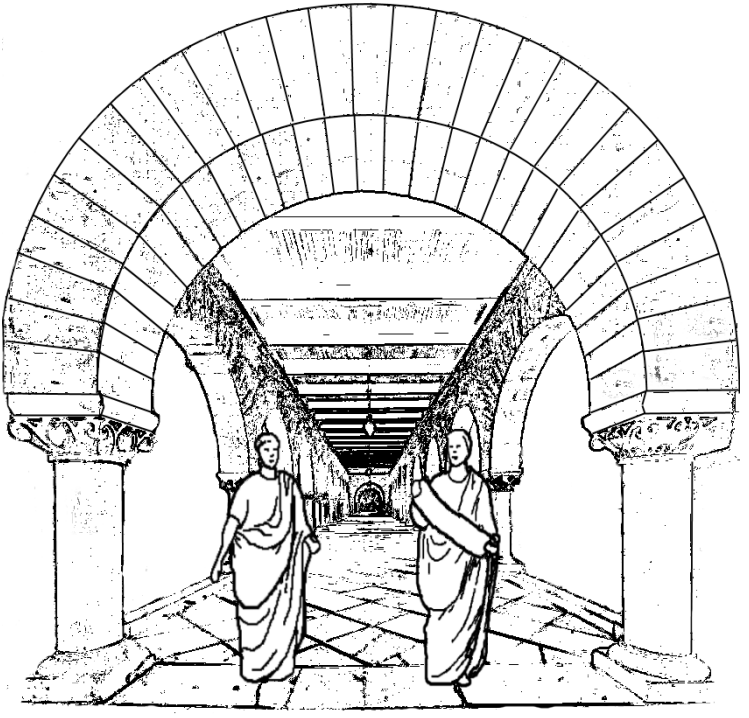
Aisthesis



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Editor's Foreword

Last spring, I recognized the lack of a Stanford undergraduate classics journal and that there was interest among peers in starting one. We then labored through its transformation from potentiality to actuality. After petitioning, we received many high-quality submissions. We figured out a fair grading system, carefully reviewed the submissions, and then edited the chosen ones.

I am happy to present linguistic, literary, historical, and economic investigations into Doric Greek, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, Greek colonization, and Periclean temple constructions. For papers concerning the Roman civilization, we chose a paper on a Roman Egyptian papyrus, an essay on the past in Lucan 8, and an original comic on Emperor Nero and his mother.

Thank you to advisors Marsh McCall and Maud Gleason for your encouragement and ideas. Thank you to the Stanford Classics Department for allowing us physical and online space, and to the ASSU Publications Board for your generous funding. Thank you to all submitters whose contributions were fascinating.

This year's journal is dedicated to fellow staff members whose invaluable opinions form this edition's vision. We hope you (the reader) enjoy this year's *Aisthesis* and that you look forward to next year's. Thank you very much,

John Lindsay
Editor-in-Chief

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SOME LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR A DORIAN "INVASION" IN POST-MYCENAEAN TIMES

Joel Malkin
Dartmouth College

ABSTRACT

By attempting to establish a partial relative chronology of Doric Greek, I aim to show how linguistic evidence may indicate a *unified* Dorian population in Mycenaean times. Evidence from within the Doric linguistic group occurs in the form of uniform innovations such as the so-called "Doric future morpheme" –σέω (virtually nonexistent outside Doric) and the use of ξ in the future and aorist of –ζω verbs. Of particular note is the delayed development of [-tj] and [-tʰj] in Doric relative to South Greek. When coupled with the contemporaneous palatalization complex affecting [Cj] clusters in all Greek dialects, this delayed Doric development suggests a more homogeneous linguistic group prior to the downfall of Mycenaean palatial culture than theorists such as John Chadwick allow. Later developments connecting Doric with proto-Attic-Ionic (such as treatment of syllabic liquids and the early phases of compensatory vowel lengthening) show evidence of increasing contact between North and South Greek, but only after Mycenaean times. Furthermore, anomalous innovations in the Doric dialects (specifically in the Cretan treatment of the cluster [ts] from proto-Greek [tj]) occur at a relatively late stage of the development of the [tj] cluster, suggesting a relatively recent date for the geographic division of Doric dialects.

Historically, the question of who the Dorians originally were has been answered in agreement with classical myth – that is, through arguing that they were intruders from the north, the last of three successive waves of invading Greeks.[1] The work of John Chadwick, most notably in defense of his assertion that the Dorians were the lower class of Mycenaean culture,[2] has done much to challenge the traditional view, but has by no means settled the matter. Chadwick's thesis, motivated by the lack of material evidence for a large-scale Dorian invasion,[3] is attractive from an archaeological standpoint.[4] The linguistic evidence, however, suggests a contrary position, and it is from the standpoint of linguistics that I will examine the issue of Doric identity. We may frame the issue as a question: does dialectal evidence suggest that the Dorians were a relatively homogenous linguistic group *distinct from other Greek-speakers*, or does the linguistic evidence corroborate the view (promoted by Chadwick) that the Dorians were *highly integrated* with the speakers of what became the so-called-South Greek dialects? As I will show, the historical development of the Doric dialects suggests the former. That is, the Dorians of the late Mycenaean era were

1 Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), 11.
2 John Chadwick, "Who Were the Dorians?," *Parola del Passato* 31 (1976): 112-113.
3 Ibid., 109.
4 But see Strack 2007 for possible archaeological evidence suggesting the intrusion of a foreign element in Mycenaean Greece in the Late Helladic IIIC period.

a group more homogenous and geographically distinct than Chadwick's theory allows, a group which only shows indications of geographical dispersion subsequent to the fall of Mycenaean palatial culture.

I will begin my critique by reviewing several relatively undisputed linguistic facts. Scholars generally agree that the numerous Doric and Northwestern Greek dialects of later antiquity had a common origin, "proto-Doric".[5] This dialect of the early Dorians is distinguished from other early Greek dialects – such as proto-Attic-Ionic or proto-Aeolic – by several characteristically Doric innovations. Following the analysis of Rupert Thompson, I list the most notable below:

> (1) The Doric future-tense morpheme –σέω. It is also seen in Attic-Ionic, though there it is quite rare, restricted to a few instances in the middle voice.[6] Nowhere is it so widespread as in the Doric dialects.
> (2) The use of ξ in the future and aorist forms of –ζω verbs. There are isolated examples of this in Homer and Hesiod, and it is also characteristic of Thessalian, Boeotian, and Arcado-Cypriot.[7] What is important for us to note is that this is a *pan-Doric* phenomenon.
> (3) Genitive singular pronoun ἐμέος (*emeos*), dative singular ἐμίν (*emin*).[8]
> (4) ἰαρός (*iaros*), ἰαρός (*hiaros*) (proto-North Greek) vs ἱερός (*hieros*), ἰρός (*iros*) (South Greek).[9]

In answering Chadwick, we may focus our attention on determining when and under what circumstances the original homogenous dialect (proto-Doric), characterized in part by the features listed above, began to break up into its constituent daughter dialects (e.g. Laconian, Corinthian, Argolic, Megarian, etc.). That is, we will focus upon working out a chronology of development for the Doric dialects. Our specific goal is to locate a "period of diffusion", a rough and general span of time in which we begin to see evidence for the severing of initially close intra-group ties. Our list of common Doric innovations proves that the Dorians experienced close homogeneity at some point in their history. What we are now searching for, and what is currently at issue, is the *terminus post quem* for the subsequent diffusion, the chronological point at which homogeneity within the Doric linguistic group dissolves and diffusion across Greece and throughout the Aegean begins.

Chadwick locates this period of Doric diffusion within the Mycenaean period, arguing that the Dorians were already broadly scattered by the time of the destruction of Mycenaean culture (circa. 1200 B.C.E.), present at the very

5 Throughout this paper I will use this term as distinct from North Greek, a heading under which I would group both proto-Doric and proto-Aeolic, following Bartonek 1987: Table A.
6 Rupert J. E. Thompson, "Mycenaean Non-Assibilation and its Significance for the Prehistory of the Greek Dialects," *Pasiphae* 2 (2008): 762. Cf. C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1955), 115.
7 Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 115.
8 Thompson, "Mycenaean Non-Assibilation," 761.
9 Ibid., 763.

least in both the Peloponnese and Crete if not elsewhere too.[10] What can the Doric innovations listed above tell us in this regard? Certainly the existence of such non-trivial and pan-Doric developments suggests a degree of homogeneity among the speakers of the language. Moreover, I should stress the relative exclusivity of these innovations to proto-Doric. When contrasted with later, confidently dated developments affecting *both* Doric and South Greek (cf. the compensatory vowel lengthenings, discussed below), the exclusivity of these innovations suggests that, at the time when such innovations emerged, there existed *less* contact between Dorians and other Greeks. If Chadwick's chronology were correct, one would conclude that these innovations occurred prior to the diffusion of the Doric-speaking population, i.e. well before the fall of Mycenaean culture in 1200 B.C.E.. As we will see, the chronological record does not allow this. Moreover, if the Dorians were simply the lower socioeconomic classes on both the Peloponnese and Crete – if not elsewhere as well – it would be disconcerting to find that such shared innovations occurred without any effect on the upper-class dialect of Mycenaean Greek.

Antonín Bartonek finds fault with Chadwick largely along these lines, yet he offers his critique on the grounds of the Doric retention of [-ti] where South Greek dialects (including Mycenaean) have developed [-si] (cf. Doric φέροντι *pheronti* versus East Greek φέρονσι *pheronsi* > Att.-Ion. φέρουσι *pherousi*).[11] "For socio-linguistic reasons," Bartonek writes, "it does not seem to be probable that there would have been able to coexist – for a long time – a higher-class dialect, on the one hand, having e.g. ἔρονσι [*eronsi*], and, on the other hand, a lower-class dialect with ἔροντι [*eronti*]. The interval between 1400/1350 – 1200 B.C. is too long not to have brought about a dialect integration".[12]

We may of course extend this critique to include those characteristic Doric elements listed above. Chadwick's chronology requires us to posit the close coexistence of an upper-class future morpheme –σω and a lower-class future morpheme –σέω, upper-class ἱερός and lower-class ἰαρός, and so on, for the space of at least 150 years. To echo Bartonek, this is from a socio-linguistic standpoint a highly unlikely state of affairs. This ability to extend Bartonek's critique beyond the ground of retentive Doric [-ti] vs. innovative South Greek [-si] is crucial, for while I agree with his general sociolinguistic point, we must proffer a crucial emendation to Bartonek's choice of evidence for a detached Doric community, especially since Thompson has pointed out that the traditional split between North and South Greek along [-ti]/[-si] lines is inaccurate. Original [-ti], the ostensibly North Greek retention, exists in South Greek as well, while the ostensibly Southern Greek change [-si] < [-ti] is also attested in North Greek. As Thompson notes, it is quite difficult to attribute the forms of [-si] found in North Greek – especially those occurrences in action nouns and adjectives in [-ios] – merely to a process of borrowing or cross-dialectal

10 Chadwick, "Who Were the Dorians?," 112-114.

11 Antonín Bartonek, "On the Prehistory of Ancient Greek," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 28 (1987): 14.

12 Ibid., 15.

contamination.[13] These phenomena strongly suggest a deeper sound change in Doric. For this reason, Thompson's hypothesis of mutual development of [ti] > [si] with subsequent Doric "leveling" to original [ti] is plausible.[14] If this developmental trajectory in turn is accurate, the early date of development (cf. strong presence of [si] < [ti] in Mycenaean[15]) seems to suggest the close inter-dialectal communication that Chadwick's thesis assumes. There remains, however, a major problem for Chadwick's theory, for even if the traditional North/South dialectal distinction along the lines of [ti]/[si] must be abandoned, one would still have to explain the markedly different reactions of North and South Greek subsequent to the allegedly shared development of [si] < [ti], and in particular the *apparently unified Doric response*. That is, if Thompson is right, we may take his arguments as even further evidence for a homogenous Doric linguistic group developing separately from South Greek.

If the traditional distinction of North and South Greek along the lines of [ti]/[si] does not provide evidence for a North-South Greek divide, Doric treatment of [tj]/[t^{h}j] may offer a promising alternative. Bartonek has shown that the sound change [tj]/[t^{h}j] > [s] in homomorphemic (i.e. "morphologically opaque"[16]) contexts occurred very early on in South Greek.[17] Indeed, this appears to have been completed in Mycenaean by the time of the Linear B tablets (Bartonek 1987: 10),[18] conforming to the following trajectory:

[tj]/[t^{h}j] > [ts] > [ss] > [s][19]

Thus, in the non-Doric Greek dialects of Attic-Ionic, Mycenaean, and Arcado-Cypriot, we find forms such as *mesos* < **messos* < **metsos* < **met^{h}jos* and *tosos* < **tossos* < **totsos* < **totjos*.[20] Linear B probably exhibits the medial stage of development in the form of [ts] and the palatalized affricate [d'z'], proving that the developments are undoubtedly early in origin (though the orthography could also be representing even later stages of development[21]). The significance

13 Thompson, "Mycenaean Non-Assibilation," 757.
14 Thompson, "Mycenaean Non-Assibilation," 757.
15 L. R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities P, 1980), 43. Cf. Bartonek, "Prehistory", 10.
16 Andrew L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (New York: Oxford UP, 1995), 190.
17 If true, this offers a significant challenge to Thompson's assertion about the homogeneity of *the entire Greek linguistic group* during the Mycenaean period (Thompson, "Mycenaean Non-Assibilation," 763), since it seems to be the case that Northern Greek did not undergo this change.
18 Bartonek, "Prehistory," 10.
19 Bartonek recognizes that this final step from [ss] to [s] may not have occurred in Mycenaean, since Linear B does not represent geminates (Bartonek, "Prehistory," 10), but this does not significantly affect our deductions. The main point remains that homomorphemic instances of [tj]/[t^{h}j] develop in different ways in Southern Greek than they do in Northern Greek.
20 Bartonek, "Prehistory," 10. Cf. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 70.
21 Bartonek, "Prehistory," 11, 21.

of this phenomenon for our present purposes is born out in the context of a later pan-Hellenic complex of sound changes: a depalatalization complex, effecting the transformation of all consonantal groups containing the palatal glide [j] as their terminal element. That the change of homomorphemic [tj]/[t^hj] > [s] must antedate this depalatalization complex is clear, as these clusters are unaffected by the changes that other nonhomomorphemic instances of [tj]/[t^hj] (i.e. those occurring at a clear morpheme boundary) undergo. Thus what was historically a homomorphemic [t^hj] cluster in Attic *mesos* ([s] < [t^hj]) shows a different developmental trajectory than the historically nonhomomorphemic [t^hj] cluster in Attic *korutt*-o ([tt] < [t^hj]).[22]

In contradistinction to South Greek forms, changes affecting Cj clusters in the North Greek dialects (including Aeolic) are much slower in developing. In North Greek there is no change *tosos* < *tossos* or *mesos* < *messos*. In fact, there is no evidence in North Greek suggesting an early development limited to homomorphemic [tj]/[t^hj]; all instances of [tj]/[t^hj] clusters follow the same trajectory as part of the pan-Hellenic depalatalization complex:[23]

$$[tj]/[t^hj] > [ts] > [ss],$$
$$> [s] \;/\; \#\_,\ C\_,\ V_{long}\ \_$$

A crucial caveat exists in the case of Cretan, which shows divergence with all other Doric dialects in the change [ts] > [tt] with no intervening [ss] (on which see below).[24] Pertinent to the present discussion is the fact that, in this case, Doric evolves *in concert* with South Greek. However, lest this be taken to support Chadwick's thesis, it should be noted that this depalatalization complex enables us to establish a *terminus post quem* for one of the pan-Doric innovations listed above, namely, the use of ξ in future and aorist –ζω verbs. The generalization of this ending, originally restricted to verbs with guttural stems,[25] could only have occurred after one aspect of pan-Hellenic depalatalization complex was complete, namely, the merger of *[gj]/[kj] with ζ. Seeing as this depalatalization process was incomplete, though underway, at the time of the Linear B tablets,[26] it seems reasonable to place sometime in the post-Mycenaean era the Doric generalization of ξ – a linguistic innovation, I stress once more, which supports the notion of a homogeneous, non-diffused Doric group.

The general picture, then, that seems to be emerging is that of a Doric linguistic group separate from South Greek – certainly linguistically and perhaps also geographically – throughout Mycenaean times. If, as we argued above, pan-Doric innovations do reflect both relative isolation of Doric from other dialects as well as homogeneity within the Doric linguistic group, the placement of such innovations in the time after the downfall of Mycenaean palatial culture clearly

22 Ibid., 11. Cf. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 70.
23 Roger D. Woodard, "Greek Dialects," *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 661.
24 Woodard, "Greek Dialects," 661. Cf. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 70.
25 Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 115. Cf. Thompson, "Mycenaean Non-Assibilation," 762.
26 Bartonek, "Prehistory," 11.

carries significant implications challenging Chadwick's thesis. A proto-Doric language developing in the same social and geographical context as South Greek seems implausible given the data.

The contrast of this picture with that of Doric as it develops in the Greek Dark Age is striking, for it is here that we first begin to see the emergence of distinct dialects within the Doric linguistic group, in addition to perhaps even more telling developments of isoglosses between some South Greek dialects and some (*not all*) Doric dialects. In this category falls the effects of the so-called "first compensatory vowel lengthening" on Doric (**esmi* > *e:mi*, **bolsa*: > *bo:la*:), a change which simultaneously developed in Attic-Ionic and which occurred at the latest around the turn of the first millennium B.C.E.[27] This change split Doric in two, distinguishing more conservative southern Doric – identifiable in historical times as the various southern Peloponnesian and Insular Doric dialects – from more innovative northern Doric – that of the northern Peloponnese and the regions of Locris, Phocis, Aetolia, and Epirus.[28]

Here, then, we have a clear indication of linguistic and geographical diffusion, but not – crucially – until after Mycenaean times. Before now, our efforts to put a date on this period of diffusion have progressed by attempting to establish a *terminus post quem*, by trying to roughly ascertain how late linguistic homogeneity must have survived in the Doric group. As we have seen, there is evidence to suggest that such unity existed into the Greek Dark Ages. In contrast, the evidence of the first compensatory lengthening provides a strong *terminus ante quem*, an unambiguous sign of increased division within the linguistic group. It seems probable – judging from linguistic developments – that the Dorians were relatively unified and kept largely to themselves up until the 12th c. B.C.E., only to witness by the turn of the 10th c. B.C.E. the disintegration of their linguistic uniformity and the emergence of regional dialects with strong connections to other, non-Doric Greek dialects. When compounded, the evidence thus demarcates the period from 1200-1000 B.C.E as the period of Dorian diffusion.

One final observation can be made on Cretan Doric and the ultimate conclusion of the parallel pan-Hellenic changes affecting [tj]/[t^{h}j]. As noted above, the Linear B tablets show that by the time of the fall of Mycenaean culture, South Greek had progressed to the medial developmental stage [ts].[29] We have no direct evidence for how far along Doric had progressed in this process by that time, yet the case of Cretan may still be suggestive. Whereas all other Doric dialects show [ss] < [ts], in Cretan we see the anomalous innovation [tt] < [ts] (cf. ὀπόττος, μέττος < **opotsos*, **metsos*[30]).[31] This split is significant in that it

27 Antonín Bartonek, *Classification of the West Greek Dialects at the Time About 350 B.C.* (Amsterdam: Academia Prague, 1972), 108. Cf. Antonín Bartonek, "Greek Dialects between 1000 and 300 B.C." *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 20 (1979): 118.

28 Bartonek, *West Greek Dialects*, 118.

29 Bartonek, "Prehistory," 11, 21.

30 Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, 169.

31 I should note that the treatment and development of dental clusters is in general very complicated in Proto-Indo European languages. The trajectory I am suggesting here is

requires the Dorian migration to Crete to have occurred before the rest of Doric underwent the systematic change of [ts] > [ss]. If such a development occurred in Doric at a slower pace than in South Greek, the Dorian migration to Crete could have taken place well after the destruction of the Mycenaean centers. If, however, Doric progressed largely in concert with South Greek in respect to depalatalization, the change [ts] > [ss] would probably have occurred earlier rather than later in the period of 1200-1000 B.C.E. The unity of all other Doric dialects in this regard suggests that Doric diffusion had probably not progressed much further than Crete by the time of this development; this leans on the side of placing the migration to Crete (and the diffusion of Doric speakers in general) closer to 1200 than 1000 – though how much closer we cannot say.

The linguistic evidence can answer some of our questions concerning the Dorians, but not all of them. The issue of where exactly we might place the speakers of proto-Doric must, from a linguistic perspective, remain largely unresolved. What we can say is that wherever the Dorians were located was most likely not in the Peloponnese. And whether the eventual movement of Doric speakers was violent or peaceful is a question that must also go unanswered by linguistics. In the case of Doric, what we can see seems to be relative isolation followed by movement into mainland Greece and the Aegean after 1200 B.C.E. There is linguistic evidence, then, for what has historically been called the Dorian "invasion"; but whether it was more of a migration than an invasion we cannot say.

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potentially much more complicated than a simple [ts] > [tt]. However, we do not need to know every detail of this specific change to arrive at our conclusions.

GENDER AS REALISM IN ARISTOPHANES' *LYSISTRATA*

Chiara Graf
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the relationship between the two simultaneous plans implemented by the protagonist and her fellow Greek women in Aristophanes' comedy *Lysistrata*. In order to bring the Peloponnesian War to an end, Lysistrata proposes that the women of Greece refuse their husbands sex until they have agreed upon a peace treaty. Meanwhile, Athens' older matrons will seize the Acropolis, thus blocking the men from the treasury. The former of these plans, requiring domesticity, sensuality, and deception, draws its power from traditionally "feminine" traits, whereas the latter, requiring physical force and initiative, is distinctly more masculine. While these plans might seem equally impressive and effective, only through the sex strike are the women ultimately able to cause change. This paper will argue that Aristophanes' depiction of effective female power as stemming only from traditionally feminine traits serves to ground the play in a world that Athenian audiences would have perceived as realistic and recognizable. Aristophanes' gender conservatism actually serves a politically radical function. By portraying the achievement of peace in a realistic contemporary society, Aristophanes suggests that peace is not a remote fantasy, but rather that it is possible without the upheaval of societal structures.

Many of Aristophanes' comedies take place in fantastical worlds, permutations of society wherein the norm is uprooted and inverted. For example, in *Ekklesiazousai*, a group of Athenian women, having managed to infiltrate and take control of the assembly, proceeds to restructure society entirely so that the government distributes housing and food equally amongst its citizens. *The Acharnians* operates on the absurd premise that the farmer Dikaiopolis manages to secure his own private peace treaty with Sparta, thus establishing a small, peaceful utopia in the midst of the Peloponnesian War. In *Peace*, the Athenian Trygaeus instigates an end to the Peloponnesian War by flying to a private audience with the gods on an enormous dung beetle—an obviously fantastical storyline. Featuring women who manipulate their husbands to take political action, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* might at first glance appear also to be founded on an inverted premise, unexpected to fifth-century Athenian audiences.

In Aristophanes' comedy *Lysistrata*, the protagonist mobilizes her fellow women across Greece to implement a plan aimed at ending the Peloponnesian War. This plan consists of two parts: all the Greek wives will refuse to have sex with their husbands until they agree to a peace treaty, and the Athenian matrons will lay hold of the acropolis to prevent the men's access to the treasury. The first plan aims at the women's exertion of power in the domestic sphere, whereas in the latter, power is exerted in the traditionally male political sphere. Thus, we might conceive of the sex strike as a more easily palatable exercise of power for women in fifth-century Athens, whereas the seizure of the acropolis shockingly inverts the contemporary Athenian power structure, similarly to the fantastical storylines of *Ekklesiazousai* or *Thesmophoriazousai*. Interestingly, while the lat-

ter plan might seem equally formidable and effective as the former, if not more, Aristophanes clearly favors the former. Not only is Lysistrata's introduction of the sex strike far more dramatic and prolonged than her mention of the seizure of the acropolis, but ultimately only the sex strike effectively leads to peace. Because the women of *Lysistrata* succeed in persuading their husbands only by exercising their control in their position as wives, rather than politicians, this play, in stark contrast to many other Aristophanic comedies, does not depict a drastically inverted utopia, but rather is grounded in a culturally accepted depiction of gender roles in fifth-century Athens.

Let us begin by addressing the traditionally female elements of the sex strike as opposed to the women's "invasion" of the masculine sphere through their control of the acropolis. Arguing against the attribution of femininity to the sex strike and masculinity to the seizure of the acropolis, J. Vaio claims that, by taking control of the acropolis, the women apply their domestic wisdom to the political sphere, thus "feminizing" politics.[1] Vaio draws upon examples such as the scene during which Myrrhine, tantalizing Kinesias outside the acropolis, literally turns the scene into a home by adorning it with domestic items, such as a bed and a mattress (870-950).[2] He also points to the female semichorus' discussion of foreign policy through the metaphor of a picnic (696-705).[3] According to this interpretation, Lysistrata's two plans do not oppose each other: rather, the seizure of the acropolis is an extension of the domestic power exerted during the sex strike. First of all, if we analyze the location of the scene between Myrrhine and Kinesias, we see that the scene cannot be considered a feminization of public life. It is dangerous to conceive of the scene as occurring in a primarily political location: although the couple is located near the politically significant acropolis, the scene itself takes place in the Grotto of Pan, which, as Henderson notes, actually had erotic rather than political connotations.[4] More importantly, I will begin by arguing that, while the women do exert traditionally feminine, domestic power through the sex strike, the women's seizure of the acropolis has distinctly opposing masculine elements and requires gender-role reversal.

Through the sex strike, the women may initially appear to reject their traditional role as wives. After all, as Jean-Pierre Vernant argues, because ancient Greek society primarily valued women for their sexual and childbearing functions, we may understand sexual abstention as a rejection of traditional femininity.[5] However, in *Lysistrata*, the ultimate goal of this temporary sexual abstention is a restoration of the family unit, so that the women may better perform their sexual and domestic functions. When introducing her plan, Lysistrata's first persuasive argument is, "Do you not miss the fathers of

1 J Vaio. "The Manipulation of Theme and Action in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies XIV* (1973): 369-380.
2 Vaio, "Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*," 377
3 Vaio, 375-376
4 J Henderson, ed. *Aristophanes: Lysistrata*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK 1987), 179
5 J P Vernant. *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*. Trans. Janet Lloyd. (Zone Books: New York 1996), 55-79

your children when they are away in battle? For I know well that each of you has an absent husband" (99-101).[6] [7] Lysistrata implies that the women must miss both the traditional family structure, as indicated by her reference to the women's husbands as "the fathers of your children," and the sexual companionship of their spouses, as indicated by lines 107-110, which expand on the sexual deprivations caused by the war. Lysistrata therefore convinces her fellow women to participate in the strike by appealing to their empty beds and fatherless children, exhorting them to "correct" these disruptions of the traditional family structure. Thus, though the sex strike temporarily suspends the women's traditional function as wives, it ultimately strives for the restoration of this function. Furthermore, as Helene P. Foley notes, women routinely practiced temporary abstinence and neglected traditional motherly duties during cultic festivals such as the Thesmophoria, considering these practices a means to ultimately promote values such as fertility.[8] Abstinence, so long as it was temporary and aimed at domestic values, as Lysistrata's sex strike is, was therefore in some ways reconcilable with an accepted and expected notion of female behavior.

The sex strike requires the women of Greece to be as traditionally feminine as possible, because their plan will have an effect only so long as the men desire them sexually. The femininity required for this plan becomes clear after Lysistrata tells Kalonike that the salvation of Greece lies in the hands of its women (42-48):

> Kalonike: How could women do anything wise or brilliant, we who lie around blossoming prettily, made up and wearing saffron robes, Kimmerian tunics, and slippers?[9]
> Lysistrata: Those are the very things which I believe will save [Greece]: the saffron robes and the perfume and the slippers and the rouge and the sheer tunics.[10]

Lysistrata's plan relies upon typical Athenian conceptions of womanhood. The plan requires that women be superficial, obsessed with exotic fashions,[11] and always beautiful to the male gaze. As Lauren Taafe puts it, "As the women deny their sexual urges in order to distract their husbands from the war, they become,

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6 All translations of Aristophanes are my own.

7 τοὺς πατέρας οὐ ποθεῖτε τοὺς τῶν παιδίων/ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπόντας; εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι/ πάσαισιν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀποδημῶν ἀνήρ

8 H P Foley. "The Female Intruder Reconsidered: Women in Aristophanes' Lysistrata and Ecclesiazusae." *Classical Philology*. Vol.77, No.1 (Jan., 1982): 8. For more on elements of cultic ritual in *Lysistrata*, see C Faraone. "Salvation and Female Heroics in the Parodos of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*." The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. 117 (1997): 47-54

9 τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίατο/ ἢ λαμπρόν, αἳ καθήμεθ' ἐξηνθισμέναι,/ κροκωτοφοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι/ καὶ Κιμμερίκ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας;

10 ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κἄσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ,/ τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαὶ περιβαρίδες/χἠγχουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτώνια.

11 The reference to the Kimmerian (and therefore "oriental") robe further emphasizes femininity, since the East was perceived as especially feminine. See E Hall. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1989)

more and more, emblems of male visions of femininity."[12] Lysistrata does not contest Kalonike's claim that women are not "wise or brilliant," but rather provides physicality and seductiveness as an alternative source for control: this dismissal of female intelligence corresponds to what Roger Just has identified as the common Athenian notion that women, in the absence of rationality, have only material and physical interests.[13] Furthermore, both Kalonike and Lysistrata emphasize female passivity in this passage, Kalonike with the verb "καθήμεθ'" or "lie," passive in both its meaning and its deponent form, and Lysistrata by attributing agency not to the women themselves, but to their revealing clothing and makeup, "which [she] believe[s] will save [Greece]."

Furthermore, Lysistrata encourages the women to use their feminine beauty for trickery, a deep-seated conception about women in Greek society. For example, when Kinesias arrives at the acropolis seeking sex from his wife Myrrhine, Lysistrata instructs Myrrhine, "Your job is this: roast him and twist him and thoroughly deceive him, love him and don't love him, and provide everything except that which the oath forbids" (839-841).[14] This flirtatious but devious teasing is integral to the sex strike plan: Myrrhine proceeds in the next 100 lines to use her sexual appeal in order to torment and manipulate her husband, enticing him with the prospect of sex until he agrees to propose a peace treaty, and then leaving him unfulfilled. Kinesias cries out after she leaves, "Alas, what's to become of me? Whom will I fuck, having been beguiled by the most beautiful woman of all? How will I rear this orphan child [i.e. his penis]?" (954-956).[15] Kinesias, still smitten and lustful, appears vulnerable at the hands of his deceitful wife, as is evident in his description of his penis as an orphan. The idea of the beautiful but deceitful woman has its roots in the Greek conception of the world's first woman, Pandora, whom, according to Hesiod, Zeus had created as a "beautiful evil… And wonder took hold of the deathless gods and mortal men when they saw that which was sheer guile, not to be withstood by men. For from her is the race of women and female kind."[16] Though the tone is humorous in the former case but serious in the latter, both Aristophanes and Hesiod portray men as being genuinely crushed by female "guile." Therefore, the sex strike encourages the women to take thoroughly "female" actions.

The contrasting masculine qualities of the acropolis plan are fairly evident: this plan requires physical violence and political action. While implementing this aspect of the plan, the women congratulate themselves on being "the manliest of grannies and of mommies like stinging-nettle" (549).[17] As Just points

12 L Taafe. *Aristophanes ad Women.* (Routledge Press: London and New York. 1993), 48

13 R Just. *Women in Athenian Law and Life.* (Routledge Press: London and New York. 1989), 164

14 σὸν ἔργον ἤδη τοῦτον ὀπτᾶν καὶ στρέφειν/κἀξηπεροπεύειν καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μὴ φιλεῖν,/καὶ πάνθ' ὑπέχειν πλὴν ὧν σύνοιδεν ἡ κύλιξ

15 οἴμοι τί πάθω; τίνα βινήσω/τῆς καλλίστης πασῶν ψευσθείς;/πῶς ταυτηνὶ παιδοτροφήσω;

16 Hesiod, *Theogony.* Trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 1914) Lines 585-590.

17 τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων καὶ μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν

out, to attribute the quality of *andreia* to a woman was "in some ways automatically paradoxical," because while derivations of the word *andreia* often signify courage or fortitude, their roots lie in the sex-specific word *aner*, or "man."[18] A member of the female semichorus proudly refers to the semichorus as "those women… in whom there is good character, in whom there is grace, in whom there is courage, in whom there is wisdom, in whom there is patriotic and sensible excellence" (544-547).[19] Henderson notes in his commentary that many of these qualities (perhaps all but "grace") are normally applied exclusively to men,[20] augmenting the paradoxical and impossible gender-role reversal in these lines. Furthermore, Lysistrata retorts to the *proboulos* challenging her hold on the acropolis, "War will be the concern of women" (538).[21] This declaration is an almost identically-worded permutation of Hector's famous sentiment at *Iliad* 6.492 that "War will be the concern of men."[22] Here Lysistrata literally substitutes "women" for "men" in her defense of the acropolis. When taking control of the acropolis, the female semichorus, led by Lysistrata, thus takes on a masculine role which would have been viewed in fifth-century Athens as an unlikely, if not impossible, upheaval of the norm. In addition, while leading the belligerent female semichorus, Lysistrata attempts to feminize the Athenian *proboulos* by dressing him up as a woman (529-537). This further underlines the gender role-reversal inherent to the acropolis plan.

A.O. Hulton provides a supplementary perspective on the passivity of the first plan, in contrast to the initiative and activity of the second. Hulton argues that the two parts of Lysistrata's plan are complementary: the sex strike is a negative assertion (i.e. the women are no longer the "mere tools and playthings of men"), whereas the seizure of the acropolis is a positive assertion (i.e. the women are active participants in civic life).[23] In some ways, I take issue with this interpretation: first of all, as we will see in the following paragraphs, these two elements are not, in fact, complementary, but rather Aristophanes favors the first of these two opposing plans. Secondly, because the sex strike requires the women to dress and act in a way that will tantalize their husbands, we can hardly say that it is a firm rejection of their submissive position to men. However, Hulton's characterization of the sex strike as a negative claim (at its most basic level, it is the assertion, "We will not have sex") and the seizure of the acropolis as a positive one adds another element to the passivity, and therefore femininity, of the sex strike and the active masculinity of the storming of the acropolis.

When Lysistrata introduces her two-part plan, the first part, the feminine sex strike, in which women exert their power in a more expected, domestic way, receives priority over the unexpectedly masculine seizure of the acropolis.

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18 Just, "*Women*," 157

19 μετὰ τῶνδ'… αἷς/ ἔνι φύσις, ἔνι χάρις, ἔνι θράσος,/ ἔνι δὲ σοφόν, ἔνι δὲ φιλόπολις/ ἀρετὴ φρόνιμος

20 ed. Henderson, "*Lysistrata*," 138

21 πόλεμος δὲ γυναιξὶ μελήσει

22 πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει

23 A O Hulton. "The Women on the Acropolis: A Note on the Structure of Lysistrata." *Greece and Rome* (1972), 19:32-36

Lysistrata announces the sex strike climactically and with suspense, thus elevating its position of importance in the play. The first sixty-five lines of the play are anticipatory on many levels, with Lysistrata's and Kalonike's anxiety in awaiting the arrival of other Greek women augmenting Kalonike's impatience to know the reason for this congress. Lysistrata's oblique references to the plan increase in urgency: what begins as "not a trivial matter" (14).[24] increases six lines later to a matter of comparative importance as "a different thing more important than those" (20),[25] and finally becomes "the salvation of all of Greece" (30).[26] This ascending urgency serves to build Kalonike's, as well as the audience's, expectations. When the other Greek women finally arrive, they impatiently prompt her to reveal her plan, interjecting with the imperatives "tell us" (94)[27] and "say" (96).[28] Lysistrata's response, the hypothetical optative "I should say" (97),[29] teases her audience with its vagueness. Aristophanes draws out the moment of revelation (122-124):

> Lysistrata: We must abstain…
> Kalonike: From what? Tell us.
> Lys: Will you do it then?
> Kal: We will do it, even if it is necessary for us to die.
> Lys: We must abstain from the cock.[30]

Kalonike's hyperbole and repeated interjections build the suspense, until the final climactic word, "cock," shocking in its crudeness, provides a surprise appropriate for the anticipation that has accumulated. Thus, the opening 124 lines of the play are dedicated to the revelation of the sex strike. This prolonged and emotionally involved introduction of the sex strike, inciting suspense and curiosity from its audience, serves to underline the importance of this element of the plan.

In comparison to the sex strike, the seizure of the acropolis receives very little introduction or attention. Lysistrata mentions this aspect of her plan fifty lines after revealing the sex strike, and only in response to an objection raised by Lampito, who worries that the Athenian rabble will never listen to its women so long as it is endowed with its treasury (170-171, 173-174). Lysistrata answers, "But this is well prepared for, for we will lay hold of the acropolis today. To do this falls upon the oldest women: seeming to offer sacrifices, to seize the acropolis while we agree upon these things [namely, the sex strike]" (175-179).[31] Unlike the delayed revelation of the sex strike, the placement of the verb

24 οὐ… φαύλου πράγματος
25 ἕτερά… τῶνδε προὐργιαίτερα
26 ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος… ἡ σωτηρία
27 μύσιδδέ
28 λέγε
29 λέγοιμ'
30 ἀφεκτέ' ἐστὶ— τοῦ; φράσον/ ποιήσετ' οὖν/ ποιήσομεν, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἡμᾶς δέῃ/ ἀφεκτέα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τοῦ πέους
31 ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ τοῦτ' εὖ παρεσκευασμένον•/ καταληψόμεθα γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τήμερον./ ταῖς πρεσβυτάταις γὰρ προστέτακται τοῦτο δρᾶν,/ ἕως ἂν ἡμεῖς ταῦτα

"καταληψόμεθα," or "we will lay hold of" at the very beginning of the clause hardly establishes any mystery or excitement concerning this second element of the plan. Furthermore, the contrast between "the oldest women" and "we" serves to distance the seizure of the acropolis from Lysistrata, the epicenter of the plan and of the play itself. Thus, the importance of the seizure of the acropolis is belittled. In fact, by line 240, Lampito seems to have already forgotten about this part of Lysistrata's plan when, upon hearing the women storming towards the acropolis, she asks, "Who ululated?" (240).[32] Formidable and challenging as this task may be, it does not seem to surprise or interest the Greek women a great deal. In the opening scene of *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes clearly establishes the sex strike as the most important element of Lysistrata's peacemaking plan and as the main subject matter of the play.

Not only does the sex strike receive a much more dramatic introduction than the seizure of the acropolis, but it also is far more effective. Through the seizure of the acropolis, the women are not able to effect change or make progress towards peace. The seizure of the acropolis is by no means an innovative method. While fighting the semichorus of old women for control of the acropolis, the semichorus of old men highlights the tiredness of this plan when they mention "Kleomenes, who first held it [the acropolis]" (274).[33] This reference to Kleomenes, the Spartan Agiad king who took control of the acropolis in 508 BCE in a failed attempt to aid Isagoras in establishing an oligarchy, underlines the historical precedent for the women's plan, as well as what the men perceive as the women's inevitable failure, parallel to Isagoras'. Aristophanes again portrays the seizure of the acropolis as an old method when the male semichorus appeals to their victory in the Battle of Leipsidron for encouragement against the women, exhorting, "Come on, nimble-footed men, we who came upon Leipsidron when we were still young! Now, right now, it is necessary for us to grow young again and to raise our feathers and to shake off all this old skin" (667-671).[34] Not only have the men experienced political, military strife before, but their memories of such strife urges them onwards in their determination. Thus, by taking military action, a method the men have dealt with before, the women allow the men to find encouragement in their past experiences and oppose the women with more vigor.

In this clash of the semichoruses, the old men also cite Euripides as a precedent for their opposition to women, confirming their misogyny with the declaration, "There is no man wiser than the poet Euripides: 'no beast is as shameful as women'" (368-369).[35] This quotation by Euripides emphasizes the fact that the battle between the male and female semichoruses only serves to reinforce old divisions, already voiced by Euripides, between men and women,

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συντιθώμεθα,/ θύειν δοκούσαις καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν

32 τίς ὠλολυγά;

33 Κλεομένης, ὃς αὐτὴν κατέσχε πρῶτος

34 ἀλλ' ἄγετε λευκόποδες, οἵπερ επὶ Λειψύδριον ἤλθομεν ὅτ' ἦμεν ἔτι,/ νῦν δεῖ νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι πάλιν κἀναπτερῶσαι/ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα κἀποσείσασθαι τὸ γῆρας τόδε

35 οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου σοφώτερος ποιητής•/ οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω θρέμμ' ἀναιδές ἐστιν ὡς γυναῖκες

rather than instigating the new reconciliation for which the women strive. The clash of the semichoruses central to the taking of the acropolis only recycles established strife, rather than effecting the significant change the women aim for. Thus, the literary function of the seizure of the acropolis is to highlight women's incapability to exert power by military and political means. The seizure of the acropolis, in its negative claim that women cannot effectively change society by neglecting their femininity, complements the positive claim of the sex strike, which promotes the idea that a woman's power lies in her femininity.

Ultimately, only the sex strike brings peace to the Greeks, and it does so quite efficiently. Immediately after Kinesias, Myrrhine's sexually frustrated husband, understands the women's plan, he urgently orders the Spartan messenger, "As quickly as possible, advise the Spartans to send ambassadors here concerning reconciliation. I will convince the *boule* to choose other ambassadors by showing them this cock" (1009-1012).[36] The sex strike instantly sways Kinesias, who is certain that his appeal to the Athenian citizens' sexual frustration will convince the *boule* as well. During the deliberations, Lysistrata orders a personification of Reconciliation to lead in each ambassador, and "if he should not give you his hand, lead him by the dick" (1119).[37] The men's erections, caused by the sex strike, make them vulnerable to the wishes of women, who are able to take advantage of the men's sexual frustration in order to achieve peace. In this passage, Lysistrata explicitly ties the efficacy of the sex strike to femininity, urging Reconciliation to lead the ambassadors "not ignorantly, like men do it, but like a woman, domestically" (1118).[38]

Thus, in *Lysistrata* the domestic, traditionally feminine of the two plans succeeds instead of the masculine one, which would have required a conception of gender-role reversal and an imaginative leap on the part of a fifth-century Athenian audience. The seizure of the acropolis serves to highlight the relative success of feminine and masculine plans when implemented by women (as well as generating bawdy, slapstick comedy, of course). Aristophanes therefore situates Lysistrata in a much more conventional and realistic world, in which women only have power in the domestic sphere, than the topsy-turvy female-dominated political world of *Ekklesiazousai*, for example. What effect, though, does this fundamental predictability of gender roles have on the overall message of *Lysistrata*?

Franca Perusino argues that *Lysistrata* is grounded in a recognizable and immediate Athens, although her argument does not deal with gender roles. Perusino notes *Lysistrata*'s very realistic portrayal of the acropolis, with references to specific landmarks such as the Athena Promachos statue (751), the temple of Demeter Chloe (835), and the serpent watch-guard (759), all of which make the acropolis a central and vivid element of the play.[39] Perusino further argues that

36 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα φράζε περὶ διαλλαγῶν/ αὐτοκράτορας πρέσβεις ἀποπέμπειν ἐνθαδί./ ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέρους ἐνθένδε τῇ βουλῇ φράσω/ πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι τὸ πέος ἐπιδείξας τοδί

37 ἴν μὴ διδῷ τὴν χεῖρα, τῆς σάθης ἄγε

38 μηδ' ὥσπερ ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμαθῶς τοῦτ' ἔδρων,/ ἀλλ' ὡς γυναῖκας εἰκός, οἰκείως πάνυ

39 F Perusino. "L'Atene di Lisistrata." *I luoghi e la poesia nella Grecia antica.* (Edizioni Dell'Orso: Alessandria, 2004), 314

the acropolis is metonymic for Athens,[40] a compelling idea given the numerous times characters use forms of the word "πόλις," usually meaning "city," to refer to the acropolis.[41] Perusino concludes that the realism in Aristophanes' portrayal of Athens in *Lysistrata* underlines the play's anti-war message, encouraging citizens to be mindful of the welfare of their city and keep their acropolis intact.[42]

Like Perusino, I too will suggest that the realism of *Lysistrata* augments the play's anti-war sentiment. The conservatism that Aristophanes employs in his conventional depiction of gender roles actually serves an ultimately radical end. By grounding the peace achieved at the end of *Lysistrata* in a very real and recognizable portrayal of Athens, Aristophanes implies that peace is possible without undermining and uprooting fundamental aspects of the structure of society, such as gender roles. At a time when most Athenians would have viewed peace as an unattainable fantasy,[43] the radically realistic *Lysistrata* portrays peace flourishing in a society fundamentally equal to the one in which its audience resides. Peace is therefore no longer a utopian dream, as it is in *The Acharnians* or *Peace*, but becomes a tangible reality.

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40 Perusino, "L'Atene," 315

41 See lines 265, 285, 296, 355, 485, 870 for examples.

42 Perusino, "L'Atene," 315-316

43 For the hopeless political situation of Athens at the time *Lysistrata* was performed, see HD Westlake. "The Lysistrata and the War." *Phoenix*. Vol. 34, No.1, (Spring, 1980), 40-41 and DM MacDowell *Aristophanes and Athens: an Introduction to the Plays*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK. 1995) 248-249

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POLITICS AND GREEK COLONIZATION

Otis Munroe
Brandeis University

ABSTRACT

For nearly 900 years, Greeks planted colonies across the Mediterranean and Black Seas. A number of factors provided the impetus for this movement ranging from the environmental to the economic and the political. The "true" Greek colony enjoyed substantial political autonomy and as such provided an outlet for many disaffected members of the city-state. Certain, largely religious and sentimental, connection did exist however between many mother-cities and their colonies. With the advent of the Peloponnesian and Delian Leagues, the coexistence of conflicting political and ceremonial relationships became a destabilizing force. Members of the Peloponnesian League actively, and at times successfully, sought to use their influence with their colonies to affect those colonies' rebellion from Athens. Athens responded both politically, with the Megarian Decree, and ideologically. The Athenians simultaneously attempted to promote themselves as the center of Pan-Ionian and Pan-Hellenic movements. The Pan-Hellenic movement combined with a brief revitalization of colonialism in the foundation of Thurii. Thurii represents both Athens's recognition of the shortcomings of the old system of colonization and a failed attempt to address those shortcomings. Ultimately, the same characteristics of Greek colonization that had made it beneficial in the Archaic period caused it to be a disruptive, decentralizing force following the Persian Wars.

The Greeks undertook numerous periods of colonization from the end of the Mycenaean civilization to the time of Alexander the Great, and the environmental and social forces present in ancient Greece in turn shaped the nature of Greek colonization. As these forces changed over time, with the social and political factors becoming more pressing than the environmental ones, the practices governing Greek colonization did not change apace. The establishment of the Peloponnesian and Delian Leagues, and their subsequent antagonistic approach to one another, highlighted the shortcomings of the Greek system of colonization. Although Pericles attempted to address these shortcomings at the markedly multinational settlement of Thurii in 444 BCE, he ultimately failed and the Greek states abandoned colonization altogether until the conquests of Alexander.

At the end of the Bronze Age in Greece around 1200 BCE Mycenaean power was suddenly, and apparently violently, overthrown.[1] This led to the first known, substantial movement of Greek peoples out of the mainland. According to Athenian tradition, these migrants congregated first in Attica, then madetheir way to Asia Minor.[2] The Mycenaeans' relatively disorganized displacement to Ionia and the Aegean islands was the result of the collapse of a civilization and

1 David Sansone, *Ancient Greek Civilization* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 24-5.
2 Mary White, "Greek Colonization," *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 21, No. 4 (1961), 444.

the ensuing disorder.[3] The institutionalization of the founder as a regularized office and the formalization of the process of colonization likely originated later, in the less chaotic time after the Dark Age.[4]

The first known, organized Greek colonization occurred during the Archaic period. As Greece emerged from the Dark Age, the mainland population began to increase. Eventually the population grew to a point where it could no longer be supported, especially in areas such as Chalcis, Eretria, Corinth, and Megara, where arable land is scarce.[5] Beginning around 750 BCE colonists departed primarily from these areas for Sicily, Italy, Cyrenaica, and the southern shores of the Propontis and the Black Sea.[6] Traditionally, it has been thought that the colonization during the Archaic period represented a direct and effective response to increasing population pressures. Alternatively, Walter Scheidel argues that colonization in the Archaic period would have had a negligible effect on population pressures. According to his calculations, colonization would "have absorbed annual natural growth of 0.06-0.11%, or around one-third to one-fifth of total mainland growth".[7] That is, colonization would not have checked nor substantially mitigated annual population growth throughout the Greek mainland. Scheidel acknowledges, however, that emigration from the mainland was not uniform at this time and that therefore "the demographic drain of emigration would have been more strongly felt in some areas than in others" such as "Chalkis and Eretria".[8] Even though emigration during the Archaic period did not serve to ease population pressures everywhere, it remains likely that *poleis* in certain regions, especially those lacking in arable land, made use of colonization to lessen significantly those pressures.

Drought and famine can temporarily but dramatically increase the stress placed on a population without affecting the long-term population pressures, which are Scheidel's primary concern. The island of Thera suffered a seven-year drought in the seventh century BCE, and, upon consulting the oracle at Delphi about the drought, the Theraeans were told to "colonize Libya".[9] In the face of this severe drought the Theraeans followed the oracle's command and dispatched the colonists who would eventually found Cyrene. Colonization served as a means of easing population pressure not only in areas with limited arable land but also in those experiencing droughts or similar crises.

As Scheidel's calculations prove, colonization alone could not have ef-

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid. Which stretched roughly from 1200-800 BCE.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 444-5.

7 Walter Scheidel, "The Greek Demographic Expansion: Models and Comparisons," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. 123 (2003), 120-140.

8 Ibid., 135.

9 Oracles, especially Apollo's at Delphi, often played an important role in inspiring, legitimizing, and pointing out a region for colonization. On the other hand, oracles did not have a direct effect on the economic, social or political motivations for colonization and are therefore outside of the scope of this paper.
Herodotus, *The History*, trans. David Grene, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 4.151.1-3; 4.151.1-3, footnote #54..

fectively mitigated environmental strain on Greek society taken as a whole, with those places lacking arable land – such as Chalcis and Eretria on Euboea – or experiencing a temporary crisis as possible exceptions. Nevertheless, an increasing number of *poleis* founded "true" colonies during the Archaic period. True colonies consist of a "sizeable" number of colonists established on "agricultural land, where an independent community with full civic life could develop".[10] The Ionian cities later joined those of the mainland in establishing further "true" agricultural colonies in the regions of the northern Aegean and Black seas until around 530 BCE.[11] Although the emigration of people required to establish the numerous true colonies would not have been sufficient to ease population pressures on all levels of society on the mainland, cereals imported from the agricultural colonies had a significant effect.[12] The act of colonization itself did not solve Greece's overall environmental and demographic issues, but colonization did open up lands much more appropriate for the cultivation of cereal than could be found in mainland Greece. The imports from these new lands ultimately provided a needed respite from overpopulation.

While wheat imports from true colonies were supplying the mainland with food, the non-agricultural economic potential of colonialism was also realized. The first two known Archaic Greek settlements abroad, at Al-Mina and Cumae, had not been established as true agricultural colonies but rather as trading posts.[13] Al-Mina opened up the especially important trade with the Near East through Syria, while Cumae catalyzed trade with the Etruscans. It was after the establishment of these first trading posts that *poleis* began to send out the aforementioned agricultural colonies. Trade continued to represent an important impetus for colonization throughout the colonial period. In fact, a secondary wave of Greek colonization concentrated on founding colonies that would primarily promote trade and extract natural resources. Miletus took the lead in the establishment of these colonies, which were concentrated on the Hellespont, Bosporus, Propontis and the northern shore of the Black Sea.[14] At some point, during the Archaic period, population pressures were adequately addressed by emigration and grain imports, and economic and political issues emerged as the primary focus of colonization.

Despite having a different primary function, these trading colonies were as much true colonies as the agrarian ones. They too developed into fully functioning, independent communities that were "free to develop their own constitutions, laws, cults, foreign relations and arts".[15] This independence was the defining characteristic of all true Greek colonies, and it led to the use of colonization as a means to diffuse political and social tensions. Certainly the Greeks recognized the political possibilities inherent in colonization from the time when the first colonists were dispatched around 750 BCE, even though

10 White, "Greek Colonization," 446.
11 Ibid., 447-8.
12 Ibid., 450.
13 Ibid., 445.
14 Ibid., 448.
15 Ibid., 449.

politics was not the primary factor driving colonization at that time. Several centuries later, Plato articulated the political benefits of colonization as

> a milder form of purge … when, owing to the scarcity of food, people are in want, and display a readiness to follow their leaders in an attack on the property of the wealthy, - then the lawgiver, regarding all such as a plague inherent in the body politic, ships them abroad as gently as possible, giving the euphemistic title of 'emigration' to their evacuation.[16]

Plato's observations seem especially relevant concerning the initial period of colonization, when population pressures had not yet been addressed. Food shortages rapidly led to political unrest and instability. One of the most expedient methods for dealing with a disillusioned populace was to send especially rebellious and discontented people along with "their leaders", who could galvanize discontent into violent and perhaps revolutionary action, overseas to found a new colony.

The approach articulated by Plato, while temporarily effective, did not address the underlying issues that created discontent among the lower classes during the early Archaic period. Aside from environmental population pressures, the social and political organization of *poleis* at this time created further tensions between the landowning aristocrats and the people. In Athens, for example, the poor "were slaves of the rich; … the whole land was under the control of a few men … further, all loans were made on the security of the person of the debtor".[17] In a society where subsistence farming represented the primary occupation, such a system of debt slavery was essentially untenable. Small farmers in a region as agriculturally poor as Attica could easily be wiped out by a single bad harvest, forcing them to take on debts from the rich with their own freedom as collateral. By the time of Solon's reforms, possibly 594 BCE, the state was on the verge of collapse due to political turmoil resulting from this system.[18] The Athenians were forced dramatically to overhaul their entire political and economic system. The result was a long series of reforms beginning with Solon's.

One reason for the severity of Athens's situation, and the backward state of Attica, was that the Athenians were not early colonizers. By the end of the Dark Age, aristocrats ruled the majority of Greek *poleis* including Athens.[19] Athens's problems were likely relatively universal at this time. Elsewhere, however, *poleis* had followed the policy that was much later articulated by Plato and sent especially rebellious members of society abroad to found colonies.[20] Corinth was a highly successful earlier colonizer. For about fifty years, the ruling Bacchiad aristocracy had managed to use colonization to relieve overpopulation, "to

16 Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vols. 10 & 11, trans. R.G. Bury, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967 & 1968), 5.735-6.
17 Aristotle, "The Constitution of Athens," in *The Politics and the Constitution of Athens*, ed. Stephen Everson, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2.2-3 .
18 Ibid., 5.2-3.
19 Sansone, Ancient Greek Civilization, 95.
20 White, "Greek Colonization," 444-5.

preserve its own political monopoly"[21] and to profit from the new economic opportunities afforded by colonization. The Bacchiads were not the only people to benefit economically from colonization; wealthy and prominent families excluded from the aristocracy as well as a growing middle class experienced the same economic benefits of colonization.[22] Eventually, as tensions rose, the Bacchiads were overthrown, replaced by a tyranny. The tyranny itself was overthrown after two generations and was replaced by a merchant oligarchy.[23]

Although colonization initially solved the social, political and economic issues that emerged at the beginning of the Archaic period, the solution was only temporary. Colonization increased trade, which enriched people outside of the landowning aristocracy, and freed people from subsistence agriculture through grain imports, allowing a class of artisans to develop.[24] With a new source of wealth not tied to land ownership enriching those outside of the existing power structure, tensions between the ruling aristocracy and the people increased once more. Eventually, tyrants overthrew the aristocrats with the aid of newly prosperous citizens.[25] With tyrannies came greater political participation on the part of citizens in assemblies and greater stability. While political considerations were secondary in the founding of Archaic colonies, the political ramifications of colonization were considerable.

The new political order did not eliminate all political strain. In one such situation, complicated dynastic circumstances in Sparta following the death of Anaxandrides led to the ascension of Cleomenes. Dorieus, Cleomenes's half brother, felt he had been unrightfully passed over for the kingship and "was very angry indeed and refused to be ruled by Cleomenes… [s]o he asked the Spartiates for a body of people and led them away to found a colony".[26] Rather than violently defy the decision of the Spartiates to make Cleomenes king, Dorieus chose to found a colony. Colonization provided Dorieus with an alternative to destructive civil strife, whereby as the founder of a colony he was free to rule his own people outside of Cleomenes's authority. In Dorieus's case, colonization was no longer primarily about trade or relieving population pressure; instead, he turned to colonization solely as the solution to a political problem. This represents an important functional and ideological difference in regards to colonization. By the end of the Archaic period, with the aid of colonies, Greece had become relatively prosperous. With ordinary food shortages eased and increased prosperity, the establishment of new true colonies lost its utilitarian agricultural value. Instead, the political autonomy inherent in founding a new colony attracted leading members of society who were dissatisfied with those in power.

The promise of political autonomy similarly motivated Miltiades's acceptance of an offer from the Dolonci to found a colony in the Chersonese. There

21 Ibid., 450.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., 449.
25 Sansone, Ancient Greek Civilization, 95-6.
26 Herodotus, *The History*, 5.42.2-3.

he was to rule over both the Athenian colonists who volunteered to sail with him and the Dolonci. The Thracian Dolonci at the time

> were sorely pressed in war by the Apsinthians. They sent their kings to Delphi to consult the oracle about the war and the Pythia told them to bring home to their country as "founder" whoever it was who first offered them hospitality…As soon as he heard their story, Miltiades was persuaded by it *because he was aggrieved by the government of Pisistratus and wished to be out of the way* (emphasis mine).[27]

This first Miltiades to sail to the Chersonese, although obeying an order of the oracle at Delphi, did so primarily because he was at odds with the rulers of Athens. Once in the Chersonese, Miltiades exercised nearly absolute authority independent of Athens. He constructed a wall to keep out the Apsinthians, pursued a war against the Lampsacenes and established a friendly relationship with Croesus, the king of Lydia.[28] Apparently never returning to Athens, Miltiades died in the Chersonese and passed his rule to either his son, a Miltiades II, or to Stesigoras the son of his half-brother Cimon.[29] As Dorieus left Sparta to rule a colony independent of Cleomenes, Miltiades too left his homeland due to conflict with the tyrant Pisistratus.

By their nature, true Greek colonies provided an opportunity for disaffected aristocrats to rule disaffected commoners in new, largely independent *poleis*. Nevertheless, a colony's independence, while considerable, was not absolute. The formal obligations of a colony to its mother city were largely confined to ceremonial observances. Immediately prior to the end of the Thirty Years' Peace, Corinth was at odds with its colony Corcyra because the Corcyraeans did not grant the Corinthians "the usual honors accorded to the parent city by every other colony at public assemblies, such as precedent at sacrifices".[30] According to an inscription, the colony of Brea, established by Pericles around 440 BCE, was to "send certain cattle for the celebration of the great Panathenaea, and a phallos for the Dionysia".[31] Colonies appear to have held a subservient position to their mother cities in ceremonies where delegates of the mother city were granted

27 Herodotus, *The History*, 6.34.4-6.35.7.

28 Ibid., 6.36-7.

29 N.G.L. Hammond, "II. The Philaids and the Chersonese," in *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 6, No. 3/4 (Jul. - Oct., 1956): 113.
Herodotus, *The History*, 6.38.1.

30 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Richard Crawley, ed. Robert B. Strassler (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1996), 1.25.5.

31 Although this source is quite dated, much of Morris's argument rests on his own interpretations of passages from Thucydides, and it remains relevant as one possible reading of the debate between Corinth and Corcyra. Morris wrote extensively on the Greek historians Thucydides, Plutarch and Xenophon, and another of his works, "The Jurisdiction of the Athenians over their Allies", was cited in a paper by Jack Martin Balcer as recently as 1976.
C. D. Morris, "The Relation of a Greek Colony to Its Mother City," *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1884): 486.

"honors" and "precedent at sacrifices". In the case of Brea, sacrificial animals and cult objects had to be sent to Athens. Despite this obligation, it does not appear that Athens exercised any formal political control over the colony even though it was established at the height of Athens's empire.[32] The Corcyraeans' argument that "colonists are not sent forth on the understanding that they are to be the slaves of those that remain behind, but that they are to be their equals"[33] supports Morris's assertion that mother cities and their colonies

> could not, except in extreme cases, make war on each other; and that, in all matters of common interest, the colony gave precedence to the parent state. *Yet neither of these circumstances implied any sovereignty…on the part of the parent state*" (Hermann quoted in Morris, emphasis mine).[34]

Essentially, a colony was to defer to its parent state in cooperative actions, but the parent state held no formal "sovereignty" over the colony and its affairs, both foreign and domestic. According to Morris's argument, ties between a colony and its mother city were ritual and ceremonial, while the colony retained a great degree of political independence.

An effective analogy supplied by Morris for the "duties of a colony to its metropolis" is that those duties "were no other than those which natural piety imposed on a daughter in relation to her mother".[35] Consideration of "family" bonds was a part of ancient Greek international politics. Such bonds had connotations of the religious and mythological. Before the Ionian revolt from Persia, Thebes and Athens had come into conflict; after the Athenians defeated the Thebans in battle, the Thebans sent to Delphi to inquire about how to take revenge.[36] Part of the oracle's advice was to "beg those who are nearest to you".[37] The Thebans decided that, since their nearest geographic neighbors were already their allies, the oracle meant for them to ask the Aeginetans for aid since "the story is that Asopus had two daughters, Thebe and Aegina".[38] The Thebans' interpretation of the oracle as a command to procure help from the Aeginetans was not based on preexisting political ties but rather on a mythological family link between the two states. The Aeginetans' acceptance of the Thebans' request, and Herodotus's treatment of the event, suggests that foreign policy formulated on the basis of historical-mythological ties was not especially unusual in ancient Greece. It is possible that a relationship between a mother city and its colonies was construed in a similar familial and mythological manner, due to the nature of the bonds that held the cities together. Establishing a heroic cult of a founder may have facilitated the formulation of this relationship, as the founder was

32 Ibid.
33 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.34.2.
34 Morris, "The Relation of a Greek Colony to its Mother City," 483.
35 Ibid.
36 Herodotus, *The History*, 5.79.2.
37 Ibid., 5.79.4.
38 Ibid., 5.80.2.

identified with his home city.[39] The formulation of a cult around the founder would have imbued the colony's bond with the mother city with religious and ritual connotations.[40]

Morris's conclusions are based primarily on the evidence for the independence of colonies' law courts.[41] While Morris makes a convincing argument that colonies were not obligated to settle legal disputes in the mother city,[42] Thucydides's narrative contains evidence for the direct influence of the mother city on a colony's court system. Corinth, rather than require its colony of Potidaea to settle court cases in the mother city, annually dispatched magistrates to the colony.[43] Ostensibly, this practice appears to invalidate Morris's conclusions since it refutes the claim that all colonies maintained independent courts.[44]

The actual power accorded these magistrates is unclear and their presence appears to have had little bearing on the foreign policy of Potidaea. Despite the deep animosity between Athens and Corinth, traced by Thucydides to Athens's alliance with Megara in 457 or 456 BCE,[45] Potidaea remained a steadfast member of Athens's alliance until 433 BCE.[46] Although Morris's argument for the independence of colonies' law courts is contradicted by the example of Potidaea, Potidaea's alliance with Athens supports the overall argument for the political independence of a colony. Furthermore, it was not solely Corinthian pressure that precipitated Potidaea's revolt in 433. Rather, Athenian demands meant to prevent rebellion were the primary cause. Following Athenian support for Corcyra in its war with Corinth, the Athenians made several demands of the Potidaeans. They insisted that the Potidaeans raze part of their wall, turn over hostages, dismiss the Corinthian magistrates and turn away those magistrates' annual replacements.[47] The Athenians feared that Potidaea's ties with Corinth would make the Potidaeans susceptible to pressure from Corinth to revolt.[48] When, after prolonged negotiations, the Athenians refused to reconsider their demands and the Peloponnesians pledged their support, the Potidaeans revolted.[49]

The political independence of a colony allowed it to form alliances apparently at will. The same independence enjoyed by Greek colonies that allowed people such as Dorieus and Miltiades to found and rule their own *poleis*, and

39 Victor Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," in *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (1948), 160.
40 Herodotus, *The History*, 6.38.2.
41 Morris, "The Relation of a Colony to its Mother City," 485-6.
42 Namely that distances were too great and the example of Aegina and Epidaurus is a special case rather than an exemplary model (see Morris, "The Relation of a Colony to its Mother City," 482-3).
43 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.56.3.
44 Excluding kleruchies, colonies established by the Athenian empire wherein the colonists remained Athenian citizens.
45 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.103.4.
46 Ibid., 1.58.
47 Ibid., 1.56.3.
48 Ibid., 1.56.4.
49 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.58.

therefore ameliorated potentially harmful internal tensions, gave colonies the freedom to ally with whomever they wished. Nevertheless, if a colony's ally came into conflict with that colony's mother city, regardless of these alliances, the original ties between founding city and colony would remain intact. This was problematic as the colony was obligated to aid its ally, yet the mother city retained a degree of influence.[50] Potidaea's colonial relationship with Corinth led Athens to become suspicious of Potidaea. This same relationship, once the rebellion was underway, caused the Corinthians to be "alarmed for the safety of the place, and thinking its danger theirs, sent volunteers from Corinth, and mercenaries from the rest of the Peloponnesus".[51] The empathetic link between colony and mother city in this case caused the Corinthians to see Potidaea's "danger [as] theirs" and to send aid.[52] Admittedly, aiding the revolt in the Chalcidice also furthered Corinth's own interests in opposing Athens; however, the aid was destined specifically for Potidaea, and the Corinthians were the most concerned about the Potidaeans.

Prior to the Peloponnesian War, the complex political webs of allies, colonies and mother cities were less problematic. With the emergence of the two great conflicting alliances, these webs made administering and maintaining an empire increasingly difficult. As with Potidaea, if a mother city and its colony found themselves in opposing alliances, the mother city could use its influence to incite its colony to revolt. The Peloponnesian League actively exploited this characteristic of the relationship between colonies and their mother cities, constantly attempting to detach states from Athens's empire during both times of war and of peace.[53] One of Athens' solutions for dealing with this dilemma was the Megarian Decree. Megara was the mother city of a number of cities in the strategic region of the Hellespont, and Megarians appear to have been instrumental in fomenting revolts in these cities prior to the enactment of the Decree.[54] Since one provision of the Megarian Decree was the exclusion of all Megarians from all the empire's ports, the decree would have effectively stifled Megarian influence within their colonies in this strategically vital region.[55] The ties between Megara and its colonies made them more difficult for Athens to control. As a result, the Athenians instituted the Megarian Decree in an attempt to sever those ties.

Since the Athenian empire controlled a wide range of formerly indepen-

50 This influence varied depending on the colony and the mother city. For example, Corinth appears to have had some degree of influence over Potidaea, especially after Potidaea openly rebelled, while Corinth's relationship with Corcyra was openly hostile.

51 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.60.1.

52 A similar situation arose with Epidamnus, except in this case the mother city, Corcyra, refused to provide assistance when called upon. As a result, the Epidamnians went to Corinth, the mother city of their mother city for aid. The Corinthians felt obligated to help, although in this situation as well the Corinthians had an ulterior motive, their hatred for Corcyra.

53 Brian R. MacDonald, "The Megarian Decree," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* Vol. 32, No. 4 (4th Qtr., 1983): 405.

54 Ibid., 402, 405.

55 MacDonald, "The Megarian Decree," 410.

dent Greek *poleis*, many of them colonies of other cities, the Athenians had to consider the implications of the various relationships between the mother cities and their colonies. In the case of the Doric colonies that fell under Athenian control, whose mother cities were predominantly members of the hostile Peloponnesian League, the Athenians attempted to weaken this bond through measures such as the demands made of the Potidaeans and the Megarian Decree. When formulating their policy towards subject Ionian states, the Athenians took a different approach. They attempted to create a religious amphictyony[56] - initially with Delian Apollo as the key god but eventually replaced in this role by Athena - and to promote a Pan-Ionian movement with Athens as the ancestral mother city of all the Ionian cities.[57] These two measures were complementary in the promotion of Athens's hegemony considering that a mother city's influence rested largely on the religious and symbolic ties to its colonies.

Athens's leadership over the Delian League represents the first manifestation of the idea of a religiously based Pan-Ionian movement with Athens at the head. By the time of the establishment of the League, Delos was already the center of a Pan-Ionian cult of Apollo.[58] The convenient subsequent discovery by Cimon of Theseus's bones, "the national hero and ancestral father of the Athenians and the Ionians",[59] and the composition of a Pan-Ionian epic by Panyassis of Halicarnassus furthered the Pan-Ionian narrative.[60] With the proposal to remove the Delian League's treasury to Athens in 454 BCE,[61] the Athenians began overtly to take over the ideological and religious leadership of Pan-Ionianism. The move from Delos to Athens and the construction of the Parthenon served to supplant Apollo with Athens's patron goddess, Athena, as the primary deity of the League.[62] Further evidence for the displacement of Apollo as the League's patron deity is the apparently voluntary appearance throughout the League of cults of "Athena the Protectrix" and "Athena of the Athenians".[63]

Athens had to obtain the dominant ideological and religious position within the Delian League in order to maintain leadership over the League and even the League's very existence. By violating the Charter of the Delian League on three separate occasions[64] and concluding the peace of Callias with Persia, the Athenians not only gave the allies a pretext to secede but also made the existence of the Delian League meaningless as the war with Persia was officially

56 An amphictyony was a league of city-states, often organized around the maintenance and protection of a cult center such as Delphi.
57 Jack Martin Balcer, "Separatism and Anti-Separatism in the Athenian Empire (478-433 B.C.)," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschischte* Vol. 23, No. 1 (1974): 34.
58 Ibid., 32.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., 33.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid., 34.
64 The Athenians violated the covenant of the Delian League's Charter first by breaching the equality clause, then by moving the treasury to Athens, and finally by suspending the meetings of the Synod and subjecting the allies to Athenian legislation (see Balcer, "Separatism and Anti-Separatism in the Athenian Empire (478-433 B.C.)," 34).

ended, and the League's only function had been to prosecute the war.[65] Consequently the Athenians justified the continuation of the League - in the form of an empire - by creating an image of the empire as a religious league. This image further strengthened the religious clauses from the Delian League's Charter which prohibited secession.[66]

One measure undertaken to incorporate the subject states into an Athenian narrative of a religious league based in Athens was the addition of youths from the subject states in the Great Panathenaia. This attributed the subject states "with the status of Athenian colonies (thus ethnically and religiously tied to the Ionian metropolis Athens)".[67] The ties between a mother city and its colonies, while largely religious and sentimental, could give the mother city considerable influence. The Peloponnesians were not alone in recognizing this influence and puting it to use; the Athenians too attempted to make use of this influence and constructed colonial and religious ties to its Ionian subjects as an attempt to stabilize the empire and legitimize Athenian dominance.

Athenian ambitions stretched beyond ruling a Pan-Ionian empire, and the Athenians cultivated a Pan-Hellenic movement as well, once again with themselves at the head. Pericles's attempt to call a Pan-Hellenic congress in Athens around 448-7 BCE had this goal in mind, for if such a congress had been held, and "for Sparta to have attended such a congress convoked by the Athenians at Athens would have amounted to a tacit acceptance of Athenian hegemony throughout Greece".[68] A few years after the failed attempt to call this Pan-Hellenic congress, another opportunity presented itself to the Athenians to lead a Pan-Hellenic endeavor. Croton, in Italy, had destroyed the city of Sybaris for the second time in fifty years. The surviving Sybarites went to Sparta and Athens for help rebuilding their city. The Spartans refused.[69] Although Athens took charge of the rebuilding and colonization effort, Thurii, as the next Sybaris came to be called, was not an Athenian colony, and requests for colonists went out to the entire Greek world.[70] Therefore, the colonization of Thurii provided an opportunity for Athens both to lead a Pan-Hellenic enterprise and to ensure that the colony would remain loyal to Athens. This was accomplished through the careful selection of the colonists and their leaders. Despite the Pan-Hellenic composition of the colony, Athenian leadership was assured, "by the fact that the men from Athens, along with their allies, formed rather a united and homogenous body, while the other phylae represented a mixed crowd which partly was even pro-Athenian or at least anti-Spartan".[71] The structure of the democracy at Thurii heavily favored the Athenians since the colony was not of-

65 Balcer, "Separatism and Anti-Separatism in the Athenian Empire (478-433 B.C.)," 32-3.
66 Ibid., 34.
67 Ibid.
68 Plutarch, "Life of Pericles," in *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1960), 17, footnote #1.
69 Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," 160.
70 Ibid., 153, 156.
71 Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," 159.

ficially supported by any state allied with Sparta, so the only Peloponnesians and Boeotians present were either from *poleis* allied with Athens or were democratic exiles from Sparta's allies.[72] Additionally, the ten leaders of the colony were all Athenians and followers of Pericles.[73] From the time of Thurii's founding in 444 or 443 BCE until 413, the colony remained loyal to Athens.[74]

Thurii represented a new direction for colonization. It was a project with strong Athenian influence, yet Pan-Hellenic overtones. Whereas mother cities since the beginning of the Archaic period had relied on religious and sentimental ties to ensure a serviceable degree of loyalty among their colonies, the Athenians attempted to establish a center of political influence far from their home whose loyalty was assured by the demographic composition of the colonists. While this approach was successful for many years, it eventually failed as exiles from Athens' allies and other enemies of Athens entered the colony and eventually overthrew the pro-Athenian party.[75] After all, Thurii was still an independent *polis*, and by 413 Athens was essentially powerless to prevent it from joining Sparta's alliance.

Ultimately Athens's military might was what kept its empire together, even if Pan-Ionian propaganda made this task somewhat easier, and once that might was destroyed at Syracuse and Aegospotami, the empire disintegrated.[76] Furthermore, the effectiveness of Athens's attempts to legitimize its empire through establishing itself as the Ionian mother city is questionable. Throughout the Peloponnesian war, both Dorian and Ionian members of the empire rebelled regularly, and Thucydides makes it clear that "the allies would never prefer servitude with an oligarchy or a democracy to freedom with the constitution they currently lived under, to whichever type it belonged".[77] No degree of ethnic or religious ties, especially those imposed on formerly independent states, could have kept the allies from attempting to gain their freedom from servitude to Athens. Once the opportunity presented itself, they did not hesitate to leave the alliance.

The institution of colonization in Greece developed as a response to specific environmental pressures that emerged at the beginning of the Archaic period. Practical concerns likely led to the marked independence of Greek colonies. The distances involved were too great to allow for strict control by the mother city. Furthermore, the religious and sentimental bonds that were established between mother cities and their colonies provided a sufficient degree of loyalty to provide the mother city with supplies of grain and trading networks. Founding an independent colony also provided the ideal solution to a number of political problems inherent to the polis throughout its development. After

72 Ibid., 159, footnote #36.
73 Ibid., 160.
74 Ibid., 157, 167.
Thucydides., *The Peloponnesian War*, 7.33.5, 6.104.2, 8.35.1.
75 Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," 166-7.
76 Balcer, "Separatism and Anti-Separatism in the Athenian Empire (478-433 B.C.)," 34-5.
77 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 8.48.5.

the Persian Wars, Athens attempted to exert control over a growing number of formerly independent Greek states. Many of these states were the colonies of Athens's opponents in the Peloponnesian League. As a result, a substantial force that constantly threatened to pull Athens's empire apart was the continuing influence of the Peloponnesians over their colonies. To respond, the Athenians attempted to block that influence, while at the same time establishing themselves as the mother city of all Ionians and as a Pan-Hellenic leader. Recognition of the lack of control inherent in the old system of colonization led Pericles to experiment with new methods for establishing independent colonies that would remain loyal to their mother city at places such as Thurii. These experiments failed because direct control was impossible, and the demographics of the colonies changed to reflect an anti-Athenian stance. While the Greek system of colonization addressed many vital issues, it also promoted factionalism and decentralization within the Greek world.

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LATIN IN THE EAST: A STUDY OF A RARE PAPYRUS FROM ROMAN EGYPT

Matthew Oresky
Johns Hopkins University

ABSTRACT

The influence of Latin literature in the Greek East is an understudied area of the Classics. In this study, I will use a rare Latin literary papyrus (p.Oxy.VI.871) from Roman Oxyrhynchus as a vehicle for exploring the possible status that both this manuscript and its owner might have enjoyed. First I will establish the rarity of VI 871 as an unknown philosophical text by an unknown author, and then I will speculate about the ownership of such a papyrus in Roman Imperial Oxyrhynchus. By this examination, I will attempt to fit this manuscript into a social context that makes sense and in so doing, shed light a subtlety in the dynamic relationship between upper-class Egyptian Greeks and the Latin culture of their Roman Imperial masters.

For over a century the hoard of papyrus manuscripts found in the municipal dump of Oxyrhynchus has provided scholars a veritable treasure trove of texts, mostly from the Roman Imperial period. Papyrus p.Oxy.VI.871, first published by Oxyrhynchus excavators Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt in 1908, is a curious Latin literary text on an uncertain topic and by an unknown author. In fact, it is practically unique in this category. Of all the papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus, literary papyri formed a rare class, making up only ten percent of the approximately 500,000 fragments unearthed.[1] Here, literary papyri may be defined as works of poetry or prose that are intended to have lasting intellectual value. They contrast with documents, which are texts with a practical function that range from personal and business correspondence, to petitions and legal decisions, to wills and property deeds.

These literary fragments are mostly in Greek, which is unsurprising given the centuries of Greek colonization and rule of Egypt. Those written in Latin form an even rarer sub-class of the literary papyri. Though it was the official language of the Roman imperial masters, the Romans made no systematic attempt to impose Latin on their Egyptian subjects, even using Greek frequently within their own provincial government.[2] In fact, scarcely more than 500 Latin papyri in total have come down to us, and only about one fifth of them are literary. [3] Of these, known texts by known Roman authors form a definite majority of the Latin literature found. The works of Cicero and Vergil, who even in late antiquity were considered paragons of Latin prose and poetry respectively, make

1 Parsons, Peter. *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (London: Phoenix, 2007): 24.
2 Adams, J.N. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 545-546.
3 Gallo, Italo. Trans. Maria Rosaria Falivene and Jennifer R. March. *Greek and Latin Papyrology.* (Somerset: Castle Cary Press Ltd, 1986): 64.

up a preponderance of the discovered literary texts.[4] It should be mentioned that while the recto is in Latin, the papyrus appears to have been reused at some point, as it contains some Greek cursive script on the verso.

In light of its rarity and in spite of it having only eleven fragmentary lines left, VI.871 provides useful evidence pertaining to the interaction between Greek and Roman cultures during the Empire. Some papyri reveal this interaction because they are common. When viewed together, documents of the same type and different editions of known literary texts can illuminate much about Greeks and Romans in ancient Oxyrhynchus. Other papyri, such as VI.871, are important because of their uniqueness, since they can provoke us to ask questions that challenge our preconceptions. Here, through studying the form, content, and context of VI.871, one can address important questions about the status and influence of Latin literature in the Greek East, and also about what sort of people were participating in the associated cultural exchange.

The form of VI.871, combined with its content, clearly suggests a literary, probably philosophical text. In terms of paleography, the text is written in rustic capitals, which suggest a formal type of book-writing. In the family of ancient Latin scripts, rustic capitals are a fusion of the two fundamental scripts in the Roman world. The first is the sharp, geometric lettering, called square capital, which derives from the Romans' epigraphic style of writing. The second is the more informal cursive (literally "running") that made for less laborious writing since entire words could be formed without lifting pen from papyrus. In his survey of the family of Latin scripts, Berthold Louis Ullman drolly describes all Latin writing styles as offspring of the mating between monumental and cursive scripts. In this schema, Ullman envisions Rustic Capital as the firstborn son who takes after his "stiff and formal father," Square Capital, more than his informal mother, Cursive.[5]

The hand of VI.871 bears many characteristics that are typical of rustic capital literary texts. The letters are heavy majuscules and are shadowed in a way that imitates the letters in inscriptions.[6] Another epigraphic feature is the dots that are placed after each word. In addition, the letters are formed by many pen strokes, which make for slower, more laborious writing. "M"s in this treatise even appear to consist of five separate strokes. These conventions of square capitals aside, there is plenty of cursive influence on this brand of rustic capitals. For instance, the letters are often rounded in their formation and slanted within the guidelines. This is unlike square capitals, which consist mostly of straight lines, circles, and arcs of circles.[7] "V" and "O" provide the clearest examples of rounding and slanting respectively.

Perhaps the most notable non-epigraphic feature is the enormous tail of each "Q". This feature breaks the twin guidelines of the majuscule lettering and

4 ibid., 65.

5 Ullman, Berthold Louis. *Ancient Writing and Its Influence*. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1969): 78.

6 Thompson, Edward Maunde. *A Handbook of Greek and Latin Paleography*. (Chicago: Argonaut Inc, 1966): 186.

7 Ullman, op. cit., 59-60.

stretches out to underline the two letters following the "Q". Although properly neither cursive nor square capital, this characteristic mark distinguishes the script from common rustic capitals, and thus adds a degree of formality by its elegant inefficiency. Rustic capitals in general tended to be reserved for more important literary works.[8] It is not difficult to imagine that this was the case because rustic capitals were evocative of the grandeur and permanence of monumental stone inscriptions. They were thus fit for great works of literature to the Roman mind, since great literature too deserved a sort of grandeur and permanence. Where the lettering deviates from epigraphic writing, such as in the "Q", the effect is to heighten the grandeur of the letters by making them more ornate and more difficult to write. Thus the paleography of VI.871 suggests contents of high literature.

Such paleography furthermore suggests that the text was probably written by a scribal hand. The extreme regularity of the ductus, or the set of patterns by which the pen formed the letters on the papyrus, makes the difference between strokes in each letter only distinguishable in parts. This combined with the page's uniform left margin and the regular spacing between the lines support this notion. The right side of the papyrus is clearly cut off before the end of the column of text, though we can be sure the papyrus extended further in both directions since the Greek cursive added later on the verso is cut off in both directions. Strangely, the Greek on the verso runs against the fibers of the papyrus, or in the same direction as the Latin on the recto. This is unusual in ancient papyri, since it was far easier for scribes to drag their pens in the same direction as the papyrus fibers than to write against it, and so one normally expects the first writing to appear on the side where the fibers run parallel to the text. Perhaps this is what led the original examiners of VI.871, Grenfell and Hunt, to conclude that the Greek was the later text without giving an explanation.[9]

More secure confirmation of Grenfell and Hunt's assertion can be found in the dating of the Greek script, a wild and slapdash form of cursive. The Greek script is notable for its loose formation of letters, some of which, such as "χ", "λ", and "κ", are vertically elongated and stretch well above and below the line of text. This elongation is a common feature of Byzantine era cursive script, dating approximately from the late 5th or 6th century.[10] In addition to being elongated, the cursive letters are not always straight in the words they form. Also, the ductus of these letters is highly irregular, with letters at the start of the line noticeably formed with more ink than those to the right. This may be a mere preservation issue, since the surface of the papyrus on the right of the verso is far more damaged than that on the left, but it could also indicate that the writer was not so careful in re-dipping his pen as needed. Put together, all these features give the impression of a quick scrawl rather than carefully composed writing.

As Grenfell and Hunt note, the Greek script provides a good terminus ante

8 Thompson, op. cit., 184.

9 Grenfell, Bernard P. and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part VI.* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1899): 177.

10 Thompson, op. cit., 141-142.

quem for the Latin,[11] since by the time the Greek was written, the use of Latin in Egypt was far decreased from its apex in the early Imperial era. It is highly improbable that a new Latin literary work would have been copied in Egypt at the time, let alone on the back of a Greek document in an era when new papyrus was still relatively cheap. This places the Latin recto in the expansive period of "the Roman Imperial era," stretching anywhere from the first century to the fifth. Though each of the three corpora that have published VI.871 have asserted a different range of dates for the manuscript, all dates fall within this broad period and none seems more likely than the others in light of the present evidence.[12] The question of when Latin literature was studied in Oxyrhynchus is thus wide open, with this manuscript adding little to that discussion.

Combining this evidence of chronology with the direction of the fibers on the recto and verso, we can create plausible account of the history of the papyrus's use. Accepting the timeline of Latin first, then Greek, the simplest explanation is that VI.871 was once part of a volumen, or scroll. This theory would explain the direction of the writing on the recto and verso, and also the fact that the Latin writing was likely a single column in a larger text. The first writer would have written his Latin treatise the "correct" way on a fresh papyrus scroll, filling one side with text while leaving the verso blank as was customary.[13] Then, at some later date, the second writer, wanting to recycle a useless (to him) book, would have simply flipped over the scroll and written his own text on the verso. The Greek writer either would have cut the scroll into sheets of papyrus or would have written in the same voluminal format as the recto. The former was probably done here, given the informal nature of the Greek script discussed above. Also, by the fifth century the scroll was already firmly supplanted by the codex for most literary books,[14] and a codex writer would have needed to use both sides of a papyrus sheet. Nonetheless, the theory of reuse has no bearing on the theory of the papyrus's origin as a volumen. If indeed this fragment was part of a scroll, it would strongly imply that the Latin recto was a literary book. Unlike books, documents were usually written on discrete pieces of papyrus, lest papyrus be wasted when only a small amount worth was needed.[15]

The content of VI.871 is in rather short supply, but what exists corroborates the conclusions drawn from its form. The manuscript is too fragmentary to be translated in any meaningful way given that each line is cut off on the right and that there is a significant gap in the middle of the papyrus, not to mention that so few lines are extant to begin with. However, the text does offer important clues that confirm it as literary as well as philosophical in content. For example, the words "Virtut[e]" and "Sapientia[e]" appear at the end of line one and the

11 Grenfell and Hunt, op. cit., 177.
12 For all publications of this manuscript, see: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part VI*, pp. 177-178; the *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum: Lief 2*, pg. 125; and the Codices Latini Antiquiores: Part XI, pg. 26.
13 Bülow-Jacobsen, Adam. "Writing Materials in the Ancient World." *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Ed. Roger S. Bagnall. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 22.
14 ibid., 18.
15 ibid., 19.

start of line three respectively.[16] These words are immediately recognizable as philosophical technical terms, and in Latin literature both see a plurality of their uses in the works of Cicero and Seneca.[17] The same can be said of the word inertia, which opens the text. Besides specific words, the author employs a second person address in the second line "[me]mineris," which translates to "you should remember" or "you might remember." Second person addresses usually occur in philosophical treatises and letters, though the former sometimes take the form of the latter. The difference between the two is the intended audience of the texts. A letter is intended for a specific reader, and it may be more limited in its temporal relevance. On the other hand, a philosophical work formatted like a letter is intended for any interested reader at any point in time. Given the literary form of the papyrus previously discussed, a philosophical treatise is far more likely than a letter in this case.

Thus with VI.871 established as a literary text of a philosophical nature, the question is now one of context. How did such a text end up in the Oxyrhynchus municipal dump? The obvious answer is that someone tossed it there, but accepting this answer raises the more interesting question of what sort of person might have owned and read a philosophical treatise in Roman Imperial Oxyrhynchus. Oxyrhynchus was a major city in Roman Egypt, possessing 20,000 inhabitants, a Roman military garrison, and leadership of its nome, or administrative district.[18] As such, it would have surely attracted many sorts of people. The owner of VI.871 would have been part of a very limited subsection of that society: those who read Latin. Latin was not widely used in Roman Oxyrhynchus, as is attested by the dearth of Latin papyri found there. Latin speakers were probably limited largely to the area's Roman citizens, who by the second century AD numbered just five percent of the entire Oxyrhynchite nome.[19] During the Imperial period, there are three types of people who might have had Roman citizenship in Oxyrhynchus: retired soldiers, aristocratic Romans who owned estates in the nome, and local aristocrats who had acquired Roman citizenship.[20]

The first type, military veterans, were few and far between in Roman Egypt. The Romans maintained three legions in Egypt at all times, for the province provided corn vital to the city of Rome. During the second and third centuries AD, these legions discharged approximately 360 men as veterans (all having citizenship) per year.[21] Even if all of them remained in Egypt upon retirement,

16 Nota bene: all reconstructions of incomplete text are marked by brackets and are according to Grenfell and Hunt.

17 According to the Packard Humanities Institute's database of Latin words.

18 Capponi, Livia. *Roman Egypt.* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011): 63-64.

19 Alston, Richard. *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt.* (New York: Routledge, 1995): 39.

20 This list ignores the fact that in AD 212, the emperor Caracalla granted everyone in the empire Roman citizenship. Citizenship is considered here because it connotes status and proximity to the Roman administration. For this reason, only those who would have possessed Roman citizenship under one of the listed criteria will be discussed, despite that citizenship was not exclusive after AD 212.

21 Alston, op. cit., 51.

the community of veterans would have numbered only 5,000-6,000 at any given time. This is a small enough sample to begin with, but it shrinks further still when one considers that most military recruitment was local, and so the enlisted legionaries would have been mostly Egyptians of low birth.[22] Low-born Egyptian legionaries would not have known Latin.[23] Yet even among the army's officers Latin was not widely used; only ten percent of military documents from Roman Egypt are in that language, which means that the army conducted most of its business in Greek or Egyptian.[24] Thus only a tiny number of retired officers probably would have had Latin. When the philosophical nature of VI.871 is considered in light of this fact, the odds that one of these retired officers was a Marcus Aurelius-like philosopher-soldier are very small. The philosophical tract is unknown and can therefore be considered obscure or at least outside the mainstream, and so it is hardly the sort of reading that would have attracted the average person, even a literate Roman. Nonetheless, a military owner of VI.871 is not an impossible scenario.

The second type of citizen, aristocratic Romans with holdings in the Oxyrhynchite nome, were to be found in Oxyrhynchus from the earliest days of the Roman administration of Egypt. For example, Antonia, daughter of Marc Antony and mother of the emperor Claudius, owned a large estate there. She inherited it from her husband Drusus, stepson of Augustus, as a document dated to AD 23 confirms.[25] At the time of Egypt's incorporation into the Empire, the imperial family seized much land in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Some of this land was kept within the family, as the case of Drusus and Antonia shows, but other land was sold or rented out in a hereditary lease called an emphyteusis.[26] There is no evidence in the documents to suggest that Roman landlords spent much time at their Egyptian holdings. Indeed, we know that Antonia's land was administered for her by a slave named Cerinthus.[27] For even if we posit that some non-Egyptian Romans spent time at their vast Oxyrhynchite latifundias, we run into the same problem as with the hypothetical retired officer: what interest might he have in an obscure philosophical treatise? It bears repeating that given the overwhelming preponderance of known or known-to-be-lost literary texts found at Oxyrhynchus, such a book would have been out of place on most anyone's shelf.

Rather, VI.871 is likely to have been the sort of treatise that only a philosopher would have bothered with. There are examples of Greek documents from Oxyrhynchus that refer to people who identify themselves as philosophers. One, a letter of introduction from an Alexandrian, refers to the recommended

22 ibid., 42.
23 ibid., 42.
24 Adams, J.N. *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 527.
25 MacLennan, Hugh. *Oxyrhynchus: An Economic and Social History*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935): 16.
26 ibid., 17.
27 P.Oxy.II.244

man as "a philosopher of Epicurean matters."[28] Another letter lays out a list of books on Stoic philosophy, all of them standard texts, that a man named Theon was sending to his friend "Herakleides the philosopher."[29] While all the books Theon sent were Greek, it is no stretch to imagine that some local Oxyrhynchite aristocrat with a passion for philosophy might have been interested in Latin treatises as well. After all, using Latin in Roman Egypt was a way for local citizens to show off their Roman status.[30] It is precisely these aristocratic Greeks, seeking to associate themselves with their Roman rulers, who no doubt constituted the owners of most of Oxyrhynchus's Latin literary papyri in the first place.

Roman citizenship was attainable to Egyptian Greeks from the earliest period of Roman rule. For instance, several documents chronicle the career of Gaius Julius Theon, who obtained Roman citizenship from Augustus for service to the Roman administration.[31] Theon was also granted land holdings in the nome, and his family was henceforth one of the prominent ones of Oxyrhynchus, with a virtually hereditary hold on certain city offices.[32] Many other wealthy Oxyrhynchites followed in Theon's footsteps throughout the centuries, obtaining citizenship and often working some Latin into their legal documents.[33] They were an ambitious group, and if any had made a hobby out of philosophy, he or she might plausibly have been interested in Latin treatises. While none of the three types of people discussed here can be truly discounted as readers of VI.871, a local aristocrat interested in philosophy is the most likely.

Whoever the owner of VI.871 was, the true value of this exercise has been to illuminate a manuscript that undeservedly has received little attention. With as many questions raised as answered, it may seem easy to conclude that this lone, eleven line fragment, which could have been written any time during the Empire, cannot give us much help in understanding the status and influence of Latin literature in Roman Egypt during the Imperial period. However, in considering the substance of VI.871 via its form and content, and also the context of the manuscript via the classes of its potential owners, interesting lines of inquiry have opened up pertaining to culture of reading Latin that existed in Roman Oxyrhynchus. As the language of the Romans, the undisputed masters of the civilized world, Latin provided a level of cultural capital high enough to bring an obscure and now-unknown Latin philosophical treatise all the way to Egypt. The presence of VI.871 at Oxyrhynchus shows that at least some interest in Latin literature existed in Roman Oxyrhynchus beyond a desire to know the basic Latin canon. In other words, at least one non-Roman thought that obscure Roman texts might be worth some study, despite the lack of practical benefit it would confer to a Greek aristocrat looking to hobnob with the Roman elite. Perhaps in the future, as the hundreds of thousands of still unpublished papyri

28 P.Oxy.LI.3643
29 Parsons, op. cit., 153.
30 Adams, op. cit., 623.
31 Capponi, op. cit., 67.
32 ibid., 67.
33 Adams, op. cit., 537.

are studied, the influence of the literature of the dominant Roman political class on the local Greek elite will become more clear.

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Digital Image of p.Oxy.VI.871 (Recto):
< http://www.princeton.edu/papyrus/images/latintreatise.jpg>

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<http://www.princeton.edu/papyrus/latinphil.html>

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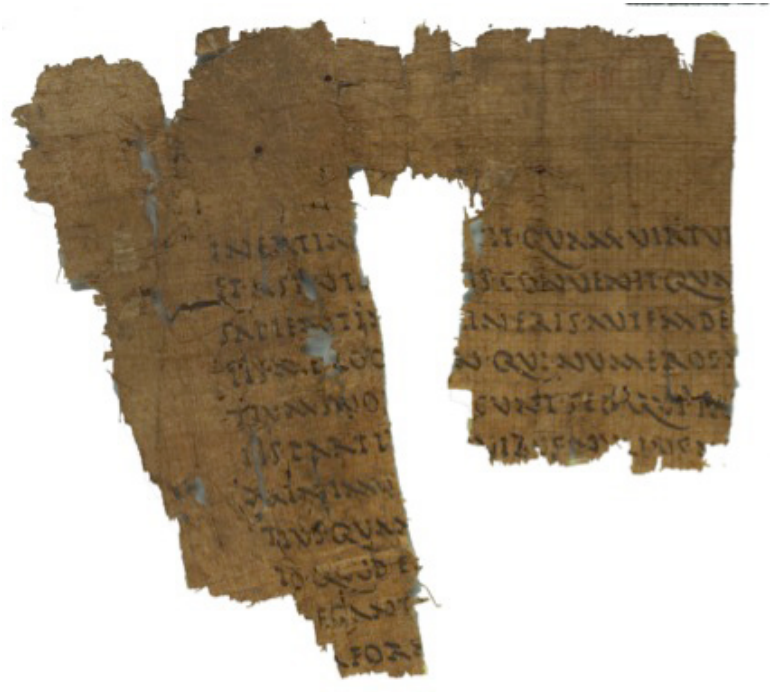
PLATE I

Photograph of p.Oxy.VI.871 (recto) from the database of Digital Images of Selected Princeton Papyri.
< http://www.princeton.edu/papyrus/images/latintreatise.jpg>



LUCAN'S MONUMENTAL CENOTAPH TO ROME. THE ROLE OF THE PAST IN LUCAN 8

Maximilian Haas
Cambridge University

ABSTRACT

Lucan 8 is, for the most part, dedicated to the erection of a monumentum for Pompey, or rather to the utter failure of erecting one. Based on this observation, this essay brings the extent to light with which the book in question is concerned with the formation of cultural memoria and thus of cultural identity – or, more precisely, with its corruption in totalitarian systems. On a different level, the Bellum Civile itself constitutes a monumentum whose formation the emperor Nero tried to suppress and which, by antagonising one of the greatest monumenta of Roman identity, the Aeneid, itself tries to influence Roman cultural self-awareness. Since, in the Aeneid, the preservation of death rites and the building of monumenta for the dead are indicative of the continuity of (Trojan) cultural identity, the failure to do these very things in Lucan 8 must strike the reader as a complete break-down of Roman culture. Whereas the Aeneid could, however, after a deep ideological crisis, become the basis of a new Roman (non-Republican) identity, Lucan's epos is, though being a grand monumentum, void of positive values; it is empty like a cenotaph. The tribute Lucan has to pay to a great past is, in the language of H. Bloom, a complete kenosis.

"In strong poets, the kenosis is a revisionary act in which an "emptying" or "ebbing" takes place in relation to the precursor."
-Harold Bloom, Anxiety of Influence

Discussing the role of the past in book eight of the Pharsalia is, in fact, enquiring into the various interrelations and interactions between the past and the present which come to the fore in that book.[1] In order to embark on this discussion, I would like to focus on two passages, the first taken from the beginning of book eight, the second from its closure:

> *"cunctis ignotus gentibus esse mallet et obscuro tutus transire per urbes nomine; sed poenas longi Fortuna favoris exigit a misero, quae tanto pondere famae res premit adversas fatisque prioribus urguet." (8, 19-23)*
> "He would choose to be unknown to all nations, and to pass safely through the cities with a name unknown to fame; but Fortune, who long has favoured him, now demands from her victim the penalty of that favour; she throws all the weight of his renown into the scale of adversity and crushes him beneath his former success."[2]

1 This essay has been written for a supervision at Cambridge University. I would like to thank my supervisor Ian Goh for the lively discussions during the supervisions with him. I am also indebted to Jürgen Paul Schwindt whose lectures at Heidelberg University first introduced me to Lucan and inspired many ideas found in this essay. In particular the term "commercium sanguinis", I owe to him.
2 The translation given here and for all passages quoted from Lucan 8 is that composed by J.D. Duff (1928) and later revised by R. Mayer. It can be found in: Mayer, Roland, *Lucan:*

> *"proderit hoc olim, quod non mansura futuris ardua marmoreo surrexit pondere moles. pulveris exigui sparget non longa vetustas congeriem, bustum cadet, mortisque peribunt* ***argumenta*** *tuae. veniet felicior aetas, qua sit nulla fides saxum monstrantibus illud;" (8, 865-870)*
> "One day it will prove a gain that no lofty pile of massive marble was raised here to last for ever. For a short space of time will scatter the little heap of dust; and the grave will fall in; and all proof of Pompey's death will be lost. A happier age will come, when those who point out that stone will be disbelieved, […]"

In these passages, we find emerging two contrasting perceptions of the relationship between the past and the present.[3] Whereas the first quotation conveys the strong feeling that Pompey's present circumstances are heavily conditioned, if not determined, by his past, the second one entertains the idea that present events can condition, or even change, the past. The first of the two propositions is common sense and immediately perspicuous to everyone, the second, however, is in need of some further elaboration.

Pragmatically speaking, what else is the past, if not all of which our memory comprises? Hence, from a pragmatic point of view, the past can change if our memory is corrupted. Since we are analysing an epos – i.e. the "bearer of cultural messages"[4] , a "totalizing form"[5] , in brief, a *Weltgedicht* – we are, transcending the personal and private sphere, primarily interested in cultural past, in the (official) past of a nation. On this level, past is constituted by the sum of *monumenta*, which can serve the cultural memory as *argumenta*. I use the word *monumentum* with the full semantic breadth this Latin word carries, not distinguishing, as yet, between different kinds of *monumenta*: they can be made out of stone or out of words.

According to this train of thought, cultural past can vanish if *monumenta* perish, and the present will never become past if *monumenta* happen not to be produced or, as the case may be, if their formation is suppressed. In the novel *1984*, one of the slogans of the Party runs: "*He who controls the present, controls the past. He who controls the past, controls the future.*" Now we can understand why this discussion lies at the heart of Lucan's work: he is, as both a poet for as well as a subject, and eventually in a very dramatic sense a victim, of a totalitarian system, well acquainted with the functioning of both the creation and the corruption of past.

Before we can delve into a closer analysis of book eight, it is important first to make some further distinctions. So far, I have used the word "past" in a very general way, not defining at all what type of past, or "whose" past I was referring to: Pompey's past? Lucan's past? Or perhaps the past of a literary tradition? In

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Civil War VIII, edit. with a commentary, Warmister, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 1981.

3 To be precise, the first passage deals with the relationship between a „past past" or a *plus-quam*-past, as the verbs are found in a graphic historical present, while the second quotation deals with the relationship between a future past and a future present. In this essay, I shall use the terms "past" and "present" as purely relational terms.

4 John Henderson, "Lucan. the word at war." In *Fighting for Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 165-211.

5 Philipp Hardie, *Vergil's* Aeneid: *Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986) 3.

this section of my essay, I shall try to propose a typology of different levels of past that run through book eight of the *Pharsalia*.

First, it is essential to keep in mind that the subject matter of Lucan's epos is history, i.e. interpreted past events. This is especially evident in the parts where the narration is interrupted and the narrator, with all his implication in his own time, comes to the fore. This happens, for instance, at the end of book eight: "*si saecula prima victoris timuere minas,* ***nunc*** *excipe saltem ossa tui Magni, si* ***nondum*** *subruta fluctu invisa tellure sedent*." (8, 837-840; "If the first generation dreaded Caesar's threats, **now** at least let her [i.e. Rome] welcome the bones of her beloved Magnus, if they still remain in that hated land and are not yet washed away by the sea.")

If the narrator stands back, however, the reader is, emotionally and intellectually, so involved with the narration that the narrated time becomes his deictic centre. In this case, the time before the narrated time, the past of the characters of the poem, becomes *his* past. This is our second type of past. A very good example is found in lines 431-437, in which the past, a terrible past, becomes manifest in the form of ghosts and of *monumenta*:

> *"non tibi, cum primum gelidum transibis Araxen, umbra senis maesti Scythicis confixa sagittis ingeret has voces? "tu, quem post funera nostra ultorem cinerum nudae speravimus umbrae, ad foedus pacemque venis?" tum plurima cladis occurrent monimenta tibi: quae moenia trunci lustrarunt cervice duces […]".*
> "As soon as you cross the cold Araxes, will not the ghost of that sorrowing old man, riddled with Scythian arrows, hurl this reproach upon you? "We unburied ghosts hoped that you would come after our death to avenge our ashes: do you come to make a treaty and a peace?" Next, memorials [*monumenta*] of the defeat will crowd upon your sight – the walls, round which the headless bodies of our generals were dragged;"

This terrific evocation of the past, here represented by the ghost of Crassus – in its use of words like "*trunci*" (trunk; headless body) and "*nudae umbrae*" (unburied ghosts) also a tremendous foreshadowing of the death of Pompey – is, as shall be seen, paradigmatic for the whole of book eight.

Third, there can be identified a vague form of idealised past which mostly is recalled in contrast to the horrors of the present of the narrated time. This "Golden Age" cannot be exactly located in time; sometimes it is equated with Republican "*libertas*", sometimes it has strong Vergilian overtones characterising an archetypical Roman society, and sometimes it is purely mythological. Roughly, it is the past for the memory of which Cato stands and fights.[6]

A fourth type of past is constituted by the numerous exempla found in book eight. One instance is in the lines 269ff: "*an Libycae Marium potuere ruinae erigere in fasces et plenis reddere fastis, me pulsum leviore manu fortuna*

6 "[...] Pompey is a shadow of what he himself once was in the heyday of his glory. In this sense he resembles Rome as it was in the second half of the first century B.C. Cato, by way of contrast, recalls the idealized, older order of the state before corruption had eaten away at it." Frederick M. Ahl, *Lucan: An Introduction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976) 155.

tenebit?" (If the Libyan ruins of Carthage could raise Marius to office and replace him in the Calendar, full already of his name, shall Fortune keep me down, whom she has smitten with a lighter blow?") In these *exempla, monumenta* set by the great deeds of the heroes of history, we find cultural memory at work, i.e. some aspects of the past being perpetuated which are supposed to bestow significance to the present and generate sense in the chaos of present facts. Can we take it as a sign of the malfunctioning or even cessation of the Roman cultural memory, and thus of Roman culture, when, after the catastrophes of books seven and eight, we don't find a single true *exemplum* in book nine?[7] Or when a central narrative of a culture, as the story about the *ancilla* falling from Heaven, is explained and, indeed, profaned by a new *aition*?[8]

This fourth type of past, being constituted by a literary device, is closely linked with the fifth and last type of past which we can analyse in book eight: the past as literary tradition, which influences the production of the concerned poem. For Lucan, this past has a name: Vergil. The question is whether this past haunts Lucan like Crassus' ghost, or inspires him like Marius' *exemplum*.

A great part of book eight is dedicated to the erection of a monumentum, or rather to the utter failure of erecting one. I am referring to the Pompey's grave.

Sub voce "monumentum", under the heading "*de notione*", the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae quotes the following definitions:

> "Varro ling. 6, 49 -a (*trad.* monitio menta) quae in sepulcris et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntes admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortales. ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa -a dicta. […][9]
> Porph. Hor. carm. 1, 2, 15 -um non sepulcrum tantum dicitur, sed omnia quidquid memoriam testantur." [10]

The reason for which I cite these definitions by Varro and the 2nd or 3rd century grammarian Porphyrio is to show how closely the word *monumentum* is associated with *sepulcrum* (tomb). It seems that the *sepulcrum* is the archetypical *monumentum*. This fact nicely encapsulates the anthropological realisation

7 In a similar vein, one could interpret the *Empedoclean* aspect of book nine. In this book, we find culture being decomposed into its rudimentary building blocks: the names of the snakes represent the fragmentation of the art warfare, always central to Roman culture („Arma virumque...), into the single building blocks of unnatural death; we find houses destroyed and their fragments dispersed over the Libyan desert. Also the emphasis on natural sciences and geography, the description of the land masses, and the prominent featuring invertebrate animals can be read as a movement back to the first rudiments of nature and culture.

8 Cf.: 9, 477-480.

9 Translation provided by the author: "*monumenta* which are on tombes, and therefore alongside the road, that they may admonish the passers-by that they themselves were mortals and that the readers are too. For this reason, what is either written or made in order to record something are called "monumenta"."

10 Translation provided by the author: "Not only tomb can be called a "monumentum", but whatever calles upon memory as a witness."

that cultural memory is always triggered by catastrophes.

That Cordus' attempt to erect a *monumentum* for Pompey fails rather pathetically is nowhere more obvious than in line 822: "*[nomen], quod nisi monstratum Romanus transeat hospes*." ("[...A] visitor from Rome would pass [the name] by if it were not pointed out.") The nature of a *monumentum* is led *ad absurdum* if it has to be "*monstratum*". A sign that needs to be signposted by another sign leads to a regression *ad infinitum*. But Cordus does not only fail at erecting a *monumentum*, but also at performing the basic death rituals:

> *"ille ordine rupto funeris, attonitus latebras in litore quaerit. quam metuis, demens, isto pro crimine poenam, […]? […] semusta rapit resolutaque nondum ossa satis nervis et inustis plena medullis aequorea restinguit aqua congestaque in unum parva clausit humo." (8, 779-789)*
> "[H]e broke off the rituals and sought in terror his hiding-place upon the shore. What punishment do you dread, poor fool, for your crime […]? […] He snatched the charred bones not entirely parted from the muscles, and quenched them, full of the scorched marrow, with sea water; then he piled them together and hid them beneath a handful of earth."

The death rituals, however, appear to be the seminal kernel of human culture in general. W. Burkert states: "Der homo sapiens ist ebenso homo necans wie homo sepeliens." Furthermore, the continuous and consistent tradition of the death rituals are at the basis of cultural identity. Burkert further writes: "[H]ier liegt Handeln vor, das zwar von Kultur zu Kultur verschieden ist, innerhalb derselben Gemeinschaft aber mit Beharrlichkeit über viele Generationen hinweg nach demselben Schema verläuft."[11] Cultural memory, therefore, is in the first instance always remembrance of the dead.

This insight does not only belong to modern anthropology, but is also found in ancient literature itself. In Vergil, the continuity of (Trojan) culture and the conservation of cultural identity seems to be based *in primis* on the tradition of the death rituals. At many stations of his journey, Aeneas performs the death rituals and thus reasserts his cultural identity. His first foundation, for example, of a city named *Aeneadae*, is followed by the performance of the death rituals for the Trojan prince Polydoros:

> *„ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant Manibus arae caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso, et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae; inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulcro condimus et magna supremum voce."* (Aen. 3, 62–68)
> "So for Polydorus we solemnize fresh funeral rites, and earth is heaped high upon the mound; altars are set up to the dead, made mournful with sombre fillets and black cypress; and about them stand Ilian women, with hair streaming as custom ordains. We offer foaming bowls of warm milk and cups of victims' blood, lay the

11 "The homo sapiens is just as much homo necans as homo sepeliens." And further: "We are confronted with a performance which is, though distinct in every culture, passed down many generations preserving with persistence the same patterns inside one community." Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter 1997) 60f.

spirit at rest in the tomb, and with loud voice give the last call."[12]

Also the ghostly city reigned by Hellenus, Bothrotum, is centred on the perpetuation of the memory of the dead Trojans:

> *„progredior portu classis et litora linquens, sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite* ***inanem*** *et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras."* (Aen. 3, 295-305)
> "I advance from the harbour, leaving shore and fleet, just when, as it fell, Andromache, in a grove before the city, by the waters of a mimic Simois, was offering her yearly feast and gifts of mourning to the dust, and calling the ghosts to Hector's tomb – the **empty** mound of green turf, that she had hallowed with altars twain, there to shed her tears."

The "*inanem*" in line 304 reinforces the sense of obsessive repetition shown by the inhabitants of that spooky replica of Troy:[13] the graves are empty; they are cenotaphs.

The most extended description of death rituals follows in book five, in which Aeneas honours his defunct father in Sicily. My last example is found at the opening of book seven, the first book of the Illiadean part of the Aeneid in which the hero finally reaches Latium:

> *"Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix, aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti; et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat. At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis, aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quierunt aequora, tendit iter velis portumque relinquit."* (Aen. 7,1-7)
> "Thou, too, Caieta, nurse of Aeneas, hast by thy death given deathless fame to our shores; and still thine honour guards thy resting-place, and in great Hesperia, if such glory be aught, thy name marks thy dust. But good Aeneas, when the last rites were duly paid and the funeral mound was raised, soon as the high seas were stilled, sails forth on his way and leaves the haven."

Even in the *Pharsalia* themselves, in book nine, we find evidence for the proposition that the due performance and correct tradition of the death rituals are, in literature, metonymical symbols for a functioning society. In lines 230-236, a soldier, justifying himself for the wish to leave war and go home, restores his society, the normal working of which has been interrupted by the war, in thought. In particular, he mentions the death rituals: "*Mors eat in tutum, iustas sibi nostra senectus prospiciat flammas; bellum civile sepulchra vix ducibus praestare potest.*" ("[L]et our last days find a refuge; let our old age look forward to due funeral rites; civil war can hardly provide graves even for leaders."[14])

12 The translation given here and for all passages quoted from the Aeneid is that of H. Rushton Fairclough.
13 Phillip Hardie, *Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition: Roman Literature and its Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993) 16.
14 The translation given here and for all passages from quoted from Lucan 9 is the original one by J.D. Duff.

Hence, the failure not only to erect a *monumentum* for Pompey, but also to perform the death rituals duly must strike us as the total failure not only of an individual, but of an entire society. It is the breakdown of the Roman society as envisaged and organised by Vergil in his epos.

If *monumenta* constitute cultural memory and tradition, they are also the basis of cultural identity. The disruption of the tradition of *monumenta* in book eight, therefore, goes along with the dissolution of Roman identity. This identity had been, for a great part, formed by other epic poems which served as "central cultural and educational texts,"[15] in particular the *Aeneid*. In fact, the most important *monumentum* which Lucan himself tries to "destroy" by antagonising it, is exactly the *Aeneid*. At this point at the latest, the neat distinctions made above dissolve, as several types of past coincide and become inextricably intertwined. We find ourselves in front of a very good example of the New Historicist concept of *pervasiveness*. The realm of art and literature is not to be separated any longer from the sphere of politics and history. The historical Roman identity is founded upon a poem by Vergil. Into this Roman identity, Vergil, however, has incorporated the ideology on which the Principate is based. By the great span of time it bestrides and, if nothing else, by systematically ignoring the very cultural crisis Lucan is interested in, it manages to create the illusion of an uninterrupted continuity in Roman history.

If Lucan attempts to denounce the disruptions he perceives in the Roman tradition, he has to attack the Vergilian world view: this means challenge Vergil in a poetic *agon*. He has to perform poetic revisionary acts, thus trying to deprive the Aeneid of its ktistic powers, in order to revise history.

The very movement of describing the deletion of cultural memory and the breakdown of cultural order puts Lucan in contrast to Vergil. While, in the latter, acts of founding form the running thread of the poem, most notably condensed in the two phrases *moenia condere* ("build walls", i.e. found cities) and *foedera iungere* ("make treaties"), in Lucan the gradual rescinding of these efforts of establishing an order constitutes the centre of the attention: *rupto foedere* (1,4; "broken treaty") and *semirutis pendent* […] *moenia tectis* (1,24 "walls are tottering while houses are half-demolished"), both found in the prooemium of the *Pharsalia*, are to be understood as paradigmatic for the whole poem.[16]

The *foedus* as metonymy for cultural order is found in Lucan books eight and nine. In line 222 of book eight Pompey says: "si foedera nobis prisca manent mihi per Latium iurata Tonantem, per verstros astricta magos, inplete phare-

15 Hardie, introduction, I.

16 It is of anthropological interest that both the establishment of an order and its destruction are accompanied, if not based on, acts of aggression: the very culture which had been established by *arma* is now destroyed by *bella*. Lucan even says that the same aggression that has led to Italy's devastation could have led to the total extension of the Roman cultural influence („*sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes […]. Totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem […][;] at nunc […].*") The *furor* that in Vergil, however, could be checked, or rather channeled, by *foedera* – and it is worthwhile keeping in mind that this word is derived from *ferire* – („*inceptum frustra summite furorem*" Aen. 12,832) takes, in Lucan, *tanta licentia* (1,8).

tras […], o Parthi, […]." ("If our ancient treaty holds good – the treaty which I swore to observe in the name of the Roman Thunderer, and which was made fast by your Wise Men – then fill full your quivers […].") Even though he uses a conditional clause, Pompey is, nevertheless, convinced that the "*prisca foedera*" ("ancient treaties") are still binding. In fact, the old world order as Pompey knew it is in dissolution and new *foedera* have to be made. This is well understood by those who defect to Caesar's party. When the Egyptians show Caesar Pompey's head, their spokesman says: "*hoc tecum percussum est sanguine foedus*." (9, 1021; "[B]y this blood [i.e. Pompey's] our treaty with you was concluded."). But Pompey is far too much implicated in his past to understand the new rules and laws of his present. Indeed, it is the ghost of dead Crassus, metaphor of the past, that in Lentulus' speech, rich in images, prevents Pompey from making a contract with the Parthians. This infatuation with his past greatness is what makes Pompey have his lunatic speech, in which he proposes to let Rome be conquered by the Parthians.[17]

Central in this context is also Caesar's detour to Troy described in book nine. O. Zwierlein contrasts this passage with the scene of Euander and Aeneas in Pallanteum, found in book eight of the *Aeneid*. In this scene Aeneas takes a tour through the pre-historical topography of Rome guided by Euander.: "*miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus exquiritque auditque virum monimenta priorum*." (Aen. 8, 310ff; "Aeneas marvels as he turns his ready eyes all round, is charmed with the scene, and joyfully seeks and learns, one by one, the records [monimenta] of the men of yore.") These *monumenta* constitute the kernel of the Roman Empire. It is of no surprise that the destruction of these *monumenta* takes place in Lucan's day, more than one year before his enforced death – arguably while or before book nine of the *Bellum Civile* was written. Tacitus writes:

> *"Domum et insularum et templorum, quae amissa sunt, numerum inire haud promptum fuerit; sed vetustissima religione, quod Servius Tullius Lunae,* ***et magna ara fanumque, quae praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat****, aedesque Statoris Iovis vota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae cum penatibus populi Romani exusta; iam opes tot victoriis quaesitae et Graecarum artium decora, exim* ***monumenta ingeniorum antiqua et incorrupta****, [ut] quamvis in tanta resurgentis urbis pulchritudine multa seniores meminerint, quae reparari nequibant."* (Annales 15, 41)
>
> "It would not be easy to attempt an estimate of the private dwellings, tenement-blocks, and temples, which were lost; but the flames consumed, in their old-world sanctity, the temple dedicated to Luna by Servius Tullius, the great altar and chapel of the Arcadian Evander to the Present Hercules, the shrine of Jupiter Stator vowed by Romulus, the Palace of Numa, and the holy place of Vesta with the Penates of the Roman people. To these must be added the precious trophies won upon so many

17 Generally, we can say that great pasts cause anxieties: just as a past too great and splendid in the literary tradition threatens to crush Lucan under its weight, so Pompey is crushed under the splendour and greatness of his personal past. Perhaps this is the reason why the gods have the privilege of not having a past, or at least a beginning: „si numina nasci credimus aut quemquem fas est coepisse deorum." (8, 458f)

> fields, the glories of Greek art, and yet again the primitive and uncorrupted memorials of […] genius; so that despite the striking beauty of the rearisen city, the older generation recollects much that it provided impossible to replace."[18]

What I have said above about the dependency of cultural identity on the continuity of cultural memory appears to be supported by what Tacitus famously writes in connection with the conflagration: " […] *videbaturque Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere*." (Annales 15, 40; "[...A]ppearances suggested that Nero was seeking the glory of founding a new capital endowing it with his own name.") Very much of interest is also the following statement of Tacitus: " […] *pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem*." (Annales 15, 40; "[T]he report had spread that, at the very moment when Rome was aflame, he had mounted his private stage, and, typifying the ills of the present by the calamities of the past, had sung the destruction of Troy.")

Did Lucan know about this rumour when he made his Caesar go to Troy, connecting this site to the Pallanteum, the remnants of which were destroyed in his own day? In any case, what Nero is said to have attempted, namely the destruction of Rome and the foundation of a new city, is what Caesar is implicitly envisaging when formulating his vows made in Troy. O. Zwierlein acutely observes: "Er annektiert die Mission des Aeneas, die auf eine "altera Troia" in Latium gerichtet war, und pervertiert sie zu "Romana … Pergama", woraus gemäß Junos Prophezeiung neues Blutvergießen entspringen wird."[19]

So far, the *Bellum Civile* has been proven as a veritable Anti-Aeneid. But this term is far too broad and imprecise. Lucan does not only stand in contrast to Vergil, but, at the same time, he strives to complete him. Just as Vergil wrote a poem that was both an antithesis to and a continuation of the Homeric Illiad, Lucan continues Vergil's work by contrasting him. In Harold Bloom's terminology, the contrasting of a predecessor's poem is called *clinamen*, while the completion of it is named *tessera*. These terms seem far more apt for describing the relationship between the *Aeneid* and the *Pharsalia* as compared to just labelling the latter an Anti-Aeneid. How exactly Lucan comes to terms with the great past of his genre, I shall try to delineate in the following.

In his book *Vergil's* Aeneid: *Cosmos and Imperium*, P. Hardie shows how Vergil associates *comsos* and *imperium*, how, indeed, at many points in the Aeneid, both concepts are equated. The foundation of Rome is stylised as the reordering of a universe that has been knocked out of joint by war, the powers of chaos, and divine *ira*. The climax of this metaphor is reached in the contract between Jupiter and Juno, which anticipates and reflects the human contract be-

18 The translation given here and for all passages quoted from Tacitus is that by J. Jackson.

19 Translation provided by the author: "He [Caesar] annexes Aeneas' mission, whose aim it was to found an "altera Troia" [a second Try] in Latium, and perverts it turning "altera Troia" into "Romana … Pergama", which, according to Juno's prophecy, must lead to new bloodshed." Otto Zwierlein, "Lucans Caesar in Troja." *Hermes* 1, 14 (1986): 460-478.

tween the Latins and the Trojans and which finally allows Rome to be founded.

It seems obvious that in a writer standing so decisively in a literary tradition shaped by Vergil as Lucan is, the faltering and, as often hyperbolically implicated, the dissolution of the Roman *imperium* has to bring about the faltering and dissolution of the *cosmos*.

When Lucan addresses the *furor* (which, in his poem, naturally is *civilis*, not *caelestis*) in his prooemium, he does not only refer to Vergil, but also to the very beginnings of epic writing, to Homer. Lucan puts himself even more clearly in a continuous relationship with Homer when, in book nine, he exclaims: "*Quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores, venturi me teque legent.*" (l. 9, 984; "[A]s long as the fame of Smyrna's bard [i.e. Homer's] endures, posterity shall read my verses and your deeds.")or, in fact, just by including in his poem a description of the Trojan site.

Homer, too, just like Lucan, writes about the *destruction* of walls and the dissolution of an old world. And it is in order to fight the chaos into which the Trojanic wars have plunged both earth and heaven alike and to rearrange the order of the cosmos that Vergil's hero is sent on his mission. Understood in this wider context, Lucan then writes how this very order and era of Vergilian invention has come to an end. This belated trilogic form (implied by both the continuities and the antitheses found in the respectively later authors in relationship with the preceding ones) with its cycle of dissolution, rearrangement and re-dissolution of *imperium* and, at the latest since Vergil linked with it, *cosmos* resembles popular ancient, especially Stoic, cosmologies. Against this foil of intertextual references, one could dare to say that Lucan evokes the *kataklysmos* of the Vergilian *cosmos*.

In order to understand the nature of the Lucanian cosmology more accurately, it is helpful to draw attention to another literary quotation in his prooemium of yet another author of immense influence on Lucan: having structured the very beginning of his poem in Vergilian manner, entering the *ira*-question, just as Vergil, in line 8, Lucan appears to start his prooemium again in line 67, this time, however, paying tribute not to Vergil, but to Ovid: "*Fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum, […].*" ("My mind moves me to set forth the causes of these great events"[20])

Ovid's *Metamorpheses*, too, represent, perhaps more than anything else, a cosmological epos. In contrast to Vergil, who can be said to picture a static world order („*his [sc. Romanis] ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono: imperium sine fine dedi.*", Aen. 1,278ff; "For these [i.e. the Romans] I set neither bounds nor periods of empire; dominion without end hand I bestowed"), Ovid emphatically makes never-ceasing change the key to his understanding of the world. This dynamic world view is very similar to the cosmos Lucan envisages: "*Invida fatorum series summisque negatum stare diu nimioque graves sub pondere lapsus nec se Roma ferens.*" (l. 1,70ff; "It was the chain of jealous fate, and the speedy fall which no eminence can escape; it was the grievous collapse

20 The translation given here and for all passages from quoted from Lucan 1 is the original one by J.D. Duff.

of excessive weight, and Rome unable to support her own greatness."). In this respect, Ovid's and Lucan's literary descriptions of the world resemble the cosmologies of the Milesian philosophers or of Heraclitus. Especially noteworthy in this context is that Lucan speaks of a *crescendi modum* (l.82; "the due measure of growth") and of fortune's *invidia* (l.70 and l.84; "envy") which very much remind the reader of the Greek concept of *nemesis*. It becomes clear that Lucan envisages a cosmology of transgressing balance or rather of balanced transgressions.

In book eight, we find a personification of *Libra*, the scale, a figure which is the symbol of this mode of thought: "*tempus erat, quo Libra pares examinat horas, non uno plus aequa die, noctique rependit lux minor hibernae verni solacia damni*." (8, 468ff; "It was the season when Libra balances the hours of day and night in equal scales, and stays level for one day only; for the shortening day makes compensation to the winter nights for their loss in spring.") In what way are these thoughts pertinent to a discussion about the past? The answer seems obvious: they provide a cosmic law, a metaphysical logic for the interrelations between the past and the present. Right at the beginning of book eight we find this logic rigorously applied: "*sed poenas longi Fortuna favoris exigit a misero, quae tanto pondere famae res premit adversas fatisque prioribus urguet*." (8, 21ff; "But Fortune, who long has favoured him, now demands from her victim the penalty of that favour; she throws all the weight of his renown into the scale of adversity and crushes him beneath his former success.") Nearly at the end of the book we find Fortuna again obeying the same cosmological law: "*hac Fortuna fide Magni tam prospera fata pertulit, hac illum summo de culmine rerum morte petit cladesque et omnes exegit in uno saeva die, quibus inmunes tot praestitit annos […].*" (8, 701-704; "So true to her bargain, did Fortune continue to the end the prosperity of Magnus; so true to her bargain, she summoned him only at his death from his pinnacle of glory, and ruthlessly made him pay in a single day for all the disasters from which she protected him for many years;")

But Lucan would not be Lucan if he did not add a perverse element to his cosmology: Lucan speaks, just like the early natural philosophers, of exchanges. Fire, however, is not the currency of this Lucanian cosmology: the custom duty of this world order is human blood. "*Heu, quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextrae, […]*" (l. 1,13f; "Ah! with that blood shed by Roman hands how much earth and sea might have been bought."). According to these bloody cosmical laws, just rulers like Nero have to be paid dearly for with the blood shed in battles ("*scelera ista nefasque hac mercede placent; diros Pharsalia campos inpleat et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes;*" l. 1,37ff; "[E]ven such crimes and such guilt are not too gigh a price to pay. Let Pharsalia heap her awful plains with dead; let the shades of the Carthagians be glutted with carnage."), blood has to be pumped through old and new wounds into and out of corpses to make the dead undead – a scene which in this context of unnatural and unlawful transgressions gains paradigmatic status – and blood has first to flow out of the body in a controlled way and in measured amounts before philosophers can die. Let us also remember what the minion of the Pharaoh has to say when he shows Pompey's head to Caesar: "*hoc tecum percussum est* ***sanguine*** *foedus*." – a new world is being drawn up

founded on blood.[21]

By this perverse logic of a *commercium sanguinis* Lucan can, as he himself – with bitter irony? - states, give a sense to the senseless bloodshed of the civil wars. More than that, he makes the civil war a key event of a very own eschatology – for a new world order can only rise upon the ruins of *kataklysmoi* – or, considering that Troy was burnt and that Rome was burning in Lucan's day accompanied by Nero's off-key singing, upon the ruins of *ekpyroseis*.

One question remains: in what sense does Lucan write a cenotaph? Above, I have mentioned Cordus' failure at erecting a *monumentum* for Pompey. What Cordus fails at, Lucan succeeds in. He truly has erected a mighty *monumentum* for Pompey, and, truly, has made him immortal. He even includes the full inscription (8, 806-815) and then asks: "*quis capit haec tumulus*?" ("What tomb has room for all this?). A *tumulus* may not have room for all this, but an epos does.

Here, finally, we make distinction between different kinds of *monumenta*: those written in words and those set in stone. In the midst of the ruins of Troy, Lucan exclaims: "*O sacer et magnus vatum labor! omnia fato eripis et populis donas mortalibus aevum.*" (9, 980; "How mighty, how sacred is the poet's task! He snatches all things from destruction and gives to mortal men immortality.") Zwierlein comments: "Hier folgt Lucan einer in Rom seit Ennius immer wieder angeschlagenen Topik, die den Ruhm durch Standbilder und *(Grab-)Denkmäler* den vom Dichter verliehenen Ruhm entgegensetzt […]"

But why is Lucan's sepulcrum empty? Because the price of attacking Vergil was too high for him. Through an act of *kenosis*, as defined by Bloom, Lucan tried to "empty" Vergil's poem, i.e. to disburden it from its heroic values, release it from its totalising drive, and deprive it from its ktistic powers. But the cost of this attack was too high: Lucan totally emptied himself. In total contrast to Vergil, his poem is denouncing, but not proposing; it is destroying, but not constructing; it screams, but it does not give account for anything. As could be seen, the underlying principles, like the *commercium sanguinis* or the principle of the *invida Fortuna*, only want to be scandalous. This emptiness is the price that Lucan had to pay to his past.

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21 There seems to be a single exception that can escape this logic: Cato. "*Inspicitur virtus, quidquid laudamus in ullo Maiorum, fortuna fuit. Quis Marte secundo, Quis tantum meruit populorum sanguine nomen*?" But then Cato does not belong to the new world order, but to another time.

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THE IMPACT OF TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION ON MIDDLE-INCOME FARMERS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY BC

Nicholas W. Dugdale
Stanford University

ABSTRACT

The broad topic that I address in this paper is the significance of publicly funded building programs in classical Athens and the economic, social, and political impact of these projects on the middle class. More specifically, this paper models the impact of marble transport on middle-income farmers in Attica. My findings could help to explain the phenomena of rising incomes, increased consumption, and the expansion of the "neither rich nor poor" sector of society that we observe in classical Athens.

INTRODUCTION

Almost twenty years after the Persians razed the monuments of the city of Athens, her public buildings and temples began to rise once again under Pericles' leadership. Along with various infrastructural improvements like the building of the city walls and a reconfiguration of the port at Piraeus, Pericles spent vast sums of public funds on the construction of the Parthenon, the Propylaea, and the Erechtheion on the Acropolis as well as the restoration of numerous older temples and sanctuaries. It has been estimated that the Parthenon alone cost around 450-500 Talents, while the city spent another 200T toward the construction of the Propylaea (Stanier 1953: 73). Given that this estimate does not include the cost of the Erechtheion or of the many temple/sanctuary restoration projects that were included in the building program, it is plausible that well over 1,000T were spent on the temple-related aspects of the project alone. Plutarch explains Pericles' motivation for undertaking such a huge project:

> "For military expeditions brought good pay to the young and strong; and as he did not want the undisciplined artisan class to be without some share in the rewards, nor to take them while doing nothing and remaining idle, Pericles carried in the assembly great building projects and undertakings involving many crafts; so the people who stayed at home might take their share of the benefit from the public funds no less than the crews and the garrisons and the expeditionary forces".[1]

Plutarch goes on to list the various materials and jobs that such an undertaking required, and suggests that the rebuilding of the city's monuments provided a significant boost to the Athenian economy:

> "The raw materials were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress-wood, and to fashion and work them were the crafts: carpenters, molders,

1 See Plutarch, *Pericles* 12, 1-7

> coppersmiths, stone-workers, goldsmiths, ivory-workers, painters, pattern-weavers, workers in relief. Then there were the men engaged in transport and carriage, merchants, sailors, helmsmen by sea, and by land cartwrights, and men who kept yokes of beasts, and drovers; rope makers, flax-workers, shoemakers, roadmakers, and miners. And each craft, like a general with his own army, had its own crowd of hired workers and individual craftsmen organized like an instrument and body for the service to be performed; so, in a word, the various needs to be met *distributed and spread prosperity through every age and condition."*

A number of scholars (see, e.g. Meiggs (1963: 42) have questioned the impartiality of Plutarch's account[2] , but his point remains significant: regardless of whether Pericles actually intended to "spread prosperity" or simply make an indelible proclamation of Athenian power, the evidence suggests that his construction project made an impact on the Athenian economy through two main mechanisms: first, jobs creation and second, an increase in currency fluidity resulting from the payment of workers in cash drawn from the treasury. This introductory section will attempt to provide a brief overview of the economic considerations associated with temple construction and the theoretical framework that I adhere to in this paper.

Alison Burford provides us with a helpful primer on temple construction as an economic enterprise. She writes that "the three necessary factors [for temple construction] were, money, access to suitable materials, and a sufficiency of skilled labor" (Burford 1969: 33). The Athenian temple project is anomalous because the marble quarries at Mt. Pentelikos appear to have been state controlled, and thus it is highly unlikely that the state charged itself for its own resources . This means that the only real cost associated with marble quarrying would have been the wages for those who worked on the project. Burford says that these laborers generally fall under 3 main categories: quarrymen, carters and drivers, and skilled laborers and artisans.

According to Burford, quarrying was a highly specialized, full-time profession that probably only employed between 30-50 men at a time. Similarly, she argues that at any point during the project there were probably around 200 carpenters and marble carvers working at the site. While temple building did provide steady employment for several hundred artisans and quarry workers, if we only look at these groups it seems as though it was a much less significant source of employment than Plutarch makes it out to be. However, the last category of "carters and drivers" is much more promising. Burford suggests that these individuals were middle-income farmers who used their own oxen to make some extra income by hauling marble during the summer months when the roads were traversable and their fields did not need tending. She estimates that perhaps 200 yoke would have been needed for the project if they had worked full time, but suggests that it is likely that between 500-1,000 yokes

2 Burford writes that "It is likely that the Pentelic quarries were state-controlled, for the value of stone alone is never accounted for in the surviving records; so that the epistatai will hardly have paid for state-owned marble with state funds." *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidaurus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969): 34.

worked on a part-time basis. As I will show in my model, this figure actually seems quite plausible.

Although I agree with many of Burford's assumptions, I find fault with her claim that "pay per day in the fourth century came to little more than keep for man and beasts, and it was probably no more than that in the fifth century", a statement which would suggest that marble transport was somewhat negligible as a source of supplemental income. In contrast, as I will argue later in this paper, the extra income earned from marble transport could actually have had a very significant effect on middle-income farmers' economic situation. This increase in expendable income among members of the middle-income class of Athenians could in turn have contributed to the rise in consumption and economic growth that occurred in the mid 5th century BC.

This paper adheres to the "Wealthy Hellas" framework for understanding the ancient Greek economy. This framework is centered upon two main premises: firstly, that economic growth in ancient Greece was significantly higher than previous theories have suggested; and secondly, that Greek society was remarkably egalitarian in terms of wealth and land distribution. This suggests that the old model of massive income inequality dispersed across a small wealthy elite and a huge subsistence-farming base is in need of some serious updating. In recent years, a growing number of scholars have argued for the existence of a large group of middling "neither rich nor poor" Athenians who lived well above subsistence level but remained below the level of elite consumption.[3] Josiah Ober (2010) suggests that this 'middling" group might have made up between 65-81% of the Athenian population during the late 4th century. This is not an insignificant number of people by any means, and as Claire Taylor (forthcoming) points out, these citizens must have earned some extra income from a source other than agriculture: there is simply no other way to explain why so many Athenians were able to move beyond subsistence level without any major changes in technology that might account for such widespread growth. This theory is supported by the findings presented in this paper, which suggest that one source of supplemental income for those in the "middling" group of citizens may well have been transporting marble for the temple project.

OUTLINE

In this paper, I focus on marble hauling for the construction of the Parthenon as a case study. The model I have developed is designed to address several questions. First, how much supplemental income could a middle-income farmer with 1 yoke of oxen hope to make in a season of marble transporting? Second, how does this compare to his regular agriculture-based income? And third, how does marble transport compare to the supplemental income he could make as a

3 See, e.g. J. Ober, "Wealthy Hellas", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 140.2 (2010): 241-286; I. Morris, "Economic Growth in Ancient Greece", *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 160 (2004): 709-42; C. Taylor, "The Dynamics of Wealth and Poverty: Demographic Changes and Inequalities", *Wealth, Poverty, and Social Change in Fourth Century Athens* (forthcoming).

hoplite?

Before I address my findings and their implications, I will outline the parameters of my model and present some underlying assumptions. In the first section I define the sample population in terms of income and land ownership. In the second section I present some assumptions that I make about marble transport. The next two sections contain my estimates for how many oxen were involved in the project and how much income a farmer could make in a season of marble transport. I then put my estimates into context first by comparing them to the annual regular earnings that a middle-income farmer could expect to make and then by comparing this to the supplemental income that could be earned through hoplite service. Next, I address some concerns and present a counterfactual: what if all the oxen used for marble hauling belonged to either (a) the state; or (b) several wealthy landholders? Finally, I briefly discuss some of the broader economic, social, and political implications of this model.

THE MODEL

1. Who is Middle-Income?

So who exactly should be included in the model? Josiah Ober (2010) defines "middling income" Athenians to be those individuals with an income of 2.4-10 times subsistence, or 240-1000 dr. per annum. This seems to be a reasonable range: Athenians making less than 240 dr./year probably would be too poor to own oxen, while those making over 1,000 dr./year would be unlikely to humiliate themselves by working for someone else even if they could make some extra money.

These parameters also seem to be consistent with Solon's class divisions. In his *Constitution of Athens*, Aristotle writes that Solon divided up Athenian society into four categories: the 500-bushels (pentekosiomedimnoi), the horsemen (hippeis), the yokesmen (zeugitai), and the laborers (thetes). Of these categories, the yokesmen are of significant importance to our model: according to some interpretations, these citizens were classified as such because they were wealthy enough to own at least one yoke of oxen. Along the same line of reasoning, they were also referred to as the hoplite class as they could afford the armor that was necessary for hoplite duty but apparently could not afford a horse— a requirement for cavalry service.[4] They were also the citizens that would have benefited most from the marble transport industry, since they both knew how to drive a yoke and owned the oxen that would have been needed for the job. According to Aristotle these individuals' land had an output of around 200-300 medimnoi (*Constitution of Athens* 7.4), which if we assume a market price of 6 dr. per medimnos of grain (Ober 2010) would have generated regular annual returns of between 1200-1800 dr./year. At first glance this seems wildly implausible, as an annual income of 1200 dr./year would have been 12 times what Walter Scheidel (and Friesen, 2009) has calculated to be subsistence level, and would put all of

4 This assumption seems questionable, as a horse could not have cost that much more than a yoke of oxen. This suggests that this distinction was socially rather than economically enforced.

Solon's yokesmen into the top 1% of Athenians in Ober's income distribution model. However it is important to realize that what Aristotle is referring to here is total revenue, not net income: to this we must subtract input costs such as seed costs, equipment/livestock purchase and upkeep costs, wages for laborers, etc. from revenue. While we cannot determine exactly what these costs actually were, it seems likely that they were quite substantial (perhaps upwards of 50% of revenue). This assumption would yield an annual income of 600-900dr./year, which puts Aristotle's zeugitai well within the bounds of Ober's middle-income group. Thus for the purposes of this model I assume that a zeugite farmer can be defined as a middle-income Athenian in the Ober income distribution model (that is, those who make between 240-1000dr per annum).

Another important indicator of wealth was land ownership, both in cumulative and individual terms. Alison Burford's attempts to model land ownership in ancient Attica were extremely useful for constructing my model in this regard.[5] Burford assumes that if the citizen population in 403 was about 25,000[6], then about 20,000 owned some land. She says that the number of hoplite farm-owners and elites might have been about 9,000 (cf. total arrived by the cataloguers of the 5 thousand in 411BC), while the remaining 11,000 were probably thetes. She estimates that of the hoplite and elite landowners perhaps 1200 were really large landowners while the remaining 7,800 were middle-income farmers. Put into percentages, this yields a land ownership pattern of 6% elite landowners, 39% middle-income farmers, and 55% subsistence. This model of land ownership is surprisingly consistent with Ober's pessimistic income model, which suggests population distributions of 1.1% elite, 42.2% middling, and 56.6% subsistence. If land ownership was closely correlated to income, then an optimistic model might place land ownership by the middling class at around 57%. What this model suggests is that if land ownership was correlated with income, then middle-income citizens of Athens made up either a large minority or a decisive majority of the landowning population of Athens.

This raises another question regarding land ownership: just how much land did the average middle-income farmer actually own? In "The Family Farm in Greece," Alison Burford writes that after 700, "the standard land-lot was the hoplite or zeugite farm, the farm which could be worked with one yoke of oxen," which she estimates to be 4-6 hectares in size.[7] If we assume that the wealthiest members of this group were 4 times wealthier than the poorest, this suggests that a maximum land was somewhere between 16-24 ha.

2. Assumptions

5 Burford's estimates are for 403 BC, which was 20 years after a plague killed off 1/3 of the Athenian population. However, if we assume that the plague killed rich and poor at random, income distribution ought to have been relatively unaffected over the course of the epidemic.

6 The total population of Attica was probably closer to 250,000, but this figure included children, women, slaves, and metics as well as citizens.

7 Burford cites Andreyev (1974) as her source for this estimate, but I was unable to track down the original reference.

In this section I will present some of the assumptions and basic conditions that shape my model. First, I assume here that transport costs per ton of marble were the same for all of the temples that were built on the Acropolis. This seems reasonable as the distance to the quarry, elevation, and so forth is roughly the same for the Parthenon, Propylaea, and Erechtheion respectively. Thus this model will focus only on marble transport for the Parthenon as a case study rather than including all of the other buildings constructed as part of the Periclean project. It is also important to remember that the purpose of this model is not to reach a 100% accurate number for the impact of the entire building program, but rather to come up with a ballpark estimate of how much extra money a middle-income farmer could actually make in a summer by renting out his ox team for marble transport. While the total number of oxen needed might vary depending on the project, wages and other figures calculated here should remain equally applicable.

I also make some key assumptions about marble transport in particular. First, I assume that the marble transport industry was largely unregulated by the state and was performed by individual contractors on a case-by-case basis. According to the Erechtheion and Attic Building Accounts this was how most temple-related jobs were performed, as it was both more efficient and reduced the amount of bureaucracy required at each stage of construction.

Finally, a note on my sources. The numbers that I used to construct this model are drawn primarily from RS Stanier's "The Cost of the Parthenon" (1953), Dinsmoor's "Attic Building Accounts I: The Parthenon" (1913), Josiah Ober's "Wealthy Hellas" paper (2010), and several of Alison Burford's articles including "Heavy Transport"(1960), "The Builders of the Parthenon"(1963), and "The Family Farm"(1977). For those figures or facts that I could not find information on, Drs. Ian Morris and Josiah Ober at Stanford proved to be an invaluable resource.

3. How many oxen would it take to move the Parthenon marble?

It would be impossible to estimate the number of oxen that were actually used for the project, as there are simply too many random factors that cannot be controlled for model. For example we have no idea whether farmers worked on the project once, for an entire season, or for the duration of the project. We also cannot account for extraneous factors such as the death or birth of oxen. However, we can try to approximate plausible minimum and maximum numbers of oxen that would have been required to transport the marble that was used in the Parthenon, which is what I have attempted to do here.

R.S. Stanier (1953) estimates the total quantity of the marble in the Parthenon to be 30,781 tons, while Burford gives an estimate of only 22,000 tons. However, for this project I rely primarily on Stanier's estimates, which are the result of a far more intensive survey than anything Burford attempts to do. Burford (1960: 2) tells us that the accepted maximum load for one yoke of oxen is around 1100 lb, or ½ ton. While Burford makes it clear that in many cases extra large loads (such as column drums, etc) had to be pulled by multiple

yokes[8], in the interest of simplicity we will assume that maximum load increases arithmetically as extra yokes are added (that is, 1 yoke= 1100 lb, 2 yoke= 2200 lb, etc.), meaning our estimates will be in terms of yoke-trips. Given that 1 yoke can pull ½ ton of marble per trip, it would therefore require 61,562 yoke-trips to transport the 30,781 tons of marble from Mt. Pentelikos to the building site.

Another complicating factor in my model is that each ox team probably made multiple trips in a season—but just how many trips each yoke made would be impossible to determine. Stanier's calculations suggest that the 30 kilometer trip from Pentelikos to Eleusis took a maximum of 3 days (loaded), which means that all other conditions being equal, the 18 km. trip from Pentelikos to the Acropolis would have taken approximately 2 days to complete because it was only 2/3 of the distance. If one yoke of oxen was to work nonstop for 2 months at this rate (2 days paid, 1 day return trip) with no breaks, it could conceivably do up to 20 trips a season. According to the Attic Building Accounts (Dinsmoor 1913: 53-80), the actual construction of the Parthenon only lasted from 447BC to 440BC[9], yielding around 7 seasons of marble transport. Obviously some years would have been more labor intensive than others (e.g. the years that the columns, steps, etc. were being constructed), but in the interest of this model we will assume all 7 years were equal. From these assumptions we can estimate that if one yoke of oxen worked full time for 2 months a season for 7 seasons, it could undertake 140 yoke-trips from the quarry to the temple site. Thus if every ox team worked full time for the entire course of the project, moving 30,781 tons of marble would require a minimum of 440 yokes of oxen. However, this number is probably extremely low, as it is likely that some trips would have taken longer than others, that there would have been some attrition in the ox population due to death, injury, or because farmers only rented their oxen out for part of each season or for only a few seasons total. Accordingly we may assume that a more realistic minimum boundary might be double our original figure, or 880 yokes in total. A maximum boundary condition might be that none of the ox teams worked for more than one season, an assumption that yields a total of 3,078 yokes of oxen. This yields a reasonable range of between 880 and 3,078 yokes that could have been employed to transport the marble used to build the Parthenon.

4. How much income could be made in a season of marble hauling?

Now we can finally attempt to calculate the amount of income that a zeugite farmer could make by renting his oxen for one season. According to Burford, ox teams at Eleusis were paid on a day-to-day basis for a 2-month

8 Burford suggests that at Eleusis it often took teams of 19-37 yoke to pull just one block to the site. "Heavy Transport in Classical Antiquity". *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1960: 1-18.

9 Work on the Parthenon continued until 432, but the last 8 years consisted primarily of carving/decorating rather than marble hauling and actual construction of the building. W.B. Dinsmoor, "Attic Building Accounts I: The Parthenon". *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1913: 53-80.

season during the summer[10]. Pay ranged from 4 dr. to 4 dr. 3 ½ obols per day for a 2 ½ to 3 day job, which was the length of time it took to make 1 trip from the quarry to the building site. If we assume that wages remained fairly constant over the 100 years between the projects[11], then we can also assume that an Athenian oxen owner could also expect to receive a minimum wage of 4 dr. per day for his labor (and his team(?)[12]). For reasons mentioned earlier, we may assume that the 18 km trip from Pentelikon to the Acropolis would have taken around 2 days to complete. Thus we can calculate that for a 2-day trip from Pentelikos to the Acropolis an oxen owner could make a minimum of 8 dr. This wage probably does not include his return trip, which would have taken a day or less because the carts were emptied of marble. If, as in the previous model, an ox team was to work 2 months at this rate (2 days paid, 1 day return trip) with no breaks, an ox owner could rent his oxen out 20 times. Thus over the course of one summer, a man with one yoke of oxen could potentially bring in 160 dr. in supplemental income. Even if our farmer chose to only work *half* of the season, he could still bring in 80 dr. in supplemental income per season. Additionally, if he had multiple yokes of oxen this number would increase substantially: assuming each additional yoke could bring in 160 dr. each, 2 yokes could bring in 320 dr., 3 yokes 480 dr., and so on.

5. Some Discrepancies

As with all attempts to model ancient economies, there are a lot of grey areas in my calculations. One particularly glaring discrepancy is the difference between the daily wage derived from Eleusis and the 22.5 dr./ton estimate given by Stanier. If we assume that one yoke could only pull ½ ton, this means that it cost 11.25 dr. per yoke for the trip from Pentelikon to the Acropolis. If this trip took 2 days as the model suggests, yokesmen would have been paid a daily price of 5.65 dr. per yoke. This is a full 1.65 dr. more than the daily wage that we estimated earlier, but there are some potential explanations for this discrepancy. For example, the wages paid to the yokesmen probably would not have included extraneous costs associated with marble transport, including the cost of road/equipment construction and maintenance, loading and unloading of the marble at each end, and so forth. Regardless, if wages were actually significantly higher than they were at Eleusis, this only serves to bolster my findings. Even at the lowest wage (4 dr./day), it is clear that carters/drivers could make a substantial amount of income in a season of work: at a wage of 5dr. day, their earnings

10 Both Burford and Stanier refer to the evidence for marble transport at Eleusis, which seems to provide a fairly good baseline for our study. Burford, "Heavy Transport"; R.S. Stanier, "The Cost of the Parthenon", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXXIII, 1953: 68-76.

11 This assumption is supported by the fact that architects at both Eleusis and the Parthenon received 1 dr./day (the wage remained the same despite the projects being 100 years apart, which suggests that inflation was effectively 0).

12 All accounts of marble transport costs list only one wage- they make no differentiation between renting out oxen and paying the ox-drivers themselves. Whether or not there was a distinction we do not know; for our purposes I assume that the ox-drivers' labor is included in the overall sum.

would have been even more significant.

THE MODEL IN CONTEXT

1. How does this compare to farmers' regular earnings?

This model strongly suggests that marble transport for the building program provided middle-income farmers with a potentially lucrative source of supplemental income. As I suggested earlier, the citizens who would have been involved in marble transport were members of the "middling" group of Athenians who had a regular income of around 240-1000 dr. per year. If we assume that the least wealthy members of this group (those at the 240 dr./year end of the spectrum) owned only one yoke of oxen, they could still expect to bring in an additional 160 dr., which would boost their yearly earnings by roughly 67%. If we assume that the wealthiest members of the zeugite class owned a maximum of 5 yokes of oxen, they could have brought in up to 800 dr. per season in supplemental income, or an 80% increase in annual earnings. This means that if my model is even remotely realistic, marble transport could have presented a significant opportunity for members of the middling class of Athenians to supplement their yearly earnings from agriculture.

2. How does this compare to hoplite service?

Many of the individuals who made up the middling class would have been expected to serve as hoplites during times of war, as they could afford the armor that was necessary but could not afford a horse, which was required for cavalry service. As hoplites they could expect to make around 1dr./day of service, for a fighting season that usually lasted 2-3 months during the summer. Thus if we take the maximum duration for hoplite service of, say, 3 months total, a middle income farmer could expect to make around 90 dr. total for his service. This number is probably extremely generous, as most military campaigns seem to have been several weeks in duration and one expects that hoplites would not have been paid in between campaigns.

In this model I assume that a middle income farmer faced with the choice of either serving as a hoplite or carting marble all summer will act in an economically rational manner: that is, he will choose the job that will make him the most money for the least opportunity cost. On one hand, our hypothetical farmer risks dying far from home for a maximum of 90 dr. per summer. Here, the outcomes are either 90 dr. and a relatively safe work environment, or the very real possibility of death or injury in battle. While death or serious injury would obviously be quite detrimental to our subject's personal wellbeing, it would also create a major economic drain for his family: if we assume that the average middle-income farm was self-operated, the death of the primary worker would mean the family would have to hire other workers to help them farm their land. On the other hand, he could make upwards of 160 dr. each season by simply staying at home and safely driving oxen for a few months, thereby eliminating the risk of being killed in battle altogether. Thus even if we artificially set the earnings from each project equal to one another, the rational individual would likely choose marble hauling over hoplite service if he had a choice.

3. Further Considerations

In addition to the income and safety considerations I have already mentioned, there are several other reasons for why marble transport would be a very appealing side job for a middle-income farmer. First, it is important to note that with the exceptions of a few major campaigns such as the nine-month siege of Samos, Athens enjoyed a period of relative peace between the end of the first Peloponnesian War in 446 BC and the outbreak of the Second Peloponnesian War in 431 BC. This meant that during these years the demand for hoplites would have dropped significantly: while the state maintained a small standing army of several thousand, it was only a fraction of the size of the full force it would have needed to fight a war. Thus even if one wanted to become a hoplite (perhaps out of youthful foolhardiness or patriotism), most volunteers would be turned away. If you were too old or had been injured in a previous war, this source of supplemental income was closed off regardless of the state's demand for hoplites at the time. For unemployed hoplites and the old or injured, marble transport could have been the most lucrative source of supplemental income available. Furthermore, even if there were opportunities for private employment, Claire Taylor (forthcoming) suggests that this might have been seen as demeaning or dishonorable. Working on a public religious complex would probably have carried far less stigma than working for a fellow citizen.[13]

Another important factor we ought to consider is that of the fixed costs associated with oxen ownership. Oxen are not simply equipment in the way that, say, ploughs or carts are. Even if our farmer did not choose to rent them for marble transport, he would still have to pay for their food and upkeep throughout the off-season; although the cost of feeding oxen would probably vary in relation to their physical exertion, there is still a fixed baseline cost associated with owning oxen, even if they do nothing but graze all day. Thus even if my specific income calculations are somehow vastly inaccurate, my overall argument is still valid as farmers would still have an incentive to employ their oxen so as to offset their feeding expenditures during the off season.

Finally, marble transport appears to have been an extremely accessible industry that was open to anyone who had a yoke of oxen and knew how to drive it—an extremely large pool of potential employees given the prevalence of agriculture in the Athenian economy. This was a job that did not require any specialized skill set in the sense that the carving or quarrying of marble did. Thus it is very plausible that temple construction provided an opportunity for potentially thousands of citizens to gain extra income.

4. A Counterfactual...

While there are many criticisms that could be made about the assumptions that I make in this model, one stands out as particularly troubling: what if the oxen used for marble transport were not owned by middle-income farmers, as

13 In fact, Burford suggests that the honor associated with the project could have acted as a major incentive for workers to choose temple construction over alternative areas of employment. *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidaurus*.

we have assumed throughout this study? The two possible alternatives are that either herds were state owned or that large numbers of oxen were owned by elite landholders. If either of these alternatives turned out to be true, my conclusions would have to be revised significantly. However I argue that neither situation appears likely to have been the case; and even if one were to be true this would not necessarily discount my overriding claim that the middle class derived supplemental income from marble transport.

The possibility that the oxen used for the project were state owned deserves at least some mention: if Athens owned its own marble quarries and silver mines, why would the city not have its own herds of farm animals as well? However there are numerous problems with this hypothesis. First, as the hauling season was only 2-3 months in duration this would mean that the state would have to rent out its herd for the remaining 10 months. While this is possible, it seems highly inefficient: if there were already plenty of privately owned, available oxen in Attica, why should the state take the trouble to maintain its own herd? This would have required significant input costs for feed and so forth, but we have no mention of this having occurred. Thus state ownership of a herd of oxen, while possible, would have been extremely inefficient and is completely absent from the historical and archaeological record.

So what about the second possibility of elite landowners renting out or donating large numbers of oxen for the project? This seems far more plausible and certainly warrants some consideration. There undoubtedly were large estates owned by elite Athenians, which would have required substantial numbers of pack animals to maintain. One extant inscription indicates that the civic-minded citizen Eudemus provided 1,000 oxen of his own for the construction of the Panathenaic Stadium in the 330s[14], which suggests that the same sort of elite landowners could have provided many if not all of the animals used for the Parthenon marble hauling project. However in the case of Eudemus, it seems clear that the loaner chose to contribute to the project out of a desire for recognition: like liturgia or trierarchies, he wanted his efforts to be recognized by the polis—as they were in the inscription that survived. In contrast, there is no mention of a particularly generous oxen donor in any of the Attic building accounts or other contemporaneous sources dealing with the Periclean building project. While this lack of evidence is far from a conclusive refutation, it seems as though our model of middle-class yokesmen is much more plausible in the context of Athenian temple building. The Attic Building Accounts suggest that most Athenian temples were built by workers who were employed largely on a first-come, first-served basis: workers were paid on a day-to-day basis rather than according to contracts. This approach was far more efficient than keeping a workforce employed permanently: the quantity and type of workers at the site could fluctuate in response to day-to-day shifts in demand . In the case of marble hauling, this would mean that the amount of oxen employed could adjust to the amount of marble being transported that day, meaning the

14 IG ii2 351+624=SEG 24.99=SIG3 288+M.N. Tod, Greek Historical Inscriptions ii (Oxford: 1948), no. 198

state would never have to pay for oxen to stand idle. Thus my assumption that middle-income farmers were also employed on a rotating, voluntary basis seems far more in keeping with the way that the Athenians seem to have run their public building programs.

As I have shown, state-owned herds of oxen are a highly unlikely possibility while large elite-owned herds are inconsistent with other aspects of the temple-building project. However even if either of these alternative explanations were true, the underlying logic of this paper remains unchanged. While middle-income farmers would not be receiving income for the rental of their oxen, they would likely have still derived significant supplemental income as ox-drivers: large herds of state or elite-owned oxen would require large numbers of trained drivers, who would probably have been members the middle-income group of Athenians. Thus even if the counterfactual were to turn out to be true (a situation for which there is currently no evidence), many middle-income Athenians would still have benefited from employment linked to marble transport for the temple project.

IMPLICATIONS

While this case study is relatively restricted in scope, I argue that it is significant because it helps to explain the broader trend of rising income and consumption in 5th century Athens. Marble transport for temple building was just one example of ways in which Athenians could bolster their annual earnings beyond those derived from farming. Presumably, similar transport schemes would have been necessary for all major building projects, religious or not. But Athenians also had many other avenues for supplementing their income: some owned their own businesses; others served in the military. Thus it seems appropriate for me to conclude this paper with a brief discussion of the implications of the larger pattern of increasing incomes among middling Athenians during the 4th and 5th centuries BC.

1. Economic

With the increase in supplemental earnings derived from non-agricultural sources, middle-income Athenians now had expendable income that they could spend on non-essential goods. Ober (2010: 257-258) argues that "a substantial number of residents of fourth-century Athens lived far enough above subsistence to enable them to live decent lives. The surplus consumption capacity of comparatively large middling population would have been a major driver of the Athenian economy." Ian Morris (2004) further suggests that consumption alone increased five to ten-fold between 800 and 300BC, while Ober (2010: 266) argues that the actual rate of Greek per capita growth 800-300 BC was probably about 0.15%. This pattern of increased consumption and significant economic growth simply cannot be explained by increased yields from agriculture or increased trading alone: it seems reasonable to assume that many Athenians had to have been making extra income through side ventures or second jobs. Additionally, wages for temple workers would likely have been paid using silver specie, thus increasing currency fluidity in the market. This would also have

contributed to economic growth by promoting consumption and trade. Thus it appears that temple-building contributed to overall economic growth in a variety of ways and would have provided employment for Athenian citizens and non-citizens across a wide range of professions.

2. Social

The income growth that Athens experienced in the 4th and 5th century BC would also have had major social implications. First, rising incomes would have lead to improvements in living conditions among all Athenians, but most significantly of all, among those at the lower margin of the middle-income bracket. The availability of extra income would have allowed these citizens to move beyond simply trying to eat every day, and would have given them a buffer against outright poverty in the event of a poor harvest season due to weather or war. Second, the increase in equality caused by the growth of the middle-income group would have changed social norms and interactions significantly: as people became wealthier and began trading more, they would have interacted with more and more other Athenians and foreigners. Thus we may posit that the increase in per capita income that was made available through temple construction would have contributed to a more egalitarian and cosmopolitan Athenian society.

3. Political

Temple construction provided a way for the government to subsidize private industry and promote both economic growth and employment, all of which would probably have generated heightened levels of public morale. It would have been hard for a temple-worker to forget that the state was providing his paycheck: government funded projects like the Parthenon would have provided a reason for citizens to support the leadership of the polis. To Pericles, this would have been particularly important: in order to command the respect of the demos it was necessary to ensure that they were provided for at all times. In an interesting feedback loop, temple building would also have been a way for those in the assembly to provide themselves with a source of extra income as well: the assembly was largely made up of the same sort of people who would have benefited most from the project. Thus it appears that temple construction was a political win-win for everyone involved: it ensured popular support for the leaders of the demos, while those involved in government were able to help themselves and their peers by allocating government funds toward public works.

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ON NERO'S EVIL DEEDS- BOOK I: THE DEATH OF HIS MOTHER AGRIPPINA

Carmen Sylvia Spiers
University of Washington

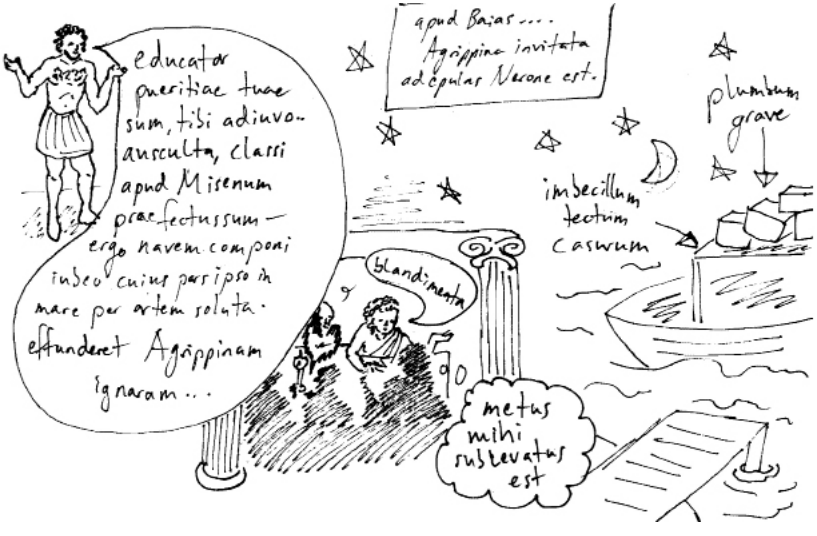



scelus non ultra differo, Anicete, diu meditatum ...
pupillum!
discidium Octaviae incolumi Agrippina haud spero...
flagrantior in dies amore Poppaeae sum, sed non matri Agrippinae placet...


sed Agrippina mihi placet!
ave, fili
potentiam meam retinendam est!


vides?
hoc adnoto!
o principem profanum!


interficiendam est! sed quonam modo? cum veneno? ferro? aqua alba vi? praegravis est!
ingenium habeo...


educator pueritiae tuae sum, tibi adiuvo.. ausculta, clarri apud Misenum praefectus sum — ergo navem componi iubeo cuius pars ipso in mare per artem soluta. effunderet Agrippinam ignaram...
apud Baias.... Agrippina invitata ad epulas Neronе est.
blandimenta
metus mihi sublevatus est
plumbum grave
imbecillum tectum casurum


Agrippina proficiscens per navem...
vale, mater
nec multum erat progressa navis...


O paenitentiam filii! O reciperatam tuam gratiam! bla bla bla...
comes
Agrippina


cadett.
prompt omnes?




mater principis ego sum!
mihi subvenite!


Istam, Istam Agrippinam!

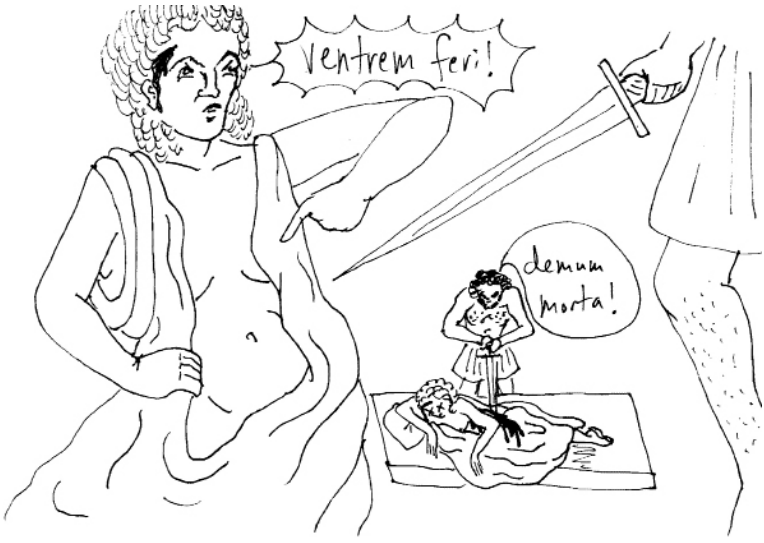

non saxis impulsa navis erat...
Villa Agrippinae
domum... umero vulnus aspicio
ego silens, et comes mea dicens se esse "Agrippinam" confictur...
Simulo ut nihil intellegam... hoc solum insidiarum remedium est...
Agerine! te mitto ad Neronem. non dubito ut periculo matris exterritus sit, sed ora ut visendi curam differat...


ictu levi saucia?? iam iamque adest! vindictae propera... quod faciam? Burre! Seneca! Anicete!
quis venit? Agrippinae est, Libertus tuae matris... celeriter gladium mihi date!


nuntio fero
Agrip--
?
scelerose! missus Agrippina tu
ad interficiendum principem
venis!


certe nunc mater tua pudore
deprehensi sceleris sponte mortem
sumpsat!
o insignis
liberte!
auctor
tanti
muneris


tu quoque
me
deseris
ancilla?
domum Agrippinae...


Ventrem feri!
demum morta!


hunc sui finem multos ante annos crediderat Agrippina contemptaque:
o Chaldaei vates, quid super Nerone?
imperasit, et matrem occideret.
occidat! dum imperet.

NOTES

Abridged from Tacitus' Annales 14.1-9 Original translation below by me. This comic portrays a little slice of ancient Roman history- how Nero, the infamous emperor, murdered his powerful mother in pursuit of greater license.

First page:
Graffiti on wall: "Who denies that Nero is from the great stock of Aeneas? This one (Nero) razed his mother, that one (Aeneas) raised his father." *This is original ancient graffiti found in Rome- Aeneas was the founder of Rome by popular legend and all emperors sought to link their lineage to him. This joke plays on the dual meaning of "sustulit," which can mean both to kill and to literally raise aloft. Aeneas' "raising" of his father is drawn from a scene in the Aeneid, the Virgilian epic of the founding of Rome.*

Second page:
Nero, in foreground, a freedman (past slaves who served often in the royal courts), Anicetus, in background: "I won't defer the wicked deed any longer, Anicetus, which I've long contemplated..."
Memory of Poppaea in his mind: "Mama's boy! I can't hope for your divorce from Octavia while Agrippina is safe..." Nero: "I'm burning more and more daily with love for Poppaea, but it doesn't please my mother Agrippina."

Third page:
Nero: "But Agrippina pleases me!" Agrippina: "I must retain my power!" Banquet friend I: "You see that?" Banquet friend II: "I'm noticing that!" B.F. I: "Oh what a perverted prince!"

Fourth page:
Nero: "She must be killed! But how? With poison? By the sword? Or by what other violence? She's such a burden!" Anicetus: "I have a plan..." Below, Anicetus: "I am the tutor from your boyhood, I'll help you. Listen, I'm head of the Misenum fleet, so I'll have a ship built, part of which, once loosened by a heavy weight, could pour out Agrippina unawares." Narration box: "At the bay... Agrippina is invited to evening banquet by Nero." Top arrow: "Heavy lead." Bottom arrow: "Weak roof that is about to fall." Inside banquet hall: Nero (lit up): "<assorted flattery>." Agrippina (silhouette) "My fear has been removed."

Fifth page:
Narration box: "Agrippina sets out in the ship." Nero: "Goodbye, mother." Narration box: "The ship hadn't gotten very far..." Below: Left arrow: "friend." Right arrow: "Agrippina." Friend: "Oh (so glad about) the repentance of your son! Oh your recovered good favor!"

Sixth page:
Sailors: "It's falling! Everybody ready?" Friend: "I'm the mother of the emperor!

Help me!" Sailor: "This one, this one is Agrippina!"

Seventh page:
Agrippina: "The ship wasn't crashed up on rocks." Arrow: "Agrippina's villa." Narration box: "At home." Thoughts from left: "I see a wound on my shoulder. I was silent, and my friend was saying she was me and she was killed... I'll pretend I don't understand. This is the only remedy for treachery." Out loud: "Agerinus! I'm sending you to Nero. I don't doubt he's terrified at the danger to his mother, but beg that he put aside the care of visiting me for now..."
Below, at Nero's: Nero: "Wounded by a slight blow?? Oh she'll be here any minute hastening for vengeance! What do I do? Burrus! Seneca! Anicetus!" Anicetus: "Wait- who' coming? It's Agerinus, your mother's freedman... quickly, give me a sword!" *Burrus and Seneca were Nero's advisors since he was such a young emperor- but found themselves at a loss in the face of Nero's outrageous inclinations.*

Eighth page:
Agerinus entering: "I'm bringing news of Agripp- " Anicetus: "Wicked man! You were sent by Agrippina to assassinate the emperor!"
Below, Anicetus: "Surely now your mother will on her own volition take her own life, out of shame for having been caught trying to kill you!" Nero: "Oh what a remarkable freedman, the originator of such a great service."

Ninth page:
Narration box: "At Agrippina's home." Agrippina in far background: "So you're deserting me too, handmaid?"

Tenth page:
Agrippina: "Stab my womb!" Anicetus: "Finally she's dead!" *These strange last words by Agrippina, recorded by ancient historians, remind us of Nero and the awful act of destroying one's origin.*
Below, Narration box: "Many years before, Agrippina had understood this would be her end and had mocked it." Agrippina: "Oh Chaldean seers, what can you say about Nero?" Seers: "He will be emperor, and he will kill his mother." Agrippina: "Let him kill! Just so long as he is emperor."

RESOURCES

We provide here for the reader a list of undergraduate classics conferences and journals. The list is by no means exhaustive, nor guaranteed to be up-to-date, but it is provided in the hopes that more undergraduates will share their work.

JOURNALS

Brown Classical Journal, Brown University
http://brown.edu/academics/classics/undergraduate-program/brown-classics-journal

Persephone, student journal of Harvard Classics Club
http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~classics/?page_id=2

Helicon, Yale Undergraduate Journal of Classics
http://www.yale.edu/classics/undergraduates_helicon.html

Vexillum, Undergraduate Journal of Classical and Medieval Studies
http://www.vexillumjournal.org/

Ephemeris, Classical Journal of Denison University
http://www.denison.edu/academics/departments/classics/ephemeris.html

CONFERENCES

Miami University Undergraduate Conference in Classics
http://www.units.muohio.edu/classics/news/news.html

Northwest Undergraduate Conference on the Ancient World at Willamette University
http://www.willamette.edu/cla/classics/resources/conference/index.html

High Tech Heritage, University of Massachusetts- Amherst
http://scholarworks.umass.edu/hightechheritage/

Sunoikisis Undergraduate Research Symposium at Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D.C.
http://wp.chs.harvard.edu/sunoikisis/students/symposia/

SUBMISSIONS

We invite readers to submit to the 2012-2013 volume of *Aisthesis*. We accept critical essays in a classical context within fields including Linguistics, Philosophy, Literature, History, Drama, Art, and Archaeology.

A submission consists of an email with subject heading: "submission title, field." Within the email please include two files: one with contact information (including full name, title of submission, university, class year, daytime phone number), and one that is the essay. Please remove all identifying information from the essay, include a 200-word abstract, and format it as a windows document file (either .doc or .docx).

The submission must be formatted in Chicago style. Two submissions are allowed per author. Authors must be current undergraduates or graduated within one year of the time of the submission deadline, and they must not be enrolled in a graduate program at the time of publication.

We also accept translations of Greek and Latin.

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