the animalistic nature of breastfeeding was held by Ancient Athenians as well, as it seemingly was as demonstrated by myth, it may have been most appropriate for people who are

considered wild and animalistic to do this duty. The marginality of these mythic figures is also a trait of Thracian women as perceived by Athenians. These women are akin to animals, capable of great savagery like the murder of Orpheus. It was likely believed or assumed that there would have been a transference of the wild animalistic power and strength associated with Thracian women to the babies whom they breastfed, as breast milk was thought to imbue morals, values, personality traits, as well as physical attributes.²¹

The nurse would have facilitated the physical rearing of the children, while their mothers were thought to oversee their mental rearing, resulting in a greater attachment to the nurse.²² In many instances the nurse and the enslaver's child would form such a strong bond that the nurse would stay with the child into adulthood as a servile companion.²³ Demosthenes recounts a story of an enslaved nurse who was freed due to her devout and faithful service to her family, and who felt enough of a bond with her former enslavers that she returned to them after becoming a widow.²⁴ This level of a bond had the potential to drive a wedge between the nurse and her child, if it was living, while forcing her to mother another woman's child. The account from Demosthenes suggests it was virtuous for these women to be dutiful to their enslavers, and even favour this family over their own. In Attic vase painting, Thracian nurses are often depicted as old women mourning the death of the child that they helped to rear.²⁵ Their old age is used to amplify the tragedy of the scene. An elderly woman cradles the head of the

¹⁶ Pedrucci, "Mothers for Sale," 131.

¹⁷ Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*. *Lycophron. Aratus*, Loeb Classical Library Volume 129, trans. Mair, (A. W. & G. R. London: William Heinemann, 1921), 1.48–49.

¹⁸ In some cases, women of lower social status are nurses as well, such as washerwomen and prostitutes. See Giulia Pedrucci, "Breastfeeding Animals and Other Wild 'Nurses' in Greek and Roman Mythology," *Gerion* 34 (2016): 312.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 313.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 314.

²¹ This same notion is held during the time of the transatlantic slave trade discussed below. For discussion of this notion see Pedrucci "Mother's For Sale," 130. For choosing a nurse based upon her good character and proper use of language see Quintilian, *Instituto Oratoria*, trans. Harold Edgeworth Butler. (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd. 1920), 1.1.4. For ancient opinions the transference of qualities through breastmilk see Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights*, trans. John C. Rolfe. (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, Ltd. 1927), 12.1.1.

²² Pedrucci "Mother's For Sale," 137.

²³ Kosmopoulou, "Working Women," 287.

²⁴ Dem.47.55: "πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἔτυχεν ἡ γυνή μου μετὰ τῶν παιδίων ἀριστῶσα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τιθῆ τις ἐμῇ γενομένη πρεσβυτέρα, ἄνθρωπος εὖνους καὶ πιστῆ καὶ ἀφειμένη ἐλευθέρᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ. συνώκησεν δὲ ἀνδρὶ, ἐπειδὴ ἀφείθη ἐλευθέρᾳ: ὡς δὲ οὗτος ἀπέθανεν καὶ αὐτὴ γραῦς ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτὴν ὁ θρέψων, ἐπανήκεν ὡς ἐμέ." ("More than this, men of the jury, my wife happened to be lunching with the children in the court and with her was an elderly woman who had been my nurse, a devoted soul and a faithful, who had been set free by my father. After she had been given her freedom she lived with her husband, but after his death, when she herself was an old woman and there was nobody to care for her, she came back to me." Trans. A. T. Murray, Ph.D.)

²⁵ John Oakley. "Some 'Other' Members of the Athenian Household: Maids and their Mistresses in Fifth-century Athenian Art." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. B. Cohen, (Boston: Brill, 2000), 242.

child she used to cradle as a baby; her age is emphasized by her jowls, and sunken cheeks. Such scenes depict these women to be lifelong and loyal members of the household, showing great care and affection towards the children they reared.²⁶ These depictions are not a reality. Such images reflect the way Athenians desired their slaves to conduct themselves: faithfully, with the utmost care and respect for the family they served.

As a result, one's Thracian identity and the qualities that are implied with that heritage, increased the chances that she would experience the unique traumas of wet nursing while enslaved. An important consideration is the circumstances which would actually enable these women to breastfeed. They would have to have given birth in order to stimulate lactation. Aristotle notes that the permission to conceive children was a privilege for enslaved people in good standing with their master.²⁷ While these children may have been a product of a consensual union, it is naïve to ignore another way in which these children may have been conceived. Sexual assault was likely a real and common experience for enslaved women within the home. As Xenophon outlines in his *Economics*, female slaves should be locked away at night in order to lessen the chances of this occurrence.²⁸ As Thracian women were desired as nurses, the chances of a forced pregnancy to induce lactation were more likely. The suffering and trauma are obvious in this case, but her position as a wet nurse would facilitate ongoing suffering. Such circumstances could cause feelings of resentment towards her own child and the child she was breastfeeding, as both would serve as a constant

reminder of the sexual abuse she suffered, extending and reviving her trauma. While these are not sufferings that are ethnically relevant or particular, they were more likely to happen to a woman of Thracian origin due to the Athenian preference for these women as nurses.

The American and Thracian Nurse

Now let us turn to an analogy that stretches beyond the Mediterranean. American slavery offers a different lens to view the enslavement of Thracian women. The commonality between the “Mammy” figure of American slavery and the depiction of wetnurses in antiquity has been explored.²⁹ However, there are parallels in the ethnic stereotypes expressed in Mammy and the Thracian figure in Athens that have not yet been expanded on. By 1820 CE, the term “mammy” came to be almost exclusively associated with Black women who served as wet nurses.³⁰ Analogous to the stereotype of the Thracian nurse, Mammy and Black wet nurses in general were seen to be loyal, faithful, obedient, hard workers.³¹ In the context of art, Mammy is depicted as preferring white children over her own, making her the perfect nurse for slaver's infants. To an extent this mirrors the bond Thracian nurses were expected to have in antiquity with the children that they nursed, favouring the family of their enslavers, with their own children ideally being an afterthought. Like the nurse of Ancient Athens, Mammy would be present and integral for the majority of firsts of her slaver's children, teaching them to walk and talk, bonding with them physically and emotionally.

²⁶ Tsiafakis “Thracian Tattoos,” 102.

²⁷ Aristot.*Econ.* 1.1344b: “[...]χρή δὲ καὶ τέλος ὀρίσθαι πᾶσιν: δίκαιον γὰρ καὶ συμφέρον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κείσθαι ἄθλον: βούλονται γὰρ πονεῖν, ὅταν ἢ ἄθλον καὶ ὁ χρόνος ὀρισμένος. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐξομηρεῦν ταῖς τεκνοποιίαις:[...]” (Every slave should have before his eyes a definite goal or term of his labor. To set the prize of freedom before him is both just and expedient; since having a prize to work for, and a time defined for its attainment, he will put his heart into his labors. We should, moreover, take hostages <for our slaves' fidelity> by allowing them to beget children; Trans. G.C. Armstrong.)

²⁸ Xen.*Ec.*9.5.: “ἔδειξα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν αὐτῆ, θύρα βλανωτῆ ὀρισμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος, ἵνα μήτε ἐκφέρηται ἔνδοθεν ὁ τι μὴ δεῖ μήτε τεκνοποιῶνται οἱ οἰκέται ἄνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρηστοὶ παιδοποιησάμενοι εὐνοῦστεροι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ συζυγέστες εὐπορώτεροι πρὸς τὸ κακουργεῖν γίγνονται.” (“I showed her the women's

quarters too, separated by a bolted door from the men's, so that nothing which ought not to be moved may be taken out, and that the servants may not breed without our leave. For honest servants generally prove more loyal if they have a family; but rogues, if they live in wedlock, become all the more prone to mischief.” Trans. E.C. Marchant)

²⁹ Wrenhaven explores the depiction of the wet nurse, specifically in Boeotian terracotta figurines, and the depiction of the Mammy figure of American slavery. These figurines show a similar physical nature to depictions of Mammy: a generally large body, with wide hips and large breasts, contrasted with more masculine muscular arms, and a more masculine features of the face. They are both matronly, and generally ugly by the popular standards of each period. See Wrenhaven *Reconstructing the Slave*, 125.

³⁰ Weir, Rebecca. “Mammy?” *Women* 21, no. 1 (2010): 115.

³¹ Wrenhaven, *Reconstructing the Slave*, 122.

Not only is Mammy's character reflected in the Thracian nurse, but analogies to iconographic stereotyping are as well. This Black enslaved nurse was reduced to a set of stereotypic features that served to identify her visually. These included the colour of her skin, the shape and redness of her lips, and her turban.³² This visual othering is apparent in Attic vase painting in the case of the Thracian nurse, characterized by her tattoos, plain clothes, large nose, and cropped red hair. Each of these women's ethnic origins are made obvious by their bodily appearances, but also through culturally relevant forms of body adornment. For Mammy this comes in the form of her turban and for the Thracian nurse her tattoos.³³ Both of these aspects of iconography make their respective figures instantly recognizable to the viewer, based upon their ethnic identity. As well, these enslaved women are characterized by an exaggeration of their features, especially those which mark them as matronly. These typically include a larger body, jowls, and a slightly rounded or hunched posture. This would emphasize their long-term work for their enslavers, as well as their long-term loyalty to them.

While Mammy was an idealization of Black nurses, they were not treated ideally. The women Mammy encompassed and portrayed would have faced violence stemming from this stereotype. There are first and second hand accounts of trauma associated with breast feeding and wet nursing: the sexual assault of women stimulating lactation which was then taken advantage of by the family that considered them property³⁴, the severance of women from their children, and the nursing of a salver's child to the detriment of their own child's health.³⁵ Wet nursing interfered with enslaved women's own breast feeding, as their children has to be

weaned early prior to the children reaching a year old, while white children would continue to be fed until around the age of two.³⁶ There are accounts of white and Black children being suckled at the same time, and the malnourished enslaved child kicking at the slaver's baby, not knowing its status within the home, only knowing its need for nourishment.³⁷ Advertisements from the time would even tout the passing of nurse's child as an attribute, along adjectives like healthy and young.³⁸ The mental anguish Black women experienced due to their suffering was colloquially known as the "sulks" minimizing their trauma and grief.³⁹

These traumas were likely a reality for Thracian wet nurses in antiquity as well, with themes of sexual assault relating to ancient sources such as Xenophon discussed above.⁴⁰ The manumission of nurses in America is also reminiscent of ancient accounts. An enslaved woman by the name of Delia was freed in part because she had nursed her slaver's child faithfully and attentively.⁴¹ The loyal nature of the enslaved wet nurse was emphasized and rewarded. This case has a striking similarity to the account from Demosthenes, in which faithful work is reason for manumission.⁴² It seems that both in the United States and Athens, the exemplary service of a wet nurse was means in which they could escape slavery. This incentive may have allowed these women to suffer to a greater extent more willingly in the hope of gaining their freedom.

In the United States, as with ancient Athens, free women also worked as wet nurses. However, when in search for a wet nurse, people preferred black women to nurse their children, comparable to Athenians seeking out Thracian for their nursing abilities.⁴³ African mother's breasts were even compared to the teats of an animal, as proof that they were better suited to suckle children.⁴⁴ The term "dugges" was used by

³² Ibid, 127.

³³ In both cases the body modifications of the newly enslaved were signs of foreign ethnicity and savagery to their enslaver's, but to those with these bodily adornments that silently communicated aspects of their identity to their community, such as status. These body modifications were in the scarification in many African communities. It has been hypothesized that the preference for scarification over ink tattoos is due to the lack of visibility of inks on darker skin tones. The use of the word "tattoo" is employed for both scarification and ink tattoos in historical descriptions of slaves' appearances. In some cases, tattoos and ornamental scars may be differentiated on individuals with both. See Katrina Keefer "Scarification and Identity in the Liberated Africans Department Register, 1814-1815." *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 47, no.3 (2013), 539-541, 543.

³⁴ Jones-Rodgers, *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 106-7.

³⁵ Ibid, 118.

³⁶ West, Emily, and R. J. Knight. "Mothers' Milk: Slavery, Wet-Nursing, and Black and White Women in the Antebellum South," *The Journal of Southern History* 83, no.1 (2017): 43.

³⁷ Ibid, 51.

³⁸ Jones-Rodgers, *They Were Her Property*, 119.

³⁹ Ibid, 121.

⁴⁰ Xen.Ec.9.5. For full excerpt see note 28.

⁴¹ Jones-Rodgers, *They Were Her Property*, 118.

⁴² Dem.47.55. For full excerpt see note 24.

⁴³ Ibid, 111-2.

⁴⁴ West and Knight, "Mothers' Milk," 40.

European travelers in Africa to refer to these women's breasts in the 17th century CE, which could be used both for a woman's breast or an animal's teats, but denoted a "brute animality".⁴⁵ Even the children of these women are compared to dogs crawling around on the ground.⁴⁶ The heightened concern in the perceived animalistic features of the African mothers, harkens back to the qualities emphasized in Thracian nurses. The imagery of the teat is reminiscent of the myths of Greek and Roman antiquity discussed above. To Europeans the African mother acted as a she-wolf nursing her "dogs", well equipped to provide breastmilk to their children, akin to modern Romuli and Remi. As stated, the perceptions of the enslavers and the perpetuation of these stereotypes had a palpable impact on those enslaved. In the case of the Thracian and African wet nurse who conformed to each society's perceptions of animality, they were more likely to suffer the abuses and traumas associated with wet nursing.

Conclusions

Through the lens of previous scholarship, the Thracian nurse lived a life of ease when compared to the experience other enslaved women in the *oikos*, seen as a beloved member of the household. I have countered this, arguing that the foreign status of the Thracian nurse informed how she was perceived by Athenians, and thus opened her up to a unique set of horrors associated with wet nursing. As demonstrated through myth, animalistic perceptions of women of this ethnic group and the marginality of their status allowed them to imbue powerful and wild strength through their breast milk. In the context of the *oikos*, and the continuity of the *polis* strengthening the next generation of Athenians would have been important to citizen parents. These myths also express a return to social order, secured by those who were nursed by wild beings. This concept would have been relevant in the socially turbulent Classical period in Athens. Such a concern with the continuity of Athens proved to be detrimental to the treatment of these Thracian women, who found themselves forced into wet nursing. In the

comparative analysis of the United States and Athens it is clear that the perpetuation of certain ethnic stereotypes served as a catalyst for suffering. Both women's enslavement and use as nurses is justified according to their animalistic qualities as understood by their enslavers. The accounts of the trauma of black slaves gives us some understanding of the experience of enslavement in the Classical Period for Thracian nurses. These women's place within the home was different from other enslaved women, but no more desirable, shaped by their ethnic origins.

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⁴⁵ Jennifer Morgan. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.), 27-33. See also Stephanie Camp. *Closer to Freedom:*

Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 63.

⁴⁶ Morgan, *Labouring Women*, 33.

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FAMA OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PALATIAL GARDENS

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Abstract

The palatial gardens of the Neo-Assyrian Kings were some of the most revered structures in the ancient world. The impact that these gardens had on contemporary Iron Age cultures created a legacy that led classical historians to label one of these gardens as a world wonder.¹ Textual, artistic and archaeological evidence demonstrates that the *fama* of these palatial gardens influenced kings of later Iron Age empires (the Neo-Babylonians and Persians) to emulate them. This evidence shows that *fama* was spread throughout these Iron Age cultures in two major ways: 1. Imperial propaganda. 2 Word of mouth via trade. This diffusion of knowledge concerning the palatial gardens was so widespread that it also made its way to the contemporary Greek world.

¹ Stephanie Dalley, “Ancient Mesopotamian Gardens and the Identification of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon Resolved.” *Garden History* 21, no. 1 (1993): 1–13; Stephanie Dalley, “Nineveh, Babylon and the Hanging Gardens: Cuneiform and Classical Sources Reconciled,” *Iraq* 56 (1994): 45–58. Dalley argues that the legendary “Hanging Gardens” were built by Sennacherib in Nineveh. Though, even if

Introduction

Archaeologically, gardens are not a feature that can be observed in great detail. The lack of preservation concerning ancient gardens does not allow them to be enjoyed visually by modern onlookers as they would have been in their time of use. However, where the palatial gardens of the Neo-Assyrian kings are concerned, this was also the case during their actual period of use. For the majority of residents and visitors to the Neo-Assyrian imperial cities, true knowledge of the palaces would not have extended past the walls of these grandiose structures.² Russell states that the entranceways and colossal guardian statues of these palaces would have created a “very high level of imagined expectation for the grandeur” of the palace

Nebuchadrezzar’s garden was indeed the true world wonder, we will later see why this garden owes its grandeur to Neo-Assyrian influence.

² John Malcolm Russell, “The Program of the Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud: Issues in the Research and Presentation of Assyrian Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 102, no. 4 (1998): 663.

interior, which “could only be known through reports and rumor, and these would inevitably be exaggerated.”³

For this reason, the Latin word *fama* is best used when discussing the knowledge that contemporary Iron Age cultures received about the Neo-Assyrian palatial gardens. This is because *fama* encompasses report, rumour and fame all in a single word and the accuracy of the information having been received is questionable. It is important to recognize the methods by which *fama* was spread throughout contemporary Iron Age cultures in order to truly understand how the influence from these gardens manifested itself within these cultures. The spread of this *fama* occurred through imperial propaganda employed by the Neo-Assyrians and also by word of mouth through trade. This diffusion of knowledge regarding the palatial gardens also manifested itself in these cultures in different ways. The most apparent of these ways was through direct emulation by the kings of the later Neo-Babylonian and Persian empires. In addition, this *fama* also reached the Greek world and manifested itself more abstractly in the contemporary literary record.

Types of Gardens

Before any discussion of the Neo-Assyrian palatial gardens can move forward, it is important to distinguish the specific type of garden that is under examination here. This is because the Neo-Assyrians had many types of gardens, not all of which produced the *fama* and influence of the palatial gardens specifically. These different types of gardens are best categorized by Dalley as: 1. The courtyard garden 2. Hunting parks 3. City gardens 4. Temple gardens.⁴ Each of these garden types had different functions, locations, contents and layouts.

The courtyard garden is the title that Dalley gives for the palatial gardens in question. Dalley describes the courtyard garden type as those that were characterized specifically by the large courtyards in the royal palaces of the Near East.⁵ This includes not only the Neo-Assyrians, but also palace gardens from earlier city-states such as Mari and Ugarit. Dalley also suggests that the later Neo-Assyrian courtyard gardens served many different functions; including places for picnics, courtship, display

of military spoils and for admiration of nature.⁶ For example, Dalley draws attention to the famous garden relief from Nineveh of Assurbanipal and his queen, which depicts them reclining in a garden, attended by servants and musicians (Figure 1). In this relief, spoils are displayed such as an Egyptian necklace, an Elamite bow and sword and even the dismembered head of the Elamite king.⁷

Dalley describes Tiglath-Pileser I (referencing his annals) as being the keenest collector of animals in hunting parks.⁸ Although courtyard or palatial gardens sometimes were described as having housed some animals, these gardens were meant primarily to house animals. Hunting parks were also kept outside of the palace, or even outside of the city walls altogether.⁹ City gardens, though, were an innovation of hunting parks and were not built until the reign of Assurnasirpal II and continued to be built traditionally by his successors.¹⁰ These gardens were housed in both Nineveh and the later capital of Dur-Sharrukin. Thus, the city gardens were monumental projects that used irrigation and landscaping to create naturalistic scenery, complete with exotic, imported trees and running water. Dalley notes that these gardens were not the influence for the later geometric palatial gardens of the Persians.¹¹ Lastly, the temple garden concept was begun by Sennacherib when he built a temple of the New Year Festival within a garden just outside of Assur.¹² Therefore, the courtyard garden is unique here as it is the only private type of these gardens that was located within the actual walls of the palace, and is the most illustrious of these garden types, which would have created the revered reputation or *fama* in question.

Imperial Propaganda

The most detailed sources that exist regarding Neo-Assyrian palatial gardens are vast descriptions concerning their location, layout and contents, which are written in the annals of the Neo-Assyrian kings. In essence, these annals were written, in part, for the kings to boast about their accomplishments of constructing these illustrious gardens and providing them with exotic trees, fruits and vegetables from their campaigns and from trade. The rhetoric of these royal inscriptions would

³ Ibid, 663.

⁴ Dalley, "Ancient Mesopotamian Gardens and the Identification of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon Resolved," 1-13.

⁵ Dalley, "Ancient Mesopotamian Gardens and the Identification of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon Resolved," 2.

⁶ Ibid, 3.

⁷ Ibid, 3.

⁸ Ibid, 4.

⁹ Ibid, 4.

¹⁰ Ibid, 4-6.

¹¹ Ibid, 5.

¹² Ibid, 6.

have reproduced *fama* concerning the grandeur of these gardens.¹³ The earliest inscriptional evidence for a royal garden by an Assyrian king dates to the reign of Assurubalit I (1363-28 BCE).¹⁴ Eventually, Tiglath-Pileser's annals demonstrate innovations to these gardens and a formulaic way of describing these gardens was eventually adopted by his successors.¹⁵ Tiglath-Pileser's annals may suggest to us that one of these innovations was the location of a garden now within the palace: "I made high doors of fir, made (them) fast with bronze bands, (and) hung (them) in its gateways. Beside that terrace I planted a garden for my lordly leisure."¹⁶

Assurnasirpal eventually introduces the innovation of recording all of the exotic plant species that he filled his garden with, boasting of 39 different (mostly exotic) species, attested to his military conquests.¹⁷ However, the first true evidence for a real palatial garden comes from the reign of Sargon II.¹⁸ After the construction of Sargon II's palace, Stronach states that the Neo-Assyrians became "the undisputed masters of monumental garden construction in the Near East."¹⁹ The establishment of a true palatial garden at Dur-Sharrukin by Sargon II meant that this new type of garden no longer served any utilitarian function, but instead adopted the functions of the courtyard garden described by Dalley (Figure 2).

In addition to aesthetic appeal and personal enjoyment of the king, these palatial gardens were also an instrument for imperial propaganda. According to Oppenheim, the shift of function from utilitarian to display-based occurred during the reign of Sargon II.²⁰ Linguistically, this also marks an important change in the term *kiri* (botanical garden) to *kirimahu* (pleasure garden), which indicates the switch to an actual palatial garden with a new function.²¹ By this point, these palatial gardens were meant to make a political

statement. This can be reaffirmed when looking back at the relief of the later palatial garden of Assurnasirpal (Figure 1). This gypsum relief carving was found on the outer wall of the North Palace, where spectators would have inevitably seen it. This relief carving would have served as a form of imperial propaganda, showing Assurnasirpal and his queen dining in peace with the decapitated head of the Elamite King Teumann off to the side. This would have also certainly added to the *fama publica* and the imagination of what these palatial gardens may have looked like. Stronach believes that the striking visuals of this new type of garden would have served to reaffirm the power of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.²² The *fama* of the gardens would not have been spread simply through the relief carvings, but stories of their splendor would have been also known from elites that attended public banqueting ceremonies there.²³

As previously discussed, these palatial gardens housed exotic plants from the respective campaigns of the kings, functioning as a tangible, botanical equivalent to the annals of these kings. The annals of the successor and son of Sargon II, Sennacherib, state that he adorned his palace garden at Nineveh to look like Mount Amanus, with him boasting that he filled the garden with exotic plants and trees, even including the olive tree.²⁴ By this point, these royal gardens became an integral part of the Neo-Assyrian palace and began to function as a symbol of imperial rule.²⁵

Trade

In addition to the Neo-Assyrian kings spreading this *fama* intentionally through imperial propaganda, *fama* was also spread throughout the empire by word of mouth via trade. Indeed, this mode of knowledge diffusion concerning the palatial gardens is a

¹³ Erwin Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, no. 1 (2004): 57.

¹⁴ Ibid, 62.

¹⁵ Ibid, 58.

¹⁶ Albert Kirk Grayson, "Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. Pt. 2," From *Tiglath-Pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), 54-55.

¹⁷ Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 63.

¹⁸ Ibid, 63.

¹⁹ From Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 63 in reference to David Stronach, "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy," in *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis* 1 (1989): 475-502, 477; There is some debate as to whether Sargon II adopted this type of palatial garden from his campaigns in the west, though the modern

scholarly consensus is largely against this idea. For further discussion on this topic see Donald J. Wiseman, "Mesopotamian Gardens," *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 137-44.; Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 64; Stronach, "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae," 477.

²⁰ A. Leo Oppenheim, "On Royal Gardens in Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24, no. 4 (1965): 328-33, 331.

²¹ Ibid, 331.

²² From Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 64 in reference to Stronach, "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae," 478.

²³ Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 65.

²⁴ Ibid, 65.

²⁵ Ibid, 65.

subcategory of the imperial propaganda method, as that was one of the initial reasons that traders had most likely heard of the grandiose Neo-Assyrian gardens. Diffusion of the knowledge concerning the palatial gardens did not only spread throughout the Near East, but also to the Mediterranean. In fact, evidence shows that a direct path of communication leads from the palaces of Neo-Assyrian kings to the emerging city-states of mainland Greece.²⁶ The cultural intermediaries in the position to spread this information westward were none other than the Phoenicians.

By the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE), the Neo-Assyrians had established power in the Levant and had a regular presence in the region. Ashurnasirpal II stated that he began receiving tribute from Phoenician city-states such as Tyre at this time.²⁷ Esarhaddon later reported that he enlisted the help of the Phoenician king, in addition to the kings of both Syria and Cyprus, to help in the restoration of his palace.²⁸ By 738 BCE Tiglath-Pileser had established governors in Byblos, Tyre and Sidon, making them tributary states to the Neo-Assyrian empire and directly ruling those areas.²⁹ Therefore, the historical evidence demonstrates a presence of both Phoenician traders and Phoenician elites within the Neo-Assyrian capital cities. With this direct link between the Neo-Assyrians and the Levant, a path for *fama* to travel to Phoenician trading partners had been established.

The trading port of Al-Mina produced an area where *fama* regarding the palatial gardens could spread throughout the Near East, including the Levant and the Mediterranean. This port, located in Northern Syria, demonstrates archaeological evidence for Phoenician trade here in the form of red slip pottery during the reign of Sargon II.³⁰ Ceramic diversity from this level also demonstrates evidence for a Greek and Cypriot presence in this period.³¹

At this point, the commercial trading networks in this area were under Neo-Assyrian administration.³² Al-Mina itself was located at the western end of the shortest caravan route to the imperial cities.³³ Furthermore, by the end of the 8th century BCE, when Tiglath-Pileser and

Sargon II had consolidated their power over Cyprus, in addition to Phoenicia and Syria, they created a clear path for information to travel to the Greek-speaking world. It is well attested in the archaeological record that the Phoenicians and Cypriots were trading with Attica and Euboea during this period.³⁴ From sites such as Al-Mina, a Greek presence in the Levant is also attested to at this time, specifically in the form of Euboean wares, known from the archaeological evidence at Lefkandi.³⁵

Fama regarding the palatial gardens also manifested itself in the contemporary Greek world through the literary evidence, specifically in Homer's *Odyssey*. This can be seen in the description of the Palace of Alkinoos in Book 7 of the *Odyssey*. Cook demonstrates the striking similarity between the description of the Palace of Alkinoos and what we know of Neo-Assyrian palaces from their annals. This description extends not only to the palatial features such as bronze-banding decoration and guardian statues, but also to the palatial gardens themselves.³⁶ This includes a list of exotic trees and fruits, including pomegranates, pears, apples and figs, and a description of the size and location of the garden. The already apparent Near Eastern nature of the Phaiakes, and the Phaiakian land, suggests to Cook that Homer based these fictional peoples off of his knowledge of the Near East. Therefore, accounting for to the literary and historical evidence, Cook suggests that the Palace of Alkinoos was based specifically off of Homer's knowledge regarding the *fama* of Neo-Assyrian palaces and palatial gardens. Word of mouth via trade from the Near East should be considered as a probable mode for the transmission of this knowledge to Homer, as no literary tradition exists to suggest he may have inherited such otherwise.

Emulation

Modes such as imperial propaganda and word of mouth via trade led to a well-known reverence of the

²⁶ Ibid, 44.

²⁷ Grayson, *Tiglath-Pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II*, 141 § 584, 143 § 586, 149 § 597.

²⁸ Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 44.

²⁹ Rosalinde Kearsely, "Greeks Overseas in the 8th Century B.C.: Euboeans, Al Mina and Assyrian Imperialism," in *Ancient Greeks: West and East*, ed. G. Tsatskheladze, 109-34, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), *Mnemosyne Supplementum* 196, 120.

³⁰ Kearsely, "Greeks Overseas in the 8th Century B.C.," 130.

³¹ Ibid, 130.

³² Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 46.

³³ Ibid, 46.

³⁴ See Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 46 for sources concerning Phoenician activity in Greece.

³⁵ Kearsely, "Greeks Overseas in the 8th Century B.C.," 111.

³⁶ For this section, see Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 54-57 for comparison between the description of the palace and gardens in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II with the description of Alkinoos' palace and garden in the *Od.* 7 (112-133).

Neo-Assyrian palatial gardens throughout the empire. *Fama* concerning the Neo-Assyrian palatial gardens eventually led to their emulation by the kings of later Iron Age empires. This first of these empires was the Neo-Babylonian Empire. The most well-known of these emulators was the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar, who ruled most of the Near East one century after Sennacherib's reign. At this time (c.605-562 BCE) Nebuchadrezzar constructed his own palace at Babylon, complete with a palatial garden based on the now three-century-old Neo-Assyrian model.³⁷ The palace itself was described in his annals in the same formulaic manner as those Neo-Assyrian kings before him. However, we do not have a description of the garden here, though Wiseman notes that there is no reason to assume that Nebuchadrezzar's royal garden was any less extravagant than those of his Assyrian predecessors, while there may have been some variant due to climate.³⁸

Here we must turn to the archaeological evidence. The famous "Hanging Gardens of Babylon" were attributed to Nebuchadrezzar by Berossus in c. 280 BCE, though these gardens were said to have been built outside of the palace.³⁹ Koldewey proposed that the foundation of the "Hanging Gardens" was located at the north-east corner of the Southern Palace by the Ishtar Gate.⁴⁰ However, Wiseman believes that the actual location of Nebuchadrezzar's royal garden was between the "Western Outwork" and the Northern Palace.⁴¹ Stronach states that if this proposed idea is the true location of the garden, then it would have been located in the immediate vicinity of Nebuchadrezzar's quarters.⁴² This would confirm that Nebuchadrezzar's royal garden follows the tradition of the former Neo-Assyrian palatial gardens (i.e. the "courtyard garden" style described by Dalley). Wiseman also states that there is some evidence that this garden contained a variety of trees and shrubs grown there, based off of the older Neo-Assyrian tradition (specifically, that seen in the annals of Sennacherib).⁴³ To further reinforce this point is the description by Berossus that Nebuchadrezzar's garden was meant to look like a

mountain planted with all kinds of trees, similar to the description of Sennacherib's garden (i.e. likened to Mt. Amanus). Therefore, it can be said with confidence that Nebuchadrezzar emulated not only the palaces of Nineveh in Babylon, but the royal palatial gardens as well.⁴⁴

Royal gardens such as these were eventually emulated by the Persian kings as well, becoming an integral part of the royal residence at Pasargadae.⁴⁵ An inclusion of a *bitanu*, or colonnaded "little house," appears to have been a standard feature of the Neo-Assyrian palatial gardens, as seen in relief carvings (Figures 2 and 3). In the relief from the statue of Assurbanipal showing the garden of Sennacherib (Figure 3) the colonnaded structure within the park-like garden gives the impression that this "gazebo" or "summerhouse" was built to overlook the garden.⁴⁶ At Pasargadae, the archaeological remains suggest that this type of structure was emulated within the royal garden there.⁴⁷ This "garden pavilion" was excavated in 1963 (Figure 4).⁴⁸ Excavations from that season at Pasargadae were able to recover the surviving plan of stone water channels and basins that had once irrigated the royal gardens there.⁴⁹ The masonry from this garden pavilion led Stronach to believe that it dated to the reign of Cyrus the Great. Furthermore, the features of the pavilion, including its size and location, led him to believe that this structure served a decorative (not utilitarian) purpose, within one of the more favoured parts of the palace gardens.⁵⁰

Strikingly, the most luxurious finds from these excavations were also found within this pavilion: an Achaemenian water jar filled with jewelry that Stronach labeled "the treasure." This treasure included 1,162 different objects, including necklaces, jewelry, bracelets, earrings and silver spoons. Interestingly, a button found in this collection represents a remarkable parallel with a button from Assur, where the cloisonné technique was originally established.⁵¹ The luxurious nature of this find, in addition to the location of the palatial garden and the pavilion feature, strongly suggest a conscious emulation

³⁷ Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 56.

³⁸ Donald J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon*, (Oxford: The British Academy, 1985), 59.

³⁹ Wiseman, "Mesopotamian Gardens," 137-44.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² From Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 59 in reference to Stronach, "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae," 480.

⁴³ Wiseman, "Mesopotamian Gardens," 141-142.

⁴⁴ From Cook, "Near Eastern Sources for the Palace of Alkinoos," 59 in reference to Stronach, "The Royal Garden at Pasargadae," 480.

⁴⁵ Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon*, 56.

⁴⁶ Oppenheim, "On Royal Gardens in Mesopotamia," 332.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 332.

⁴⁸ Stronach, "Excavations at Pasargadae," 9, 32.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 37, 39.

of the standard Neo-Assyrian palatial garden at Pasargadae. The parallel with the button of Assur also demonstrates that *fama* regarding the palatial gardens could have traveled through trade to Pasargadae, influencing the elite material culture here in the same way as the cloisonné technique did. Oppenheim believes that this type of garden pavilion may well have been a permanent feature of sophisticated palace architecture for the Persians and may also have graced the garden of the Achaemenian palace in Susa.⁵²

Conclusion

The legacy of the Neo-Assyrian royal gardens affected both contemporary and later Iron Age civilizations, even influencing Greeks such as Berossus into the classical period. As we have seen, archaeological evidence indicates that *fama* (report, rumor and fame) regarding these palatial gardens was spread throughout the Near East and Mediterranean during the reign of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. By understanding how *fama* was spread, it allows for a greater understanding of how and why the gardens manifested themselves in these cultures in the way that they did. The palatial gardens of the Neo-Assyrian kings captured both the beauty of nature and the beauty of illustrious man-made structures and to this author it is no wonder that they were emulated by future rulers.

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⁵² Oppenheim, "On Royal Gardens in Mesopotamia," 332.

Appendix



Figure 1: Gypsum Relief of Assurnasirpal from Nineveh, from The British Museum (Copyright held by The Trustees of the British Museum).

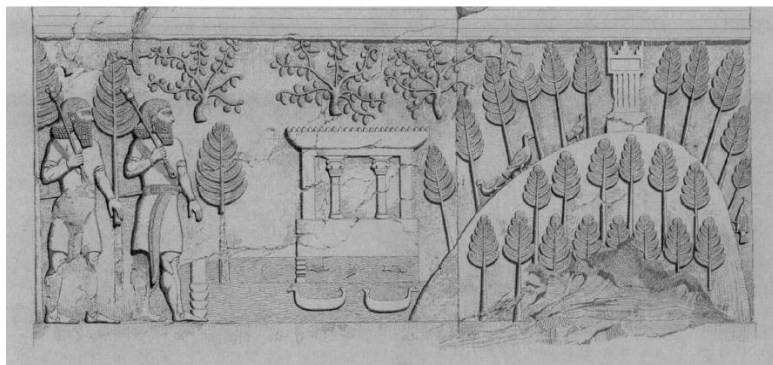


Figure 2: Relief of Sargon II's garden at Dur-Sharrukin, from Stephanie Dalley, "Ancient Mesopotamian Gardens and the Identification of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon Resolved."

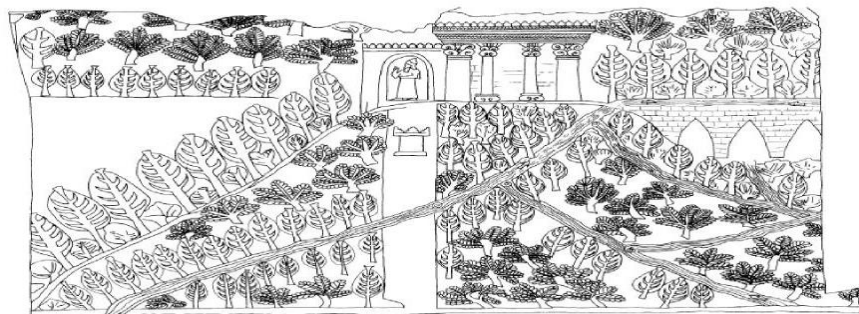


Figure 3: Line drawing by Stephanie Dalley in "Nineveh, Babylon and the Hanging Gardens: Cuneiform and Classical Sources Reconciled" of relief from statue of Assurbanipal showing garden of Sennacherib.

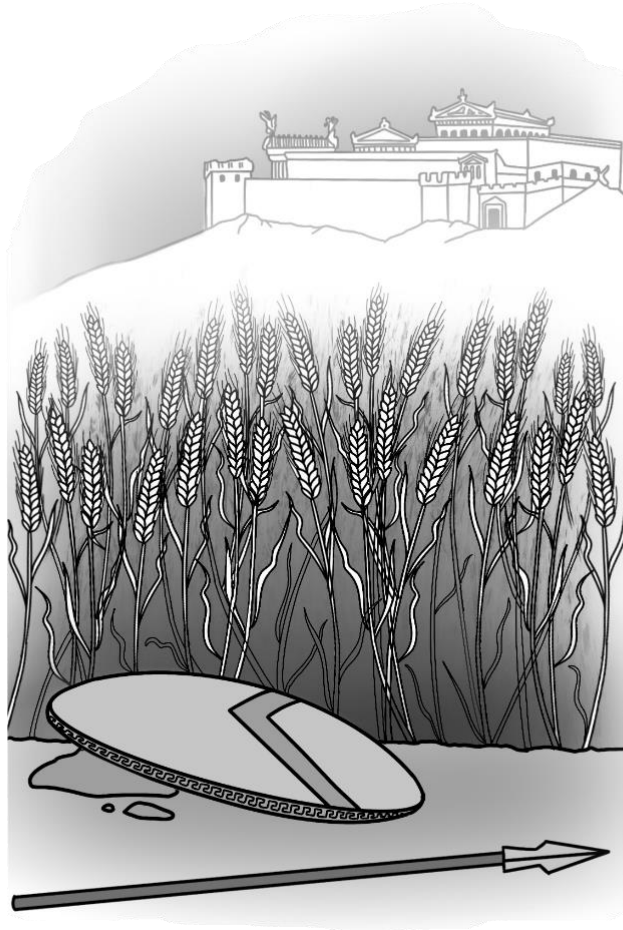


Figure 4: Garden Pavillion at Pasargadae from Stornach, "Excavations at Pasargadae: Third Preliminary Report."

CONTROLLING THE ENEMY WITHIN: THE SPARTAN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HELOTS IN ANCIENT GREECE

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The relationship between the Spartans and the Helots provides an interesting topic for the analysis of the function of power in the ancient world. Michel Foucault's theory of Panopticism and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of Habitus can be applied to the pattern of systemic intimidation promoted by the Spartans to aid in an explanation of the Helots' enduring enslavement and complicity in their own subordination. The theories of Foucault and Bourdieu help to explain why a large group would endure a pattern of mass executions, targeted assaults, and daily degradations from a relatively small number of aggressors over a period of

centuries. This analysis will focus on how the Helots, in their role as the enemy within, were a major reason why the Spartans developed agricultural methods, constitutional reforms, social control mechanisms, and architectural practices to subdue and control their captives. An explanation of the Helots' origins will aid in an understanding of this topic.

The Spartans sought ownership of the rich, fertile lands of the Greek region of Messenia in the eighth century BCE, during the early archaic period.¹ By the sixth century BCE, the Spartans had succeeded in their conquest of both Laconia and Messenia.² The Spartans

¹ Nigel M. Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, (Malden, 2010), 39.

² Stephen Hodkinson, "Sharecropping and Sparta's Economic Exploitation of the Helots," in *Philolokōn: Laconian Studies in*

Honour of Hector Catling, ed. Jan Motyka Sanders, (London, 1992), 124.

enslaved a combination of peoples from the Greek regions of Laconia and Messenia. These groups formed the Helot population. The Messenians comprised the majority of the Helots, however.³ The slave-class was unique from other slaves in ancient Greece because the Helots were a stable, self-perpetuating population that did not necessitate the acquisition of new slaves through war or trade.⁴ The Helots were forced to work in agriculture and domestic labour to provide for the Spartan polis.⁵ The majority of the Helots were forced to farm their original lands, but a selection of them were transported to Sparta to work in households or in the military.⁶ Spartan citizens did not have full possession over individual Helots because the Helots were the property of the city-state as a whole.⁷

The word, Helot, comes from Greek *helōtēs*, meaning “captive” or “serf.”⁸ The conceptualisation of Helots as captives or serfs accurately articulates the Spartan perception of the slave-class, as the Helots were considered an internal enemy population residing amongst the Spartans.⁹ Isocrates provides insight into the treatment of the Helots in his text *Panathenaicus*. Isocrates states: “[The Spartans] reduced those whom they had sworn to set free to a state of slavery worse than that of the Helots.”¹⁰ In this passage, Isocrates uses the known brutalisation of the Helots as a point of comparison for other peoples that the Spartans captured and enslaved. It can be assumed that the Helots’ poor situation was well-known among educated individuals during this period. Isocrates references the Helots’ enslavement in his writing so as to invoke the reader’s capability to imagine the degree to which the Spartans could exploit an enemy population.

Other writers from the classical world consider the unusual situation of the Helots in their texts, as well.

For example, Herodotus provides an account of the Helot numbers in *The Histories*, in which he records the amount of Spartan and Helot soldiers in a battle.¹¹ Herodotus states: “On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man.”¹² Since every Spartan warrior had seven Helots accompanying them into battle, it can be assumed that the Helot population outnumbered the Spartans seven to one. In theory, the Helots would have had the advantage during any potential rebellion due to their numbers, regardless of the Spartan Hoplite warriors’ exceptional training and experience.¹³ The failed rebellions that the Helots attempted to execute against the Spartans disrepute this claim, however.

Certain sociological theories can be applied when considering the power dynamic that existed between the Spartans and the Helots. Michel Foucault explains his theory of Panopticism in “Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison” by analysing Jeremy Bentham’s model for a circular prison, which is called a Panopticon. Foucault explains that in Bentham’s model, the outer ring of jail cells can be constantly monitored by the central tower, but the inmates inside the cells are unable to know if or when they are being watched.¹⁴ Bentham’s imagined structure offers an example of a power dynamic wherein the subordinate group greatly outnumbers the dominant authority.¹⁵ Foucault states that the Panopticon’s principle function is “to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.”¹⁶ The subject of the Panopticon becomes his or her own monitor for behaviour. Foucault’s theory of Panopticism applies the model of

³ Richard J.A. Talbert, “The Role of the Helots in the Class Struggle at Sparta,” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 38, no. 1 (1989): 23.

⁴ Nino Luraghi, “The Imaginary Conquest of the Helots,” in Nino Luraghi and Susan E. Alcock, ed., *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, and Structures*, (Washington D.C., 2003), 132.

⁵ Paul Cartledge, “What Have the Spartans Done for Us?: Sparta’s Contribution to Western Civilization,” *Greece & Rome* 51, no. 2 (2004): 169.

⁶ Hodkinson, “Sharecropping,” 124.

⁷ Talbert, “The Role of the Helots in the Class Struggle at Sparta,” 23.

⁸ Cartledge, “What Have the Spartans Done for Us?” 169.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Isocrates, *Panathenaicus*, George Norlin, ed., Perseus Digital Library, (Cambridge; London, 1980), 12.104.

¹¹ Peter Hunt, “Helots at the Battle of Plataea,” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 46, no. 2 (1997): 129.

¹² Herodotus, *The Histories*, A. D. Godley trans., Perseus Digital Library, (Cambridge, 1920), 9.28.

¹³ Brandon D. Ross, “Krypteia: A Form of Ancient Guerilla Warfare,” *Grand Valley Journal of History* 1, no. 2 (2012): 7.

¹⁴ Michel Foucault, “Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,” (New York, 1979, c1977), 202.

¹⁵ Ibid, 205.

¹⁶ Ibid, 201.

the Panopticon to the concept of self-surveillance. Subjects obey and conform their behaviour in accordance with power relations out of fear that they are being unknowingly observed.¹⁷ Panopticism can be applied to the Helots' behaviour and compliance with Spartan societal structure to better understand the relationship of power between the two groups. Through the surviving documents written by Isocrates and Herodotus, it is known that the Helot population greatly outnumbered the Spartans' and that the slave-class was treated with considerable brutality. The citizens of Sparta might have felt threatened by the Helots, since the latter greatly outnumbered the former. A system of control, such as that seen in the theory of Panopticism, may have been favourable for Spartan interests. The Helots feared punishment from the Spartans for misbehaviour. If the large slave population could be controlled through self-surveillance, it would greatly benefit the Spartans.

It is also likely that the Spartans experienced Panoptic self-surveillance themselves. For example, the system of education that was installed for Spartan boys, which mainly aimed to train them into Hoplite warriors, emphasised strict training and regulation. As a result, Spartan society became characterised by fears of punishment and of covert observation.¹⁸ The lives of the Spartans were controlled by a Panoptic effect in that their own culture forced them to conform their behaviour to certain standards. If a Spartan acted improperly, it might have affected his citizenship status.¹⁹ A loss of citizenship would result in a forfeiture of the benefits of Spartan life.

Pierre Bourdieu provides additional thoughts that can be used to understand Spartan society in his works "The Habitus and the Space of Life-Styles" and "Distinction: The Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste." Bourdieu explains in his writings that an individual may acquire cultural capital by performing specific behaviours that are valued by the upper classes in a society. An awareness of a specific culture's unique

symbols of cultural capital is acquired through engagement with art, music, cuisine, and literature from early childhood.²⁰ In this way, an individual's class status may be determined based on their behaviours and tastes. An individual who displayed a significant knowledge of art and culture through their behaviour would appear to be a high-status individual. Bourdieu's concept of Habitus can be understood as a way to succinctly identify the reasons that people possess distinct behaviours, practices, tastes, creations, and preferences in a society within a single noun.²¹ The concept of Habitus permits comprehension of the practices of a societal group like that of Sparta. Bourdieu states that classes in a society acknowledge themselves through their differentiations between the other existing classes. A class in a society, such as the slave-like class of Helots, understands itself and its position through a comprehension of its relation to the others.²² It can be assumed that the cultural awareness and behaviour of the Helots, namely their Habitus, would be undoubtedly different from that of the Spartans. The slave-class' status would logically result in the Helots presenting as subordinate and lowly in their behaviour.

The Spartans displayed their uniform Habitus through a visual unity between all Spartan citizens. For example, they were known for the stark quality of their clothing and homes. The extremely wealthy Spartans did not publicly demonstrate their assets in order to hide the large wealth gap between the poor and the rich.²³ Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War* states: "A modest style of dressing, more in conformity with modern ideas, was first adopted by the Lacedaemonians, the rich doing their best to assimilate their way of life to that of the common people."²⁴ This excerpt from *The Peloponnesian War* explains the practice of the wealthy Spartans to suggest the idea that all citizens of Sparta dressed in a similar manner.²⁵ This practice created a concrete sense of cultural identity, similarly to how the Hoplite-focused education system

¹⁷ Ibid, 209.

¹⁸ Humble, "Sparta: Separating Reality from Mirage," 116.

¹⁹ Ibid, 116-117.

²⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste," (Cambridge, 1984), 75.

²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Habitus and the Space of Life-Styles," in *The People, Place and Space Reader* (London, 2014), 139.

²² Ibid, 140.

²³ Noreen Humble, "Sparta: Separating Reality from Mirage," in Allison Glazebrook and Christina Vester ed., *Themes in Greek Society and Culture: An Introduction to Ancient Greece* (Don Mills, 2017), 117.

²⁴ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, Perseus Digital Library, (London: New York, 1910), 1.6.

²⁵ Humble, "Sparta: Separating Reality from Mirage," 117.

for Spartan boys emphasised unity amongst the warrior ranks.²⁶

The Spartan constitution, created to promote Spartan values, even appears to include laws to protect citizens from the Helot enemy within. The Spartan social and political system developed through a number of reforms, known as the “Laws of Lycurgus” or the “Lycurgan reforms,” which emphasised logical order.²⁷ Those reforms were consolidated into a new constitutional document, titled “The Great Rhetra,” which outlined the constitutional structure and the nature of legal deliberations in Sparta.²⁸ Plutarch’s writings on Sparta in his text *Life of Lycurgus* characterise Spartan society as one that is extremely conservative, controlled, and orderly.²⁹ The Lycurgan reforms dictated the formation of a full-time army made up of every male in Sparta who had the rights of full-citizenship and was between the ages of twenty and sixty years.³⁰ The reforms made Spartan women the overseers of the farms and gave women the rights of property ownership and inheritance that were unusual within this period in Greece.³¹

Most of the reforms were instituted approximately fifty years after the Second Messenian War in order to keep control of Messenia and dominate the Helots.³² The Spartan constitution was somewhat extraordinary because it combined the elements of a monarchy, an oligarchy and a democracy.³³ There were two kings who each came from different royal lines, which provided a balance for each family’s power. There was a council of Spartan citizens over the age of sixty years who, along with the two kings, formed the Gerousia.³⁴ This law-making group was by nature very conservative because it was composed of elderly, ex-

military men who had spent a lifetime being indoctrinated in Spartan beliefs and customs and participating in strict training. In addition, there was a group of all male, full citizens called the Ekklesia.³⁵ This assembly had the power to strike down policies to which it objected, but it was inclined to agree with most of the decisions made by the kings and the Gerousia.³⁶ Over time, a yearly-elected, fourth group called the Ephorate developed. The five Ephors sat at the pinnacle of the political system, because they could strike down any decisions made by the kings, the Gerousia or the Ekklesia.³⁷

The Spartan state was incredibly stable because of its balanced, conservative political system. The citizens shared an interest in upholding spartan values of uniformity and order, so the state suffered little opposition to its rule.³⁸ Sparta’s influence extended outside of Laconia and Messenia and allowed Sparta to become the head of an alliance of Greek states, known as the Peloponnesian League.³⁹ Xenophon writes that the successful Spartan constitution is the factor that made Sparta a famous and powerful city-state.⁴⁰ The societal system of the Spartan state was made possible because of the labour of the Helots, but it was the specific type of economic relationship between the Spartans and the Helots that proved particularly effective. The agricultural work the Helots did in their native Messenian and Laconian lands allowed the Spartans to assume their responsibilities as Hoplite warriors.⁴¹ Instead of simply using outright slavery, the Spartans used sharecropping as a tool to support the Spartan economy. Sharecropping is an agreement in agriculture that functions as a tenant and landlord relationship whereby the landlords, the Spartans,

²⁶ Ibid, 116.

²⁷ Robert Fleck and F. Hanssen, ““Rulers Ruled by Women”: An Economic Analysis of the Rise and Fall of Women’s Rights in Ancient Sparta,” *Economics of Governance* 10, no. 3 (2009): 229.

²⁸ Alberto Esu, “Divided Power and Eunomia: Deliberative Procedures in Ancient Sparta,” *The Classical Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (2017): 354.

²⁹ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, (Cambridge; London, 1914), 6.1-10.

³⁰ Fleck and Hanssen, “Rulers Ruled by Women,” 229.

³¹ Ibid, 223.

³² Ibid, 229.

³³ Matthew A. Sears, “Ordering the Polis: Government and Public Administration,” in *Themes in Greek Society and Culture: An Introduction to Ancient Greece*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Christina Vester, (Don Mills, 2017), 65.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, 111.

³⁶ Ron Kroeker, “The Ancient Greeks: From Mycenae to Macedon,” in *Themes in Greek Society and Culture: An Introduction to Ancient Greece*, ed. Allison Glazebrook and Christina Vester, (Don Mills, 2017), 45.

³⁷ Sears, “Ordering the Polis: Government and Public Administration,” 65.

³⁸ Ibid, 66.

³⁹ Kroeker, “The Ancient Greeks: From Mycenae to Macedon,” 45.

⁴⁰ Esu, “Divided Power and Eunomia,” 353.

⁴¹ Thomas J. Figueira, “The Demography of the Spartan Helots,” in *Helots and Their Masters in Laconia and Messenia: Histories, Ideologies, and Structures*, ed. Nino Luraghi and Susan E. Alcock, (Washington D.C., 2003), 123-124.

received a portion of the crops produced by the tenants, the Helots. The Spartans gave the Helots a small portion of the food produced. The slave-class was offered enough nourishment so that revolt did not appear immediately necessary.⁴² The sharecropping agreement thus influenced the Helots to become complicit in their own subordination. Additionally, sharecropping allowed the Spartans to effectively monitor what the Helots produced.⁴³ The Spartans were able to maintain control of the Helots while exploiting them for the city-state's economic benefit.

The Spartan concern with placating and controlling their internal enemy, the Helots, persuaded them to use regular violence to instill fear among the slave-class. The Spartans undertook systematic campaigns of terror to prevent a Helot revolt, as well as introducing new Spartan government policies and laws. Their preoccupation with the Helots was so great that it altered Spartan daily activities and the worldview of the those living in Sparta.⁴⁴ Thucydides writes in *The Peloponnesian War* that the Spartans felt anxious during changing political climates, as they worried the Helots might take the opportunity to rebel against their Spartan masters.⁴⁵ The Spartan-Helot relationship is unique in that the Spartans did not view the Helots as a slave population from a region they had seized, but rather consistently viewed them as enemies, even when they served Sparta.⁴⁶ The Helots were an internal enemy that both lived amongst, and supported, the Spartans. The fear on behalf of the Spartans grew to the extent that they publicly declared war against the Helots each year.⁴⁷ After the annual election of new Ephors, the killing of Helots was encouraged.⁴⁸ Helots were a threat to city-state stability, so the killing of Helots was regarded as a commendable and respectable act during this annual event.⁴⁹

Aristotle provides his account of the Spartan perception of the Helots as enemies in his book

Politics. He states, "The serf class in Thessaly repeatedly rose against its masters, and so did the Helots at Sparta, where they are like an enemy constantly sitting in wait for the disasters of the Spartiates."⁵⁰ Aristotle's record reveals that the Helots behaved as an enemy within Sparta. He writes that the Helots resented their Spartan masters and waited anxiously for periods of unrest to attempt a revolt. It is likely that the Spartans employed their campaigns of terror to suppress the Helots' frequent attempts at insurrection. Due to the constant monitoring of the Helots' behaviour for indications of uprising, the slave-class existed in a constant state of Panoptic self-surveillance. The Helots had to always appear docile and complicit since the Spartans were especially suspicious of potential uprisings. Eventually, this behaviour reached their subconscious, and made the Helots complicit in their subordination.

The Spartans' public campaign of terror against the Helots also included the execution of the strongest members of the slave-class.⁵¹ Perhaps the most alarming instance of Spartan violence against the Helots was their decision to execute two thousand of them in the fifth century BCE. Thucydides recorded this event in *The Peloponnesian War*.⁵² The Helots were asked to identify their own fighters who had demonstrated the greatest feats while fighting for Sparta, with the understanding that those individuals would be liberated from Spartan oppression.⁵³ In reality, all two thousand of the identified Helots were executed in secrecy.⁵⁴ This mass-killing was executed to eliminate a potential physical threat from the Helots.⁵⁵ Thucydides states that the Spartans acted against the Helots because the great difference in their numbers was a source of anxiety for the Spartans. The Spartans killed the strongest and bravest Helots, believing they would be the most likely to coordinate successful revolts in the future.⁵⁶ The anxiety

⁴² Ibid, 129-133.

⁴³ Ibid, 133.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 195.

⁴⁵ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 4.80.2.

⁴⁶ Hodkinson, "Sharecropping," 124.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ross, "Krypteia: A Form of Ancient Guerilla Warfare," 6.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Aristotle, *Politics*, in *Aristotle in 23 Volumes, Vol. 21.*, trans. H. Rackham, (Cambridge; London, 1944), Perseus Digital Library, 2.1269a.

⁵¹ Talbert, "The Role of the Helots in the Class Struggle at Sparta," 24.

⁵² Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 4.80.4.

⁵³ Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, 78.

⁵⁴ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 4.80.4.

⁵⁵ Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, 78.

⁵⁶ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 4.80.3.

surrounding the threat of the Helot population was so great that the Spartans turned to forming alliances with other city-states.

The Spartans were so concerned about keeping the Helots under control that they allied with Athens in 421 BCE. Athens agreed to aid Sparta in the event of a Helot rebellion.⁵⁷ Thucydides records this agreement in *The Peloponnesian War*.⁵⁸ Thucydides also writes that the Spartans would return the favour by aiding Athens if they were attacked by an foreign invasion.⁵⁹ The alliance proved to be a helpful one, as the Spartans were forced to call on the Athenians for aid when the Helots eventually rebelled, encouraged by a disastrous volcanic eruption which occurred between 465 and 464 BCE.⁶⁰ In *The Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides recorded the Helot uprising that took place, but did not provide details of the events.⁶¹ After the revolt, the Helots returned to a life of submission beneath the Spartans and remained under their control until they were freed in the fourth century.⁶²

The Spartans also established a violent group called the Krypteia as a means to control the Helots. The Krypteia can be understood as an ancient equivalent of the Gestapo.⁶³ They were permitted to kill members of the slave-class during the annual declaration of war against the Helots.⁶⁴ Plutarch's *Lycurgus*, written in 75 CE, describes their actions. Plutarch states, "In the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught. Oftentimes, too, they actually traversed the fields where Helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them."⁶⁵ Plutarch's account makes the Krypteia appear as an ancient version of guerilla soldiers.⁶⁶ Since the Helots were a much larger population than the Spartans, it makes sense that the Spartans would need to employ guerilla war tactics as a means to prove their power over the Helots.⁶⁷ The Krypteia contributed to the Panoptic self-surveillance that the Helots suffered, as the slave-class would not have known when they were going to be

slaughtered. The Helots would have had to make themselves appear non-threatening in order to survive. Over time, the Helots would have internalised this unassuming state and thus grew increasingly complicit in their subordination.

The Spartans imposed a variety of demeaning and humiliating policies on the Helots. The Helots were whipped each year, made to wear dog-skin hats, and forced to drink unmixed wine so that they would humiliate themselves. They also had to carry out a variety of degrading tasks daily. The Spartans even implemented a rule that if a Helot reached a healthy weight and appeared physically fit, that slave would be executed.⁶⁸ All of these rules contributed to the control of the Helots. They had to monitor and modify their behaviour to comply with these social norms. The group was perceived as a single entity to be controlled and exploited, rather than as individuals.⁶⁹

This process of controlling the Helots vividly reminds of Foucault's theory of Panopticism. Even though the Helots were not technically identified as slaves, the Helots intentionally looked and behaved weak and malnourished in order to avoid punishment. They effectively became slaves through repeated behaviours. Foucault states that a crucial element of his Panopticon is the quality of "omnipresent surveillance."⁷⁰ The Helots likely felt that their behaviour was monitored not only by the Spartans, but by other Helots, and their own minds as well. It is plausible to assume that the daily process of degradation and humiliation led the Helots to accept their status as slaves. One can assume that this is the reason why the Helots rarely ever opposed their subordination to the Spartans.⁷¹ Additionally, Helots born into this culture of degradation would intrinsically assume these cultural habits, according to Bourdieu's theory of Habitus. The Helots would have been compliant with being degraded because they learned that it was the nature of their acquired cultural capital.

⁵⁷ Figueira, "The Demography of the Spartan Helots," 195.

⁵⁸ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 5.23.3.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 5.23.2.

⁶⁰ Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, 76.

⁶¹ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.101.2.

⁶² Talbert, "The Role of the Helots in the Class Struggle at Sparta," 39.

⁶³ Ross, "Krypteia: A Form of Ancient Guerilla Warfare," 2.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 6.

⁶⁵ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 28.

⁶⁶ Ross, "Krypteia: A Form of Ancient Guerilla Warfare," 1.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 7.

⁶⁸ Talbert, "The Role of the Helots in the Class Struggle at Sparta," 36.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Foucault, "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison," 214.

⁷¹ Talbert, "The Role of the Helots in the Class Struggle at Sparta," 36.

Social behaviour can be conditioned through conforming to societal expectations and submitting to commands.⁷² The society of Sparta maintained control of the Spartans' behaviour through the use of subtle tactics in daily activities, namely sport and choral dance. These two disciplines forced Spartan citizens and Spartan women to follow specific rules of social behaviour. In choruses, the song lyrics socialised those who sang the songs. Regulated sports conditioned Spartan boys to exhibit competitiveness, force, aggression, and leadership.⁷³ Foucault's Panopticism applies to these two disciplines. Foucault viewed the mind as the location for control of power, not the body, which simply performed the actions that the mind told it to execute.⁷⁴ In Sparta, behavioural norms were subtly implanted into the subject through sport and choral dance. The subject thus becomes his or her own police, making sure that he or she conforms to these standards. Although there is no surviving evidence concerning Helot participation in choral dances and sport, one may assume the coercions by Spartan society to control the Spartans' behaviour extended to the Helots, as well.⁷⁵ If the Helots did participate in sport and choral dance, it is plausible that they had their own set of behavioural norms to which they had to adhere and monitored themselves through a self-imposed Panopticon.⁷⁶

Bourdieu's theory of Habitus can also be applied to these instances of social control in Sparta.⁷⁷ Chorus and sport function as an immersion for a young Spartan boy or girl to become familiar with cultural practices and conform to the social behaviours and interests that are presented to them.⁷⁸ The young Helot's birth into the Helot class of servitude provided the Helots with an innate sense of Helot culture. The Habitus of each Helot ingrained the individual into the Helot class so that he or she had to conform to the norms of slave behaviour. The social control of the Helots remained effective

because the Helots were given just enough food and shelter to stay alive. Aristotle understood the necessity of this tactic for controlling the Helots.⁷⁹ In *Politics*, Aristotle states, "If allowed freedom they grow insolent and claim equal rights with their masters, and if made to live a hard life they plot against them and hate them."⁸⁰ This excerpt from Aristotle's text explains the delicate balance of power with the Helots that was carefully executed to ensure that the Helots were treated well enough so that they were complicit in their subordination to the Spartans.

The architecture of Sparta can be analysed to reveal additional information about the ancient power dynamics in Sparta.⁸¹ It might be assumed that a city-state as powerful as Sparta would have a style of architecture that would reflect its might and use the form of its buildings to aid in its intimidation of the Helots. This would be an incorrect assumption, however. Sparta was unlike other city-states in that it was comprised of several small villages and was not a walled city.⁸² Thucydides' records the unimpressive nature of the architecture of Sparta in *History of The Peloponnesian War*. He states, "But their city is not built continuously, and has no splendid temples or other edifices; it rather resembles a group of villages like the ancient towns of Hellas, and would therefore make a poor show."⁸³ In this quotation, Thucydides recognises that Sparta's buildings was not imposing. R.A. Tomlinson reports that conventional orders of architecture, mostly Doric, were found at the sanctuaries of the Menelaion and the Amyklaion in Sparta.⁸⁴ There is evidence for columns, capitals, triglyph friezes and cornices in those locations, however, no large structures were constructed using this architectural knowledge.⁸⁵ The fact that the Spartans did not build large temples must have been due to reasons other than a lack of knowledge about

⁷² P. Christesen, "Athletics and Social Order in Sparta in the Classical Period," *Classical Antiquity* 31, no. 2 (2012): 209.

⁷³ Ibid, 196-200.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 215.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 194.

⁷⁶ Foucault, "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison," 201.

⁷⁷ Christesen, "Athletics and Social Order," 215.

⁷⁸ Bourdieu, "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste," 75.

⁷⁹ Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, 85.

⁸⁰ Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.1269b.

⁸¹ Fleck and Hanssen, "Rulers Ruled by Women," 226.

⁸² Kennell, *Spartans: A New History*, 39.

⁸³ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Benjamin Jowett trans., Perseus Digital Library, (Oxford, 1881), 1.10.

⁸⁴ R.A. Tomlinson, "The Menelaion and Spartan Architecture," in Jan Motyka Sanders ed., *Philolokōn: Laconian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London, 1992), 253.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

what was being constructed in other parts of Greece at the time.⁸⁶

Tomlinson suggests that the power dynamics between the Spartans and the Helots contributed to the Spartans' more restrained architecture. He does not argue that it was a mere preference for the less decorative, spare style that has become associated with the Spartan aesthetic. Tomlinson states: "The creation of the helot-supported state required the tightening of tradition, and discipline was maintained in the state by refusing to admit the weakening influence of progressive development."⁸⁷ Spartan architecture, resembling the "ancient towns" as Thucydides puts it, reflects the Spartans' need to maintain the utmost control of traditional values in order to prevent the Helot system from crumbling.⁸⁸ It was crucial for the Spartans to adhere to traditional values, even in the form of architecture, to prevent outside enemies from permeating the ideologies of Spartan society.⁸⁹ The Spartans quarantined both their culture and society.⁹⁰ The Spartans had a word for such a concept, called *xenēlasia*, which translates to "expulsion of enemies."⁹¹ The practice of *xenēlasia* can be understood as a theme of xenophobia, purposely created to both prevent the foreign ideas from gaining influence in Sparta and to eradicate foreigners.⁹² Bourdieu's theory could be applied to how the Spartans isolated both themselves and the Helots in accordance with the Habitus of their cultural practices and beliefs.⁹³ Tomlinson states that the Spartan views "were set in the seventh century; these accorded with their outlook and needs, and they refused, therefore, to change them."⁹⁴ Tomlinson believes that the relationship between the Spartans and the Helots increased the conservative political nature of the Spartans and fed their unwillingness to adopt ideas from outside of the Spartan world, especially in the areas of religion and temple construction.⁹⁵ Therefore, the Spartans did reflect their fear of the enemy within

through their architecture. It manifested itself in a rejection of the idea of large, impressive temples and other outside influences.

At the end of the third century BCE, the Helots finally saw their release from over four hundred years of Spartan domination.⁹⁶ This was largely due to the extreme shortage of Spartan men. The amount of eligible citizen soldiers was so reduced that when Macedonia threatened domination, Sparta was unable to retaliate.⁹⁷ The strictly defined roles for both men and women, outlined in the Lycurgan reforms, resulted in a highly regimented society where the men were professional Hoplite soldiers and the women managed the agricultural estates. Women played such a vital role in the Spartan economy that Sparta instituted education for Spartan girls and allowed women to move around freely.⁹⁸ Since Spartan women were educated and had the financial means and ability to travel, they had access to contraception.⁹⁹ In addition, Spartan women may not have wanted sons. The boys would not have contributed to the livelihood of the family, since boys were forced to join the army and protect the state.¹⁰⁰ The Spartan population suffered an eighty percent decrease in the two hundred years after the Lycurgan reforms were instituted, weakening the once indomitable Spartan army and causing Sparta to lose the fertile land it had once occupied.¹⁰¹

Ultimately, the Helots were responsible for the collapse of Sparta. Michel Foucault's theory of Panopticism and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of Habitus can be employed to explain the oppression of the Helots by the Spartans to aid in an explanation of their extended enslavement and acceptance of intolerable treatment. As an internal enemy, the mere existence of the Helots gnawed away at the foundations of Spartan society. The power of the Spartan army made Sparta arguably the most powerful city-state in ancient Greece, yet the Spartans were only able to exist as

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 254.

⁸⁸ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 1.10.

⁸⁹ Thomas J. Figueira, "Xenelasia and Social Control in Classical Sparta," *The Classical Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2003): 44.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 58.

⁹¹ Ibid, 44.

⁹² Ibid, 46-47.

⁹³ Tomlinson, "The Menelaion and Spartan Architecture," 255.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Hodkinson, "Sharecropping," 124.

⁹⁷ Timothy Doran, "Eugenic Ideology in the Hellenistic Spartan Reforms 1," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 66, no. 3 (2017): 259.

⁹⁸ Fleck and Hanssen, "Rulers Ruled by Women," 224.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 240.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 241.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 225.

Hoplites because they forced the Helots to work their fields through sharecropping and they enabled their Spartan wives to manage their agricultural estates. These factors supported and maintained Sparta's economy for centuries. The constitutional reforms that allowed for women to be afforded rights and responsibilities were incompatible with the growth of large families. Thus, Sparta saw an extreme decline in their population. The domination of the Helots was such a consuming problem for the Spartans that it caused them to create a constitution and system that was unmanageable indefinitely. The manipulative, social tactics used to control the Helots and convince them to be complicit in their subordination, such as mass executions, came from a place of anxiety on behalf of the Spartans. Foucault's and Bourdieu's theories have provided a framework in which to understand this complex relationship, interpreted through the written sources of Isocrates, Herodotus, Aristotle, Thucydides, and Plutarch and analysed through the remains of Spartan architecture. Perhaps if more written texts and archaeological finds are discovered, concrete conclusions can be made pertaining to the Helots' subservience. For now, the application of contemporary theories is the most accurate way of understanding the power relationship that existed between the Spartans and the Helots.

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OSCAN GRAFFITI IN ROMAN POMPEII

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Cicero, in his defence of Publius Cornelius Sulla, rebuts the claim that his defendant riled up Pompeians with anti-Roman sentiments to gain support for a conspiracy.¹ This speech, made in 62 BCE, several decades after the resolution of the Social War and the establishment of a Roman *colonia* at Pompeii, demonstrates that there was still a community divide between indigenous Pompeians, who were part of a larger group of southern Italians called Oscans, and the Roman colonists. Cicero, himself not a native Roman, again touches on divided loyalties in *De Legibus* where he discusses the “two fatherlands” which every Italian has: the heritage of local community and a duty to Rome.² While Cicero does not explicitly mention

Pompeii, it is not unreasonable to think this sentiment was felt there too. Strabo, writing between 20 BCE and 23 CE, mentions the presence of the Oscan language at Pompeii. He writes, “Although the Oscans have disappeared, their dialect remains among the Romans, so much so that poems are brought on stage during a traditional competition and are recited like mimes.”³ By this account the two communities had largely integrated, at least linguistically. Yet Oscan as a language is still attested and seemingly celebrated, in some antiquarian fashion, indicating that it had remained an important part of some Pompeians’ identity.

¹ Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, trans. Louis E. Lord, Loeb Classical Library 324, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 60-1; Alison E. Cooley, “The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii,” in *Becoming Roman, writing Latin? : literacy and epigraphy in the Roman West*, ed. Alison E. Cooley, 77-86, (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2002), 78.

² Cicero, *On the Laws*, trans. Clinton W. Keyes, Loeb Classical Library 213, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 2.2.5.

³ Strabo, *Geography, Volume II: Books 3-5*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library 50, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923), 5.233.

Language in the Roman Empire has been a popular topic amongst scholars of linguistics and epigraphy in the ancient world for as long as the ancient languages themselves have been studied. This sort of investigation has become increasingly prevalent over the last few decades as a push back against traditional narratives of ‘Romanization.’ Scholarship, reflecting on the modern world, is considering questions of identity and colonialism in the ancient world. These studies have explored change and exchange between Latin and the various languages of peoples conquered by Rome, investigating questions of multilingualism, language use, and language persistence.⁴ Even if these questions are impossible to answer in their entirety, linguistic evidence can still be a valuable tool for exploring the human experience in the ancient world. Alongside literary sources and official inscriptions, both of which are conventionally paramount in the discussions of language in the ancient world, is graffiti. The study of ancient graffiti has become an especially popular topic in recent scholarship, for good reason. Graffiti offers an ordinary and unfiltered window into the lives of individuals from the past, representing people from all social, economic, and cultural backgrounds.

As the Roman Republic slowly expanded across Italy and the Mediterranean, so too did many elements of Roman society. In the west, Latin became the dominant language, at least for administrative purposes. By the time Cicero was writing, Pompeii had been within the Roman sphere for centuries, and under direct control for decades. Strabo’s mention of Oscan heritage in the city comes over half a century later. Traditional scholarship would have considered the city fully ‘Romanized’, with Latin slowly replacing Oscan in every facet of life across Pompeii. It is now clear, however, that change in the social fabric was far more

dynamic and nuanced across the territories conquered and controlled by the Roman Empire. Both Cicero and Strabo hint at the complexity. This paper explores said complexity through the continuity of Oscan identity in the city of Pompeii through its graffiti. It examines the persistence of the Oscan language under the Roman socio-political superstructure, and what that reveals about the people and communities that wrote, read, and left these inscriptions behind.

Definitions and Framework

Graffiti is surprisingly difficult to define, and this definition varies between historical and social contexts. Contemporary notions of graffiti typically have negative connotations attached – the action of painting or incising text or images onto an object, wall, or other surface being illegal, unauthorised, or, at the very least, unsanctioned. If not directly illicit, the creation of graffiti is seen as impromptu or crude. As a result, the purpose and reception of graffiti is also charged with implications. Of course, these conceptions are linked to current notions of property, heritage, and aesthetics. Even still, this modern understanding of graffiti is fluid and has shifted dramatically over the last 50 years.⁵ In antiquity, graffiti seems to have had different connotations. It was not only socially acceptable but also a cultural norm. In the domestic spaces at Pompeii, for example, graffiti is common, written with convention, and possibly even encouraged. There was an understanding that certain significant surfaces, like wall paintings, should be avoided, but most walls and objects were acceptable canvases. Thus, there was very little censorship of graffiti and individuals were free to scribble away. Surfaces such as walls were covered in decades or even centuries of graffiti without anyone actively trying to ‘clean it up.’⁶

⁴ For some examples of broad studies on language in the antiquity see: Ramsay MacMullen. “Provincial Languages in the Roman Empire,” *The American Journal of Philology* 87, no. 1 (1966): 1–17; William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*. (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991); James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain, *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Claudia Moatti, “Translation, Migration, and Communication in the Roman Empire: Three Aspects of Movement in History,” *Classical Antiquity* 1, no. 25 (2006): 109–140; Alex Mullen and Patrick James, *Multilingualism in the*

Graeco-Roman Worlds, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁵ Ondřej Škrabal et al., “Towards a Cross-Cultural Understanding of Graffiti: Terminology, Context, Semiotics, Documentation,” in *Graffiti Scratched, Scrawled, Sprayed*, ed. Škrabal, Ondřej, Leah Mascia, Ann Lauren Osthof, and Malena Ratzke, 1–46, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 4, 8, 10, 14–6.

⁶ For discussion on the practice of graffiti writing in Pompeii and the ancient world see: Jennifer A. Baird, and Claire Taylor, *Ancient graffiti in Context*, (New York: Routledge, 2011); Peter Keegan, *Graffiti in Antiquity*, (London: Routledge, 2014); Rebecca R Benefiel, “Ancient Graffiti in Pompeian Domestic

The definition of graffiti is also varied and debated across scholarship. In Classical studies there is no focus on intent or lack of authorization. Instead, graffiti is typically defined in how it differs from formal epigraphy and other texts: the original surface did not initially hold or display writing. There is often an emphasis on engraving as the key action in creating graffiti, leading to *dipinti*, painted inscriptions, sometimes being categorized separately. However, they have been included in the discussion as an additive, rather than reductive, type of graffiti.⁷ The differences in definition of graffiti across contexts (and between academic fields) makes using cross-cultural analysis more challenging.⁸

Despite the difficulty in definition, there is something about graffiti universal to the human experience. Each graffito can be examined as an artifact, made by someone consciously and with intent. They are also (even when created on a movable object) intrinsically connected to their spatial context. The phenomenon is seen spanning societies across history. There seems to be an innate human urge to engage with and alter their environment. As such, graffiti are physically connected to and interact with their surrounding spaces and, in some way, appropriate it. This spatiality is compounded when a graffito is situated near other graffiti. The graffiti in these ‘assemblages’ often interrelate to one another, either through spatial relation or by being in direct dialogue.⁹

When viewed as an artifact, a graffito can be an identity marker that reveals information about its creator. Identity markers have been an important

element of human communication across all historical periods and societies. Through these markers, speakers and writers communicate information about themselves (social status, community membership, etc.) to their audience.¹⁰ Identity is complex, neither static nor one-dimensional, and thus every communicative exchange is a new expression and representation.¹¹ Written graffiti, as a form of communication and dialogue, is no exception. Everything from language choice to spelling, content, and relation to other graffiti can be interpreted as conscious or subconscious identity markers. Through these perspectives, graffiti can be an invaluable tool to learn about people in the past, providing various insights, ranging from common and unedited use of language to social or individual conceptions of space. They portray both conscious and subconscious choice, effort, intent, and messaging which represent the author’s identity. It is through these lenses that the Oscan graffiti from Pompeii is considered.

Preservation of Graffiti at Pompeii

The long undisturbed preservation of buildings at Pompeii makes it an excellent site to examine graffiti. The eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 BCE buried the city under 6 meters of ash and pumice, which kept the graffiti safe from the elements. So far, thousands of ancient graffiti have been uncovered in the city and

Spaces,” in *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text: XIV Congressus internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae 27.–31. Augusti MMXII*, ed. Werner Eck and Peter Funke, 494–496, (Akten, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014); Rebecca R. Benefiel, “The Culture of Writing Graffiti within Domestic Spaces at Pompeii,” in *Inscriptions in the Private Sphere in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Rebecca R. Benefiel and Peter Keegan, 80-110, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015); Rebecca R. Benefiel, “Gladiators, Greetings and Poetry: Graffiti in First Century Pompeii,” in *Scribbling through History: Graffiti, Places and People from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. C. Ragazzoli, Ö. Harmanşah, C. Salvador, and E. Froom, 101-116, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

⁷ For discussion on the definition of graffiti and the inclusion of *dipinti* see: Baird and Taylor, *Ancient graffiti in Context*; Peter Keegan, *Graffiti in Antiquity*; Benefiel, “The Culture of Writing Graffiti within Domestic Spaces at Pompeii;” Benefiel, “Gladiators, Greetings and Poetry.”

⁸ Škrabal et al., “Towards a Cross-Cultural Understanding of Graffiti: Terminology, Context, Semiotics, Documentation,” 15.

⁹ Škrabal et al., “Towards a Cross-Cultural Understanding of Graffiti: Terminology, Context, Semiotics, Documentation,” 4-7, 15-9; Rebecca R. Benefiel, and Holly M. Sypniewski, “Documenting Ancient Graffiti: Text, Image, Support and Access,” in *Graffiti Scratched, Scrawled, Sprayed*, ed. Škrabal, Ondřej, Leah Mascia, Ann Lauren Osthof, and Malena Ratzke, 425-466, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023), 430.

¹⁰ Piera Molinelli, “Linguistic Representations of Identity. Texts, Contexts, and Methods in Diachronic Perspective,” in *Language and Identity in Multilingual Mediterranean Settings: Challenges for Historical Sociolinguistics*, ed. Piera Molinelli, 1-32. (Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2017), 1.

¹¹ Molinelli, 1; Carlo Consani and Pierluigi Cuzzolin, “Identity in Speakers’ Discourse,” in *Language and Identity in Multilingual Mediterranean Settings: Challenges for Historical Sociolinguistics*, ed. Piera Molinelli, 33-48, (Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 2017), 34.

surrounding areas.¹² This is not to say Pompeii provides a perfect setting to perform a study on ancient graffiti – the evidence is still challenging and limited. Excavations at Pompeii have been ongoing since the mid-18th century. Over that time much of the graffiti has been exposed and left unprotected. While conservation methods have improved in recent decades, little was done to keep them safe in the past. Furthermore, for over two and a half centuries, Pompeii has been a prime tourist destination, the resulting foot traffic has intensified the exposure conditions and affected the graffiti. Now, much of the graffiti once visible has been lost, with only records from the original excavators and early scholars left to analyse. Unfortunately, these records cannot be fully trusted. At that time, methodology was not as scientifically rigorous and technology not as sophisticated as today. Inadequate documentation means much of the work done by modern scholars is dependent on the interpretation of others, since the primary sources are gone or, at the very least, damaged. What is left to examine in many cases are sketches and line drawings or poor-quality photographs that do not truly capture a graffiti and all its complexities. Further complicating the matter are debates over provenance or the position of now lost graffiti, which might drastically change the interpretation. What makes the study of damaged or destroyed graffiti remotely approachable are the catalogues of inscriptions that have been assembled since the Late 19th Century. Yet, many of the same issues mentioned above also plague these volumes.¹³

¹² Benefiel and Sypniewski, “Documenting Ancient Graffiti: Text, Image, Support and Access,” 429-31.

¹³ Paavo Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, (Rome: Bardi, 1975), 28-30; Catalogues: Robert S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects vol. 1*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1897; Michael H. Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2011); Hendrikus Hubertus Janssen, *Oscan and Umbrian Inscriptions, with a Latin translation*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949); Emil Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1953); Johannes Zvetaieff, *Sylogae inscriptionum Oskarum ad archetyporum et librorum fidem*, (Hildesheim: H.A. Gerstenberg, 1878); Johannes Zvetaieff, *Inscriptiones Italiae inferioris*

History of Languages in Pompeii: Oscan and Latin

Pompeii is in the region of Campania, just over 200 kilometres south along the Tyrrhenian coast from Rome. Direct Roman intervention in the region began in the mid-4th century BCE with a call for aid by the *Campani* at the onset of the Samnite Wars.¹⁴ Though the cities of Campania retained their autonomy after these conflicts, Roman influence on the region steadily increased. Roman families began moving to Campania, establishing close ties with the local communities. Throughout this time, Pompeii remained a relatively small and unimportant town.¹⁵ However, after the Second Punic War and the defection of Capua, the largest Campanian city, Pompeii’s importance dramatically increased. Many harsh punishments were placed on Capua and, as a result, aristocrats and wealthy businessmen, both Roman and Campanian alike, resettled in Pompeii. Following this, the city prospered, as is evident by its growth and the construction of monumental projects and large lavish private homes.¹⁶ Many of the structures built at this time remained in use until the eruption of Mount Vesuvius and served as surfaces where the town’s graffiti were preserved. The increasing prosperity of Pompeii continued until the Social War in the 1st century BCE. Pompeii, along with numerous other Italian communities, rallied against Rome. Two years later Pompeii was sieged and taken by the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla, marking the beginning of the Roman Period.¹⁷ Not long after, a Roman veteran *colonia* was established in the town, which was formally renamed *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum*. The archeological remains from this phase seem to indicate the city was transformed and

dialecticae in usum praecipue academicum, (Mosquae: O. Herbeck, 1886); see Conway and Crawford for examples of graffiti now lost or damaged. See Benefiel and Sypniewski, “Documenting Ancient Graffiti: Text, Image, Support and Access,” for the history of preservation and documentation of graffiti in Pompeii, as well as modern methods.

¹⁴ Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, 37.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 38.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 39-40.

¹⁷ James N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 146; Kristina Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 18; Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, 62.

redefined – public space was especially altered with the construction or renovation of public buildings. This change is thought to reflect a transition in the town’s identity by the colonists.¹⁸ On the surface this narrative is compelling: the occupying and wealthy Romans moved into town, and a big boom in development converted the city following the Roman model.

Before the *colonia*, Oscan was the primary language spoken in Pompeii, followed by Greek and possibly Latin.¹⁹ Latin had been influential in Campania long before direct Roman intervention. Regional loan words made their way into the Latin lexicon, and vice versa, demonstrating its presence in the area. By the 2nd century BCE, there was already some level of prestige associated with Latin throughout the Italian peninsula.²⁰ A story recorded by Livy recounts that the government of Cumae, another Campanian town, appealed to Rome to use Latin as a sanctioned language of business as early as 180 BCE.²¹ Pompeii, too, experienced similar cultural and linguistic pressures. The names of Pompeian offices reflected a Latin influence predating the Roman period, with magistracies such as *kuaisstur* (*quaestor*) and *aidilis* (*aedile*). Other examples appear, such as the Latin inscription “HAVE” in the entrance to the *Casa del Fauno*, from the 2nd century BCE. The Latinization of the Italian peninsula, attested at sites across the region, likely contributed to the decline of local languages.²² Yet no active attempt to wipe out and supplant local languages is apparent.²³ At Pompeii, during the Roman Period, Latin became the official language of public business.²⁴ Despite this, the assertion that Oscan was extinct by the time Pompeii was buried in 79 CE does not accurately describe the whole picture.²⁵ Instead, the Graffiti indicates a persisting presence of people in

Pompeii whose continued use of Oscan reflect their own local identity.

Along with the rest of southern Italy and parts of Sicily, the indigenous inhabitants of Campania spoke Oscan. As part of the Sabellic family, Oscan is Indo-European and related to Latin and other Italic languages.²⁶ A few key characteristics, namely the letter forms and direction of script, helped scholars identify Oscan. A great deal of work was done to decipher Oscan around the turn of the 20th century, but few advances have been made since.²⁷ It is possible to differentiate archaic letter forms from later ones, but for the scope of this paper, virtually no differences exist between Oscan script immediately before and after the start of the Roman Period. Instead, dating relies on contextualizing the content of a graffito, compared with other sources or references, and using methods of relative dating to put it in a sequence with other features – both of which are often subject to debate.

Oscan appears in the epigraphic record beginning in the 5th century BCE. While the language was written in a variety of scripts, the primary one used in Campania was an Oscan alphabet. This script was written right to left and its letter forms were clearly derived from Etruscan, which itself was derived from Greek.²⁸ A small number of Oscan inscriptions have been found using the Etruscan script, more as well in Latin and Greek.²⁹ Despite its ancestry, Oscan script can still be identified by the morphology of its letter forms and written direction.³⁰ Further south, Oscan was often written in the Hellenistic Ionic Greek alphabet used by the settlements of *Magna Graecia* from which a

¹⁸ Cooley, “The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii,” 77.

¹⁹ Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, 18.

²⁰ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 112, 114.

²¹ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 113; Livy, 40. 43. 1.

²² Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 112; Cooley, “The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii,” 83.

²³ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 114.

²⁴ Cooley, “The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii,” 77.

²⁵ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 112-3.

²⁶ Nicholas Zair, *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge Classical Studies, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 1; although Latin is not a Sabellic language and Oscan has more in common with other Italic languages such as Umbrian.

²⁷ Early work by Carl Darling Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian : with a Collection of Inscriptions and a Glossary*, (Boston: Ginn & Company Publishers, 1904); in recent scholarship continued by Katherine McDonald, *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily: Evaluating Language Contact in a Fragmentary Corpus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2015; and Zair, *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*.

²⁸ Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian : with a Collection of Inscriptions and a Glossary*, 24; Zair, *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*, 1.

²⁹ Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian : with a Collection of Inscriptions and a Glossary*, 22-3; Zair, *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*, 2.

³⁰ Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, 18.

different Oscan alphabet was derived.³¹ Oscan inscriptions appear in a variety of epigraphic genres, such as monumental inscriptions, dedications, curse tablets, and, of course graffiti. However, the corpus of Oscan graffiti is not extensive. At Pompeii, many date to the late 2nd century BCE or later, and few are substantial texts – most being alphabets, a couple of words, or names.³²

Even well before the Social War, Latin was prominent throughout Italy, including in regions that traditionally spoke Oscan. One of the largest samples of Oscan comes from the *Tabula Bantina*, a legal text from around the time of the Social War, written both in Oscan and Latin. Some coins from this period were also minted bilingually in Oscan and Latin.³³ Once the *colonia* was established at Pompeii, the official language became Latin, as was common practice. This is largely evident in monumental inscriptions which abruptly change to Latin in 80 BCE.³⁴ Despite this, it appears the transition to Latin was not accompanied by a purge of old linguistic evidence. The colonists did not intentionally remove or censor Oscan graffiti and inscriptions, instead leaving traces of the town's past in situ.³⁵ The most famous examples are a series of Oscan *dipinti* dubbed the 'eituns inscriptions', believed to date to the last period of Pompeian autonomy when the city was under siege by Sulla's forces during the Social War. These graffiti, formulaically painted on street corners, landmarks, and walls, directed defending soldiers to their officers and various muster points.³⁶ While the eituns inscriptions just barely predate the Roman period, their survival beyond is particularly relevant as

they linguistically memorialize the city's physical struggle against Rome.

Oscan Programmata

Another series of Oscan *dipinti* painted throughout the city, which appear to be electoral notices for the office of "IIIⁿer," date to the Roman Period.³⁷ These are part of a massive corpus of programmata, of which over 2,500 were revealed at Pompeii. They cover public spaces, particularly busy ones, promoting candidates for local elections.³⁸ This office was introduced only after the Social War and is essentially Roman, not relating to any previous Oscan office.³⁹ "IIIⁿer" (sometimes further abbreviated as "IIIⁿ n.") is a shorthand version of the Roman office *quattuorvir*, often abbreviated in Latin Pompeian programmata as 'q.'⁴⁰ The *quattuorviri* was a council of four men that ran the city and was made up of two *aediles* and two *duoviri iure dicundo*.⁴¹ In the later period of Roman Pompeii, the term *quattuorviri* was retired in favor of the specific office names. Election notices or monumental inscriptions would, for example, record the office *aediles* or *duoviri* instead of *IIIⁿer* or *quattuorvir*. This suggests these graffiti are from the earlier phase of Roman occupation, before the term *quattuorvir* was no longer in use.

The Oscan "IIIⁿer" *dipinti* adhere to a relatively uniform pattern. All are painted in red, roughly two meters above street level, and written right to left. The *dipinti* follow a formula, "[name] for (or of) the office of four men."⁴² References to *quattuorviri* appear in

³¹ McDonald, *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily*, 63; Zair, *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*, 136.

³² Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, 18-9; McDonald, *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily*, 31; Zair, *Oscan in the Greek Alphabet*, 1.

³³ McDonald, *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily*, 235.

³⁴ Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, 18; Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 77, 79.

³⁵ Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 80.

³⁶ Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, 44; Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, 18; McDonald, *Oscan in Southern Italy and Sicily*, 235. Interesting that these remained intact even after the military veteran colony was set up. Perhaps they continued to have some use to the Oscan inhabitants that did not threaten the militarily *coloniae*.

³⁷ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 669-80, nos. Pompei 30-35; Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, 57-9, nos. 29, 30, 30d, 30e, 30h, 32b; Conway, *The Italic Dialects*,

72-4, nos. 64, 65, 67, 69, 72, 72bis; Zvetaieff, *SOI*, 55-60, nos. 84, 86, 89, 90, 99; see appendix, tbl. 1.

³⁸ Henrik Mouritsen, "Electoral campaigning in Pompeii: a reconsideration," *Athenaeum* 87 (1999): 515.

³⁹ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 146; Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 82; Benefiel, "Gladiators, Greetings and Poetry," 102, on the production/purpose of *dipinti* as public messages.

⁴⁰ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 146; Castren, 45, 51.

⁴¹ Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, 51, 63.

⁴² There is some debate over the abbreviated 'n.' standing for "ner" or "nerum." The former is nominative while the latter is genitive plural. If the latter is to be believed, the translation might be "of the council of four," implying the notice is a decree rather than a programmata, since the candidate would already a member of the board. However, the evidence for this is a single notice (appendix, tbl. 1.5) with replaces the 'n.' with "neru(m)," then followed by a

other contexts which provide the nominative singular form of the office. A stamp on some large earthenware pots bears the name and title of the vessel's producer: "Ovius Novius IIIner."⁴³

One electoral notice promotes the candidate Ma(mercus) Herenni(us). While this Oscan *dipinto* itself follows the formula, it appears to have a corresponding Latin graffito on an adjacent tufa pilaster. The Latin notice promotes the same candidate, Ma(mercus) Herenni(us), although there is no mention of the *quattuorviri*: "MA · HEREN·I | SERICVS VOS."⁴⁴ If these two are taken to be the same candidate, as many scholars do, this would likely date these graffiti, and the office of *quattuorvir*, to after the Roman *colonia*. Furthermore, the interchange between the two programmata strongly suggests Ma(mercus) Herenni(us) was seeking votes from both Latin and Oscan speakers.⁴⁵ Both are linguistic markers, demonstrating how Ma. Herennius presented himself through language choice. They speak to two different audiences, each conveying subtly different messages. On the one hand, Ma. Herennius identifies himself as Oscan, or to some degree with the Oscans. On the other, within the context of a Roman *colonia*, he is an equally legitimate candidate to Latin speakers.

Some interpretations have suggested these inscriptions only date to the very first years after the Social War. Other scholars argue Pompeii was first made into a semi-autonomous *municipium* in 87 BCE by Cornelius Cinna, which lasted until the establishment of the *colonia* in 80 BCE, although evidence for this is limited.⁴⁶ During this theoretical period, the city was administered by the *quattuorviri*. Henrik Mouritsen further argues that the office

abbreviated in Latin as 'q.' does not represent the *quattuorviri*, which was phased out in the *colonia*, but the office of *quaestor*. However, as Castren aptly points out, the quaestorship is never referenced as an office from Roman Pompeii. Additionally, the required age for the office of *aedile* was only 22 and the prerequisite for *duorir* was the *aedile*. Thus, holding the office of *quaestor* as prerequisite is unnecessary, unlike in the Roman *cursus honorum*.⁴⁷ Thus the interpretation of 'q.' as *quattuorvir* is far more likely. Furthermore, J. N. Adams notes that Mouritsen does not consider the *dipinto* promoting Ma(mercus) Herenni(us) and the possible corresponding Latin one.⁴⁸

It seems probable that these graffiti come from a transitional period after the Social War but before the office is no longer mentioned.⁴⁹ However, there is no reason to conclude that this period ended with the Roman *colonia*. It seems these Oscan electoral graffiti, and thus the continued use of the local language, are from a time when direct Roman influence caused a reform of the municipal constitution and the introduction of the office of *quattuorvir*.⁵⁰ More significantly, the presence of Ma. Herennius' two programmata suggests the voting body was made up of two communities speaking two different languages, both Oscan and Latin⁵¹. Whether the Latin speaking community is evidence enough to date both inscriptions to after the *colonia* or simply evidence of a pre-existing Latin community cannot be said for certain. Regardless, it shows both languages were used within the political sphere concurrently in a time where there was diversity in linguistic identity within the voting body.

debated word suggested to mean "declares." It seems more reasonable to assume this one notice departs from the pattern of programmata, rather than interpreting all the others differently. Note the translations provided in the appendix, tbl. 1, use Conway's data and thus the interpretation of "nerum" for all.

⁴³ Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, 46.

⁴⁴ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 146; Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, 174, no. 191.2; Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 82; Karl Zangemeister and Richard Schoene eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Volume IV: Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculenses Stabianae*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1957), 48.

⁴⁵ The use of multiple languages would make sense for a political campaign and matches Benefiel's, 2018, 102, definition of *dipinti*

as messages intended to reach a large audience; it is instead possible the use of Latin was a way to bolster his prestige, thus not necessarily limiting the *dipinto*'s date to after the establishment of the *colonia*.

⁴⁶ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 146; Castren, 50.

⁴⁷ Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, 51, 63, 83.

⁴⁸ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 146.

⁴⁹ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 146; Castren, *Ordo populusque pompeianus. Polity and society in Roman Pompeii*, 45, 50.

⁵⁰ Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 82-3; Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, 18.

⁵¹ Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 82-3.

Lupanar Signatures

Another example of Oscan graffiti comes from an interior wall of the Lupanar, one of Pompeii's brothels. The building's first room is filled with nearly 150 graffiti – over 120 in Latin, several in Greek, and one in Oscan. Many of the Latin graffiti are names and greetings, presumably patrons signing to commemorate their stay. Of the Greek graffiti, all are names or transliterations of Latin words into Greek.⁵² Often these Greek names are paired with a Latin transliteration, implying the author was attempting to reach the largest audience possible.⁵³ The trend evokes the multilingual programmata discussed above, although in this case with less political intent. The Oscan graffiti is just to the left of the door. It simply reads “markas,” the name “Marcus/Margas.”⁵⁴ To the right lies a Latin graffiti “MARCVS SCEPSINI VBIQVII SAL.”⁵⁵ The proposal by Giuseppe Fiorelli suggests that ‘Marcus’ was pleased to sign his name in Latin and decided to also do it in Oscan, but for whatever reason was unable to finish.⁵⁶

This graffiti fits perfectly into the tradition of bilingual name signing found in the other graffiti which fill the room.⁵⁷ It might be a marker of heritage, or an attempt to reach a whole new audience which none of the surrounding signatures do. If both graffiti were indeed by the same Marcus, they would be evidence of Oscan-Latin bilingualism in the last few years of the city. Marcus marks himself, not only as a Latin speaker, but as Oscan too. This would have been especially significant within the context of signatures, the ultimate show of one's identity. It is in dialogue with the wall of Romans and Greeks and becomes an expression of Marcus's heritage, even if his Oscan signature is

secondary. However, others have claimed it cannot be confidently taken as anything more than a simple transliteration by another author, especially given the trend of transliteration in the room. But even if this is more safely assumed, the graffiti is still a demonstration of Oscan usage. The author had both a working knowledge of Oscan script, knowing Oscan letter forms and how they correspond to the Latin alphabet. Furthermore, they felt the motivation to use it. Undoubtedly the author was intimately familiar with Oscan.

The wall it was written on can be comfortably dated due to a serendipitous occurrence during a re-plastering of the room. During these renovations someone decided to press both sides of several coins into the wet plaster. The collection of imprints features coins minted by Galba, Vespasian, and Titus, the latest of which dates to 72 CE.⁵⁸ This places all the graffiti on the wall must date to between 72 and 79 CE, well into the Roman Period.

Oscan Wordplay

Some of the Latin graffiti in Pompeii appears to be wordplay, games and riddles, something that was a seemingly popular use of graffiti in antiquity. If Oscan continued to be used in Roman Pompeii, one would expect it to be used in a similar way. Latin alphabets and letter jumbles have been found and interpreted as both practice learning and skilled games of linguistic dexterity.⁵⁹ As with the Latin examples, so too can Oscan ones be found. Sometimes Oscan alphabets appear in the same contexts as Latin ones, indicating some sort of exchange, although which came first is uncertain. Many are believed to date to, at the earliest,

⁵² There is one exception to the transliterations on the wall: an abbreviation of the Greek word for death; Sarah Levin-Richardson, *The Brothel of Pompeii: Sex, Class, and Gender at the Margins of Roman Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 40; Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 702-3.

⁵³ Levin-Richardson, *The Brothel of Pompeii*, 58.

⁵⁴ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 702-3, no. Pompei 46; Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, 64, no. 63; Conway, 79, no. 82; see appendix, tbl. 2.1.

⁵⁵ Zangemeister and Schoene, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum IV*, 2201; *The Brothel of Pompeii*, 45, who offers a possible translation: “Marcus [sends] greet(ings) to Scepsis everywhere,” Scepsis being a female cognomen.

⁵⁶ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 702-3, who cites Giuseppe Fiorelli, *giornale degli scavi di Pompei* 2, 14 (11862), 41-64.

⁵⁷ Levin-Richardson, *The Brothel of Pompeii*, 58.

⁵⁸ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 702-3.

⁵⁹ Rebecca R. Benefiel, “Magic Squares, Alphabet Jumbles, Riddles and More: The Culture of Word-Games among the Graffiti of Pompeii,” in *The Muse at Play: Riddles and Wordplay in Greek and Latin Poetry*, ed. J. Kwapisz, D. Petrain, and M. Szymanski, 65-79, (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 66-7.

c. 100 BCE, quite close to the beginning of the Roman Period.⁶⁰

Another form of wordplay graffiti in Pompeii are ‘magic squares.’ These squares are palindromes that can be read left to right or right to left, top down or bottom up. Found across the empire in both Latin and Greek, several have appeared in Pompeii.⁶¹ The most famous of the Pompeian examples is the ROTASATOR square. The example of particular relevance for this paper is the smaller ROMA-AMOR square on an outside wall of the *Casa del Menando*.⁶² Examples of this same square have also been discovered elsewhere – two at Ostia and one at Cádiz in Spain.⁶³ However, the Pompeii example differs from the others. All four interior letters are represented by identical vertical strokes, making ‘I’ and ‘L’ indistinguishable from one another.⁶⁴

Rather than using the same ‘solution’ as with the Roman examples, Peter Schrijver has suggested a possible alternate and intriguing interpretation. There is no question as to the meaning of Roma and *amor*, Rome and love respectively. However, instead of reading “MIIO” as the praenomen “Milo” and “OIIM” as the Latin word *olim* – meaning *once* – as they appear in the other examples, Schrijver proposes Oscan vocabulary.⁶⁵ While a complete Oscan lexicon does not exist, he convincingly argues alternate suggestions. “MIIO” becomes “my/mine,” equivalent to Latin *mea*, and “OIIM” becomes “hate,” the Latin equivalent to *odium*. With this reading the translation becomes “Rome is hate, mine (Pompeii) is love.”⁶⁶ While the other magic squares date to the 2nd century CE, this one can only have come from the late 1st century CE or earlier. This example might be a parody of the original ROMA-AMOR square, with a Pompeian twist. Considering the past strife between Rome and Pompeii, it is not surprising that anti-Roman sentiments might be held by an Oscan speaking local community. Under this

proposal, the square could be an example of code-switching, the act of swapping between multiple languages within a single sentence or conversation.⁶⁷ Code-switching might be used for a variety of reasons. In this case, it may be playing with the different reading directions of Oscan and Latin, along with a love/hate relationship with Rome. As such, the graffito is a marker not just of the author’s Oscan speaking identity, but of their feelings towards authority. It might even be a subtly subversive message, recognizing that the anti-Roman opinion would only be seen and understood by Oscan readers.

Even without the anti-Roman messaging, it might be interesting enough to read the individual words in different directions. When considering the fascination with ‘magic squares’ across the empire, Rebecca Benefiel suggests they might not need to form a single sentence.⁶⁸ Even this interpretation lends itself well to the combination of Oscan, written right to left, and Latin, left to right. Furthermore, the bilingual nature of the square could add to the challenge and appeal as a game, or message, for other bilingual Pompeians. Although no date can be given to the square, it is plausibly derived from the much later Roman examples, so a later date seems likely.⁶⁹

Other Oscan Graffiti

Oscan graffiti have also been found in private contexts too.⁷⁰ In one case a particular plaster fragment with what appears to be Oscan might provide evidence of use well into Imperial times. The plaster piece from a black fresco, marked with white chalk, was found in the *Casa del Centenario*, although its exact location is debated. The plaster piece fell off almost immediately after excavation in the late 1800s and records are lacking. August Mau, who was working in Pompeii around this time, claimed it came from a particular wall

⁶⁰ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 735-44, nos. 74-81.

⁶¹ Benefiel, “Magic Squares, Alphabet Jumbles, Riddles and More,” 69; Benefiel and Sypniewski, “Documenting Ancient Graffiti: Text, Image, Support and Access,” 426-8.

⁶² Peter Schrijver, “Oscan love of Rome,” *Glotta* 92 (2016): 223; Zangemeister and Schoene, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum IV*, 8297; Benefiel, “Ancient Graffiti in Pompeian Domestic Spaces,” 495.

⁶³ Benefiel, “Magic Squares, Alphabet Jumbles, Riddles and More,” 69.

⁶⁴ Schrijver, “Oscan love of Rome,” 223; see appendix, tbl. 3.

⁶⁵ Benefiel, “Magic Squares, Alphabet Jumbles, Riddles and More,” 69.

⁶⁶ Schrijver, “Oscan love of Rome,” 224.

⁶⁷ For a more comprehensive examination of code-switching see Penelope Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶⁸ Benefiel, “Magic Squares, Alphabet Jumbles, Riddles and More,” 67-70.

⁶⁹ Schrijver, “Oscan love of Rome,” 224-5.

⁷⁰ Cooley, “The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii,” 80.

which had multiple plaster layers. On the plaster underneath the layer that fell off was a Latin inscription that contained the consular date of the year 15 CE.⁷¹ Mau further assessed that the graffito must date to after 60 CE because of the black fresco it was sketched on. Black is not used in Pompeian frescos until the *Fourth Style*, which has been dated to 60-79 CE.⁷² While the location has been dismissed by other scholars, they still agree with Mau's *Fourth Style* dating assessment. Further confusing the issue is the graffito itself, which reads "neypús· ieri."⁷³ While the characters are in Oscan script, scholars have been unable to translate it, leaving some to wonder about its authenticity. Furthermore, white chalk was used very rarely at Pompeii, only appearing in five other known inscriptions.⁷⁴ On the other hand, chalk is a fragile medium and it is quite possible that the issues with translating the, now lost, fragment are due to poor records and preservation. If the graffito is to be trusted, the relative dating places Oscan well into the Roman Phase.

Another contested graffito was found on the outside wall of the *Casa del Poeta Tragico*. Carved into the red plaster in typical Oscan lettering, from right to left, the graffito reads: "g· ivda í í eosii."⁷⁵ The lettering is irregular, and the translation is unknown, but what makes this graffito important for dating is not the inscription itself but the surface it was written on. The wall is definitively dated to after the earthquake of 62 CE. This graffito provides evidence of the Oscan language within the last two decades of the city.⁷⁶ However, the irregularity of the writing and the inability to translate it has caused some doubt. Further inspiring disbelief is another inscription directly below, "IISOIEIIRIIO," which has been noted as a "disastrous attempt" at replicating the above graffito.⁷⁷ Perhaps a non-Oscan speaker attempted to recreate the Oscan graffito, the backwards writing and differing letters causing the poor result. However, some have instead

dismissed the pair as unauthentic. Unfortunately, this graffito too is no longer visible.

Some other examples of Oscan graffiti can be less confidently dated relative to their contexts. An Oscan graffito was carved on a statue base which lies in front of the south portico of the Temple of Apollo. The graffito, which reads "l mumm...," is perhaps part of a name, although this is speculation since no translation is known. It is no longer visible and there is some confusion over the letter form interpretations and records. At the time of discovery, it was dated to the construction of the temple around 78 BCE.⁷⁸

Two *dolia* found in the Boscoreale, a region of villas and farmland just outside the city, also feature Oscan graffiti. The first remains in situ in the *cella vinaria* of the *Villa Regina* and, while the provenance of the second is unknown, it may have the same origin. The first still clearly bears the name of one "C. All(ius)(?)" in Oscan, while on the second only a few Oscan letters remain. The *Villa Regina* was constructed in the Augustan Period, around the end of the 1st century BCE.⁷⁹ Complicating these examples is the possibility the *dolia* were created and inscribed much earlier, being kept and later placed in the Roman context. Reuse was extremely common in the classical world. How long before the construction of the *Villa Regina* these *dolia* were produced, or the statue base before the temple, is impossible to tell. Thus, these examples may date to the Roman Period, but they might also be relics from Oscan Pompeii which were recycled.

Evidence for an Oscan speaking community might appear in Latin graffiti as well. A theory was proposed and considered by a number of scholars that the inconsistencies in Pompeian Latin, compared to classical Latin, might actually be "Oscanisms" which represent the language being transformed by a

⁷¹ Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 84; Zangemeister and Schoene, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum IV*, 5214.

⁷² Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 84; August Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*. trans. F. W. Kelsey, (London: Macmillan & Co, 1899), 16.

⁷³ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 838, no. Pompei 146; Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, 64, no. 62; Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, 81, no. 86, note ix, a; see appendix, tbl. 2.2.

⁷⁴ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 838.

⁷⁵ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 839, no. Pompei 147; Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, 64, no. 60; Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, 80, no. 83; see appendix, tbl. 2.3.

⁷⁶ Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 84; Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 839.

⁷⁷ Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*, 839.

⁷⁸ Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, 80-81, no. 86; Zvet., *Insc. It. Inf. Dial.*, 55, no. 156b; see appendix, tbl. 2.4.

⁷⁹ Crawford, 747-8, nos. 84-5; see appendix, tbl. 2.5.

community who primarily spoke Oscan.⁸⁰ These features, as the theory suggests, might appear as spelling or grammatical errors or inconsistencies, but are actually parts of Oscan that made their way into Pompeian Latin. However, this Oscan “substratum” was effectively disproved by Joseph Eska in 1987, who made note of the same language inconsistencies throughout various parts of the Roman world where there could have been no Oscan influence – namely Egypt and Britannia.⁸¹ Though these inconsistencies might be inherently common mistakes in Latin, they typically appear in provincial areas where Latin was not a first language. While there may have been no Pompeian-Oscan Latin, these spelling and grammatical irregularities may still demonstrate a community that is not yet completely comfortable with Latin as their official language.

Conclusion

While many of the cases of Oscan graffiti in Roman Pompeii are somewhat contested, some broad conclusions can still be made. It is nearly impossible to find conclusive evidence for spoken use of Oscan in the Roman Period. Compared to earlier times, there was undoubtedly a greater decline in the use of Oscan in the Imperial Period. Some scholars have tied this to several Augustan policies which attempted to culturally unify the Italian peninsula during the early years of his rule.⁸² Despite this, the excerpts from Cicero and Strabo suggest that sentiments of local heritage were felt throughout Italy and likely at Pompeii. An Oscan monumental inscription dated to the Imperial Period is believed to be a copy of a much earlier inscription that was damaged during the earthquake of 62 CE. This has been interpreted by some scholars as an antiquarian interest in the past, but by others as a possible display of patriotism and the preservation of the community’s Oscan heritage.⁸³

The presence of Oscan graffiti implies that any attempts to dissuade the continued use of the language

were not entirely effective. A community that knew Oscan, to some capacity, clearly persisted underneath the Roman superstructure until the final years of the city. The graffiti portray a sense of the day-to-day use of the language, at least in written form, amongst those who were literate. All the examples discussed above, even the indecipherable ones, indicate that individuals within Roman Pompeii not only knew the Oscan language, but consciously chose to write in it. This suggests that, when leaving their mark, they felt it important or more natural to do so in Oscan. The interrelationship between these cases and other graffiti, both in immediate proximity to one another and throughout the town, demonstrate a multilingual dialogue, at least in an indirect way.

These graffiti also represent Oscan usage for a wide variety of purposes and in a range of different types of space. They are employed in the political sphere as well as in word games and personal identification, either commemorating the writer’s presence or marking their ownership. At the same time, they are found in public, domestic, and religious spaces, as well as in the surrounding rural areas. The decision to add graffiti in these spaces suggests there was an audience that could read them, their usage of Oscan serving as an identity marker. This is sometimes accomplished when directly speaking to viewers, as with the programmata, but is also clear by the very nature of writing the graffiti in the first place. These texts, like the Lupanar signature or magic square, invite a reader to bear witness or play along. Observing the whole corpus of Oscan graffiti during the Roman Period, the language does not appear limited to any specific use or type of space. Instead, everyday graffiti is writing in Oscan throughout Roman Pompeii. From the most public of contexts to more intimate settings, the dwindling number of Oscan speakers continued to leave their linguistic mark on the city.

The homogeneity of any continuing Oscan speaking community in Roman Pompeii is uncertain. Likely, whatever community did persist was multilingual. But

⁸⁰ Joseph F. Eska, "The Language of the Latin Inscriptions of Pompeii and the Question of an Oscan Substratum," *Glotta* 65, no. 1/2 (1987): 147.

⁸¹ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 157; Eska, "The Language of the Latin Inscriptions of Pompeii and the Question of an Oscan Substratum."

⁸² Cooley, "The survival of Oscan in Roman Pompeii," 84.

⁸³ Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 147; Milnor, *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*, 18; Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, no. 11.

the presence of Oscan graffiti, their purpose, and the spaces they inhabit show that individuals remained throughout the city who felt Oscan was a part of their identity. Strabo suggests that while the “Oscans have disappeared,” their language persisted.⁸⁴ But this language was not preserved as an esoteric memory of Pompeii’s heritage. It was still living, being used by Pompeians in daily situations. These were people who knew the language and felt connected enough to it that they chose Oscan as a medium to express themselves. These Pompeians were Roman, speaking Latin and living under a Roman system. Yet through the graffiti it is clear some were also still Oscan.

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⁸⁴ Strabo, *Geography, Volume II: Books 3-5*, 5.233.

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Appendix

Table 1 - Programmata¹

#	Text	Translation	Location	Height	References
1	l(uvkis)· uvii<s> [III] n(erum) ni(umsis)<-> eliis	L. Ouius, of the board of four men N. Aelius	<i>Casa di Francesco II</i> on the <i>Via dei Teatri</i> . Wrong location in Conway and Zvet.	1.85m	Crawford, Pompei 30; Vetter, 30d; Conway, 65; Zvet., <i>SIO</i> , 89
2	ma(?)· herenni(is) III n(erum)· dendeiu(m)	Ma. Herennius, son of [-?·] of the board of for men, ???	<i>Casa di Francesco II</i> (Reg. VIII, 5, 28-9 + 34=5) on the <i>Via dei</i> <i>Teatri</i>	1.70m	Crawford, Pompei 31; Vetter, 30; Conway, 64; Zvet., <i>SIO</i> , 84
3	ma(?)· h[-?·] III· nee [rum -?·]	Ma. H[erennius] of the board of four men, [-?·]	North-east corner of the intersection of <i>Via</i> <i>dell'Abbondanza</i> and <i>Via</i> <i>Strabiana</i>	1.82m	Crawford, Pompei 32; Vetter, 32b; Conway, 72
4	[-?·] III n(erum) [-?·]	[-?·] of the board of four men [-?·]	To the right of the <i>Casa</i> <i>del Gallo I</i>	1.82m	Crawford, Pompei 33; Vetter, 30h; Conway, 72bis; Zvet., <i>SOI</i> , 99
5	m(a)r(as)· perk{ 1 }en[iis] III· neru(m)<-> d++++[-?·] vacat [1-2]labiku· ni(numsis)<-> el++++[-?·] III ^v . seis· aphinis [-?·] altinum	Mr. Percennius, of the board of four men declares (?) the Stlabian (region) (?). N. Aelius [-?·], of the board of four <men>, Seius Afinius, [-?·], (declare), of the Altini	The beginning of the <i>Via</i> <i>dell'Abbondanza</i> , to the right of Reg. VIII, 3, 2.	c. 2.15m	Crawford, Pompei 34; Vetter, 29; Conway, 67; Zvet., <i>SIO</i> , 86
6	L(úvkis)· úvii[s·I]III n (nerum) id(ik) n{·}er [3]erk	L. Ouius, of the board of four men; this on the left for [-?·] perticae (?)	On the <i>Casa de Sallustio</i> (Reg. VI, 2, 4).	???	Crawford, Pompei; Vetter, 30e; Conway 69; Zvet., <i>SIO</i> , 90

¹ Text and translations from Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*; Conway, *The Italic Dialects*; Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*; Zvetaieff, *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum ad archetyporum et librorum fidem*; Zvetaieff, *Inscriptiones Italiae inferioris dialecticae in usum praecipue academicum*.

Table 2 – Other Oscan Graffiti²

#	Text	Translation	Location	Date	Reference nos.
1	mar̄kas	Marcus	First room of the Lupanar (Reg. VII, 12, 18)	72 – 79 CE	Crawford, Pompei 46; Vetter, 46
2	neγpús· ieri	???	Casa del Centenario (Reg. IX, 8,3)	60 – 79 CE	Crawford, Pompei 146; Vetter, 62; Conway, 86
3	g· ivda í í eosii	???	Outside wall of the Casa del Poeta Tragico (Reg. VI, 8, 3-6)	62 – 79 CE	Crawford, Pompei 147; Vetter, 60; Conway, 83
4	l mumm...	??? (Possibly a name?)	Statue base in front of the south portico of the Temple of Apollo (Reg. VII, 7)	78 BCE? – 79 CE	Conway, 86; Zvet., <i>IIID</i> , 156b
5	g a++	C. All(ius)(?)	<i>Dolium</i> in the <i>cella vinaria</i> of the <i>Villa Regina</i> , Boscoreale	Imperial Period?	Crawford, Pompei 84

Table 3 – Roma-Amor Magic Squares³

Pompeian	Roman
R O M A	R O M A
O I I M	O L I M
M I I O	M I L O
A M O R	A M O R

Epigraphical Conventions⁴

+ = trace of a single letter;

Square brackets indicate a gap in the text caused by damage;

[-?-] = a gap of unknown length;

[1], [3-5], etc. = a gap of known length of letters;

<> enclose letters omitted in error and supplied by Crawford and editors, or engraved in error and corrected by the editors;

{ } enclose letters engraved in error;

() enclose expansion of an abbreviation;

(?) indicates that the text is abbreviated but an unabbreviated expansion is not known.

² Text and translations largely from Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*; the information for no. 2.4 was primarily derived from Conway, *The Italic Dialects*.

³ Based on figures provided in Schrijver, *Oscan love of Rome*.

⁴ These conventions were borrowed from Crawford, *Imagines italicae: a corpus of Italic inscriptions*.

INVESTIGATING ἘΠΗΞΑΝΤΟ AND ANTITHESIS IN THUCYDIDES 1.6.4.

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In the introductory chapters of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* Thucydides devotes attention to the primitive years of Ancient Greece, the years which saw the development of individual *poleis* and the establishment of their respective governments. The brief survey of Greece's history is more than significant. By comparing Athens' revolutionary transformation into an imperial power with Sparta's necessary pursuit of moderation, Thucydides positions Athens and Sparta as counterparts of an antithesis. The thematic contrast between the Athenian and the Spartan character runs throughout the entire *History*. This antithesis is effectively outlined in Thucydides 1.6, which explains the Athenians and Lacedaemonians abandonment of the ancient custom of bearing arms, highlighting, and specifically contrasting, each *polis*'

adaptation to such change. The focus of this paper is the following passage:

Ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. Μετρία δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρώτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίατοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν.¹

I am specifically interested in Thucydides' use of the verb ἐχρήσαντο in 1.6.4 and its grammatical relation to the subject, Λακεδαιμόνιοι. I am curious as to why the most authoritative translations employ a semantically passive meaning of ἐχρήσαντο. In such inquiry, I do not dispute the validity of the translations, rather, I wish

¹ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Oxford University Press (Oxford, 1942): 1.6.3-4.

merely to discuss the curiosities surrounding their syntactical and semantical choices. Alternative readings of ἐχρήσαντο in 1.6.4 may be more reflective of Thucydides' intended antithesis of the Athenian and Spartan character.

At 1.6, Thucydides discusses the differences between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians during the developmental stages of their *poleis*. When they first abandoned the collective custom of bearing arms, the Athenians, according to Thucydides, traded the archaic lifestyle for one of luxury. The Lacedaemonians, on the contrary, chose to embrace a lifestyle of simplicity: each citizen living on an equal footing to the other. The argument of this paper lies in an analysis of the following translations of Th. 1.6.4:

1. On the other hand, the simple dress which is now common was first worn at Sparta; and there, more than anywhere else, the life of the rich was assimilated to that of the people.²
2. But the moderate kind of garment, and conformable to the wearing of these times, was first taken up by the Lacedaemonians, amongst whom also, both in other things and especially in the culture of their bodies, the nobility observed the most equality with the commons.³
3. An unpretentious costume after the present fashion was first adopted by the Lacedaemonians, and in general their wealthier men took up a style of living that brought them as far as possible into equality with the masses.⁴

There are curious grammatical choices in the translations of Jowett, Hobbes, and Smith, specifically in their syntactic analysis of the verb ἐχρήσαντο, and the nouns ἐσθῆτι and Λακεδαιμόνιοι. All employ ἐχρήσαντο in the passive voice, to which they designate μετρία ἐσθῆτι its subject, and treat Λακεδαιμόνιοι as the indirect object. Indeed, μετρία ἐσθῆτι is not the

subject, since it is in the dative and is in fact the direct object of the verb.⁵ Similarly erroneous, Λακεδαιμόνιοι is not the indirect object, as it is nominative. Most interestingly, ἐχρήσαντο is not syntactically passive, but is the third person plural present indicative middle form of the verb χράω. If we emend only their syntactical analysis while employing the same semantical structure, a modified translation is as follows:

On the contrary, the Lacedaemonians were the first who used a moderate dress, common with the present fashion...

If the interest of this paper existed only in syntactical precision, the transferal of cases between μετρία ἐσθῆτι and Λακεδαιμόνιοι, and the adjustment of voice regarding ἐχρήσαντο would be enough to render the investigation concluded. However, such an emendation does not address one of the main interests of this paper: semantical passiveness. Are synonyms of “to be used” the best choice for a verb which, by its very root, conveys necessity?⁶

To ask such a question is not to suggest that the translators are incorrect in their interpretations. Χράω, as with most Ancient Greek verbs, governs a library of denotations. In isolation, the meaning of χράω, as per the LSJ, ranges from: “to fall upon,” “attack,” “assail;” “to conceive a desire;” “to consult a god or oracle;” “to furnish with a thing;” “to use;” “to desire;” “yearn after;” and more.⁷ Such a polysemous verb permits flexibility in its employment, as its meaning depends upon its author's intent. Deciphering the assigned meaning within a text requires a morphological analysis assessing the grammatical categories of tense, mood, and voice, as well as any surrounding prepositions, objects, and subjects. Such a detailed analysis reveals which denotation the verb governs. Because of its variability, one cannot parse ἐχρήσαντο in isolation without risk of semantical inaccuracy.

² Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881): 1.6.4.

³ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Thomas Hobbes (London: Bohn, 1843): 1.6.4.

⁴ Thucydides, *History of The Peloponnesian War*, trans. C. F. Smith (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919): 1.6.4.

⁵ As per Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon, χράω takes the dative as its direct object.

⁶ According to the LSJ, χράω, χρή (need, necessity, desires) and χρήζω (want, lack, have need of; deliver an oracle) are cognates. However, the origin and historical order of the forms are not clear.

⁷ For a full list of the verb's usages see LSJ entries Χράω (A) and (B).

Indeed, “to take up” and “to adopt” are appropriate English synonyms for the translation of *χράω*. As it is the job of the translator to render an idiomatic translation, such semantic flexibility is permitted, so long as the translation syntactically agrees with the presentation of the verb in the original text. I am not implying that Jowett, Hobbes, and Smith employ a non-existent denotation of *χράω*. Their translations agree with LSJ entry VII, “Pass., to be used, esp. in aor.” What renders their translations curious, however, is that they are not in agreement with the presentation of the verb in its original text. As previously stated, *ἐχρήσαντο* is not in the passive form.

This circumstance of flexibility, regarding translations of *ἐχρήσαντο*, is not unique to 1.6.4. Thucydides employs *χράω* 183 times in his *History*.⁸ Of those usages, only eight times is it presented in the indicative, aorist, middle, third person plural as *ἐχρήσαντο*: 1.6.4, 1.116.1, 2.47.4, 2.97.4, 3.68.1, 3.85.1, 4.12.1, 4.120.1. Throughout these eight occurrences, Jowett, Hobbes, and Smith do not render a consistent translation of the verb. The indefiniteness of their grammatical analysis, although not incorrect *per se*, permits an investigation into their semantical interpretation of the verb. We shall examine Jowett, Hobbes, and Smith’s translations of *ἐχρήσαντο* in Thucydides’ *History of The Peloponnesian War*.⁹

Jowett, Hobbes and Smith’s Translations of “Ἐχρήσαντο Passages”

Original Text	Jowett’s Translation	Hobbes’ Translation	Smith’s Translation
1.116.1 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἦσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα ἐπὶ Σάμου ταῖς μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο.	When the Athenians heard of the insurrection, they sailed for Samos with sixty ships. But of this number they sent away sixteen.	The Athenians, when they heard of these things, sent to Samos sixty galleys, sixteen whereof they did not use.	But when the Athenians heard of this, they sailed for Samos with sixty ships. Sixteen of these, however, they did not make use of on this enterprise.
2.47.4 ...οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεῖα τέχνη οὐδεμία: ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείοις καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν.	No human art was of any avail, and as to supplications in temples, enquiries of oracles, and the like, they were utterly useless.	Nor any other art of man availed whatsoever, all supplications to the gods and enquiries of oracles and whatsoever other means they used of that kind proved all unprofitable.	Nor did any other human art avail. And the supplications made at sanctuaries, or appeals to oracles and the like, were all futile.
2.97.4 ὁμοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῶ ἐχρήσαντο: οὐ γὰρ ἦν πράξει οὐδὲν μὴ διδόντα δῶρα. ὥστε ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ βασιλεία ἦλθεν ἰσχύος.	The same custom prevailed among the other Thracians in a less degree, but among the Odrysae, who were richer, more extensively. For without gifts there was nothing to be gotten done amongst them. So that this kingdom arrived thereby to great power.	Nevertheless, they held this custom long by reason of their power: nothing could be done without presents. By these means the kingdom became very powerful.	This custom was observed among the other Thracians also; but the Odrysian kings, as they were more powerful, followed it more extensively: indeed, it was not possible to accomplish anything without giving gifts. Consequently, the kingdom attained to a great degree of power.
3.68 ...καὶ ὀροφαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρήσαντο	...they used the roofs and the doors of the Plataeans.	... [they] using therein the roofs and doors of the Plataeans' buildings.	...[they] using for this purpose the roofs and doors of the Plataeans.

⁸ This number was calculated using the Word Frequency Statistic database on the Perseus Project.

⁹ Excluding Th.1.6.4; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Benjamin Jowett; Thucydides, *History of the*

Peloponnesian War, trans. Thomas Hobbes; Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. C. F. Smith.

3.85.1 οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο	Such were the passions which the citizens of Corcyra first of all Hellenes displayed towards one another.	Such were the passions of the Corcyraeans, first of all other Grecians, towards one another in the city.	Such then were the first outbreaks of passion which the Corcyraeans who remained at home indulged in toward each other.
4.12.1 ... ἡ ἀσπίς περιερρήθη ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐξενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν γῆν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνελόμενοι ὕστερον πρὸς τὸ τροπαῖον ἐχρήσαντο ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης.	...his shield slipped off his arm into the sea, and, being washed ashore, was taken up by the Athenians and used for the trophy which they raised in commemoration of this attack.	... his buckler tumbled over into the sea. Which brought to land, the Athenians took up, and used afterwards in the trophy which they set up for this assault.	...his shield slipped off into the sea, and, being carried ashore, was picked up by the Athenians, who afterward used it for the trophy which they set up in commemoration of this attack.
4.120.1 φασὶ δὲ οἱ Σκιωναῖοι Πελληνῆς μὲν εἶναι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλέοντας δ' ἀπὸ Τροίας σφῶν τοὺς πρώτους κατενεχθῆναι ἐς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τῷ χειμῶνι ᾧ ἐχρήσαντο Ἀχαιοί, καὶ αὐτοῦ οἰκῆσαι.	The Scionaeans assert that they came originally from Pellene in the Peloponnesus, and that the first settlers in Scione were driven to this place on their way back from Troy by the storm which the Achaeans encountered and settled here.	The Scionaeans say that they be Pallenians descended of those of Peloponnesus, and that their ancestors, passing the seas from Troy, were driven in by a tempest, which tossed the Achaeans up and down, and planted themselves in the place they now dwell in.	The Scionaeans, according to their own account, sprang originally from Pellenè in Peloponnesus, but their ancestors returning from Troy were carried by the storm which the Achaean fleet encountered to Scionè, where they took up their abode.

Jowett's translations are the most syntactically divergent of the three. Twice ἐχρήσαντο is absent from his translations.¹ Twice he assigns subjectivity to a non-nominative noun.² In one of those instances, he employs the passive voice to a verb not presented passively.³ Although Smith's and Hobbes' inconsistencies are not as prominent as Jowett's, they are evident, nonetheless. Smith employs the perfect passive participle to a non-nominative subject.⁴ Smith chooses to employ the passive voice to a verb not presented passively, simultaneously assigning subjectivity to a non-nominative noun.⁵ Hobbes, like Jowett, leaves ἐχρήσαντο untranslated in one of his translations, and, like Smith, treats a non-nominative noun nominatively.⁶ We must note that these

grammatical preferences do not hinder the overall meaning of the text; all three translators convey Thucydides' original message. However, these syntactical inconsistencies raise questions regarding the translator's semantical evaluation of χράω. Does the verb (cognate with χρή and χρήζω) truly invoke passivity? Or is ἐχρήσαντο so diversely understood that translators have overlooked its inherent meaning? Is this based on a deeply rooted preference for successional conformity among translations?⁷

To ask the latter is not to invalidate the translators. Regarding the two former questions, there is an argument to be made that Thucydides employs the verb ἐχρήσαντο in circumstances of necessity, desire, and religious rites; where "to be used" and its synonyms do

¹ Th. 1.116.1; 2.47.4.

² Th. 2.97.4; 4.12.1.

³ Th. 4.12.1.

⁴ Th.2.47.4. An argument could be made that the pronoun [they] is absent from translation and thus Smith does not translate ἐχρήσαντο as a perfect passive participle. However, this raises a counterargument. If Smith is, indeed, implying the use of the pronoun [they], since English is dependent upon word order, "[they] made" would be placed elsewhere in the translation. As the verb ἐχρήσαντο is not governing ἱεροῖς, rather τοῖς τοιούτοις and ὄσα. See E.C. Marchant *Commentary on Thucydides*: ἰκέτευσαν—the

aor. sums up all the instances (completive). ἐχρήσαντο—sc. ὄσα, which with ἰκέτευσαν = ὄσας ἰκετείας, but with ἐχρήσαντο = περὶ ὄσα.

⁵ Th.2.97.4.

⁶ Respectively: Th.3.85. Th.4.120.1.

⁷ Other inquiries which may expand on this study include: What manuscripts did the translators use? Were later translators influenced by earlier translations? How do they translate χράω in other works? Could it shine useful comparative light on their syntactical and semantical choices?

not appropriately convey such a tone. By examining some of the passages from the table above we may find that the passivity of “to be taken up” or “to be adopted” in translations of Th. 1.6.4 does not aptly reflect the tone of necessity. Th. 2.47, 2.97, and 1.116 are particularly deserving of consideration.

At 2.47, Thucydides addresses the severity of the Athenian plague and the futile attempts of the physicians to control its dangerous spread. Jane Bellemore and Ian Plant, in a focalized analysis of this chapter, have effectively argued how the superlative tone of 2.47 reflects Thucydides’ effort to justify the necessity of his work; a message he continually exaggerates:

“The superlative tone of Th.2.47 immediately recalls his justification for the composition of his history: that the war was a great one, a greatness which stemmed not just from military campaigns, but also τὰ ἄλλα [other things] ...Thucydides has a very good reason for describing the plague in an exaggerated way, for its greatness in part creates the greatness of the war about which he is writing. It thereby justifies his composition.”⁸

If Thucydides is indeed employing a rhetorical style, we must then understand ἐχρήσαντο to express the necessity, desire, and purposefulness of the physicians’ attempts to cease the plague. By stressing their inability to do so, Thucydides can accentuate the severity of the disaster. By persuading readers of the plague’s importance, he accentuates the war itself, thereby justifying the necessity of his work. Not only does Th.

2.47.4 reveal a desperation for profitable medical aid, but it also expresses the desideratum of divinely answered supplications. With this understanding, one can demonstrate how ἐχρήσαντο simultaneously governs all the datives in the passage, taking on various meanings which uniquely apply to each.⁹ Such an emendation would look like this: “They proclaimed holy supplications” (ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν), “they inquired oracles” (μαντείοις) and “they undertook all that was necessary” (τοῖς τοιούτοις).¹⁰

At 2.97 Thucydides discusses the political power of the Odrysian Empire and its connection to the Hellenic cities. Under the rule of Seuthes I, the Odrysian Empire became an economic superpower by collecting tributes of 400 talents of gold and silver from its subjects. Although modern scholarship disputes the veracity of tributary members, there is agreement that the mandatory monetary dues – whether customary for subservient *poleis* or a required tax imposed on travelling traders – propelled the kingdom into economical superiority.¹¹ Thucydides himself attests that the monetary custom was the driving force that propelled the prosperity and revenue of the Odrysian Empire to exceed all other nations in Europe.¹² While it is again correct to say that this custom was “held” or “observed” by the Empire, syntactically it is imprecise and semantically it is unnecessarily passive.¹³ If we wish to invoke a deeper tone of necessity, we may want to adhere to Jowett’s semantical translation of ἐχρήσαντο as “prevailed.”

Th.1.116 effectively demonstrates the use of ἐχρήσαντο in a circumstance of necessity. In this passage Thucydides recounts the Samian War, a rebellion that proved its importance in the developing

⁸ Jan Bellemore, Ian M. Plant, “Thucydides, Rhetoric and Plague in Athens,” *Periodicals Archive Online*, (1994): 386. See also Th.1.23., in which Thucydides lists the plague as one of the great calamities of the period.

⁹ The use of a single verb to simultaneously govern various nouns, denoting different meanings unique to each, is common in Ancient Greek. cf. νομίζοντες in Th. 2.38.1.

¹⁰ In this case one would have to argue that Thucydides has interchanged the verb ἰκέτευσαν for a noun (ἰκετείας). This is not far-fetched as the interchanging of nouns and verbs is a characteristic of Thucydides’ syntax. For Thucydides’ grammatical variations see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides*. For Thucydides’ interchanging of nouns and verb see also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Second Letter to Ammaeus*.

¹¹ See L. D. Loukopoulou, “Macedonia in Thrace,” In *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Macedon*, (The Netherlands: Brill, 2011). He argues, the Greek cities did not belong to the Odrysian Empire. Rather, because its geographical location was prime for trade, the valley between the Hebros River and the trade-centre of Pistiros saw an abundance of Greek traders whom Seuthes was able to tax. For the rise of the Odrysian Empire as an economic superpower see M. Zahrt, “Early History of Thrace to the Murder of Kotys I (360 BCE),” in *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, ed. Valeva, J. Nankov, E. Graninger, D., (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015) and Z. Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

¹² Th.2.97.5

¹³ Αὐτῷ is dative. It is not the subject of ἐχρήσαντο which is a middle 3rd person plural verb.

years of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides describes Pericles' command of sixty ships to Samos to control the Samian revolt. He ordered sixteen of those sixty ships away from Samos, purposefully employing them towards Caria, Chios, and Lesbos with the order to receive reinforcements and to protect the sea from the Phoenician and Persian fleet. He ordered this not out of choice or preference but out of necessity. To say they did not "use" sixteen of the sixty ships is correct, but it neglects the dire need for reinforcements, which proved to be a necessity, as the Samians were at first victorious. It also does not address the need for protection from the approaching fleets. Both Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch provide in-depth descriptions of the Athenians plea for reinforcements against the prevailing Samians and protection from the approaching enemies.¹⁴ Th. 1.116 is evidence of Thucydides' use of the verb ἐχρήσαντο in a circumstance of necessity where "to be used" and its synonyms do not appropriately convey such a tone.

We must note that the argument of necessity is not valid in all regards, as in Th. 3.85 or 4.120. However, in both passages, we can question the semantical choices of one or more of the translators. The syntactical imprecision of their translations validates such questioning, as the verb is either absent from translation or translated as a non-existent denotation.¹⁵ "To display" and "to toss-up and down" are arguably not the best translations of ἐχρήσαντο in these contexts. For 3.85, Smith's translation seems the most appropriate, embodying the desiderative tone of the Greek verb and the Corcyraean's passionate and criminal behaviour.¹⁶ For 4.120, "to suffer" or "to endure" may be more appropriate.¹⁷

After confirming the grammatical ambiguities in several of the translations of Jowett, Hobbes, and Smith, one may see the conformity to passivity in

translations of ἐχρήσαντο in *The History of the Peloponnesian War*. For a complete semantical analysis of ἐχρήσαντο in 1.6.4, one must not isolate their attention solely to its function. There ought to be extensive consideration for the surrounding prepositions, particles, or objects whose relation may be valuable in distinguishing the verb's assigned denotation. Therefore, we now must pivot our attention to the participle αὔ.

The first entry in most Ancient Greek-English *lexica* defines αὔ as an adverb of repetition, meaning; "again," "anew," "afresh," "once more," "further," "moreover."¹⁸ In a diachronic study on the use of αὔ across ancient authors, Antonio R. Revuelta Puigdollers argues that the lexical submissions in most modern dictionaries are "ill-explained" and "ill-translated," as there has not been adequate consideration of the particle's value as an individual entity.¹⁹ Puigdollers explains that contemporary *lexica* have limited themselves in their investigations by only examining αὔ in the context of its cooccurrence with repetition adverbs and temporal adverbs such as αὔθις (again) and νῦν (now).²⁰ The coupling of αὔ with adverbs of repetition or time establishes the idea of topical continuation between sections of a text, thus, persuading translations of semantical repetition. If one recognizes the use of αὔ as an individual particle, however, its purpose is understood as denoting opposition, meaning: "on the contrary," or "on the other hand;" often denoting contrast.²¹ By examining the passages in Thucydides' *History* where he employs the particle, we can prove that the employment of αὔ in Th. 1.6.4 indeed indicates opposition, and thus is not a method of repetition.

There are three passages within Thucydides' *History* which follow the syntactical pattern of Th.

¹⁴ C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus: Library of History. Volume V: Books 12.41–13*, (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1950), 12.27-28. Plutarch, *Perikles*, in *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, (London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1914), 26-27.

¹⁵ Cf. Table on page 4.

¹⁶ See LSJ χράω (B) C 3 c. dat., *enjoy, have*.

¹⁷ See LSJ χράω (B) C III *experience, suffer, be subject to*, esp. external events or conditions.

¹⁸ See entry αὔ in LSJ *Lexicon*; the R.J. Cunliffe *Lexicon to Homer*; J. Enoch Powell *Lexicon to Herodotus*; William J. Slater *Lexicon to Pindar*.

¹⁹ Antonio R. Revuelta Puigdollers, "The Particles *ay* and *atye* in Ancient Greek As Topicalizing Devices," *Discourse Cohesion in Ancient Greek* 16 (2010): 83-109.

²⁰ Puigdollers, "The Particles *ay* and *atye* in Ancient Greek As Topicalizing Devices"; See also Jared S. Klein, "Homeric Greek αὔ: A Synchronic, Diachronic, and Comparative Study," *Historical Linguistics*, 101 (1988).

²¹ See entries of αὔ in Georg Autenrieth *The Homeric Dictionary*; Slater *Lexicon*; *Diccionario Griego– Español*. The *Diccionario Griego–Español* lists Th. 1.6.4 as an example of such a mark of opposition.

1.6.4, in which the author employs αὖ accompanied by δέ at the beginning of the sentence to specifically contrast the Athenians and Lacedaemonians. The syntactical structure is as follows:

Section 1	Introducing Section 2	Section 2
Athenian or Lacedaemonian character is discussed	αὖ + δέ (typically presented as δ' αὖ)	Opposite subject of section 1 is antithetically discussed but not specifically compared

The three passages discuss the following:

1. Th. 1.33.3-4 contrasts the natural eagerness of the Lacedaemonians in warfare to the Athenians *need* for an eager approach. The antithetical terms used are πολεμησίοντας (desiring war) and προκαταλαμβάνοντας (overpower first), both describing the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians are described as desperately needing προεπιβουλεύειν (to plot against beforehand) rather than abiding to their natural inclination, which is ἀντεπιβουλεύειν (to counterattack).
2. Th. 1.62.3-4 compares the battle tactics of the Lacedaemonians under Aristeus to that of the Athenian general Callias during the Battle of Potidaea. The first section discusses how Aristeus demands patience from his army as they await the approaching Athenians. The following section discusses Callias' orders for the Athenians not to approach. Both generals exercise similar strategies of caution on the preconception of the other doing the opposite.

²² It may seem as though 5.14.1-2 and 5.14.3 do not contrast, as both parties desire peace. However, the reasons in which each *polis* desires peace are indeed being compared. Furthermore, by separating their reasonings with an oppositional marker, Thucydides emphasizes the difference between the *poleis* 'national character' - which are inherently antithetical. See Arlene W. Saxonhouse, "Nature & Convention in Thucydides' *History*" in which the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians are compared in terms of moderation, highlighted through a comparison of νομοσ and φουςις. Saxonhouse states, "the Athenians in contrast to the Spartans are never able to moderate their activity.... Pericles, once the war has started ... claims the Athenians rely on a virtue which comes from their character, rather than a virtue which is gotten through the extensive and painful training according to *nomoi* in use at Sparta. The Athenians' untrained virtue, though, is ultimately unable to restrain the excessive human greed for power, wealth, and

3. Th. 5.14.1-3 compares each *polis*' desire for peace. The Athenians, with lost confidence because of the defeat at Delium and Amphipolis, regret rejecting the peace offerings and now fear their allies will be elated at their disasters and revolt. The Lacedaemonians also desire peace because the war has persisted longer than they expected, their *helots* have deserted them, and in general the war has not turned in their favour.²²

Within these three passages, there is a syntactical pattern in the employment of αὖ. There is also, and more noteworthy, a larger structural pattern that each chapter follows, which allows Thucydides to antithetically discuss, but not specifically compare, the Athenian and Lacedaemonian character. What this means is that each chapter has an overall theme: in Th. 1.33, it is the virtues of men-of-war; in Th. 1.62, it is battle strategies; in Th. 5.14, it is the desire for peace; in Th. 1.6, it is the abandonment of communal customs in the development of individual political organizations. Each chapter contains an initial section that describes an action of either the Athenians or the Lacedaemonians and a subsequent section that describes – in the same manner as the former passage – the *polis* not previously discussed. The *poleis* are always discussed in individual sections separated by αὖ. Neither section mentions both *poleis*. There is never a specific comparison made. However, the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians are indeed being examined as an antithetical pair.

A specific example of this pattern is Th. 1.33. In 1.33.3, Thucydides describes the Lacedaemonians in an eager and desiderative tone, employing the words

adventure. Thus, the Athenians lack the moderation." The Athenians engaged in war because they were inherently inclined to pursue opportunities which expanded their power and fed their desirous character. Having failed in their quest for power and wealth and having failed to satiate their eager inclinations, they now desire peace. On the other hand, "moderation imposed by laws and/or education can restrain the natural asocial impulses of man. Sparta is the classic model of this moderation in the *History*... although it is a moderation necessitated by her oppression of the helots.... But even Archidamus is unable to keep the traditionally quiet and moderate Spartans from immoderately plunging into war" The Lacedaemonians engaged in war because it was necessary. They are now inclined to peace because the war, which they thought would be brief and therefore require moderate attention, is not turning out that way. The war is now opposite of what both parties thought it would be.

πολεμειόνας and προκαταλαμβάνοντας. In Th. 1.33.4, he describes the Athenians as being passive (ἀντεπιβουλεύειν) and suggests a need for eagerness (προεπιβουλεύειν). This syntactical structure creates the idea of antithesis without ever having to specifically contrast the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians against each other. With a new understanding of this semantical pattern, it becomes clear that Th. 1.6.3 and Th. 1.6.4 are passages of opposition.

The theme of Th. 1.6, as previously stated, is the abandonment of a collective custom in the developmental period of individual *poleis*. The two specific lines, which present the antithesis, are as follows:

Ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν τε σίδηρον
κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ
τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν.²³

Μετρία δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον
πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα
πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι
ἰσοδίατοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν.²⁴

The verb that denotes the action of the Athenians is μετέστησαν. According to the LSJ, it means “to change,” “alter,” or “place in another way.” If we recognize that Th. 1.6.3 and Th. 1.6.4 convey counterparts of an antithesis, we consequently understand μετέστησαν and ἐχρήσαντο to be purposefully oppositional (as the tone of the former suggests passivity and the latter’s root, denotes necessity). We must note the similarities in Jowett, Hobbes, and Smith’s translations of μετέστησαν and ἐχρήσαντο. They translate μετέστησαν as follows:

The Athenians were the first who laid aside arms
and *adopted* an easier and more luxurious way
of life.²⁵

²³ Th. 1.6.3.

²⁴ Th. 1.6.4.

²⁵ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Benjamin Jowett.

²⁶ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Thomas Hobbes.

²⁷ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. C. F. Smith.

²⁸ Ibid.

Amongst whom the Athenians were the first that
laid by their armour and growing civil, *passed*
into a more tender kind of life.²⁶

But the Athenians were among the very first to
lay aside their arms and, adopting an easier mode
of life, *to change* to more luxurious ways.²⁷

There is a semantical passiveness ascribed to μετέστησαν so that “to change” is appropriate in translations. Although the passages express distinctive differences (the Athenians seek luxury and comfort while the Lacedaemonians seek moderation and hardship) it is nevertheless interesting the translators chose to translate each section using similar tones of passivity. For instance, “to adopt” is present within translations of both 1.6.3 and 1.6.4.²⁸ Yet, the antithesis of the Athenian and Lacedaemonian character could not be more evident between these two passages. The antithesis which the syntactical structure conveys must also be present semantically.

The adoption of a luxurious lifestyle was not a necessity in the development of Athenian society. It is a consequence of their character (φύσις) that the Athenians seek luxury, as, by their given disposition, “they are unable to restrain the excessive human greed for power, wealth, and adventure.”²⁹ On the other hand, the Lacedaemonians required moderation. For without the withdrawal from wealth and riddance of possessions, the *polis* would have crumbled from instability. Plutarch discusses the lawlessness and confusion which prevailed in Sparta before the commencement of their constitution.³⁰ The constitution created a lifestyle of moderation, consequently developing a society of resilient inhabitants and a

²⁹ Arlene W. Saxonhouse, “Nature & Convention in Thucydides’ History,” *Polity 10 no. 4*, (1978): 466.; cf. footnote 31.; The author of this paper is not suggesting the Athenians, in their desire for luxury and comfort, are inferior to the Spartans. In many affairs this is not true. Nor is she suggesting anything negative regarding the Athenian virtues. Again, in many affairs such virtues propelled the Athenians to great heights of prosperity. The contrasts being made are merely a method of establishing an antithesis.

³⁰ See Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, in *Plutarch’s Lives*, 2.

government of unprecedented stability.³¹ This moderation is not suggestive of a submissive society, rather the opposite. Moderation imposed by laws rids men of distractions so that virtues are not according to their character or individual possessions, but rather are acquired through extensive hardship under the mandatory training laws. This consequentially creates a society of soldiers with indispensable ties to the polis.³² It is the Lacedaemonian nature to seize that which is necessary to strengthen their society. Thucydides himself speaks to the Lacedaemonian's moderate disposition, as well as their unhesitant readiness to do anything which is necessary.³³ Thus, to suggest the Lacedaemonians “adopt” moderation does not convey such tones of eagerness or necessity. We must understand that the Lacedaemonians did not abandon the communal custom of bearing arms to “adopt” a modern dress. Rather, when the rise of individualism prompted independence in the primitive stages of Ancient Greece, the Lacedaemonians seized upon the opportunity for cultural authenticity and stability. They established a simplicity within their society, unseen from the rest of Hellas, particularly the Athenians. The Lacedaemonians assailed the simplicity of a moderate dress.³⁴

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³¹ On moderation in Ancient Greece see Aristotle, *Politics* 4.1295b.; For the Spartan institutions which produced civilians of moderate habits see the first nine chapters of Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*.

³² See Saxonhouse, “Nature & Convention in Thucydides’ History,” 461-487.

³³ Th.1.118.2; ... ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἰέναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, ἦν μὴ ἀναγκάζονται.

³⁴ See χράω (A), used in Ep. only in aor. 2, *fall upon, attack, assail*; The English denotation of *assail*; *to undertake with the purpose of mastering*. Although a precise translation of ἐχρήσαντο in 1.6.4 does not accompany the resolution of this paper, I am content in having achieved the goal of creating a discussion on both the passivity in translations of ἐχρήσαντο in 1.6.4 and the structural pattern of opposition.

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SUB UMBRA

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De Processu

I have often been asked by friends and family interested in the process of poetry writing how one goes about such a task. The truth of the matter is this: there is no one way to create poetry. Anything can be a poem; I once heard someone at an open mic night say in jest that next time she would “read [her] last shopping receipt” instead of a poem she wrote. This could very well be a valid form of free verse. I tend to write in meter, a form of verse which concerns itself with beats or stresses, and lack thereof, set in a specific order, much like musical notation. This idea of music lends itself especially well to ancient Greek verse, which had both pitch accent and significant focus on syllable length.

Concerning the poems I have written for the following collection, I can at least explain their process. I have chosen to adapt a classical meter, the sapphic stanza, in order to create these poems. In its original ancient Greek conception, the form is as follows:

– = long syllable
u = short syllable
x = anceps/short or long syllable

– u – u x u u – u – –
– u – u x u u – u – –
– u – u x u u – u – –
– u u – –

In modern English, I have chosen to replace long syllables with a stressed beat, while short syllables are an unstressed beat. For the final spondee of each line, I have chosen oftentimes to use the metrical device *brevis in longo*, i.e. short in long, replacing a long/stressed syllable/beat for a short/unstressed syllable/beat. I have taken the anceps as a long/stressed syllable/beat in my modern rendition in each instance. Meter, while constraining, is almost the easy part: it sets a guideline which one can simply adhere to in order to achieve an artistic effect without too much thought or effort.

Content is something completely else. I believe that good poetry and its content is timeless. Whenever you hear a poem, whoever you hear it from, always remember that if the poem isn't timeless, if it won't survive the turning of the cultural, political, or religious tides, then it's not a poem but rather propaganda. If the poem doesn't make you think but tells you how to think, it's not a poem but rather propaganda. If the poem doesn't sound sincere, then trust your gut. I try to create my poems with these ideas in mind. I pull all of my inspiration in this collection from classical/medieval literature I've read in the past, and the lessons I've learned from them. I believe that these ancient poems and forms are representatives of timelessness, and to imitate them is to attempt to achieve their immortality.

0. Introduction:

Somber Sapphics solemnly soothe my spirit
musing over myths and medieval epics;
thumbing through my favorite fables, learning
lessons from old lore.

1. Jolly Old King Croesus:

Once when I was young I had asked an old man:
"Are you happy?" "No!" He replied with wide grin,
"Ere I die, my life could collapse around me;
don't count me happy!"

2. Iliad 6.146:

Men are like the leaves that you find in tall trees:
sprouting, budding, blooming and then with some breeze
letting loose the lives they so dearly clung to,
warring with wild winds.

3. Homer:

Whispers wander, wending through generations.
Heroes ponder death in their memory graven.
Immortality is a storied poet
singing of glory.

4. Beowulf:

Were that I that sailor from snowy Gotland:
eager most for favor across the North Sea.
If I were, I'd fight for my fate begotten,
battered and broken.

5. Grendel:

Grendel, in the end, is a monster like me:
looking for some peace in his lonely waters.
I would also give up an arm if that means
sleeping nights soundly.

Quis hoc intellegere potest, numeret se meum amicum

